

LÉGERÍN

N. 02

“Insistence on socialism is insistence on being human”



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LÊGERÎN

The meaning of Lêgerîn in kurdish is "Search for freedom".

For this reason we adopted this name. As millions of persons around the world, we search and fight for liberty. We hope to contribute with our materials, to have the right mechanisms and methods to be victorious in this fight.

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LETTER FROM ALINA SANCHEZ

SEHÎD LÊGERÎN

Alina shared in a letter to her colleague Vilma Almendra of Pueblos en Camino the following words:

We need to get organized, Vilma! It's urgent and can't be postponed! Otherwise the struggles do not accumulate, do not generate a sense of belonging, do not widen the gaze without losing the horizon. If our objective is as clear as water, the forms must also be clear (this was the response of Apo, in a very difficult moment for the women of the movement) (...) They became a block and emerged with solidity from the autonomous women's organizations. I don't see any other way. At least this is one that has shown that a lot of internal struggle is needed, but it weaves in the long run as you say. Think about it, if we manage to organize ourselves as women, structurally organized, discussing what I was telling Manu, the social contract, the framework, which also involves the situation, does not exclude it. This revitalizes the organization of society in general. That's what we mean by liberating women in order to liberate society as a whole. Women, with everything that each one reflects and represents, and women, with everything that for society energizes and regenerates. We can aim at the general and there organize ourselves as women, or we can organize ourselves as women to organize the people. With our gazes, broad, more quantum, inclusive. Without falling into the fact that it is a question of women. I want to believe that we can. But we have to show this vein of emancipation. Our struggle is already an example.





Women against patriarchy and capitalism

The Kurdish movement understands that for any successful revolution to take place, a revolutionary spirit must have a comprehensive understanding of women's liberation. Women, in turn, cannot be liberated unless they are free from the world's capitalist systems. If women are to be free, this can only be achieved through the existence of a stateless democracy, for it is the state that defends class oppression and patriarchy.

In the Kurdish liberation struggle, led by Abdullah Öcalan, women have developed their own system and decision-making mechanisms within the guerrilla. Therefore, they worked on a strategic role in the defense of women and their country. The emergence of a radical struggle for women's liberation has its origin here. Women in the armies of nation states become a copy of men and are sometimes in danger. It is almost impossible for a woman in a male army to preserve her personality and femininity, and to come out of it unscathed. Nation-state armies are na-

tionalistic, racist and sexist. They are shaped by a culture of violence. Therefore, the strategic presence and leading role of Kurdish women in a guerrilla army is of historical importance. This is the challenge against the 5,000 year old male system of government. With the participation of women in the guerrilla army in Kurdistan, the falsehood of patriarchy was exposed.

Women in the guerrilla force are an incredible source of freedom and equality. They play an extraordinary role in making women's historical reality visible. Women's guerrillas have swept away all mythological, philosophical, religious and scientific representations of women as slaves and as a "second class sex. Women are present in the guerrillas with their own identity and decision-making structures. Their democratic and liberal way affects the whole guerrilla. The best female guerrilla commanders in history are in our ranks. A level of female command has been created that has a great deal of experience and leadership characteristics, and

can implement high-level combat tactics. Women lead the guerrilla in action as well as in life.

The experience in Rojava

The system in Rojava is today a living example of the attempt to overcome patriarchy, capitalism and the State. Capitalism is the key oppressor of all; the liberation of women from class oppression is key to a free society. The capitalist class has always used a policy of “divide and rule,” particularly on the basis of gender. Capitalism invades every aspect of our lives, our social conditions, installs a hierarchy and maintains the hegemony of the ruling class over human society. Ultimately, capitalism often leaves women with the option of simply accepting the sexist and patriarchal system that confronts them.

The existence of patriarchy preceded that of capitalism. But patriarchy was qualitatively transformed by the accumulation of capital throughout the world. To prevail, capitalism has had to resort to patriarchal oppression to ensure that men often go to work while women do so at home. It has also invaded the cultural sphere, turning women’s bodies into commodities to be bought and sold. It is important, therefore, to understand that the oppression of women under capitalism is not only a form of class oppression but one of the most brutal. Then there is the cultural oppression of women in the current climate of capitalism, which is expressed in many ways, through the use of language, stereotypes, religion, and global culture. For example, the use of words like “Hoe”, “Bitch”, “Slut” are all forms of verbal oppression. Stereotypes follow examples of what a “feminist” looks like, or what “lesbians” look like, or how important an ideal mother should be, etc. Religion is also another key factor in the oppression of women: historically, the interpretation of religions has led to the systematic oppression of women, starting with the fact that Adam’s rib was, for the Christian religion, where Eve was born. With capitalism, the power of the (not only) Abrahamic religions organized by states and religious institutions that spread throughout the world, demonstrates a synthesis of capitalism with religion to elevate the

most oppressive interpretations in opposition to the most liberating visions of religious communion, which maintain premises of gender equality.

The capitalist system today attempts to give women the false impression of gender equality. It tries to convince women that they should break the “glass ceiling” and not abolish the system itself. To the extent that a minority of women hold high positions in corporations, are decently paid, are politicians, and govern the finances of the state, we are told that capitalism is indifferent to or challenges women’s suffering. But capitalism only allows a minority of women to share its spoils. Why, of the Fortune 500 companies globally, do only 4.3% of women hold CEO positions? On average, women are paid 2.8% less than their male counterparts in all aspects of working life. On top of that, only 23% of the world’s politicians are women, and in the UK, of the 650 mayors, only 208 are women, or 32% after the 2017 UK general election. Therefore, to be a feminist is to become aware of this kind of underlying oppression that is not explicit, to realize the false hope and sense of gender equality that capitalism represents for the world, and to actively work to break down the barriers that it represents for women around the world.

Ideally, since the mid-1990s, the only answer to “What is a free Kurdistan” has been: a free Kurdistan where women are liberated. This approach has been the fundamental impetus behind the Kurdish movement. By realizing the discourse of capitalism, the systematic oppression of women through class division, the Kurdish movement has nurtured the desire to come together on the basis of gender equality and towards a stateless democracy in the Red Sea. Unlike the



oppression that women see under the rule of capitalism in the West, Europe and the Middle East, in Rojava women, both international and Kurdish, are at the heart of the struggle against ISIS and its allies (such as the Turkish state).

True freedom

The reason for the rise in femicide in the Middle East and around the world is due to the growing struggle for women's liberation. Hegemonic men, the dominant male system, want to break women's resistance. The alliances in which women in Istanbul have joined forces against violence are a great example. Women defend each other and leave no woman alone. They hunt down the killers and fight the perpetrators so that they receive the punishment they deserve.

Male and state violence against women comes from the same source. It is well known that the oppression of women, their restriction to the domestic environment, and slavery in the service of men is one of the most important methods of this. Women are kept in their place of slavery through violence.

As women's resistance grows, as women defend themselves and have the issue constantly on the agenda, it becomes increasingly difficult to win over the state and dominant masculinity. We believe that our struggle will become more and more proactive and self-confident. And we know that freedom begins in the mind.

Democracy without the state offers women a position in all aspects of life, giving them the true definition of gender equality. Women's academies, defense and police units, as well as the power of veto over any political or other decisions that affect them, allow women to have a say in everything.

As Kurdish women we have argued in a call launched on March 8 at a time of a "historic process". At the end of this process, we will see the patriarchal and capitalist system succumb to its "deep structural crisis. This crisis will mostly offer us great opportunities to guarantee women's freedom and not the kind of freedom that capitalism has only sold us as a dream. The hollow pillars of capitalism and liberal democracy, false freedom, are slowly coming to an end. Yes, it is gradual and it has taken centuries for women around the world to rise up against it, but the road will be paved for a free woman and a free life.

From this, I think it is important for us to conclude that no matter what sense of liberation we may

feel living in the West or in Europe, or anywhere in the world, we are very oppressed as women. Young women are sexually objectified everywhere, sexism occurs in all aspects of capitalist structures. A liberation of society can only take place when women are free. Freed from stereotypes, from sexist language, from cultural and religious oppression; that's what we face every day.





The struggle for Freedom

By Abullah Ocalan

In the reality of our party, what level is really applied in developing women's participation, the struggle for freedom and self-determination of identity, what can it lead to, and most importantly, what does innovation mean? Developing discussions around these questions can often lead to more meaningful results. Women's participation and the struggle for freedom must be liberated from traditions; male relationships and family relations. The question of people's freedom, as well as the problems of class liberation, which are perhaps even more difficult, deserve to focus on the question of women and therefore on women's liberation. In the same way, the break with traditional approaches and lifestyles and the search for truth could create a free human being. No one should expect a direct prescription to the question of freedom. The most we can give it is worthless traditional approaches. Is it possible for us to make an attempt at reform? No. We are not going to do that. We will have the most radical approach to this analysis. What is radicalism on the issue of women? As it is widely addressed, it is more than a question of sensuality, sexuality and even beyond saying that "it is about politics, women have to participate equally in all institutions and organizations. A radical approach must be reached as an understanding.

What does "woman" mean in any kind of social formation?

In terms of some characteristics of natural race, women's participation in society may have led to situations in which they have experienced the social process. Therefore, if we look at the natural characteristics of women, it may be that they could easily be put under pressure. So, in fact, she may be more vulnerable to exploitation. Even poor people can be more easily oppressed and exploited because of their circumstances. This has nothing to do with a natural law or the commandment of God, as the rulers say. These are situations developed by human mandate. Therefore, when it comes to review, it becomes understandable to show the power to reject it. However, it should not mean that radicalism is the rejection of the male species. This is the approach of some of the feminist groups - and ideally this should not be handled. It should not mean an anti-masculine movement, or a movement that only freed itself from the oppression and exploitation of patriarchy. The movement's radicalism will sometimes be anti-male, and will be dedicated to its desire for freedom, but it has to do more to express itself more.

La pérdida de la identidad

There is a real loss of identity, no one who can talk about identity. There are really no people from a particular nation, class or even culture? So what is the class of these women, what is their culture, what is their nation? Certainly, every woman is from a certain culture, nation or class, but what is she as a woman? However, once we get rid of all the national, class and cultural traits, is there anything left in the name of female identity, or can such a question even be asked? In our opinion, yes, such a question can be asked. In this sense, without women's liberation, social liberation is impossible. Without the realization of women's true identity, it will be incomplete to have a healthy human identity, and to have the true identity of a society and nation.

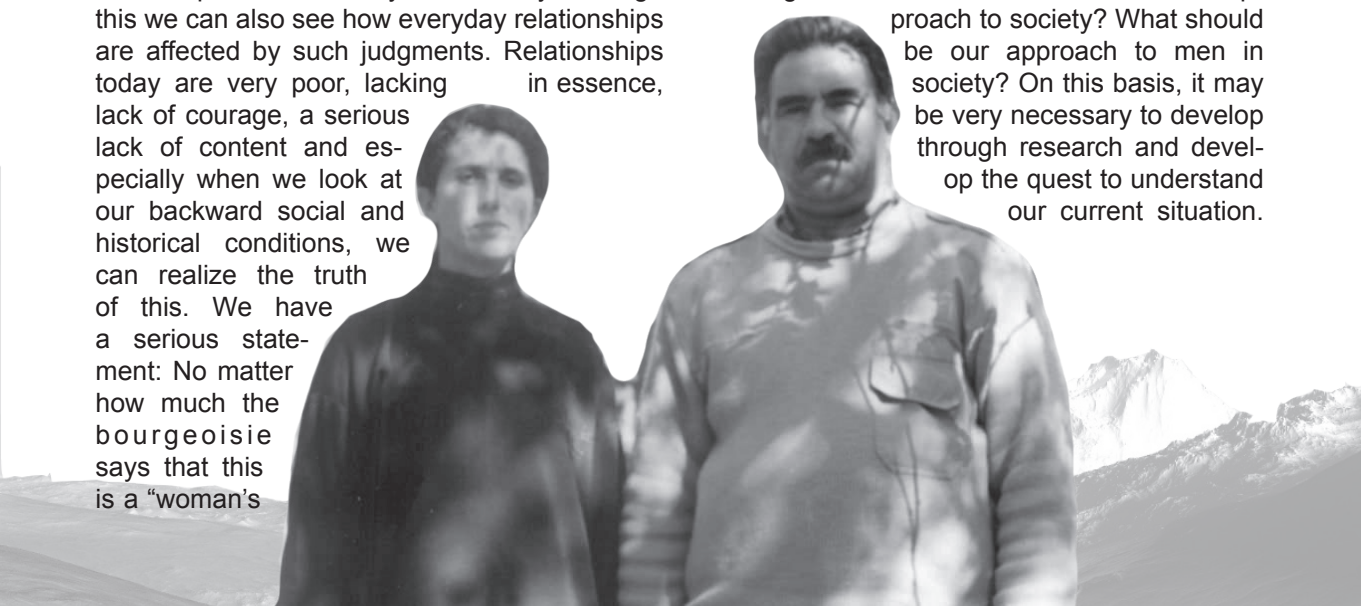
This is evident. For example, when we look at the true reality of our own society; there is a great decline in the reality of Kurdish women in our community. It is true that this very clearly affects the national level, and it expresses that the social level is very backward. The more it develops correctly, the more it will glorify society. There are taboos around the issue of women's liberation and we are constantly discussing them. First of all, the judgment that "every woman belongs to someone," or the idea that several women can belong to one person, has developed throughout history. We call this "appropriating" women. The same things are never said for a man. We don't see much of an assessment as a man belonging to a woman, or many men belonging to a woman. We must know and learn the reasons for this in all respects, historically and socially. Through this we can also see how everyday relationships are affected by such judgments. Relationships today are very poor, lacking in essence, lack of courage, a serious lack of content and especially when we look at our backward social and historical conditions, we can realize the truth of this. We have a serious statement: No matter how much the bourgeoisie says that this is a "woman's

world" or how much feudalism says that "this is how the woman's world is established," we have a "woman's world" problem. Most likely, future revolutions will depend on all aspects of this question being raised. The development of the free man in society also depends on it.

Sometimes I review myself about women. I have acquired some strong characteristics of the free man. But it is also linked to the revelation of the power of women. For me, it is concrete that the strength of the man becomes stronger as the power of the woman emerges. This is not a power provided by political authority or money. It is very well understood that it comes from the power to emerge into a free identity. It is ultimately a direct result of women's participation in liberation and leads to power. By itself it rises to the power of an army. It is important to note that if you pay attention, you will realize that in our party we never use the words "I am someone's partner. You do not need to introduce yourself with these words. You try to define yourself as a force, as a political entity, as a social entity that interests you. This is very important. No male-dominated approach will find it easy to do this.

No one gives this level an easy step in women's work. It's a very hard approach, but I'm working on it. When you eliminate those ideas, you may be forced, but I think you will see the need. When you move away from the formal male understanding, the traditional male understanding, you don't get too upset. It may be difficult for men, but it is not difficult for you to seek understanding and try to find yourself. Deeply, you feel the need to look more broadly at the issue of society and the social problems we face today.

You begin to wonder, what should be our approach to society? What should be our approach to men in society? On this basis, it may be very necessary to develop through research and develop the quest to understand our current situation.



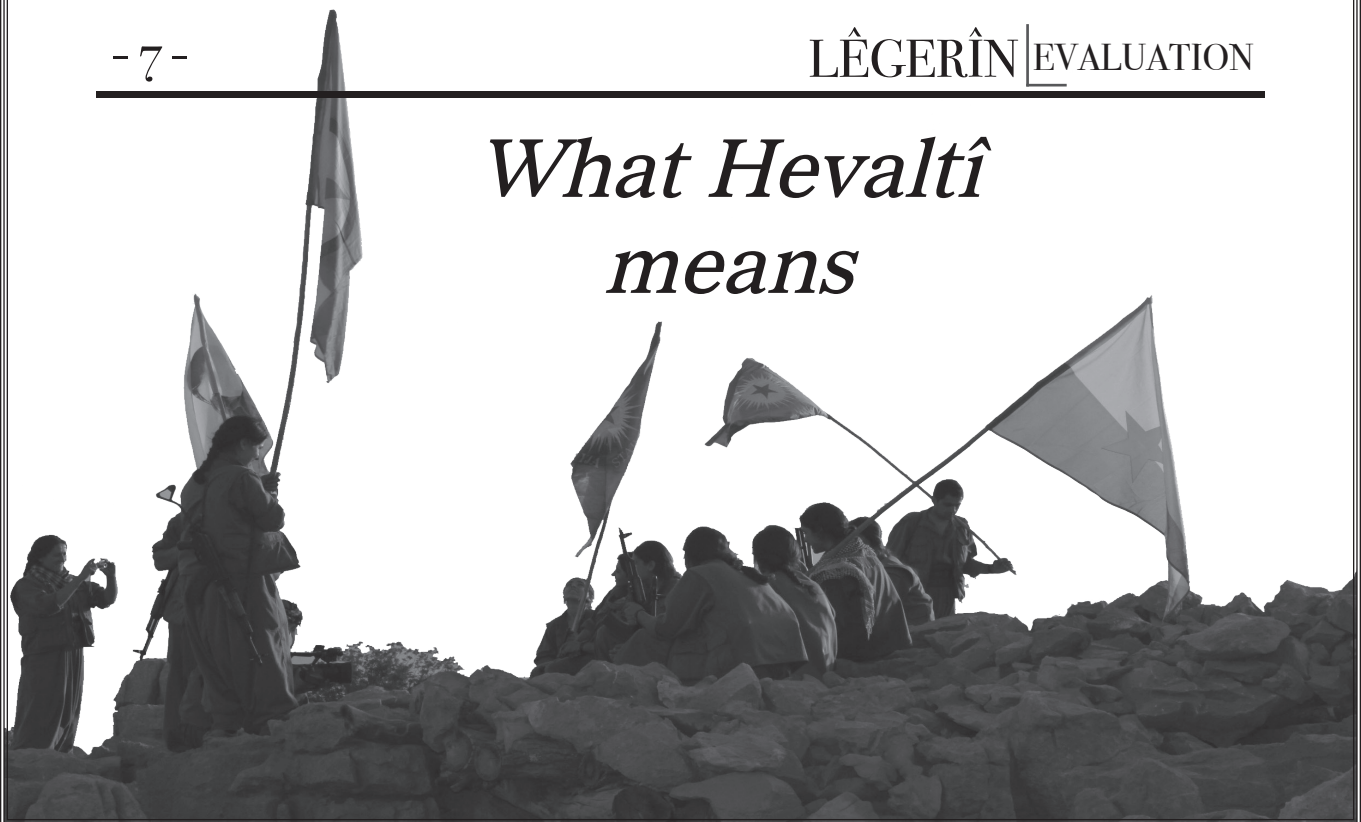
Develop your own principles!

We are always looking for answers; since we have been expelled from society, from politics, from the army, and have been reduced and limited in all activities; and we ask ourselves how should we come back again? We can answer this. I think we have made the most appropriate one. It is not possible for you to make a fair, free, equal and powerful entry into your society unless you completely free yourself from the formal male approach or the male-dominated social approaches that have left their mark on all levels. So you can really improve your situation by reforming it a bit. But this is not really radicalism, and there is no real fundamental solution. As with any serious social event, or social problem, you will be asked to approach your own freedom with some passion, holiness, and most importantly, faith. You must believe in it first. I don't want to be like the feminists, but they have respectable aspects and approaches. First, you will respect yourself. You must develop your own principles, the principles of free women. Men have masculine principles. As you know, when men talk about feminine principles, they immediately think of vile principles. But women must develop principles that are opposed to those principles. So what are those principles? What is a free woman's principle? Everyone should see it and understand it. As principles are created and made concrete, the first sign of freedom is given. But in my opinion they do not become concrete, they do not differ. You are confused. No one who looks at you will think: "the woman in front of me has her own principles" and therefore will act according to patriarchal principles. In fact, you are not acting according to the principles of free women, but according to the feminine principles that the state considers worthy. I am making war on feminine principles. Unfortunately, all of you are approaching or pushing us with a feminine principle. However, you must have the principles of free women. Truth is a dominant principle in society that is imposed on you and drives every movement and action. It has been a destiny for you for centuries, but research shows that it is a human order; it is not a destiny, a command from God, nor the result of a natural characteristic. You have reached this position as a result of human action. The liberation of the female sex is, of course, necessary. In evaluating every-

thing, even in our party ranks, I have not seen or heard a man say "I found the principles, the greatness, the comradeship, the power of this comrade woman valuable. Not a word of her kind! Men can tell you that they are very loving; when it comes to filling your heart with false words there is nothing superior to them. But what I am talking about is a serious value that goes hand in hand with practice, defense of the land, and respect. However, as soon as women had certain approaches, primitive relations were carried out, they ran away from the party, harmed the army and became an obstacle to the revolutionary movement. Is this a destiny? All I can do for you is free you from some ties and keep you from getting into troublesome bonds. My understanding of freedom makes this action necessary and makes me behave this way. Instead of these women becoming slaves to anyone, we should create an area where they can meet. My sense of justice leads me to this. It wouldn't occur to other men to do this, it doesn't even occur to you. In my opinion, we must develop a search, we must create the path of innovations.



What Hevaltî means



I would like to start with a few personal words and give a personal example on some other topics, perhaps it applies to the other male friends as well.

We are a gender whose free characteristics are very weak. We must be honest about this. We have been taught freedom, but it is difficult to recognize it in our own personalities. As a man I did not succeed to, like the leadership, develop a free personality in a very concrete way. I have not even made it my aim. I can say that quite honestly. I really yearn for freedom. But it has not become a feature of my character. It seems that we have more or less set out on this path under force. We treat it as a duty: to work a little bit for the Kurdish people, to live a little bit good. We limit ourselves far too much. How much interest can I have in Jineolojî if I am not able to live free in a concrete way as a man, if I have neither internalized it nor made it my aim? I have often asked myself where the mistakes in our way of questioning lie. First of all, very fundamentally, what are the qualities that make up a man's character? The fundamental difference between us and the leader lies precisely there. It is precisely for this reason that we do not really strive decisively for freedom. We are more likely to be dragged along on the path to freedom. If we, as men, question our situation

a little more thoroughly, we realize that we resemble a slave to freedom. We treat the pursuit of freedom like a compulsion or a duty. We always give self-criticism because we do not even succeed in freeing ourselves or anybody else.

How, then, are the people to be set free? Of course it is not enough for that. It quickly becomes clear. You have been a part of this struggle for 30 to 40 years and people are therefore oriented towards you. But why don't you touch the women? Why don't you develop a free attitude? The same goes for families that we visit. I have often wondered why we don't succeed in influencing their lives in a certain direction. You're fighting a battle, you're part of the guerrilla movement - they respect you for that. But the things they notice about us are very general and superficial. The people see us in something like this: 'They are selfless. In the mountains, they die for us. And while they die there, they also live sexually celibate.' It remains with a very rough perception. They say, 'Unlike us, they renounce all the pleasures of this world. Can it be that the Kurdish people look at me this way? The approach to women goes a little bit further and reaches another level. When I question all this, I come to the following conclusion: Why don't they see in us the same freedom as they see in the leader? Why can they not deduct a high level of morality and politics from our gender behaviors?

Why?

Because we remain superficial. Because we are not clear to ourselves why we have joined this path towards freedom and treat it as a duty. Like articles of clothing that we have put on. We



Şehîd Atakan Mahîr

remain shallow. I can see all this in myself. If so, we can come to the following conclusion: Because man's need for freedom is not really concrete and tangible, it always falls back into the hegemony of his own sex. It will always look favorably on the existing conditions. Questioning these conditions will always be a kind of duty, a compulsion for her. I, for example, am someone who really has a little interest in this topic and is researching it. But I can't get beyond looking at the various aspects separately and only according to my own needs. I also only do this when I encounter difficulties myself. Only as far as my interest in the autonomous women's sphere goes. I do not follow a consistent line. I have already mentioned the reason for this. The concrete need for freedom is very weak. Because of this, the following happens to me: I take up the different areas such as ideology, women's freedom, the concept of freedom separately. I also put them into practice in isolation from each other. Always each area on its own. Always only limited to a certain time. Only when a problem

has arisen. Why doesn't this interest take on a permanent form? Why does the learning process not take place continuously? Why does it not express itself permanently in the practical implementation and in the behavior? When I ask myself all these questions, a clear picture of the state of things arises. There are one or two things I would like to mention, which we will correct and question a little. For example, I have always wondered why we were brought up in this way. I could also say something about the approach of women, but there may not be enough time for that. This is a subject for a different context.

That is why I will not go into it at this point. On this issue, my most basic observation is this: Firstly, a false understanding of freedom ultimately leads to slavery, a lack of drive to understand the whole thing as a duty, not to make these aspects part of one's own personality like the leader. Secondly; to define the man through the distinction from the woman, as something 'that is not like the woman'. That is very dominant here. When you ask a man about his definition of man, he does not go beyond that kind of definition. Only in very few cases does this happen. We try to do it to a limited extent on the basis of the knowledge that the PKK passes on to us. So when you are asked what the man is, you can list everything in this sense that the woman is not. Anyway, the first thing we start with is the nature of the body. But this approach leads to the fact that you do not know or cannot recognize yourself.

'What is the man? That which the woman is not. Okay, but then what is the man? I don't know.'

At this point you stop, because the definition of man was taught to you this way. There is a second related side, which is even more dangerous: The leader has always analyzed the murders of women.

This has led me to ask myself certain questions. I, for example, am a man who is involved in the PKK struggle. I have softened or corrected a few characteristics of myself. But I wondered whether I was capable of killing a woman. The answer is, yes, I would be capable of it. This is not at all harmless, because it means that the second page of the definition of man - that is, 'that which is not a woman' - says: 'Every man must kill a woman. Every man must oppress a woman. Every man must rule over a woman.' This definition leads to exactly that. If every man

is 'what a woman is not', he must necessarily define his non-womanly side. This state is very dangerous. In this sense it leads to the internalization of a hostility towards woman. The simplest effect of this hostility is to look down on the woman from above. In the sense 'Woman cannot think that far. She can't do it as well as I can.' On the other hand, the female friends can start fighting early on and mediate this fight to us as well. We can therefore change this concrete attitude quickly. But the other side is much more internalized. Every man really carries a very deep-seated hostility towards women within him. If a man has not yet killed a woman himself, it is pure coincidence. Sometimes it may be the result of



precautions. The following reaction to this would be wrong: 'The man is also a human being after all. Marry a man and after a few days you will be able to see how he beats his wife. After a short time he does other things. In the heart every man carries the desire to beat a woman. In extreme words: As the ultimate affirmation of his own identity, every man longs to kill a woman.'

This is a result of my own reflection process. As a human being you really tremble at this truth. Why is a man's identity so constituted? Because he does not fill out his other half. The more you develop an alternative to the man who is 'not like the woman', the less bad he will be able to do to the woman. The more you will be able to bring about changes in your own identity as a man.

Understanding love

Another point: There is immaterial love. We live it ourselves again and again. You think about the woman you love. With regard to my own feelings, I have often asked myself in this context: As a man, am I really capable of loving a woman? With such an exaggerated male identity - can I really love a woman? My first insight in this question is this: First of all, in love with a woman, every man loves himself. When you first try to love, you are not even aware of it, but you must overcome it. The woman thinks that you love her, but that is not the case at all. Something like this: 'Look, I can love. I am a man. I have to prove to myself again and again that I am a man. And you don't even notice that. 'Manliness is a mechanism that confirms itself every day.

But the woman thinks the man loves her. But that's not the case at all. I say it honestly: A man who is really capable of loving a woman - that is something really hard. I know that from my own emotional world. It requires a very determined struggle. Every man loves himself in his relationship with his wife. His forms of self-love are not enough. Therefore he has the need to be loved by others. If your self-love were strong enough, that would be enough. But man's self-love is not enough. That's why you as a man have the need to complete yourself with love from outside. In short, the male identity is really questionable or problematic. You can question, evaluate and overcome it to a certain degree. In parts this really leads to a systematic overcoming.

Love must first of all mean that a third identity emerges from it. Long-term friendships are characterized, for example, by the fact that, detached from the name of the friend, a friendship develops which is like a kind of third identity: You cannot say or do everything you feel like doing. You cannot simply leave him or her when you feel like it. We can also see this in the friendships between women and men in our ranks. The old friends among us do not have the luxury of simply giving up on each other. This does not mean that we let each other get away with everything. No. But you can't just break up a friendship like it was just yesterday. Because that's when a friendship was built. It's like a third identity. It's connected to certain principles. The same goes for the concept of love. We as individual personalities must not simply be concerned with finding each other as quickly as possible. Rather we must strive to

create the concept of love. Love must offer us certain things. It must offer us a common framework. Within this framework, things like affection, respect or trust must be able to accumulate. All the values that we as men value in a woman and that the woman values in us men - they too must be able to be collected in this framework. But this is not how we approach the concept of love. In love there is the following egoism: body and mind strive for unity and you try to reach this unity as fast as possible. This approach leads in a certain way to egoism. It prevents love from becoming something immaterial. Instead, love very quickly becomes something that is completely material

always learn freedom from women who have already proven themselves. It made me realize this: To constantly meet a woman with the attitude of 'Are you really human? Prove it! If you do not prove yourself, I will not establish a relationship with you and I will not see you as a human being' - that is a very bad fascism. To force a woman to a position where she has to prove herself all the time is fascism. I have seen that position with me, I still see it today. I came to the following conclusion: Friends fight a battle, develop understanding of the leader's thoughts, and because of that certain things go to pieces. As soon as that happens, you understand that



and limited to only one person. But love is like a universal law. For its realization one must really become one. A human being, whether as a man or as a woman, actually feels all his life like something half, something imperfect. You feel that something is missing. But at this point something else often comes into play. We can call it individualism or - as the leader does - the personification of love. It is this attitude that comes into play: 'That's exactly it. That is the right thing. I am right.' But that is the wrong approach.

How is it that you become aware of all this?

You're fighting a battle with the help of your friends. For a long time I've wondered why we

you are also affected by it. Then you start to learn and to question. But our dealing with it still remains partial or isolated. I have already mentioned this before. We only deal with it as much as we think it is necessary. Just enough to keep us on our feet. So that we can correct a mistake when we make it. Only if you're interested in issues relating to women's autonomy. All that is limited. I say this for the following reason: I feel that these mechanisms are also important for women. 'I am in our territory and therefore strong. There is no reason for me to be afraid. If I come to your territory, my autonomy will be lost. The woman is very strong. But as a woman, I have to carry the strength from my area with me, and on this basis I have to lead discussions and bring about changes in the other areas.

For example, the woman takes a step back at the first obstacle she encounters. Why? 'He is a man. He will not change. For thousands of years we have dealt with you. You won't be right anymore.' So there's a strong excuse. But it doesn't hit what it's really about. It rests on the autonomous structures. This is a mistake. So the woman's equipment is not quite in place. In this sense, the mechanism is not sufficient. In fact, there is no reason at all to discuss the legitimacy of autonomous female structures. There, in my opinion, there has been a considerable accumulation of power.

Hevalî

Among hevals (friends) there is the following phenomenon: He says to the woman 'OK, let's work together', but does not give her trust. Interestingly, after a certain time, the man asserts his control. It happens, for example, that areas that are opened up by the women for cooperation with the men come under the control of the men after a certain time - when the men have little values and decency. We also discuss this phenomenon time and again in the various areas of practice. Does this mean that women are guilty of something, even though they meant well? Has she made herself guilty by acting in cooperation with you as a man? A man excludes a woman who does not suit him. The one he does like, he brings under his control. Generally speaking, we as men don't know how to work with women. Don't give men's excuses any meaning. Even when the strongest, best woman comes to an

area where a man is the commander at the front, it is easy to see that the man cannot even work with this woman. The following things happen on the side of the man: Nervousness, very concrete attempts to bring the woman under one's own control, to use the competences given to him in a completely different way, to use power to enforce his control, to insist on having the last word in the style of habitual masculinity. All kinds of attitudes in this style then come to light. As men, we too have a need to work with women when we want to lead an area. Why should we first take precautions after a person has left? In short: This variety of mechanisms will result from the fact that woman and man will discard their power- and domination-focused qualities.

**This text was written
by Şehîd Atakan Mahîr**





The Woman in Mother Nature

*“Oh lady, your breast is your field,
Inanna, your breast is your field.
Your wide, wide field which pours out plants.
Your wide, wide field which pours out grain.
Water flowing from on high for the lord, bread
from on high I will drink it from you”*

Fertility Goddesses & Mother-Women

Plow my Vulva is a prayer found in ancient Sumerian mythology from Mesopotamia wherein the goddess Inanna, as a well-watered field, is used as an agricultural metaphor. The prayer illustrates the female body as a portal to earthly abundance (he-gál). The prayer is written to express the “sacred marriage” that takes place between a goddess and king, in which they engage in sexual union as a religious activity to promote natural harmony with the earth. Divine sexual action was seen as something necessary for agricultural renewal. The purpose of the sacred marriage was the sexual union and its task was to stimulate the fertility of the earth and bring cosmic renewal. Sumerian my-

thology celebrates the cooperation of all forces of nature to maintain the fruitfulness of the Sumer land. Stories of different mother-goddesses show both the connection between the female body and the earth as well as human sexuality and celestial reproduction. One of the oldest and most significant myths in Sumerian history is the Enuma Elish myth, wherein the mother-goddess Tiamat is killed by her own creation and split into two pieces to form the soil on the ground and the ceiling of the sky. She became the mountains and the water that flows in the rivers of Tigris and Euphrates. She became the world of which her killer Marduk formed a divine state and announced himself king. In the new structure that had been established - fertility, union and renewal was replaced with stability, order and monarchy. In this sense, we still live in the female body of a woman that’s been defeated and stripped from activity. 12 000 years ago, the Neolithic revolution took place and so-called “mother-women” played an important role in the agricultural and domes-

tic development. Women integrated a unity and sense of place in the villages through communal practices such as storytelling and sharing food. They helped create a feeling of belonging during a time when people of nomadic lifestyles were beginning to settle in fixed areas. Social life became unified through matricentric qualities of togetherness and the social imagery changed from male hunter to female gatherer; from predator to procreator; from campfire to home. Abdullah Öcalan adds that “the mother-women nurtured life based on a metaphysical understanding of nature’s sanctity and the principles of solidarity”

The Danger of Women’s Natural Power

Historically, women have been the main targets of the powerful elite. During the European witch hunts in the 16th and 17th century, power institutions such as the state and the Church both blessed and legalized the internationally organized torture against women’s bodies. Silvia Federici describes the witch as “the communist and terrorist of her time”.

During the witch hunting process - communal power, generational knowledge and social ties were destroyed together with the burning of women’s bodies. These women carried knowledge of herbs, practices of contraception and abortion and the skills to use magic. They could discover the hidden

property of things and had a unique understanding of the secrets of nature which enabled them to have a special relation to the process of reproduction. Social power weakened when older women who upheld

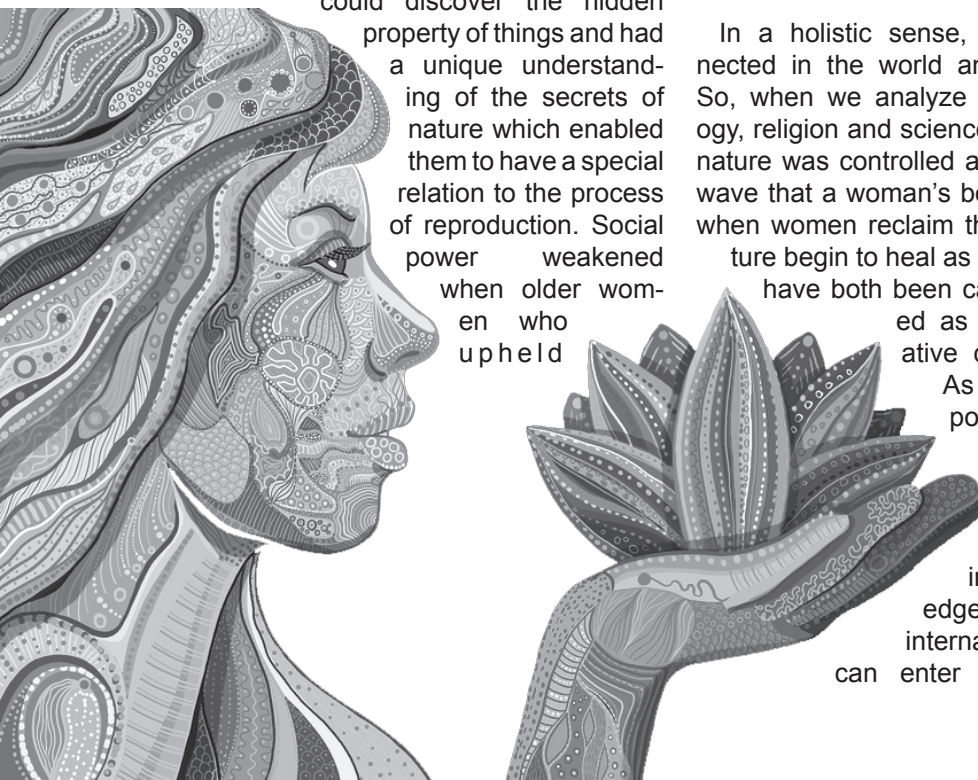
the collective memory in the villages were killed. As we see, Western modernization was an act of violence against the wisdom of women and a wiping out of ancestral knowledge. Denying people’s past meant denying their future and ensuring a new manufactured order based on their misguidedness and lack of Self. Women, in particular, represented a fluid and uncontrolled nature of constant renewal.

The destruction and domination of women was necessary to implement a new system of regimented work, positivist science and the rationalization of the natural world. Killing women meant killing community. Women were seen as a social danger and potential harm to the discipline of capitalist labor. The confinement of female sexuality was needed to sterilize society, reproduce a repetitive workforce as well as turn the power of the ruling institutions static and unchangeable. From once being a force of life and creativity, female sexuality became another tool to serve male satisfaction and capitalist power. Women represented the power of Eros (sexual attraction, erotic energy) and love, which threatened the power of the state and of separateness - “Love is the great magician, the demon that unites earth in the sky and makes humans so round, so whole in their being, that once united they cannot be defeated”

The Ecological Revolution is Woman

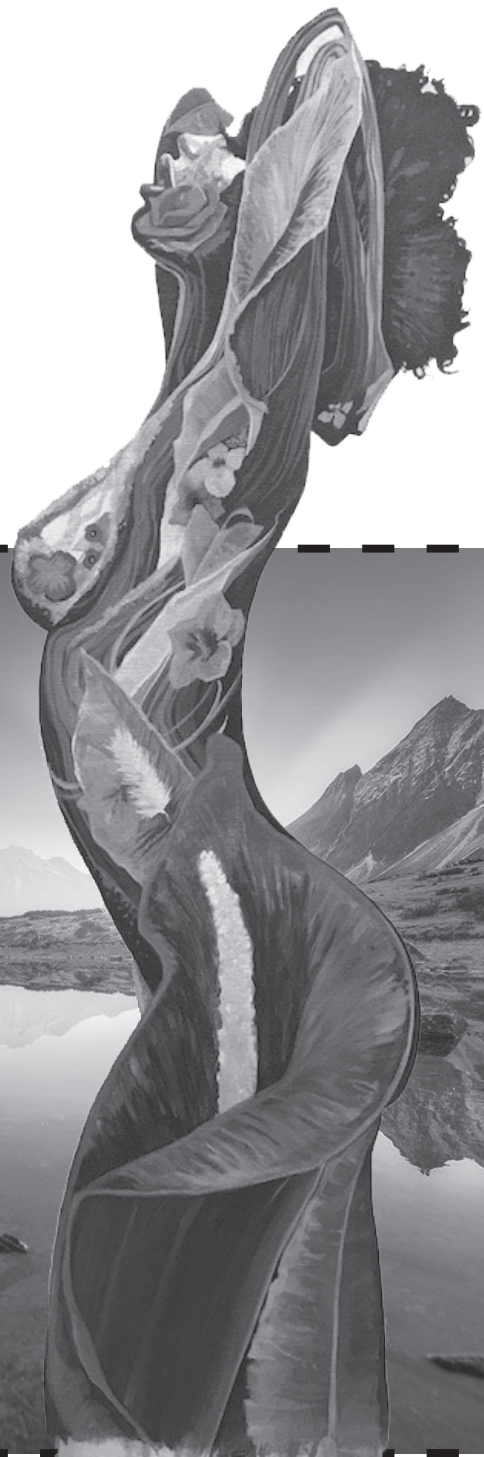
In a holistic sense, everything is interconnected in the world and nothing is separate. So, when we analyze history through mythology, religion and science - it becomes clear that nature was controlled and tortured in the same wave that a woman’s body was, therefore, only when women reclaim their own power can nature begin to heal as well. Women and nature have both been carved open and wounded as a result of the exploitative character of capitalism.

As women, we reclaim our power by stepping into our intuitive awareness and stepping out of regulated social spaces and discovering our ancestral knowledge. By overcoming our internalized defeat, women can enter the divine experience



of a wild like womanhood where they live "by deeply creative acts, through intentional solitude, and by practice of any creative arts". A free woman carries the seed of life in their ovaries and comes out of death by continuous revival. As a symbol of life's constant cycle, she represents the history and undying continuation of other powerful women's existence in society.

*"My mother is like a bright light on the horizon,
Active in the mountains,
A morning star (shining even) at noon
A precious carnelian-stone, a topaz from
Marhasi"*





HEROIC RESISTENCE

Calling on the Kurdish people to beware of the Turkish state's dirty war policies, Bayik declared on Stêrk TV: "The Turkish state wants to break the will of the Kurdish people by targeting Kurdish women, youth and children. That is why they attack women. Because women oppose fascism, occupation, oppression, slavery, and represent freedom and democracy".

Bayik has added that "Kurdish youth are killed in the army. The Turkish state makes a statement saying that they have had a heart attack or have disappeared. It kills them and wraps them in its flag at the funeral, and carries out a ceremony. With Serhat, the family did not accept this situation. It is necessary to take a stand against an enemy like this. Kurdish youth, especially women, should avoid approaching Turkish officers, soldiers, police, secret service agents, guards or government representatives. They should not fall in love with their executioner, they should hold him accountable. In this excerpt, Bayik talks about the importance of the Heftanin Resistance and warns the people of South Kurdistan or Bashur against the dirty policies of both Turkey and the KDP.

The resistance in Heftanin continues

The invasion attacks by the Turkish state have been going on for more than 2 months. What stage has the resistance reached in Heftanin? How do you assess the situation there?

I greet all the heroes fighting in Heftanin and pay my respects to them. The martyrs of Heftanin fell as martyrs of humanity and took their place in history with their heroic resistance. Therefore, everyone should protect these martyrs and vindicate them. They should see this epic resistance as their own. There they should see their will, their future, their freedom. The guerrillas are currently writing epics in Heftanin under difficult and often impossible conditions. It inflicts heavy blows on the enemy. It prevents the fascist Turkish state from reaching its goal. The guerrillas sacrifice themselves, give their lives. Everyone should know this reality. Why do I say this? Because the KDP says every day that "the reason for Turkey's attacks is the PKK. They are deceiving the Kurdish people. If the Turkish state is attacking the PKK, it is for one reason: because the PKK is preventing the Kurdish people from being massacred.

Without the PKK, the Turkish state could easily implement its policy of genocide against the Kurdish people. Not only in Bakur, but in all of



pretext of defending the villages. Turkey has already developed this in Bakur. At first they say that they defend the villages by taking arms to the peasants, but everyone knows that this is not the issue. They use all the village guards against the Kurdish people. The measures taken in Bashur are also aimed at this end.

What is the purpose of the KDP?

As I said, the KDP is trying to turn people into village guards by telling them, "defend your village. Clearly, Turkey wants this. As you know, the Turkish state said "build a police station" in 1992, and pay their salaries. Now they are carrying out a plan like this. But our people of Bashur are patriotic and have paid a high price for years. They know well what Saddam and his acolytes did against them. How are the village guards going to be the ones who lived through all these tragedies for years? How are they going to confront the PKK and serve the occupation of the Turkish state?

The people of Bashur are a patriotic and heroic people. It has paid a high price for its identity, will and culture. How are the village guards going to become a militia and confront the guerrillas? A premise like this shows a great lack of attention. To insist on this leads to betrayal. That is why I especially warn our people of Bashur. Our people of Bashur should never comply with the wishes of some parties. They should oppose the occupation. The youth of Bashur must join the ranks of the guerrillas. Our people must march against the occupation of the Turkish state every day. They must protect the guerrillas, the martyrs and the resistance. Our people are rising up against the Turkish state and we see that they are being prevented from doing so. They say why they are protesting in Turkey. Our people, the women and youth of Bashur, must never accept this policy.



Kurdistan. The Turkish state is attacking the PKK with all its means while it sees that the movement developed by Rêber Apo [Abdullah Ocalan], the guerrilla, is counteracting the enemy and preventing the Kurdish genocide. Turkey also tries to fool people when it says, "I am not against the Kurds. Look, we have relations with the KDP and ENKS. I am against the PKK and terrorism. In this way, Turkey wants to remove the obstacles in its way. In history, whenever the Kurds rebelled, Turkey tried to deceive the people by claiming that the Kurds were bandits, that they were against civilization, that they were reactionary and therefore should be eliminated.

Turkey thinks that the Kurd is the old Kurd and the world is the old world. They think they can go ahead and carry out their genocide. But this is not possible. The PKK guerrillas do not allow it. That's why the KDP must stop making excuses. No one should be fooled.

We know that some reports have been prepared. They want to present these reports to Parliament and make policy through them. I warn everyone from here: no one should prepare a report against the PKK or take a step in this direction. The PKK will not leave Heftanin, nor will it abandon its struggle of years. The PKK guerrillas will defend the Kurdish people and humanity to the best of their ability. Because this is their historic task. No one can prevent it; who would fulfill this duty for the Kurdish people and the people of the region? No power would be able to do it. They should see this resistance as their own and support it. They should see these martyrs and heroes as their own martyrs and heroes.

The press tells us that the KDP wants to establish groups and village guards under the





As part of our militancy in the liberation movement, the building of Democratic Confederation, and especially in the women's liberation movement, militant men also have responsibilities and tasks to fulfill. Our struggle in the women's liberation movement is an internal struggle, a struggle with ourselves. It is about more than solidarity with our sisters, it is about fighting against the men in us and ending the culture of domination and rape that has been instilled in us by the patriarchal institutions of the system. To do this, the first step is an act of humility and questioning. Accepting the fact that the system has shaped our view of the world, it has appropriated a part of our mentality. Patriarchy has shaped our relationship with our bodies, our emotions, our nature and therefore our relationships with others. It is about looking into our minds for the manifestations of the patriarchal mentality to rediscover our deepest self, our natural self, our free and democratic essence.

**Our responsibility,
destroy the patriarchy**

It is our responsibility to rediscover the identity of man except domination, to understand ourselves as men and to understand our emotions. Only a collective dialectic can allow us to rediscover the stolen identity of humanity within us. It is not a matter of erasing parts of our perso-

nalities, but of learning to live again. Learning to contemplate and interact with the reality in which we live without trying to dominate or control it.

Patriarchy and its millennial history have created the socio-historical status of women, but also that of men in an unnatural binarity. It has enslaved women, while locking men in a role of perpetual domination. We have to understand how the role that the system of capitalist civilization attributes to us also makes us, as men, slaves, lackeys of power. The patriarchy is based on the mentality that it has instilled in our souls to keep women under its domination, it has made men the police who are the first to repress women who resist their conditions. It has created men who are in constant competition with each other, very often unable to develop emotional intelligence, unable to understand themselves. Patriarchy creates from scratch meaningless, rootless men, slaves to the impulses that the system uses to control our desires and generate artificial needs within us. The capitalist mentality is based on the idea of domination. The domination of material things by property and the impulse of accumulation that this generates in us. The impulse that moves to the need to possess, to keep under our control everything that can exist, nature, other men and of course women. The system creates apathetic men eager for power and monopolies because they are easier to control, to influence. The attraction of profit and power are the carrots

that lead legions of men to the infernal rhythm of the capitalist machine. The fear of being weak or being seen as weak is the stick that brings recalcitrant male identities into line. And women are used as a class, as a scapegoat for the constitution of this toxic masculinity of domination. They are the pavements upon which these legions of death walk. Şehîd Atakan Mahir used to say that, in the system, when a man loves a woman he is actually loving himself. It is his capacity for control and ownership that he feels, and this is how the system wants us to understand love.

is love that gives us the impulse for the revolutionary will, that gives us the courage to resist the capitalist system and its legacy of injustice and historical misdeeds. We must understand the love that is hidden within us and learn to express it in terms other than those of the patriarchy. We must seek to develop revolutionary love. That which makes us feel the freedom of the other as our own freedom, that joyful emotion of seeing a bird fly freely in the mountains.

That emotion that allows us to build hevalti (comradeship, comradeship) in which the flowe-

The system denies us the bonds that make men living beings, preventing us from expressing and conceiving our love for life, alienating our understanding of love and freedom

The system denies us the bonds that make men living beings, preventing us from expressing and conceiving our love for life, alienating our understanding of love and freedom. However, this love, this freedom has resisted for centuries in the depths of our souls, it is this repressed love that sometimes explodes in revolutionary fireworks.

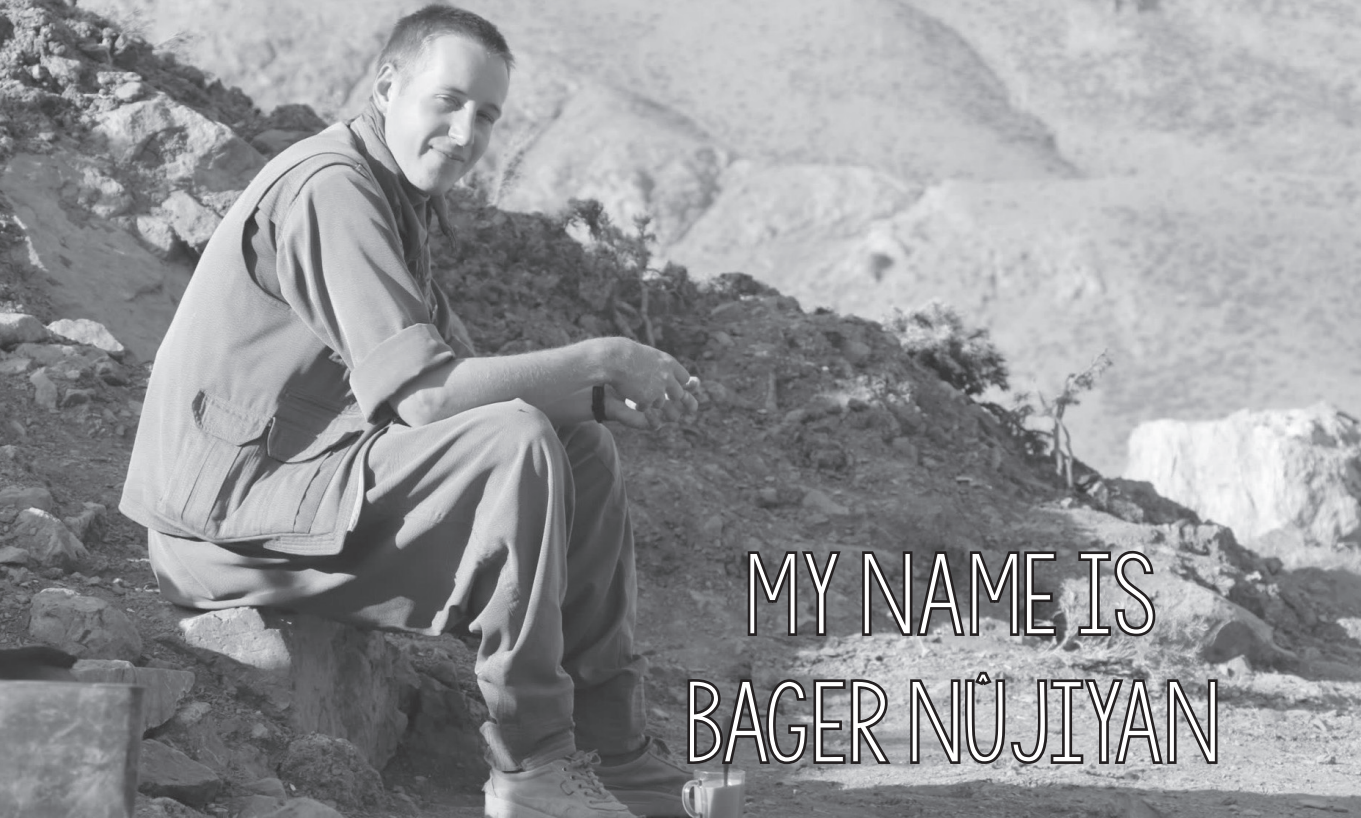
ring and development of the other is our common goal. The love that is hidden deep within us and that once released creates the unity of beings, the unity of peoples. This unity that will be our strength to defeat capitalist modernity and its patriarchal mentality once and for all.

Love and the revolutionary will



When a man studies the history of patriarchy and the enslavement of women and nature, his first reaction is to hate the status of man. It generates in him a hatred of man and a self-reflection of himself that he recognizes in the attitude of other men. This hatred is nothing more than the expression of a deep love for freedom and justice which, in the face of the historical role that we reproduce in spite of our will, we only manage to express in the form of hate, since love is forbidden to us. This is the starting point for the construction of the democratic personality. To understand the love that is in us, to contemplate it and to accept it. It





MY NAME IS BAGER NÛJÎYAN

The guerrilla Michael Panser, with the code names Xelîl Viyan and Bager Nûjîyan, was killed on December 14, 2018 in the bombings of the Turkish occupation army in the defense zones of Medya. In a video, he reports on his ideas of a contemporary revolution and his experiences in the free mountains of Kurdistan during a stay in a academy in the fall of 2018:

My name is Bager Nûjîyan, before that my name was Xelîl Viyan. My family name is Michael Panser. I was born on 1st September 1988 in the city of Potsdam, in East Germany. My family are people with love for the country and for society, and at that time they were connected to the paradigm of real socialism. They are people of solidarity and they have an emotional connection. I believe that this is also a basis for my quest for the truth of the revolution. At the young age of about 14 years, I took an active role in the left and began my quest. The fact that I later got to know the PKK and the philosophy of Abdullah Öcalan is certainly also based on this phase. I participated in antifascist and leftist works in Germany. I gained a lot of experiences, but it became clear that these experiences were not enough on my

quest. The setting of a liberal life, trapped in the constraints of the capitalist system, is very far away from the reality of the revolution. Thus, a departure from it and a further quest followed.

In 2011/2012, I got to know the first hevals, especially through the Youth and Women's Movement. At first, getting to know each other did not involve practice, society or the reality in Kurdistan, but I first got to know the philosophy of Abdullah Öcalan. This is what my quest was: What are the weaknesses of the revolutionary quest we intended to carry out? With our theoretical and philosophical quest, we wanted to find and develop a liberation ideology. In the context of the Europe-an society, this was of course coupled with great difficulties. On this quest the way to Kurdistan opened up self-evidently. We got to know

22Abdullah Öcalan's philosophy, we read and studied the translated books. In this time, we understood quite a few things: What we are looking for in Europe is what lies hidden – beyond Western civilisation and capitalist modernity – here in the Middle East, whose history got lost. Now these revolutionary achievements are developing anew here, offering new answers. At the same time when

real socialism was collapsing in our midst, the way for a new revolutionary reality was paved in Kurdistan. On our quest we became aware of this. We made contacts and found our way to Kurdistan. We were beginning to understand one thing: The European problem is linked to the solution of capitalist modernity, the capitalist way of life. We must be aware that Germany is taking a leading role in the enforcement of the capitalist system of exploitation. We have also realised that no solution to this problem is possible without an internationalist perspective, a revolutionary perspective that overcomes closed borders.

In this way we slowly got to know the revolution in Kurdistan and I actually started to join the revolution seriously during this time. Since 2012 we deepened our thoughts further, we educated ourselves and tried to build a movement according to the values of the paradigm which was the content of our discussions. The experiences and weaknesses that showed

society and makes exploitation the absolute basis of its social order, is the very paradigm which today carries out the heavy attacks on Kurdistan. We understood that the first thing we had to do was gaining experience of revolutionary practice. In this way, I have devoted myself entirely to the revolution. Initially, I participated in inter-nationalist practice, not only spreading Abdullah Öcalan's thinking and the new paradigm in Europe, but especially learning to better understand capitalist modernity, which imposes itself as the last form of the male-dominant mentality of society. We did research on this, and we also developed a certain practice. Then I came to Kurdistan. At the centre of the revolution is the revolutionary change of consciousness. This is the basic task in the work area of the academies. That which you could not think before in society, because especially in the capitalist centre of Europe, thinking is divided and incoherent, and thus does not allow the emergence of a

“If we want to create a new implementation of life socialist, we have to go where freedom is most implemented. The mountains of Kurdistan are an extraordinary place. They offer the possibility to experience oneself in practice”

themselves in this phase made one thing clear to us: that it does not work to participate just half-heartedly in the revolution. It was during this time that I made my decision. Being a true revolutionary must mean to think holistically. A revolutionary must be contemporary and must free oneself from the narrow-minded thinking of Eurocentrism and the perspectives offered by so-called modernity. Otherwise it is impossible to be successful. I gained this insight through ideological deepening and it meant that joining the Kurdistan Workers' Party would make possible what I consider necessary: to build up the revolutionary strength. I realised that. It also became clear to me that a contemporary revolution cannot know borders.

That would be impossible, revolution cannot work like that. The revolution in Europe begins with the revolution in Kurdistan. This connection definitely exists. Finally, the paradigm, which maintains its dominance in Europe in a close and crude way, imposes a liberal life on

new consciousness. Thus, in the broad sense of a new paradigm, there is no quest. No new philosophy can emerge that takes life itself as its basis and wants to bring about a real socialism. We are talking about the defence of sociality, of love for society. The love for society is not possible in an exploited society. It became clear to me that those who are on a revolutionary quest must go very far in their quest.

They must consistently make their way to the substance. If we want to create a new realisation of socialist life, we must go where freedom is most widely realised. The mountains of Kurdistan are an extraordinary place. They offer the opportunity to experience oneself in practice. They make you realise what it means to be committed and to make an effort; and they make you understand the meaning of this effort anew. How deep are the traces that the system leaves in our way of thinking? All the problems and shortcomings in our consciousness that are created by the dominant

way of thinking become clear in communal life as it is lived in the mountains. A communal living community, a revolutionary environment based on a common will to promote humanity and to free individual personalities from the constraints of the patterns of domination. This opportunity was really created here. The ruling system cannot simply attack this foundation that has been created. Of course, military attacks are taking place, but in the fight against the ideological and psychological consequences of the dominant way of thinking, we can create a new consciousness here through serious efforts and work.

That was the reason why I came here to the academy on my own request. In practice, I was able to develop my thinking. However, there was the necessity to go to this special place. After all, the academy creates an environment in which intensive and concrete work is carried out to raise awareness of one's own dominant way of thinking and, at the same time, work is done towards its alternative. This is done in an environment that is characterised by communal life, communal work, exchange with one another; everything is there from shared values to mutual support. Real friendship is most clearly lived in academies. We analyse in a mutual manner very precisely which remains of the system of exploitation show up in the behaviour of a friend. It is not the case here that we have to separate the individual from the community, or that an individual has to adapt to the characteristics of the group.

I can say from my time on the left that we were unable to resolve this contradiction. Finding the right balance between the individual person leading an inner struggle and their environment so that they strengthen and build each other up. It cannot be everything to recognise and protect a friend in the present form – because everyone in this society has been taught dominant ways of behaving. What does true friendship mean which we want to live and create here? We do not take a friend as what they have become and how they stand before me, but according to their goals and



potential. It is our approach to develop each friend according to their strength. In this sense, we criticise each other and strive for methods of personality development. That is why I came to the academy and it is a very intense inner struggle. Through these efforts we create the foundation for this life. Because we are aware that the socialism that we want to create – that is, a new life, a life striving for freedom, an equal life that understands the value of the human being, that recognises the value of social achievements – is based on the potential of society itself and the wisdom and struggles that have been waged. If we want to build our dreams and utopias, where do we have to start? In our own personality.

Abdullah Öcalan stresses in particular the consequences of patriarchy. His analysis is transferable to the entire hegemonic civilisation by saying: If inner patriarchal masculinity is not overcome, socialism will always remain incomplete. A socialism that does not go into the substance, i.e. does not begin in the human being itself and does not create a new personality, free personalities, cannot bring about new achievements. In this way we evaluate the past socialism, the historical attempts that have taken place and their insufficiencies. There was a fighting society and a pioneering role developed, but the root of the problem was not grasped: What is a free hu-

man being? That is the fundamental question. What are the effects of domination in the human being? That is the fundamental problem. Since these issues have not been addressed, the system has repeated itself. There was no detachment from the dominant way of thinking. Although so many gave their lives in this struggle, great efforts were undertaken and so much blood and sweat were shed, these attempts may not have failed completely, but certainly did not achieve the desired results. We have to realise that. The life in the academy is the effort to free oneself. Revolution is not something that happens all at once. It is neither a single uprising nor a military victory.

That is not possible. Revolution is a lasting condition that begins with a step, with a decision: the decision to participate in the revolution and to detach oneself from the ruling system; the realisation that the life we are forced to live in this system is wrong and that it is necessary to build up something new. Perhaps the revolution begins in every human being with an uprising, but in itself it is a lasting condition. If it does not become a process that is oriented along existing and future circumstances, then it is not a revolution. This is an uprising or a revolt, but not a revolution. This was often historically misunderstood and became an obstacle. We are building our foundation on this knowledge. Our future participation also depends on this and cannot be predicted.

The path of the revolution cannot be designed and implemented according to a plan. History has shown that this is impossible. Therefore, the preparations we are making here are to build up a militant personality. What does it mean to be a militant personality? We must be prepared for everything; just as the current phase demands of us. Thus, we create holistic thinking, the method of understanding what the current situation is, the historical significance of the current situation, the dangers of the current situation in which we find ourselves and also its potentials. If we live this way and understand it that way, then it is not so important where we are going anyway – in which country we are active, in which part of Kurdistan or if we are go-

ing to another continent. In practice, of course, there are differences, but holism is decisive. To understand our ideas correctly, to develop our organisation further, the correct language, the correct form of communication and criticism – and in this sense to organise our lives correctly. If we carry out these things well and strive for good practice, appreciate the value of our efforts, and understand the efforts of our friends correctly, we can act accordingly. In particular, the importance of the effort and commitment of the martyrs who have given their lives in this struggle – if we understand all these points correctly, by creating the unity of thinking-feeling-acting, we can create militants who can carry out everything that will be necessary. That was indeed proven in the development of this revolution, wasn't it?



Good Luck for you all!

A human being who is clear in their will and who really connects in their feelings and desires with the quest for freedom, the correct struggle to reveal the truth, can achieve anything! There are examples in our movement, and also in other revolutions before us there are tens of thousands of examples of revolutionaries, how they act, what efforts they make and how they participate. It is both our goal and our duty to take a stand for this and to act accordingly. I can say this much about that. A lot of success to you all

This text was taken from the brochure produced by the Internationalist Commune and can be found at internationalistcommune.com

Dedicated to Şehîd Bager Nûjiyan, a revolutionary internationalist who inspired, and continues to inspire, so many others to follow his path. Internationalists join this revolution to build a life free of capitalist bondage!

The martyrs are immortal!





ABOUT SELF-DEFENSE

Self-defense means existence. Without it we cannot survive, we cannot be. Within the understanding of self-defense: what do we mean by “the I, the being”? What do we mean by “defense”?

Self has a universal basis, as part of the whole, of the whole universe. If the self, in the understanding, in the feeling, only encompasses the world itself, then the actions are not connected, but only refer to the survival of the life itself. Thus, society cannot be, because it needs us to be connected to build itself. It needs to create a common mind and heart that is diverse and complete, like the world around it, that continues to grow and enrich, to understand itself. The smaller the thought and felt self, the more distant this self is from the world, from life, the more distant it is from a defense that is trying to build an ethical, meaningful and loving society. So this self must exist with respect and meaning, connected to the world in which it grows. It is also a “we” that is also a universal quantum “we”. We are not alone, because no one is alone. I, the self, we, are made up of the same social, religious, cultural, family and historical structures and influences that have built the other selves, but in different combinations. These combinations make each of us unique, but they are also what connect us. Becoming strong from our different contexts means giving a solid foundation to this common identity. Because it needs the strength and diversity of

many to defend the world, and the different societies and realities it brings with it. Who is this “I”? A person? The universe? “We”? Who is “my being”? What is “we”? How do we learn to become “I”? How do we bring “I” and “we” together? It is important to ask, seek, and explore the whole picture, finding the depth and connections that make up a creative, loving, and meaningful self.

Defense is an act of building structures and bridges between humans, nature and existence

So that all the parts complete each other in the whole. A connected “I” stands for a world with a larger meaning, giving meaning to all the parts in this whole. Because “defending” is creating in consideration of this totality, which is a continuous flow, and changing within it. An individualistic, ego-centered “defense” will destroy the fabric that holds together the foundations of life and freedom. Such a “self-defense” is a false defense, an ego that destroys its connection to itself and to life. Today, most of us connect “to defend something,” that is, an act of violence against someone. Thus, it becomes winning and dominating, destroying the threat in order to survive. But with this “win-lose” approach, the “them and us” paradigm, the philosophy of separation, we create a “counter” mentality. With this definition and everyday actions,

you learn to see and feel the world as a hostile place. You can only have a safe life if you destroy or control all possible threats. It is a "defense" that justifies attacks against the world we live in. Kill and destroy in the name of "life".

Are we really that individual and unique "I" that is not the result of all human history? Or are we the improvement of our ancestors? Are we the best versions of them? Are we doing more? Are we functioning better with modern logic? Do we believe? In thought, in feeling? Do we believe? In ourselves? In others? Why is it important to understand what, where we are and why? What is needed to become one's "I"? How do we learn to be part of the community? Where do we start? Where does our journey begin? Our journey begins before we are born. Our journey, whatever our gender, is the journey of women through history. It is the story of the breaking of the balance between humans, between genders, between all lives, creating hierarchies of who has "the right to life and who does not. Everything we embrace, all the feelings, impressions, thoughts, are part of the history of these ruptures, of our mother, her mother, countless mothers before them, countless women before them. We feel what we

way, this first learning. Everything that follows, what family, friends, society, teaches us about our role, will deepen what we learned so early. Many factors will be involved in influencing our being, our motivations and decisions, our ways.

Understanding what values we lost, and what the results of that are, is the beginning of defense, self-defense. We need to recreate and bring those values back into our common life. Understanding where the "way of thinking and feeling" that separates us comes from, where fear, prejudice and rejection are rooted, why some are more worthy of being seen than others... will guide us through this history of constant breaking and destruction.

But it will also lead us through a hidden history of resistance and defense, of a different approach to killing all those who do not bend or fit

Long ago, the values of existence were protected by the Mothers. They were the pillars of life, of life together, and the greatest form of self-defense. Self-defense, which was defined by the acts of creating and building, connecting and loving, nurturing and healing. It was the

DEFENSE IS AN ACT OF BUILDING STRUCTURES AND BRIDGES BETWEEN HUMANS, THE NATURE AND EXISTENCE

are not told, we are not explained. Unfiltered and growing in the womb, the reality of these feelings creates us. The life of a woman. There, in the warm and comforting nest, in our mother, we first learn what she feels, what she learned... about herself, the world, the meaning of life and how all this is connected to her as a woman, determining her place in this Life. What she feels when she thinks about us, we feel whether we are loved or not, we feel the doubts, the uncertainty, the helplessness. Feeling how much security there is, how much confidence in the future, she perceives for herself and for us, with us. Does she love? Is she loved? Is she respected? Does she trust? The less of all this there is, the more insecure she is. We are not an exact copy of our mother, but she shows us first through her emotions, what kind of world, what kind of reality we are in. This could mean feeling whether or not you are welcome as a child. Growing up with it, every step of the

time of the Mother Goddess, our Mother Nature. She was defended by all, and was the one who defended everything. Societies gave her meaning, she brought her values to daily life, sharing and caring for the common whole. With her guidance, societies protected themselves with strong bonds and a common understanding of their own existence, a life in freedom rooted in their union.

About 5,000 years ago, the end of the Neolithic era arrived. Humans were learning fast, always developing in different directions. What we understand from history is that, around that time, a dominant mentality began to spread and create a new concept of being. It separated humans into categories. It created hierarchies based on the dominance of a dominant male mentality, which changed the whole understanding of the human being within the world. It built differences based on the oppression of the other, understanding freedom as a form of preservation of material

goods and individualistic consciousness; making cracks between peoples; burning bridges; burning women; burning roots and knowledge. Until, today, we enter the 21st century far from this world of guiding mothers. We do not perceive, our hearts have not come to know or appreciate the depth of this immense and unstoppable diversity. The original confidence has given way to a destructive restlessness that calculates, weighs, asks for benefit for itself, for today, without consideration of resources, without gratitude for life. The stories we hear today portray us as the most sublime of all creatures, divine and possessor of all. We are no longer part of the whole, we were never made of the same material, we are worth more, we are different and so original that creation

has to bow down to us, and not the other way around. Our duty is to control, to dominate, because nature is hostile and must be conquered, because it is against us. Patri-



archy and domination in their maximum expression. It enslaved living beings and gave them the power to see themselves more worthy than women, nature and all those who do not understand themselves as strong and powerful. Shared methods of oppression, to oppress in a more intelligent way. Letting the slaves feel free, by voluntarily enslaving themselves to obtain a share of the destructive power. Everyone seems to know this, many people feel it, but how can one get out of this circle of destructive desires? And... do we really want to get out of it?

We are the generations who are able to see, feel and live the extreme results of this change of mentality of thousands of years ago. And when we investigate, we find the traces of resis-

tance, of rebellion, of the beauty of not accepting the destruction and exploitation around us and within us. Which is, since then, every day, every hour, every minute, every second... a continuous struggle. It is a war of minds. The goal of this war is to destroy the confidence we have in our common strength. To defend ourselves within the communal self we need to organize ourselves with another mentality, away from patriarchy and domination. But there is also a wound inside all of us. The mentality we are fighting lives deep in our souls and hearts. If we don't ask questions from another angle, we will only get logical and measurable, cold and lifeless answers. If we do not analyze with other eyes, we will not be able to believe in the change of this frightening men-

tality. We will not be able to carry out what is necessary for us. We have to relearn love. Our actions can be a violent resistance, capable of hitting the oppressors physically and economically, very strong, capa-

ble of killing our executioners, capable of making a change of power within the construction of the State. But we are recreating their mentality with our actions. Because the violence used with that approach is an attack against all living beings. Responding to destruction with destruction.

So, if the answer to destruction is love, then we should ask ourselves what love means. Or, first, look at what it is not. We should not mix it with this mentality and emotions of ownership, destruction and sexualization, which are very common when "loving" in today's societies. We have to go back to how we grew up and what we were taught about ourselves (in me and us) and life. The "love" we see and feel today is mainly the reason why people are afraid and distrustful

of others, as a result of the same mentality that allows us to own the world or a pet, or whatever. Sucking and spitting out our expectations of the "beloved", in the race to feel something positive. It is about owning hearts, souls, possessing and controlling all of life, because only then is it real and special, because "love" can be only something special and exclusive. In many homes, all over the world, people kill each other, oppress each other, rape, assault, beat up... in the name of this "love". Most women are the objects of this "love. But it is the deepest expression of hate and of not loving anything. It is fear and pain that creates more fear and more pain. With this "love", we will be trapped within this individualistic and separating reality that we feel around us.

Love can only grow and live through community, within the freedom to grow, learning emotionally and mentally, how to feel connected and loved for who you are. It is about learning to feel and think differently, to appreciate the miracles and issues in life, to love the differences and similarities. It's about values and their limits. It's about responsibility, about caring out of love and not out of fear. It's about freedom, which means creating a free life. This free life cannot depend on one place, one kind of person or one being. Freedom is for everyone and everything, because the existence of an individual self, of an individual society, even a single thought or feeling, does not exist, it is part of the whole. Freedom is Love, and Love is responsibility and communal bonds. It is organizing life together with love. We cannot wait for a perfect moment of love, we have to create it every day, again and again, creating love and hope within each moment. By organizing our love, which has no other priority than to grow everywhere, we can find that it is a primary source of liberation.

Everything we do has an impact, it repre-

sents a mentality, it represents how much we value who we are, who we are surrounded by, what we are living, how much we love, everything, always. When we talk about the quantum moment, then we talk about the creative magic of being in the moment, every moment. Being a revolutionary in the "now". We understand the dynamics of change as a state of constant revolution.

If we do not struggle with this approach, all we create will be a repetition of a destructive mentality, which has already taught us so much mistrust, frustration, hatred and fear, bringing us into the world we are in.

**We do not own this world,
we are part of it**

Our acts of defense must counter the history of oppression with the dignity and hope of each, with the love of freedom, of life and of our whole world. Our existence cannot be above society. Society, Organization and Love are the most basic and effective forms of self-defense. It is this legacy that we are defending. The heat of the fire that kept the spirit of society alive. Thousands of years ago it was maintained through the matriarchs of society. Until today it is kept alive and strong in every small step, in every decision to fight this toxic mentality of separation and hate. The path to a world revolution of women is to bring back the communal self-defense that will liberate all of society.

**We must defend.
Our self.
Ourselves.
Together.**





Fighting for a free society

The term "Rojava" is now known throughout the world and symbolizes hope, women's liberation, self-determination and a democratic alternative to the existing system.

When the Turkish state attacked the city of Efrîn in January 2018 and the cities and regions between Girê Spî and Serêkaniyê in October 2019, the world stopped for a moment. All over the world there was resistance against the attacks on the hope of all of us for a self-determined life in freedom and dignity. On July 19, the 9th anniversary of the revolution in the Red Sea will be celebrated. What began with small protests in Qamişlo, Hesekê and other cities, soon became a wave of resistance against the oppression of the Kurds and other minorities in Syria and a struggle for freedom. The oppression of the Kurdish population in Syria reached such a point that in 1962 some 120,000 Kurds were deprived of their citizenship, becoming stateless. Their entire existence was simply denied and their language and culture was suppressed, as in the 4 national states into which Kurdistan was divided.

Fighting for a dignified life

At least since the liberation of Kobanê in February 2015, Rojava and the struggle of the Kurds for their right to exist and for the liberation of the diverse population of northern and eastern Syria has become a household name around the world. The incredible resistance that friends like YPJ commander Arîn Mirkan have put up in the struggle against the SI remains unforgettable. He sacrificed his own life not to leave the city of Kobanê to the enemy and for the values of the revolution. Under the leadership of Kurdish women, it was possible to build a new model of society for the entire region despite the state of war. It took great courage and strong faith to believe in and implement change in such a seemingly hopeless situation.

What does freedom mean?

Many of those who have resorted to the revolution in Rojava dream of freedom, because there is one that is closer to freedom. In Europe, we are made to believe in a freedom that can only take place within the limits of the capital-

ist system with its limitations and pre-fabricated rules. Is it really free to choose one of the many predetermined paths? And what does freedom mean if it is only the freedom of individuals based on the oppression of others? Or is it only the freedom to choose how to distract oneself from the meaninglessness and insignificance in one's own life and what can be consumed by it?

In Rojava democracy is lived in the truest sense of the word. Self-government implies the organization of the whole society, all ethnic and religious groups, to decide on their own interests in a self-determined way. Responsibility and power over decisions that affect society is not simply handed over at the ballot box every 4 years.

The question of gender liberation is also answered in Rojava. On the basis of women's liberation the whole society is liberated, women decide autonomously about themselves and become pioneers of the liberation of society. What has liberal equality in capitalist countries brought us? Nothing, except that we have demanded the same exploitation and position as men, but we are denied our own free identity based on our collective history as women.

The struggle of democratic modernity against capitalist modernity

Shortly after the announcement of the complete liberation of the SI in areas of northern and eastern Syria, there were attacks by the patriarchal capitalist system in the form of the Turkish state, as was to be expected. Since the capitalist system feeds on wars and the liberation of the SI could have brought peace to Syria, the hegemonic and imperialist powers use Turkey to promote their interests in the Middle East.

As a member of NATO and with the support of the West, the fascist Turkish state carries out its policy of genocide against the Kurds without fear of prosecution. Years before, the US itself had built the Islamic State (IS) in the region in order to provide destabilization. An ideological struggle is taking place between democratic modernity and capitalist modernity.

The capitalist system is in a serious crisis, because the endless accumulation of money on the basis of a finite land is not possible. Fascism is being felt everywhere, physically and mentally: every day in this system we are at war. In Rojava and throughout Kurdistan we feel the war also in its physical form, but

in Europe the attacks are more subliminal and make us distrust, fear or emotionally numb.

Thoughts to words and words to actions

Every day we can choose to close our eyes to the patriarchal capitalist system, which in the form of nation states kills every day in the name of "democracy. And if there is too much resistance at home, then the law adapts quickly to maintain its own power, because it is "democratic" what happens in Western countries. Every day we can continue to live a lie and listen to duplicity.

Or we can open our eyes and decide to fight, every day, like the society of Rojava. They have managed to get rid of a system that denies and oppresses everything and everyone who doesn't conform to their standard. We must realize that the system attacks us every day and wants to mold us according to its will.

Kurdish fighters like Avesta Xabûr have given their lives and resisted for the freedom of the people. It was this determination to fight for an alternative that made Rojava's social model possible. The self-defense and resistance still offered in Rojava takes place at all levels: social, political and military. In this sense, resistance and self-defense must be built in all areas of life. As Besê Hozat says in a text, these times require an anti-fascist front, our thoughts must become words and our words must become actions. The people of Rojava must be seen as an example for Europe to overcome divisions and build self-defense from the bottom up.

We can be slaves of the system and always be afraid of true freedom, or we can stand up with society and fight for a decent future for humanity.

**Bijî berxwedana Rojava!
Jin jiyan azadî!**



NO A LA OCUPACION DEL ESTADO TURCO EN EL KURDISTAN



DEFENDAMOS
LA LIBERTAD
Y LA REVOLUCION

mei mei

Plants



Living beauty collectively

“Who is a beautiful person? What is worthwhile and worth loving? What is the identity and personality that should be loved the most? Who is in possession of attitudes that lead to love? We must be able to seek, reveal and develop beauty and what is most lovable. Your reason for staying in these ranks is the ability to be a source of love and beauty.” (Abdullah Öcalan)

Before aesthetics was confined to the sphere of philosophy and art, before it was conceived as a female body appealing to men’s desires, all that added value, beauty and meaning to life was perceived as sacred and beautiful. Abdullah Öcalan points this out very forcefully: “I do not recognize beauty outside of an ethical and political society. Beauty is ethical and political! Especially with the rise and rise of power and the state, beauty and goodness were only able to be protected through struggle. Zarathustra’s saying, “Think, speak and act well,” laid out principles, a path on which many like Mani, Buddha, Confusion and Socrates developed thoughts to defend social values.

In the cultures of the world heroes, prophets, totems, deities, religions, beliefs emerged,

showing people the way to beauty, goodness and wellbeing. In the longest period of human history, because of the personification in women of all that is sacred in life and the representation of women in society in this communal culture, they were seen as a source of beauty.

What was beauty?

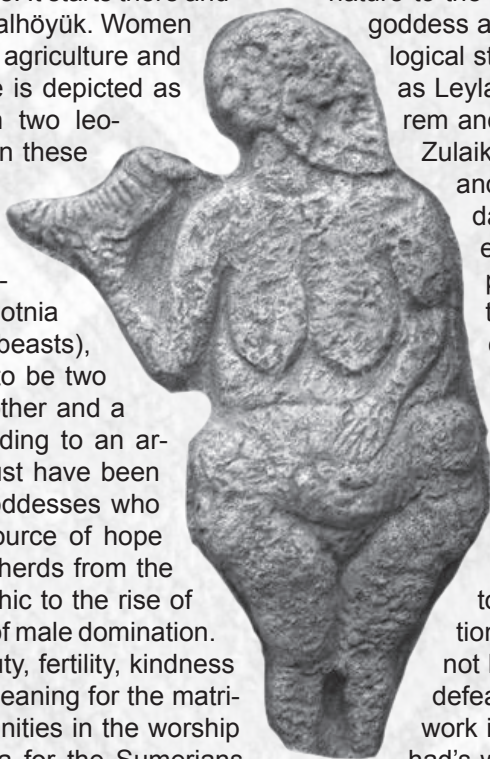
In antiquity, in periods when human living conditions were limited, that which reinforced the conditions for reproduction, nutrition, and protection was revered and considered beautiful. Among the most impressive archaeological artifacts of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods are the much-debated female figures, usually referred to as the Venus, which embody this phenomenon. Considering that in spite of the scarce means of support under a non-sedentary life, where the conditions for corpulence were almost impossible, the veneration of fertility and the Venuses -which played a remarkable role in life-, became symbols for social values such as beauty and the sacred. These figures represent women with large bellies and prominent breasts hanging down to their wide hips,



who are often in the process of giving birth.

In the geography of the Middle East one can find larger and more suggestive female figures from the early Neolithic era, estimated to have begun around 6,500 BC. Among the oldest of them are the houses of Çatalhöyük, with reliefs of representations of women, as old as between 6,500 and 5,600 BC. In these reliefs they are generally pregnant and have large breasts. Öcalan refers to the source of the Çatalhöyük female figures when he writes that: "The Neolithic revolution (...) took place in the cradle of the Euphrates, Tigris and Zab rivers. It starts there and goes all the way to Çatalhöyük. Women are the first to develop agriculture and animal husbandry. She is depicted as protecting herself with two leopards. In excavations in these places many female figures have emerged, because the power of women was hegemonic". The famous Potnia Theron (lady of the beasts), between what seems to be two panthers, is both a mother and a judge of nature. According to an archaeologist, Potnia must have been the mother of other goddesses who would have been a source of hope for peasants and shepherds from the beginning of the Neolithic to the rise of monotheistic religions of male domination.

In later periods, beauty, fertility, kindness and goodness found meaning for the matri-centric farming communities in the worship of the goddess. Inanna for the Sumerians, Ishtar for the Akkadians, Astarte for the Canaanites, Kubaba and later Cybele for the Hurrites and Hittites, el-Uzza for the Arabian Peninsula, Demeter for the Latin cultures, and Aphrodite for the Greeks, represented common symbols, rituals and practices. They are all goddesses of fertility, love and beauty. Öcalan claims that the tradition of Inanna-Aphrodite represents a femininity that has not yet lost its beauty, sexual charm and physical strength. What is then represented in the goddesses is society's agricultural tradition, its ethical-political way of life. It is still possible to find traces of the goddess' cultures in the remains of the ethical-political societies, and to recognize the immense struggles generated in places where this culture is strong. Al-



though there is no trace of them at the beginning appearing together with the goddesses, the gods emerged first as their little children and later as their husbands. Dumuzi next to Inanna, Tammuz next to Ishtar, Baal with Astarte, Attis with Cybele, Osiris with Isis, and Adonis with Aphrodite. The sacred ritual of marriage, which is a union of the goddess with her chosen partner, held in early spring, occurred in terms of the goddess. The elegies relate the beauty and fertility of this process. In autumn, Dumuzi, Tammuz, Bal, Attis, Osiris and Adones die, representing the return of nature to the earth, only to be reunited with the goddess again in early spring. These mythological stories still prevail in our epics such as Leyla and Majnoun, Mem and Zîn, Kerem and Asli, Tahir and Zühre, Yusuf and Zulaikha, Arzu and Qamber, Siyabend and Xecê, stories that are still told today. The beauty of the women in the elegies in the epic love stories represent, in fact, the goddesses as the source of life and beauty, while expressing a longing for the Age. For this reason, in these tragic stories, love is always attacked by malevolent forces: lovers never succeed in coming together in this evil world, but their love remains the source of true beauty. That is why Farhad and Shirin say to each other: "I have found perfection only in you / From now on I cannot hope to create perfection / My first defeat is my supreme defeat / Farhad's work is completed / Shirin opposes Farhad's words. / She says: We are already embarked on creation / All beauties will be asked of us / We embark on it the good and right / Our thought will always seek eternity / Erase all that you created if you wish / If you wish, create everything again / If you wish, tell a passion that will not diminish itself / Walk towards the times waiting for us / I want you to surpass my beauty / I do not want to remain alone in nature / I must understand myself with that which you created / Give me greater beauties (Unofficial translation).

For many periods of time, beauty found meaning in the form of collective values. Those who were brave, self-sacrificing and modest, those who lived communally, those who did not kneel before injustice, those were seen as beautiful. Before our minds were poisoned by

positivist paradigms of science, it was the tales, epics, songs of the dengbej (laments of the Kurdish accountants), poems, and proverbs, the greatest source of social education that transmitted and divulged what was beautiful, good and just. However, perceptions of beauty have changed more and more over time.

The modern concept of beauty

Among those who formed our notion of beauty is Aristotle. He defined beauty with mathematical ideals and proportions. He said: "The main forms of beauty are ordered, symmetrical and precise, with the demonstration of mathematical sciences in a special degree", and claimed to express this in the "golden rule" of mathematics. According to this, this measurable character was seen as the source of beauty of faces, bodies and art; even the bodies of women and men were represented in paintings and sculptures of Greek, Roman and Renaissance artists with this formula. Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa was created in this way. While on the one hand beauty was idealized and expressed in art, on the other hand it was increasingly reduced to its physical aspect and to being an artistic trend. Especially the "inner beauty", as it had been evaluated in the oriental philosophy, was put aside. The only beauty that seemed to make sense and be valid was that which appealed to the eye and is expressed in form.

Today, faces and bodies are cut out and reconstructed by plastic surgery, as if they were made of clay, in order to achieve mathematical standards such as "golden proportion". Bodies

and living organisms are turned into replicas of statues. Definitions of beauty, of women's beauty to be precise, follow the claims of Aristotle, who defined women as "mutilated men", who are inferior to men. Presenting the ideal measurements of women's bodies as 90-60-90, declares any other shape or size of women's bodies as defective. Even when such shapes and standards are impossible to achieve for a large majority of women, especially not in a healthy way, there is a vested interest in ensuring that women invest their time and energy to achieve these ideals. As a result, many women experience problems with their health, for physical or psychological reasons, including depression and other mental conditions. Women who are perceived as unable to achieve such idealized standards of beauty are condemned for life to suffer inferiority complexes as a result. People are created to fear the natural cycles of life, to dread aging and maturity. Instead of living the intrinsic beauty of each age, we mourn after a visible loss of youth and beauty. Every wrinkle, every white hair in the mirror, becomes a source of pain.

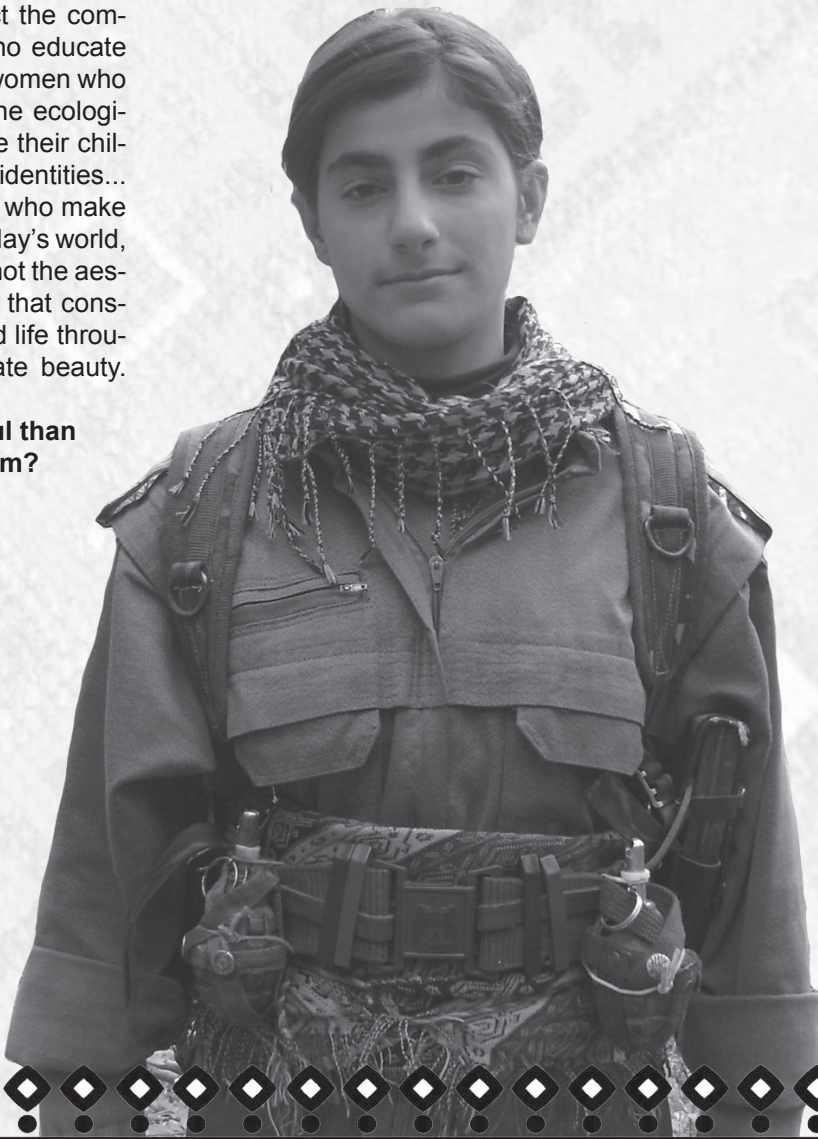
As long as we do not beautify life, all existing beauties are in danger. The ancient forests, the succulent rivers, the lively sea shores are greedily watched by companies, states and markets, moved by interest and profit. Every day, cement buildings, dams and other infrastructure destroy the natural beauties, often irreversibly. Nature is losing its defense. Beautiful young women are sold as objects by their parents in marriages with rich old men, objects at the mercy and service of abusive and violent couples, commodities that generate money in the marketplace. Women have also been forcibly deprived of their means of defense. Every day, women are murdered by their partners in the name of love. There are a lot of testimonies of how ISIS or similar groups chose the "prettiest girls" to sell them as sex slaves. In other words, beauty that remains unprotected and unorganized in such an ugly world is vulnerable to murder or rape. For this reason, we must live beauty collectively and we must create spaces for this to happen. Only if we affirm our ethical and aesthetic values in all spheres of life, including politics, economics, and culture, can we meaningfully set standards of beauty, live beautifully, and become sources of beauty.



In this sense, beautifying life can be achieved by fighting against ugliness, injustice and evil around us. Especially as women we must be aware of our responsibility to beautify life, because we have always been the greatest victims of ugliness. As guerrilla and comrade Bêrîtan (Gûlnaz Karataş) beautifully expressed after an action in Rubarok, where she was hit by an enemy bullet in the face: "Look how beautiful one can be. I am so beautiful now". Comrade Bêrîtan is one of the first to understand that we have no choice but to be beautiful through struggle. This becomes even more evident when we consider the latest developments such as the systematic increase in violence against women. I am not just referring to defending ourselves physically with weapons. Women who democratize politics, women who risk their lives to protect the community and other women, women who educate themselves and those around them, women who live communally, women who save the ecological balance, women who fight to raise their children in free territories, with their own identities... and many others; they are all women who make themselves beautiful by fighting. In today's world, full of ugliness, injustice and evil, it is not the aesthetics of physical, augmented forms that constitute beauty; only women who defend life through struggle are those who can create beauty.



Is there anything more beautiful than young women fighting fascism?





ZILAN YÜCE

It was Zilan's cry in June, which thousands of young people, like Şehîd Sema, heard and followed. It is their spirit of resistance, which we can still witness today. We can feel what "Şehîd namirin" really means.

Both Şehîd Zilan and Şehîd Sema have left a big mark on the history of the party with their action. And especially in the heart of the Kurdish people.

It is not easy to write a text for fallen friends, but it is our duty to always remember them. Because to forget means betrayal. It is our duty to bring their wishes and dreams to their destination.

We must take their love and attachment to Rêber APO and freedom as a line for a free life. But for that we have to understand his life and the meaning of his action.

The fire of Sema Yüce

Sema Yüce is also known by her fighting name, Serhildan (rise up). She was born in 1971 in Dutax, Agiri. She studied in the capital of Turkey, Ankara; although she comes from a Welatparez family, it was there that she came into real contact with the Kurdish freedom movement. Shortly afterwards he joined the freedom movement in

Mêrdin. After his affiliation he goes with a group to Serhed to lead the work there. However, the group is arrested for treason. Heval Serhildan is sentenced to 22 years in prison. In protest against the repression of the Turkish state, in 1998 he sets fire to his body in Çanakkale prison. She said: "I want to make my head, soul and body a bridge of fire between March 8 and 21, to be a good student of Mazlum Dogan and the martyrs. I want to burn like Zekiye Alkan, like Rahşan Demirel, to become a Newroz fire".

But her action was not only directed against the fascist Turkish state, but above all against treason. He says, "We have only one president; only one sun. His action must be the expression of the love for freedom, which is only possible through Rêber APO. I wanted to set an example, especially for those who tried to take the place of Rêber APOs. On 17 June, he joined the caravans of the immortals. Before becoming immortal, he said, "I have become Newroz, I have become Mazlum. His action was an echo of Zekiye Alkan... An earthquake forever. The resistance of Şehîd Sema Yüce was a great defeat for the enemy. Today, hundreds of women called Sema are fighting for the freedom of the Kurds. Thou-

sands of women have become Sema. In the lines of history Şehîd Sema is truth, love and humanity. And for this truth and love, thousands of young women and young men are still fighting today.

Symbol of resistance

When we hear the name Şehîd Zilan, a goddess comes directly to mind. A goddess who, although she was learning, could perform the greatest action that made even the enemy tremble. In 1996 an attempt to assassinate Rêber APO took place in Damascus. Şehîd Zilan knew he had to give an answer to this. With her action of walking into a Turkish military parade in Dersim and letting her body become a bomb, she herself became the answer. Although she had recently joined the ranks of the freedom movement, she knew that she had to give a response to this assassination attempt. She pointed out not only the woman's determination to fight for her freedom, but above all that Rêber APO is our red line. And if you bend a hair, it's a reason for us to throw it all away. In a letter to Rêber APO, she wrote: "I want to be the expression of my people's struggle for freedom. Against the policy of imperialism of enslaving women, I want to put the bomb in my body and at the same time show all my anger and be the symbol of the resistance of Kurdish women".

With her love for Rêber APO, her courage and her willpower, she has let the enemy go nowhere. His cry can still be heard today. His cry is no longer heard only in Kurdistan. Their cry shows thousands of women around the world the way to freedom.

Their action is unique. No one has ever done such an action before. So she becomes the wake-up call of the Kurdish people and the commander of the women's movement. At this point we must ask ourselves: How long do we want to wait, even though we can still hear her trembling voice that makes the enemy tremble?

Şehîd Zilan is one of those heroic individuals who reinvent themselves in historical and critical times.

About the trembling voice of Şehîd Sema and Şehîd Zilan

It was not the bomb of Şehîd Zilan or the fire of Şehîd Sema that became the enemy's greatest nightmare, but the fearlessness and determination in his eyes. If we began to recognize our hope as a weapon, we could cleanse ourselves of disease, fear and doubt. However, this requires great self-confidence and courage, which we can develop together with the spirit of Şehîd Sema and Şehîd Zilan. So the youth of the world should not go a second without fighting, because every second that we doubt ourselves or feel insecure, the enemy fills it with his liberal mentality and clings to our leg and does not let go. Every doubt about ourselves takes us away from the path of Şehîd Zilan and Şehîd Sema. A touch of courage to question something, to show solidarity with friends in the mountains, a pinch of hatred against the patriarchal mentality and hope is enough to break down the walls of the enemy. And when the cry of joy comes from our lips, we will feel the trembling voice of Şehîd Sema and Şehîd Zilan inside us. And this voice is a call of resistance.



THE VICTORY IS OURS!



JIN JIYAN AZADI



Women in the Revolution - USSR

When we look at history through Jineolojî's lens, from its great events to its small chaotic moments, we notice the place that women occupied, both the attacks they received and the resistance and struggles they carried out. Women live daily exposed to systematic and organized attacks by Capitalist Modernity; violence, murder, rape, humiliation? Learning from the mistakes and triumphs that history shows us is a necessary step to be able to understand the present and seek solutions and alternatives for the near future.

In this sense, when we study one of the great events of the 20th century -and of the history of humanity- such as the Soviet Union, we must ask ourselves: what role did women play, what status did women have in society, what mental and ideological conception was there of women? And connected to these questions, why did the USSR not succeed? When we look critically at the revolutions that have taken place in history, we do so not with the desire to reject their contribution to the cause of freedom, but from the desire to learn and

understand the mistakes that were made, thus strengthening our will to struggle and transform.

The Soviet Union has been presented to the left as an example of the freedoms and rights of women; the right to vote, the legalization of abortion and divorce, labor rights... Although this was not always the case and there were ups and downs throughout Soviet history, according to the head of the moment. These material achievements are important especially from the eyes of those who continue to take the state as their base. But what were the relations between men and women in the Soviet Union, and relations between women, what role did the family play, can we say that women were free, and society? One of the main errors that we analyze of the Soviet Union, as well as of real and scientific socialism in general, is the failure to understand women as the main oppressed subject, in the words of Rêber Abdullah Öcalan "the first nation and first oppressed class" in the history of humanity and, at the same time, the main revolutionary and transforming engine. Therefore, the struggle for women's li-

beration was understood as one more struggle, not occupying a priority place as a strategic road that will lead to the total liberation of life. This has been a mistake that has been repeated throughout the great revolutions. In this sense, the learning, analysis and ideological and organizational proposals of the Kurdistan Women's Movement are an example and a reference for the peoples, women and revolutionaries of the world.

Following the example of the USSR, during World War II thousands of Soviet women participated in different ways in the struggle against fascism and in defense of a different world; soldiers, commanders, nurses, airmen, engineers, in the rearguard ... The stories of heroic Soviet women have reached our days. But what became of these women after the war? What happened to these women who engraved their name in golden letters in the history of Democratic Modernity, who showed great courage and fought like women against the most atrocious facet, with the face of a dominant man, of the great enemy of life?

Sexism, which was still very much alive in Soviet society, struck again at many of these women who, after having been men's comrades-in-arms on the battlefield and having fought in the name of socialism, "for the fatherland" and "for Stalin" - in their words - were now seen by their society with accusatory eyes that questioned these women's motives for taking part in the war. As we have seen in other revolutions, such as the Spanish revolution of 1936, to give one example, many of the women who fought on the front were later accused - by other women - of having participated solely with the desire to have sexual relations with men. On the other hand, many of the men in love

comrades at the front, at the end of the war, left aside their promises of love to form a family with the women who had not fought, thus deepening the categorization of women among those who were fit to form a family and those who, because of what they had lived through, had broken some barriers and had become indomitable, which is why they had to be socially punished.

History teaches us that women's liberation cannot remain in the background, for the freedom of a people is connected to the freedom of the women of that people. However great a revolution may be, if at the base there is no work for a change of mentality that surpasses the limits of state, positivist, capitalist, sexist and colonial thought and practice, the revolution will be condemned, sooner or later, to failure. In turn, a profound change in mentality will be reflected in women's relations with society, in the family, between women and men, and among women themselves.



El mapa de la vida:

Unas manos de venas marcadas,
de nudillos rugosos,
de líneas de la vida
que se entrecruzan aquí y allá.

Antes eran unas manos lisas,
manos suaves que acariciaban
texturas suaves;
la piel dulce del bebé,
la piel llena de promesas de la hija adolescente.

Manos agrietadas,
llenas de sabiduría, de amor,
manos deseosas de acariciar la vida,
de acunar la vida,
de cocinar en los fogones
el alimento de la vida.

Manos que empuñan armas,
que remueven la tierra buscando refugio,
que protegen la vida y enfrentan la muerte,
manos que se enlazan y se abrazan a otras manos,
que sobreviven sobre las ruinas
y construyen sobre las ruinas.

Manos con espinas duras que huelen a rosa.

BOOK RECOMMENDATION

Liberating life is impossible without a radical women's revolution which would change man's mentality and life. If we are unable to make peace between man and life and life and woman, happiness is but a vain hope. Gender revolution is not just about woman. It is about the five thousand years old civilisation of classed society which has left man worse off than woman. Thus, this gender revolution would simultaneously mean man's liberation.

I have often written about "total divorce", i.e. the ability to divorce from the five thousand years old culture of male domination. The female and male gender identities that we know today are constructs that were formed much later than the biological female and male. Woman has been exploited for thousands of years according to this constructed identity; never acknowledged for her labour. Man has to overcome always seeing woman as wife, sister, or lover – stereo-

Liberating Life: Woman's Revolution

Abdullah Öcalan

Liberating Life: Woman's Revolution

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The practice Öcalan observed in real socialist countries and his own theoretical efforts and practice since the 1970's has led him to the conclusion that the enslavement of women was the start of all other forms of enslavement. This, he concludes, is not due to woman being biologically different to man, but because she was the founder and leader of the Neolithic matriarchal system. Subsequently, women and in parallel the society have been enchained in three ways; ideological slavery, use of force and seizure of economy. Öcalan shows that from the present form of relationship between man and woman stem all forms of relationship that foster inequality, slavery, despotism, fascism and militarism. He points out that although male dominance is well institutionalised, men too are enslaved. If true meaning to terms such as equality, freedom, democracy and socialism want to be construed then there is a need to analyse and shatter the ancient web of relations that has been woven around women.

The elimination of women from the ranks and the subjects of science makes it necessary to look for a radical alternative. Thus he underlines that the key to the resolution of our social problems will be a movement for woman's freedom, equality and democracy; a movement based on the science of woman, called jineoloji in Kurdish.



LÊGERÎN

Lêgerîn magazine will be published every 3 months on our website www.revistalegerin.com, and can be downloaded and printed. In addition to the magazine, other author content and the revolutionary movement will be published on our website!



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Follow us on our social networks, follow our updates! We also have a channel and a group in the telegram for the dissemination and discussions on the texts and their topics.

Feel free to contact us through our emails, we will be happy to answer any questions you may have. From disagreements about the texts and a request for materials, to questions about the movement itself.

Serkeftin!

