

Lêgerîn

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**"To insist on socialism is to
insist on humanity"**

Forging the unity of the youth around the world



Editorial Note

Dear friends,

Every week, all around the world, we can see the emergence of new conflicts, in addition to the worrying development of existing wars: Venezuela's conflict with Guyana, the civil war in Sudan, the state of military emergency in Ecuador... In this third world war, the Middle East appears still to be the conflicts focal point. The genocidal war being waged against the Palestinian people continues to escalate, while Israeli forces are making official their intention to extend their ground operations into Lebanon. At the same time, an international coalition of Western powers has launched its first major military attack against Yemen, announced as a response to the recent actions of the Houthis in the Red Sea.

Facing these developments, the solution remains the same: insist on a democratic alternative, by developing the revolutionary internationalism of the peoples! As this issue goes to press, it will be exactly 25 years since Abdullah Öcalan was imprisoned on the island prison of Imrali. The international conspiracy that led to his arrest must be understood as an alliance of the forces of capitalist modernity against the development of democratic socialism that was taking place within the Kurdish movement, which renews the possibility of a socialist ideal for the twenty-first century.

No fewer than 30 different nation-states were involved in setting up this conspiracy! Despite their contradictions and conflicts, these states agreed to try putting an end to what they saw as a threat to their own existence.

Today, it is clear that this attempt to stifle the liberation movement has failed. Day after day, the administration in northern and eastern Syria continues to develop the revolutionary project despite the relentless attacks by the fascist Turkish state. In the free mountains of Kurdistan, the guerrilla comrades are carrying out numerous decisive actions against the occupiers, challenging the supposed invincibility of the second largest NATO army. Although Abdullah Öcalan remains physically imprisoned, his ideas are being spread around the world. The "Freedom for Öcalan, a political solution to the Kurdish question" campaign, which began in October 2023, has not only brought together hundreds of organisations from different continents in a common demand for his release, but has also greatly strengthened the internationalisation of the paradigm.

Following the second middle east youth conference, which was held in 2019 in Kobanê, the first youth world conference took place in Paris from the third until the fifth of November 2023. Gathering 350 young people of more than 90 different organisations, this event was also part of an offensive against the attempt to stifle the ideas brought forward by Öcalan.

In this issue, we focus on this historical gathering, and are giving the voice to the diverse organisations which were present at the conference, in order to share their thoughts and bring forward their message to the youth of the whole world. From Myanmar to Kenya, from Baluchistan to Reunion island, we hope in this way to share with you a part of the revolutionary hope that was created during these three days!

Finally, this issue is dedicated to Ş. Bişeng Brûsk and Ş. Sara Hogir Riha, members of Komalên Jinên Ciwan who played a leading role in the development of World Young Women Confederation and who fell martyr together on the 28th of July, 2023 as a result of a Turkish airstrike. Şehîd Namirin!

United and young we will win!





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Socialism and the universal solution developed in the PKK

Abdullah Öcalan on the necessity of a socialist policy
From the book "Socialism" (Part II) by Abdullah Öcalan

This text was written in the 1990s by Abdullah Öcalan. It is one of the texts that initiated the paradigm shift within the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), and more broadly within the Kurdish liberation movement.

THE WORKING PEOPLE, the oppressed and the exploited have always had their own world, their own world view, their own interests and based on these solidarity, organisation and struggles. The history of socialist resistance will continue as long as humanity exists. Human society, which has been scientifically analysed today, still harbours great conflicts. On the one hand there are monstrous approaches, on the other hand there are utopias that resemble the idea of paradise. Just like societal ideals, extremely selfish interests and antagonisms that run counter to society also come to a head. The fact that they are anchored in each other and at the same time contradict each other promotes the escalation of conflicts.

Societal life is indispensable for human beings. This is where the dispute begins. To what extent does society set standards for the individual? To what extent is the deve-

lopment of individual freedom needed for society? Therein lies the core of the contradiction. Various ideologies have developed solutions to this question, including socialism. Societal analysis did not begin with socialism, even though socialism is the most scientific explanatory model. Religions and various systems of thought also had a positive or negative effect on the process of social development in the past. This results in the contradiction between progressiveness and reactionism, enlightenment and inquisition, friendship and enmity, etc. It seems that this will continue. Especially nowadays, those with an immoral and colonizer mentality, whether they be individuals, classes or layers of society, make it look like the end of socialism has come. They achieve this on the basis of pressure and propaganda in order to safeguard their own interests. They want to present it as an unavoidable destiny. The imperialist forces and their ideologues are trying with all their might to exploit this favourable moment in order to achieve their final victory. They are using the demise of 70 years of socialism, which is actually just one version of socialism, to cement their claims, even though

socialism has gone through and is still going through many phases of development.

There are several comparable periods in history. There are also historical examples of attempts to take advantage of the opportunity of the moment. If you don't pay good attention, the capitalists can score a success for themselves. For this reason, it is important to take a thorough and multidimensional look at the current reality from the perspective of social resistance. Of course, the oppressed and exploited have a way of life, worldview and struggles. Real socialism represents a stage of development, just as the French Revolution and other previous revolutions, even the Islamic Revolution, represent a stage. These experiences need neither be exaggerated nor denied, but reality must be evaluated in all its dimensions. In short, it was emphasised that the oppressed should think in a very limited way and, in particular, keep away from political-philosophical thinking so that they would conform to the thoughts of the rulers. They were kept away from their independent political reality through violence or intrigue in order to distract them from a revolution. They were always disadvantaged by the worries of daily life and their real living conditions. This is still the case today. Lack of perspective and inconsistency are widespread. This is true all over the world, but especially in Turkish Kurdistan. This is how the damned reality of the oppressed has emerged. We summarise this reality with the terms "cursed people, cursed class". This means to be always

under the foot of the rulers, unable to free oneself from their web of interests and even voluntarily bowing down to them. This reality can be defined as a society, a class or an individual that is cursed. This is also the origin of all depravity and humiliation. It is important to consistently defend the socialist horizon and to do so freely and militantly. But it is also important not to fall into dogmas and aberrations. Because only the working people can understand society scientifically. All other classes can make use of dogmas and lies and sell various lies as true ideologies. But as in previous periods of history, the labourers have no difficulty in developing new and revolutionary ideologies.

The whole 20th century was influenced by Leninism

IN TODAY'S DEBATES ON SOCIALISM, what is usually discussed is the socialism that has existed for seventy years, which has influenced a large part of the world and is now broken or outdated. It may be helpful to get back to this. We can also analyse this socialism in general. For example, it is nonsense to reduce criticism of socialism to the practice of real socialism. Rather, it is more appropriate to understand it as a tactical stage in socialist history, since Leninism is an ideology in which the political-tactical side predominates. What are the most important features of this stage? The contradictions in capitalism and imperialism were both serious and obvious,



Popular Uprising during Newroz Kurdish New Year

which led to two world wars. Even before that there had been several senseless wars. The world was divided to the detriment of the peoples, the exploitation of the labourers continued. At the same time, there was great progress in science and technology, which also led to the rapid awakening of the labourers, but also to the awakening of nations and peoples. In this sense, Leninism represents a great freedom movement with great influence. The 20th century was a century characterised by Leninism, even if this term has gone out of fashion today. As we know, scientific socialism made great progress through Marx and Engels. Global analyses were scientifically substantiated and organising began. On the political-tactical side, however, there was still a great lack. This became clear in the Paris Commune attempt and in several other uprisings. Leninism eliminated these shortcomings very successfully and advanced the revolutionary change of the world - the socialist revolution. However, Lenin did not emphasise the ideological and moral aspects of socialism, nor was he able to analyse the capitalist-imperialist relations of exploitation any further. He tried to change the very harsh conditions of oppression and exploitation in the interests of the labourers and peoples. In this he has been very successful.

So we cannot claim that real socialism has totally failed or broken down. That would be a lie. Of course, great mistakes were made in the name of socialism, but real socialism was an important stage for the freedom of the labourers and for their physical and psychological development. Leninism also represents an important stage in the free and independent development of the people. This era of socialism has achieved many successes. The Marxist-Leninist programme was implemented in a few soviets at the beginning of the century. What has collapsed and what was surpassed? Leninism was not able to renew or update itself and could not analyse new questions and solutions. For example, in the last quarter of the century there was even talk of achieving communism. At that time it became clear that this was a dream or an exaggeration. To speak of communist utopias at a time when the capitalist-imperialist world has such great power and individuals are characterised by the slave-society is an exaggeration and misleading. The result is that we have reached the end of Leninist tactics, Leninism has fulfilled its task and we are at the beginning of a new era. These are the results of scientific socialism, its Leninist practice and tactical successes. There are parties that were founded in this phase. They also have fighting tactics, and all these tactics were widely analysed in Leninism. But today, the path that had to be taken was taken; some goals have been more or less achieved. Therefore, the goals must be redefined. This means analysing the current situation of humanity and, based on this, defining new goals and programmes. Either to renew the old parties or to found new ones. Socialism had to be brought there, but it little was achieved because it was so hard and because the state in the soviets stood in the way. That is the real contradiction.

The new socialism must oppose statehood

OF COURSE, it was necessary to establish a state in this phase of socialism. But the fact that the importance of the state was so greatly exaggerated is contrary to the essence of socialism. From this we learn that the foundation of a socialist state only means the dictatorship of the proletariat and not the foundation of a socialist society, and certainly not the creation of a socialist man. The error or mistake lies in the belief that the foundation of a good state is sufficient for everything else. Today, almost everyone stands up for "the state" or "the interests of the state" as if they were sacred. On the other hand, however, everyone complains that the state is too overarching. Those who were most in favour of the state and benefited from it now feel compelled to reject statehood. This clearly shows the necessity of socialism. In fact, it is socialism that has resisted statehood the most. All other exploitative ideologies have declared the state to be sacred. But today the neoliberal capitalists are questioning the state, even in Turkey. The biggest capitalists advocate privatisation and the downsizing of the state apparatus. They are attempting to appropriate the values socialism stands for with lies and duplicity in order to ensure their continued existence. This means that the new, current socialism must oppose statehood more than any other ideology. Socialism has to advocate the reduction and dissolution of the state and recognise the dangers it poses to society and individuals and



it being perhaps the greatest contradiction; socialism has to show the way for the dissolution of the state. This was not done. The Soviet state apparatus stood in the way as the biggest obstacle itself. Of course, the old exploitative relations and the contradiction with the imperialist-capitalist bloc are relevant here. But the socialist will is also of great importance, and this will must be recognised.

This is also the reason why there is talk of privatisation, individualisation and liberalism in the former Soviet republics. A state was created in which people could not even breathe freely. In this sense, what was done perhaps does not signify a total return to capitalism: there existed a kind of capitalism with a simultaneous exaggeration of statehood. This led to the confusion of state capitalism with socialism. Overcoming state capitalism therefore means emphasising the individual, more liberalism and even more democracy. It does not mean the development of capitalism. Of course, there will be some individual and private capitalism, but the claim that the future is entirely capitalist is a distortion of the facts. The discussion on this is not yet over; the Soviet experiment and the successor models will continue to be discussed and analysed.

**Capitalism has nothing more
to offer people today**

THE PROBLEMS that capitalist imperialism produces for humanity have not become any less than they were in the 19th or early 20th century. Humanity is struggling with catastrophes more than ever before. There are uncontrollable social processes. On the one hand, the world is on the brink of the abyss due to the ecological destruction caused by the capitalist economy. On the other hand, there are moral and ideological problems. Capitalist ideologues are also trying to find solutions to these problems. Capitalism has left people with no idealism. Capitalism has destroyed ambition and hope, which means the end of its history.

So what is needed? An ideology that gives people hope. And that can be nothing other than socialism. It is a characteristic of all ruling ideologies to propagate their own end as the end of humanity and the end of their own history as the end of the history of humanity. It is also necessary for their survival to make such assertions. This can be seen in every important epoch. In its day, Rome was an invincible empire. The later feudalist empires, as well as the capitalist empires today - e.g. the USA - have also

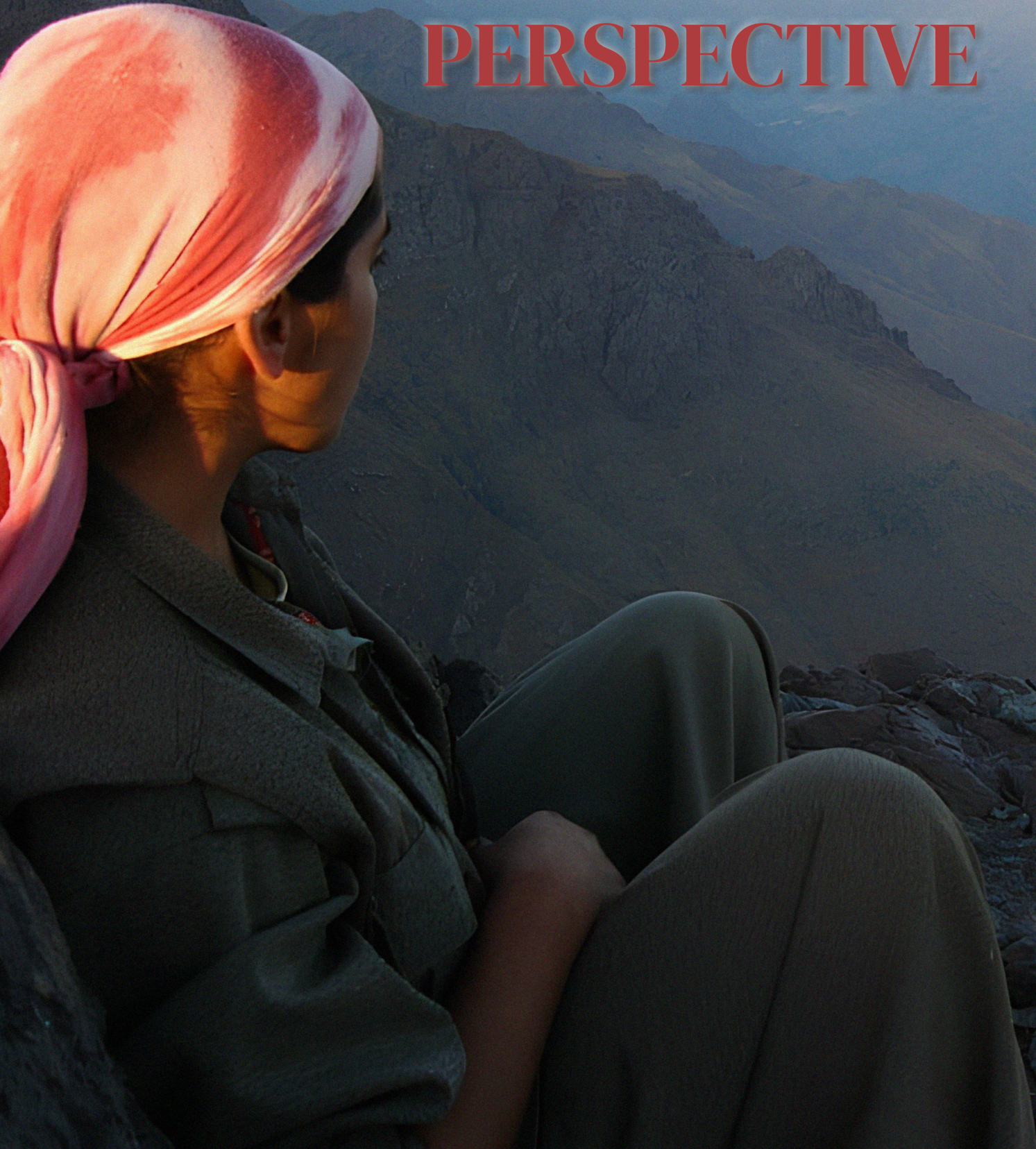
claimed this. But development is a natural law. So it is nonsensical to talk about the end of humanity. The world is not threatened by destruction, nor is humanity threatened by a devastating disease. Its problems are ideological, political, social and economic. The solutions will also be ideological-political, social, economic, cultural and moral. Here socialism will have to assert itself because of its connection with the fate of humanity and its responsibility. In this sense, socialism can redefine itself.

Capitalism today has nothing more to offer people. If you look at the free market as an example, you realise that a class has emerged that exploits through speculation and interest. In the last century, capitalists were concerned with production and trade. Now production, trade and technology are of secondary importance and the daily focus is on interest rates. This orientation no longer has anything to do with production. Capitalism in the major capitalist countries has become meaningless and functionless. This does not show the success of capitalism but rather its insignificance. What can you achieve with stock market games? It's a kind of gamble. Money only ever changes hands. You don't need new definitions for capitalism; it is a functioning gambling system. And the game is played for humanity. These trillions are a catastrophe for the world and humanity. Not seeing this or not resisting it means watching the destruction of the world.

Abdullah Öcalan



INTERNATIONALIST YOUTH PERSPECTIVE



Democratic World Confederalism of the Youth as a response to the problems of the youth

Situation of the youth

We are living in a worldwide situation of chaos and emergency, wherein the youth are facing many specific difficulties. Identity crisis, foul play, and unconventional war are some of the leading problems that we endure today. For that reason, it is important to recognize ourselves as youth, recognize in ourselves a revolutionary identity, research our history and thus illuminate our path forward. In the system in which we live, called Capitalist Modernity in our movement, the role of the youth is very clear. The youth is exploited at all levels, using its energy and dynamism to sustain the system. This is done either by working without a rest for unsustainable wages, fighting in wars to protect economic and political interests that have nothing to do with us, or – especially in the case of young women – seeing our bodies exploited to sell a consumerist and individualistic lifestyle that is devoid of meaning.

This form of domination, in which the youth is manipulated to serve the interests of the powerful, is what we call gerontocracy. Taking advantage of our lack of experience, knowledge and organization, the system

forms young minds by trying to cut the wings to our search of truth and freedom. The historical origins of this relationship can be seen in the society that existed prior to rise of the state and the class division more than 5000 years ago. Even though this society lived in a communal and egalitarian way organized around the leadership of women, old men used their knowledge and cunning to convince the youth to accept their own slavery, and to become soldiers that impose the exploitation of women and of the whole society.

Today, the forms and tactics of the system have changed, but the essence is the same. We live this reality each day. From father to child, from boss to employee, from older brother to younger sibling, from experienced militant to young militant, we always find the same dynamic that rejects new ideas and possibilities in favour of maintaining the existing system. How many times have we heard sentences like “you are too young to understand,” “when you get older you will change your ideas,” or “it is so because I say so”? We can’t see this as a situation that only affects us individually. These sentences are part of a social process that aims to control the youth by tying them to the dominant system. This is how they appropriate

our strength, our dynamism, our intelligence and our curiosity. This is how the excuse of 'having more experience' is used to legitimise the misuse and abuse of the power that this experience brings.

So what are we? As young people and young women, this question could be strange for us. Does our identity really exist? Do we have a specific revolutionary function? Do we need to get organized autonomously? We should find the answer to these questions ourselves. If we don't, others will do it for us. We can see already in every war – most recently in Russia and Ukraine – that wars are built on the blood of young people tricked into fighting for a supposed homeland. At the same time, we can see how in every brothel we found young women coerced into serving as slaves of the patriarchy.

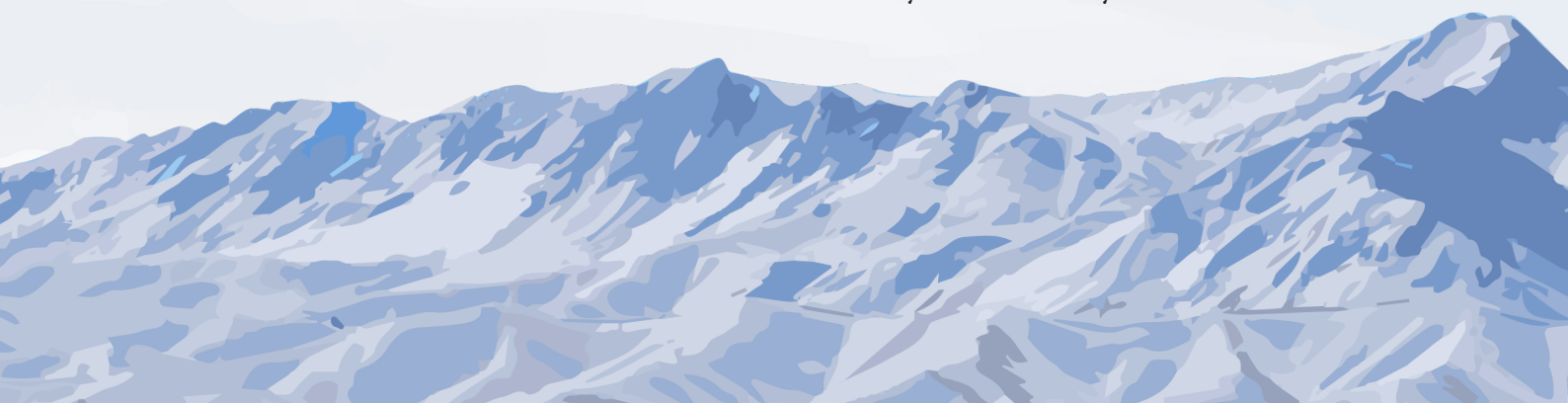
In all the advertisements, the youth is used as a publicity tactic directed towards the middle classes. In each university they steal our time and intellect to their own benefit. In all the jobs they exploit us to continue making money. We are objects of control everywhere. We are used to satisfy the power and capital desires of the powerful on large and small scales. But as youth, the moment to say "enough" has arrived. Examples in history show that the youth can free themselves from their chains, and become a liberation force. It is no coincidence that most of the revolutionary organizations in the 20th century were founded by young people. In collective development, we come to know our strength, and realise what are we capable of. Here lies the revolutionary potential of the youth. This system is afraid of us, because our capability to create, defend, and develop our communities is so strong. This is why we must know ourselves, and thus take the step to organize ourselves.

**World Youth Conference and Democratic World
Confederalism of the Youth as a response to the
problems of the youth**

At this historical moment, we see the need to act and we have the will to act. For that reason, last November, we decided to organize the first World Conference of the Youth, under the slogan "Youth Writing History". At the conference, we saw ourselves in those around us. We saw young people from all the continents facing similar problems. We found that we want to develop common tools. And we found that the exchange of revolutionary experiences helped us to build up a common vision of both the general and specific necessities of our struggle. We realized that we face similar problems inside our organizations, that we have to organize our collective will to develop our role as youth in the frame of the global revolution. If we don't get organized and if we don't unite ourselves, then nobody will listen to us.

This World Youth Conference was a success. It was a first contact, a first demonstration of what we can do, a space to exchange and discuss our practices, and a moment to remind us that we are not alone in our struggle. With these discussions we began to develop a framework for joint action. In this regard, we have created the Youth Writing History network, that could be a central point for the global action of the youth. It is a horizontal network where we will give each other strength, and from which we will answer the specific attacks we receive as youth. These attacks materialize in different ways, for example, the forced migrations from the south to the global north, as a consequence of imposed poverty in many cases. In Kurdistan, we see the forced migration of thousands of young people who are left with three options: prison, death, or Europe.

More than four-hundred youth from forty-five countries and ninety-five organizations, movements and parties attended the conference. This is not a simple matter of numbers, but of the great will that was expressed, and how we get engaged in concrete steps towards our objectives. The conference was not only the result of years of work, it was



a starting point of praxis, in our path to freedom. Each person came with their own will. Each youth organization, party and movement came because they saw the need to write history. Large and small organizations from five continents participated in the conference, where the ability to gather together allowed us to identify two fundamental elements: a common enemy, and the will to build a fair and egalitarian world. We overcame the ideological distinctions – anarchism, Marxism-Leninism, feminism, ecology – to deliver a message to the world: “Youth striving for freedom is unstoppable.”

This is why we evaluate the conference as a historical step. For many years, the world had not seen the youth show the will to take possession of their future, and could hardly imagine what the free will of the youth means. We are moving forward to the development of a global-subject and a youth identity that seeks its own path. In the last years, we have seen how the imperialist forces have tried to organize the youth, using their youthful dynamism and participation in protests and mass actions to impose imperialist regimes and to justify new ideological offensives of the liberalism. For that reason, this conference held a vital importance, as it was positioned outside the potential benefit of any imperial force. Instead, it allowed the youth to gather, take strength, and fight for their freedom while seeking to reinforce, in every context, a diverse and determined youth independent from any external oppressive force. This conference is a base for the autonomous global action of the youth. It was essentially an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-patriarchal conference of the youth by and for itself.

We organized various workshops during the conference that allowed us to learn different perspectives around these topics. Today, the youth face forced migration, exposure to the harshest forms of liberalism, environmental destruction, patriarchal violence, and exploitation as a tool for the development

of militarism and of the fascism. We don't have a voice inside the education of the system and cannot define how we want to be educated. In light of these attacks, we discussed the problems of the indigenous youth, of the oppressed peoples, and how to implement our own economy free of exploitation and gerontocracy. We also started to connect with our history and discussed the need to organise ourselves internationally. Above all, we talked about our need for freedom, and about how that search for freedom guides us.

It is impossible to convey in a few lines everything that happened in the conference. What we know is that we are going to continue taking steps towards a global youth struggle. We now have a strong alliance and a shared declaration that will allow us to advance. We are going to continue gathering, discussing, and reinforcing our local activities with international action. In world shaped by war, environmental destruction, macho violence and the femicide, the youth must play a role of change.

All through the present century we have seen some notable youth mobilisations in the form of protests for democracy, for the defence of the indigenous peoples, for an ecological relationship between humans and our environment, and for the liberation of women and against all forms of patriarchal violence. We have seen vital economic and organizational alternatives building up and developing large efforts for change across society. This shows that the youth have a vision that opposes the current state of the world, and that if they organize globally, they will be a vanguard that will guide the global change. For that reason it is important to unify and be organized, to create democratic structures with the capacity to reunite the diversity of the youth and confront the attacks of the enemy, and through this to bring freedom to young people and society in general. We have to fight to experiment with freedom, and to fight we must organize ourselves. This Third



World War is showing us – as we said in the previous edition – that the global system is going through a reorganization, that we live in a period of chaos, and that we are advancing towards a multi-polar world with many points of oppressive powers in constant confrontation each other. We can see diverse forces participating in this war, with all types and colours of nation-states unifying to gain power, while breaking old alliances and changing their accomplices. This confrontation affects our daily lives, because material conditions worldwide are worsening for the working class, the women, the youth and the planet.

The middle class dream – the American or European way of life – is vanishing between misery and environmental destruction. The woman is facing the deepest violent offensive against her freedom: the absolute liberalization and commercialisation of her body, mind, and identity. The youth is told to search for false hope in nihilism, filling the void of alienation with an empty freedom defined by drugs, alcohol, religious or sport fanaticism, addiction and dependency to work or studying, and toxic relationships at every level of their personal lives. These are all direct effects of the capitalist system, with capitalism's monopolistic power necessary for the development of the Third World War. In stopping this war, we must reclaim our identity.

To promote, push, and make moves toward freedom for the world, we must break the imposed schemes inflicted on our mentalities and in our daily life, and instead build an organised alternative to the current system. Today, we can see some steps being taken to realise this potential, from the indigenous communities organisation in Abya Yala, to the revolutionary participation of the youth from Myanmar to the Philippines, Palestine, and Mali. In several places, youth are taking the initiative and organising themselves to face their own problems and those of their

society simultaneously. Likewise, in the Global North the youth has not remained still and silent in the face of the ecological disaster imposed by the North American and European capitalists. In this point it is important to emphasize the great hypocrisy of the hegemonic system. At the same time as they destroy the environment, they invest millions of dollars in summits that mask this ongoing destruction while legitimising authoritarian regimes. Nowhere is this dynamic clearer than in the fact that the next COP29 will be Azerbaijan despite its brutal occupation and invasion of the Armenian region of Artsakh. Fashionable greenwashing has become the tool with which ongoing colonial violence and ecological devastation is concealed.

The Youth are organizing against these conditions of exploitation in schools, workplaces, and neighbourhoods. In Kurdistan and the Middle East more generally, the youth have taken a vanguard role in the revolutionary development. However, in our own context we see limitations in the many organisations that do not reflect on the role of youth and so suppress their free will and revolutionary spirit. We also see that the youth organizations can easily be ideologically assimilated into liberalism and fall into either reformism or classical leftist purism and dogmatism, both of which separate youth from society and deactivate our struggle.

The answer is to struggle, to organize, and to educate. But we are conscious of the long way ahead of us, and that today we as youth are still in a limited phase of self-consciousness and organization. We must develop our theory and practice into a global vanguard force. We can't say that we are one today, but we can say that we have the determination to become one.

We can call the alternative system that we want to

create: Democratic World Confederalism of the Youth. This is framed inside the paradigm of World Democratic Confederalism, proposed by the ideological leader of the Kurdistan Liberation Movement, Abdullah Öcalan, as an alternative system to the global capitalistic order. Inside this social system there are various forms of autonomous organisation, with the most fundamental being the autonomy of Women (Democratic World Confederalism of the Women) and the autonomy of Youth (Democratic World Confederalism of the Youth). With this idea, we do not claim to create a unique youth identity, since it is not possible to pretend that the great diversity of youth could be unified under only one body and one reality. No one can impose one identity to the youth. What we believe is necessary is to unify the different existing youths in a common system of autonomous self-organisation that will allow us recognize ourselves, advance together in struggle, and understand what it means to develop revolutionary movements that reach to the very heart of the Capitalist Modernity and make it explode. We are not saying that we have to destroy the capitalist system from inside. Instead, with the alternative that we are building, we will give society back its own capacity to lead itself, and we would develop our ability to resist any attacks wanting to steal this capacity again.

This is how we can create a real inclusive and representative system of youth across the world. We no longer talk about the union of revolutionary organization, but about an organizational form of the global youth; a space where each young person can participate through communes and councils to contribute to the development of all humanity. This is how we can contribute to the progress of an ecological, democratic world, where the women and youth can be totally free.

Conclusions: Organization and struggle

In Abya Yala, Africa, Asia, and across the Global North, in cities and in rural communities, in centres and peripheries, the youth have a role. The youth are not here only to protest against the misfortunes of the system, but can build up, promote, and renew their communities physically and ideologically, standing by the side of the woman as the vanguard of social change. For each thing destroyed by wickedness, the revolutionary youth identify and fill the gaps, by building up the alternative in a more free, communal, and democratic dimension. The Italian revolutionary Antonio Gramsci once said “educate, organize, mobilize yourselves.” This is of critical importance for the construction of the Democratic World Confederalism of the Youth. Read, educate yourselves, discuss, write, take part in seminars, educations, actions, meet, act, create structures to solve the problems. The way in which we do this will be the creative foundation for the development of our Confederalism inside a global frame.

The vanguard role that we have to play is to ensure our ideological and physical strength be used to advance society towards freedom. From today, the youth will redraw the flow of history, and facilitate the free flow of society’s energy. For this purpose, we must continue to concretize the lines developed in the World Youth Conference, and advance toward the global revolution. We have agreed ten points, and now we have to develop them. We have a lot of work ahead of us.

We champion the testimony of yesterday’s many young revolutionaries, bringing them to life, and thus building the future. As Abdullah Öcalan said, “**young we started, young we will win.**”



The time has come for a new offensive!



Internationalist Young Women Perspective

A few years ago, Rêber APO predicted that the 21st century would be the century of women's liberation. This prediction states that the nation of womanhood, which was occupied and destroyed 5,000 years ago, is today in the process of taking its destiny in its own hands and escaping from under the claws of the patriarchal system. Without a doubt, there have always been women everywhere resisting and defending their rights. But why don't we know their names? Why has their history not been written? There are around 4 billion women in the world. Every woman fights a struggle throughout her whole life. But how can we make it so that these struggles yield lasting results? If we truly understand womanhood as a nation, which is to say, as a historical, cultural and spiritual unit, the perspective of women's liberation becomes more concrete in our eyes. A gender that has birthed all of humanity, which has led life for thousands of years and which achieved, during the neolithic pe-

Without a doubt, there have always been women everywhere resisting and defending their rights. But why don't we know their names? Why has their history not been written?

riod, the status of Goddess because of its creativity, is doubtlessly the strongest and most meaningful gender. It is only through a savage war and with great cunning that men were able to declare their enmity towards women. Their objective was not merely to strike a blow against women. Men wanted to put women under their absolute control and use them as slaves. That's why these attacks are similar to the occupation of a nation. Even though the patriarchal war has lasted 5,000 years, men were never fully able to destroy women's will, but

women have been alienated from their essence and their unity was annihilated. Thus, men have taken their status as God by force. But each woman still feels inside herself that

she lives enslaved, and despite the fact that men define this situation as normal, it is actually contrary to human nature at a fundamental level, we may even say that it goes against the laws of the Universe.

If we look specifically at the 21st century, it's clear that women have made strides towards freedom across the world. Once again, these epics, which are written each day, are not enough to set the world agenda. It is high time for womanhood, as a nation, to reunite. In order to do this, we must write the history of womanhood, the culture of Goddesses must once again flourish and the united spirit of women across the world must be reconstructed. In the World Conference of Women, which was organized for the first time by the vanguard of Kurdish women in 2018 and for the second time in 2022, it came to light that all women's problems are similar. The patriarchal system is organized at every level. Perhaps with diverse methods, but under the same goal of oppressing and attacking women. This is how it breaks women's will every day, destroys their essence and annihilates any kind of unity among women. Women can respond to these attacks by organizing in the same way, at different levels. Today, the patriarchy does not attack only women; from nature to society, from children to the elderly, every form of existence is harmed by the patriarchal system. A global revolution is necessary. If all forces in the struggle unite and build a collective front against the system, there is no dominant force that can stop them. But who will build this front? What will it look like and where will it begin?

In the construction of real socialism, Marx identified the working class as a force and identity fundamental

Rêber APO clarifies that it is women and the youth who play the role of the vanguard



World Conference of Women, 2022

to the revolution. But given that the identity of the working class is in and of itself a product of the capitalist system, the Marxist-Leninist revolution was not able to create free personalities that were positioned outside of the system. This was surely not Marx's intention, but in the end, society was not able to overcome the dominant personality to achieve liberation. In particular, the reality of women was ignored. Rêber APO clarifies that it is

women and the youth who play the role of the vanguard. Both because these sectors of society were oppressed long before the appearance

of the proletarian system and thus feel the need for freedom more strongly, and because the sectors of society that flow the most, that are strongest and most creative, are made up of women and the youth. This has been proven by the struggle for Kurdish liberation. Perhaps in other revolutions this fact has not been so obviously stated, but it is still a global phenomenon. That is why the philosophy that RESISTANCE IS LIFE, from Kurdistan to the lands of Abya Yala that have been named by its occupiers as Brazil, is one and the same philosophy.

After the success of the World Conferences of Women, Kurdish youth also felt the need to build a space to exchange ideas, share experiences and expand the struggle. That is why, from November 3rd to November 5th 2023, the Youth Writing History network organized the World Youth Conference. 90 revolutionary and socialist youth organizations from nearly 50 countries came together and with great motivation discussed current problems and looked for solutions together. One of the founders of the Movement for the Liberation of Kurdistan, Duran Kalkan, defined this conference as a rebirth of the spirit of '68. And truly, in this conference the spirit of '68 joined with the spirit of women's revolution. This youth conference was not only a blow to



Young Kurdish woman announces her decision to join the gerilla, 2023

the colonial capitalist system. Because the topic of women's liberation was a fundamental issue, it also dealt great blows to the patriarchal system. A great number of young women participated with their own characters and with their own voices, and through the conference developed very rich perspectives. This too is the magic of the Kurdish revolution. On the one hand, women get organized, and on the other hand women's liberation becomes a central topic in all of society. If, in this moment in the East of Kurdistan (Rojhilat) as revenge for the murder of a woman, not only women but also thousands of young Kurdish, Persian, Beluch men take to the streets and risk their own lives, that is also an expression of this magic. This is also why the relationship between the struggle of women and that of society as a whole was talked about in the conference. Maybe not all women who joined the conference were part of autonomous women's organizations. But it came to light that young women are a natural vanguard in all sectors of the struggle. With the dynamics of youth and the creativity of women, young women possess a unique force. Characteristics like the defense of the morale of society, a strong relationship with their objectives and the creation of ethical and aesthetic values are very well-developed in young women. In the conference, the character of women, from their organization to their participation in discussion and decorations, was so vital that it was remarkable. In particular, the panel called "Young Women Writing History", in which young women from four different parts of the world shared their experiences of struggle, motivated a profound reflection and great motivation. Especially, there was a very strong link between indigenous women who are fighting a war for the liberation of their land, and a

perspective towards a joint struggle was built. Additionally, the call from young women for the "FREEDOM FOR ABDULLAH ÖCALAN, SOLUTION FOR THE KURDISH QUESTION" campaign was very interesting. Many young women who had never heard the name Rêber APO before were greatly influenced by his attitude toward the issue of women's liberation and quickly felt a link to him. On this basis, the autonomous declaration sent out a strong message.

In general, the instance of the conference clarified that the social sectors of youth and women cannot be viewed separately. Young women create a bridge between these two sectors and carry the force of the revolution towards its highest peak. In order to carry out a victorious struggle, youth movements need the vanguard of young women. On the other hand, young women are the key point of the revolution. In order for young women to play their role in its strongest form today, even more discussion must be had. It is only if young women carry the weight of the revolution on their shoulders with great resolve that we will be able to see great results. Young women must believe in themselves and welcome the 21st century's Revolution of Women with infinite motivation. This way, they can defend the legacy of thousands of women and young people who have given their life in the struggle for freedom. It is already clear that the moment has come for young women to take a new historic step. In this context, the organization of a World Conference of Young Women could be the newest offensive in the epic of the world socialist revolution.



TOWARDS A NEW REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH SPIRIT

FIRST WORLD YOUTH CONFERENCE

FIRST STEP

From the 3rd to the 5th of November 2023, the first World Youth Conference was held in Paris, following the 2nd Middle East Youth Conference, which was held in the city of Kobanê in 2019. Organised by the Ronahî youth centre and the 'Youth Writing History' network, the event brought together young people from every continent for a first round of meetings and exchanges. The objective is clear: the development of an united front of revolutionary youth at the world level. In this issue, we want to share with you some of the energy created during this historic gathering. More than ever, we need to believe in our strength and spread hope around us!



AROUND THE WORLD

THE CONFERENCE IS SPREADING

"It is an incredible meeting, everyone agrees in the fact that it was really needed. For the original peoples which are struggling for our land it is important that the Youth is in front of this struggle, because we are the last generation who can stop a climate crisis that is also colonial"

*Alina, from the organization RAJ
(Retomada Aty Jovem) from Guaraní people*

"We cannot ignore the sun, especially as it promises and advances so much. Thus, it seems necessary to consider the Kurdish movement as a strategic ally to the sibling-struggles of Abya Yala, and to keep acting in solidarity, learning from and keeping in contact with it.

**Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan and all the political prisoners of the world!
From the Andes to Qandil, peoples' struggles advance!
Autonomy and land!"**

Liberación - Chile


"May our solidarity cross mountains and seas to echo in the cells where justice has been silenced.

END THE WARS AGAINST THE KURDISH, PALESTINIAN, MAPUCHE, GUARANÍ KAIOWA, ZAPATISTA AND ALL OTHER INDIGENOUS PEOPLES STRUGGLING FOR LIFE AND AUTONOMY!"

*Common declaration from the Abya Yala's organisation
present at the conference*

"The leadership of young women that emerged at the world conference was remarkable. Young women's organisation and power of action have an important place for the universalisation of the struggle for women's liberation."

Dicle Amed - Woman Guerrilla Fighter



"In the name of all fighters and commanders of the YPJ (Women Protection Units) we greet the gathering of the youth of the world. With the hope and belief that in this gathering very important and valuable discussions are going to happen and influential decisions are going to be made for building a world and a society that is free and victorious. Because we know that the existing system has set societies on fire everywhere in the world. With war, with isolation, with genocide and all method of annihilation of the cultures of societies, there is a very brutal war going on. Because of this, we, as a force and as youth, need to struggle in a very strong and dynamic way"

YPJ (Women's defense forces in Rojava) General Command

"Is a new youth revolution underway? Now especially the older generations are asking themselves: What is happening? Is the revolutionary youth generation of 1968 being reborn, is a new youth revolution beginning? For example, will Dev-Genç be reborn in Turkey? Will the youth organizations of the late 1960s and early 1970s reappear in other countries? There is no doubt that these questions are important and that the conference in Paris had the power to raise such questions and create such expectations."

Duran Kalkan - PKK executive committee

"As young people, we are going to have to be actors in the global transformation, against neo-colonialism and imperialism. I've come to share my experience and learn from my comrades, so that we can all be more effective in our struggles."

Amidou Diamoutene - UACDDDD - Mali

"Capitalism is no longer a solution for the problems of the youth. We all see this. For this reason, our conference was organised at the right time. This conference was the first step, but our aim is bigger. We have the strength to play a vanguard role. We have the ideological, organisational and social strength and this is evidence that we can play our own role."

Sahîn Cûdî - Conference preparatory committee

"Kurdish youth from all four parts of Kurdistan actively participated both in the preparations for the conference and in the conference itself. We consider this youth-led conference as an important step for the struggle for freedom of all humanity."

Firaz Garzan - Kurdish Youth Movement

From Balochistan to the whole world Forging unity among the oppressed

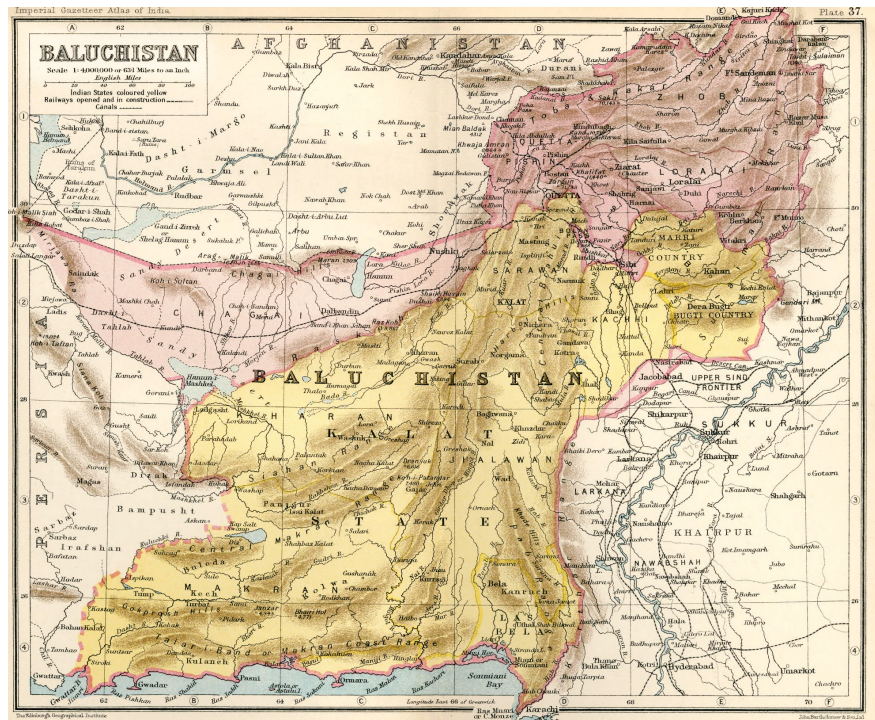
Abdullah Abbas
Human Rights Council of Balochistan

From November 3-5, the «Youth Writing History» international conference in Paris, organised by activists from the Kurdish movement, marked a significant gathering of activists from diverse backgrounds worldwide. As a representative of the Human Rights Council of Balochistan, an organisation focusing on human rights violations in Balochistan by the Pakistan Army, I was privileged to witness the empowering presence of activists championing various causes.

Balochistan, once an independent nation, bears the scars of colonisation by British forces, leading to its division and occupation by Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan. The roots of this plight trace back to the British Raj's 1838 attack on Balochistan, which resulted in the colonisation of the region two decades before the Indian Subcontinent's occupation. Subsequent events, such as the division of Balochistan in 1872 and the creation of the Durand Line in 1893, illustrate the complex history that paved the way for the present-day challenges faced by the Baloch people.

Post-World War II, Balochistan declared independence alongside India and Pakistan, only to face occupation by Pakistan in 1948, orchestrated to protect Western interests in the region. This marked the beginning of Balochistan's struggle as a colony, met with steadfast resistance from its people, resulting in five uprisings, all brutally suppressed. The year 2000 saw another uprising, the longest one so far. Pakistan, collaborating with China to alter Balochistan's demography for the construction of a port, fueled the movement, leading to the longest-standing resistance that persists to this day. The subsequent China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project, initiated in 2003, has faced continuous opposition, with the port and other projects remaining non-functional two decades later.

Over the last five years alone, more than 5000 people have been forcibly disappeared



As the resistance persisted, the Pakistan Army implemented a ruthless strategy, resorting to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings of activists and their families critical of the Pakistan occupation. Over the last five years alone, more than 5000 people have been forcibly disappeared, and at least 3000 have been extrajudicially killed while the military tightens its grip on every aspect of civilian life.

Balochistan under Iranian occupation faces similar challenges, with the Mullah regime suppressing political parties, killing activists, and creating a political vacuum—the region's struggle exacerbated by economic deprivation and a concerted effort to Iranianize the area. The campaign to Iranianise involves distorting the history of Balochs, Kurds, and other ethnicities under Iranian rule, negating their unique histories, cultures, languages, and diversity. Instead, the populace is told they are part of a larger Persian nation, with authorities even prohibiting the use of Balochi, Kurdi, and other local names. Despite these challenges, resistance persists.

In August 2022, nearly a month prior to the tragic murder of Jina Amini, a 15-year-old Baloch girl fell victim

to sexual assault by a police officer in Chahbahar. Public outrage ensued upon disclosure of the incident, culminating in protests that eventually escalated into the Zahedan Massacre.

Contextualising the Jin Jiyan Azadi movement is crucial. Following Jina Amini’s brutal murder, this movement gained momentum in Iran, with the people in Balochistan simultaneously protesting against the rape by Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Alongside other parts of Iran and Kurdistan, the Iranian forces cracked down on peaceful protestors, killing hundreds and detaining more. Today, the Baloch and Kurd communities comprise the largest number of people killed, executed, and detained during the aftermath of Jina’s murder.

Despite the magnitude of violence and suppression in Balochistan, international awareness remains minimal, with media outlets often terming it an «information black hole.» The lack of attention from international human rights organisations has allowed Pakistan and Iran to act with impunity, perpetrating atrocities without consequence.

The «Youth Writing History» conference served as a pivotal platform for global activists to unite, share their struggles, and explore avenues for collaboration. Despite the diverse nature of our challenges, the foundational pattern of oppression is the same – rooted in occupation and plunder. It underscored the need for a collective effort, transcending geographic boundaries, to confront a common adversary – a system rooted in occupation and exploitation.

Balochistan occupied by 3 nation-states: Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan.



We face a choice: to endure suffering in isolation or to come together and form a united front against oppression

It became evident that our oppressors are united through different entities while we, the oppressed, remain fragmented.

However, our strength lies in the unifying factors of pain, comradeship, and the pursuit of justice and truth. We face a choice: to endure suffering in isolation or to come together and form a united front against oppression. Such unity sends a powerful message to our oppressors – that we stand together, ready to resist collectively, and touching one invites resistance from all.

No matter their power, a bond forged in shared struggle is far stronger than a unity based on greed and exploitation.



Navigating the path to global solidarity Reflections on the World Youth Conference



By Lewis Maghanga, Revolutionary Socialist League

Demonstration in Kenya, 2023

In the heart of Paris, a city steeped in history and culture, the World Youth Conference unfolded as a beacon of hope and a platform for change. As I stepped into the vibrant atmosphere of the conference, I was immediately struck by the diversity of voices and perspectives that had gathered to tackle the pressing issues of oppression, exploitation, patriarchy, imperialism and militarism exacerbated by global capitalism.

The World Youth Conference, organised by an international network of organizations under the banner 'Youth Writing History', brought together representatives of various youth organizations from all across the world, unified by the common goal of achieving liberation for all of the people of the world.

I attended the conference as a representative of the Revolutionary Socialist League, a Kenyan-based revolutionary youth organization committed to attaining the complete overhaul of the current exploitative capitalist system and its replacement by socialism.

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) fights for the total liberation of the Kenyan people in particular and the African people in general, and all the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world struggling to smash exploitation in all its forms. The RSL is geared towards the ultimate fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of Kenya, Africa, and the world at large. The RSL recognises the need to come together urgently, for the sake of the success of the International Proletarian

Movement, with other working class and revolutionary organizations throughout the world, in forging a global revolutionary alliance. And so, it was our pleasure to participate in the World Youth Conference!

In Kenya, the RSL organizes against the backdrop of a fierce neoliberal onslaught. More and more Kenyans, especially the youth, are finding it increasingly difficult to access food, the most basic human need, as a result of the ever-growing prices of basic commodities. The government of Kenya, in blatant disregard to the plight of the people, has continued to impose heavier taxes on food, fuel and other basic commodities. This is a bid to comply with the directives of the IMF and other global financial institutions. The result, unsurprisingly, is that the overwhelming majority of the population finds itself in a serious state of destitution, worsening an already deplorable situation : Kenya ranks 86 out of 117 countries on the 2019 Global Hunger Index. More than 3.3 million Kenyans, additionally, cannot get enough water to drink.

Within our informal settlements and urban dwellings, the negativities of inequality continue to be felt. According to research by the African Population and Health Research Centre, 80% of slum residents in Kenya suffer food insecurity, which partly explains the high malnutrition rates of close to 50% among children. Slum residents account for more than 60% of the population in Nairobi, Kenya's capital city. Further, more than 13 million Kenyans suffer from chronic food and nutri-

tion insecurity according to SOFI, a publication of the Food and Agriculture Organization. One quarter of the children in Kenya have stunted growth.

The gap between the richest and the poorest has reached extreme levels in Kenya. Less than 0.1% of the population (8,300 people) own more wealth than the bottom 99.9% (more than 50 million people) according to Oxfam International. The richest 10% of people in Kenya earned on average 23 times more than the poorest 10%.

In the face of this crisis in Kenya, the RSL and I viewed my participation in the World Youth Conference as an opportunity to not only discuss these issues and more in our analysis of the global situation, but also to join other like-minded organizations in forging a unified front against international capitalism. Further, we viewed the convening of the inaugural World Youth Conference as the beginning of a bold step by young people all over the world in taking the daunting responsibility of being in the front line against imperialism, fascism, militarism and oppression in all its forms.

Hosted in the heart of Paris, the conference aimed to dissect and confront the multifaceted challenges posed by the current state of the world. Its overarching mission was to pave the way forward towards a more equitable, just, and sustainable global future. The various thematic workshops held during the conference delved into the liberal way of living, women's liberation, ecology, fascism and militarism, unemployment and inequality, the rights of indigenous people, and the essence of internationalism.

One of the pivotal discussions revolved around the liberal way of living. Delegates engaged in insightful

dialogues that questioned the prevailing societal norms and values associated with liberalism, looking into their impact upon the youth. The workshops prompted attendees to critically examine the impact of Western-centric ideologies on the global stage, challenging us to re-imagine a more inclusive and culturally sensitive approach to societal structures.

The question of women's liberation emerged as a powerful and resonant theme. Attendees were confronted with the harsh realities of gender-based oppression, exploitation, and violence that persist globally. The workshops served as a catalyst for passionate conversations on dismantling patriarchal systems and fostering environments where women can thrive in all spheres of life. Participants looked into the role of patriarchy in sustaining capitalism and propagating the exploitation of labour, with the labour of women being exploited doubly. Empowerment and solidarity emerged as key tenets in the pursuit of true gender equality and women's liberation.

Empowerment and solidarity emerged as key tenets in the pursuit of true gender equality and women's liberation

Ecology took centre stage as participants grappled with the urgent need to address environmental degradation and

climate change. From discussions on sustainable practices to debates on the responsibilities of industrialized nations, the workshops ignited a collective determination to safeguard the planet for future generations. The conference became a crucible for innovative ideas and concrete actions to mitigate the ecological crisis. Most importantly, comrades identified the root cause of the current climate and ecological crisis, capitalism and its ever-growing hunger for profit, with total disregard to the consequences.

Confronting the spectres of fascism and militarism and their devastating impact on communities worldwide, attendees engaged in thought-provoking conversations on the importance of dismantling authoritarian regimes and promoting peace.

They identified fascism and the rise of the far-right as an ever-growing threat within our respective nation-states. Comrades correctly recognised the need to come together speedily, for the sake of all oppressed people of the world, and establishing an international front to combat fascism and the rise of the far-right.



Unemployment and inequality were dissected with a keen eye towards dismantling systemic barriers that perpetuate poverty and social disparities. Attendees grappled with the implications of a global economic system that often benefits the few at the expense of the many. They also recognised that the current economic system is not broken; it is in fact working as it should and that the stark inequality witnessed throughout the world is but a characteristic of capitalism as a mode of production. The workshops recognised the need for an alternative system that prioritizes inclusive economic growth and address the root causes of unemployment and inequality.



optimism and determination. The conference not only shed light on the intricate web of challenges we face but also instilled a sense of collective purpose and a belief that change is not only possible but imperative.

The rights of indigenous people emerged as a deeply important topic, enabling participants to look into the destructive effects of the ongoing economic and socio-cultural hegemony of imperialism upon the indigenous people of the various places in the world. Representatives from diverse indigenous communities and cultures shared their experiences, shedding light on the challenges faced by indigenous communities around the world. The conference served as a platform to amplify their voices and reinforce the solidarity of all revolutionary organisations in the struggle for the protection of indigenous rights, cultures, and lands.

The spirit of internationalism permeated every facet of the conference, fostering connections between revolutionary organisations from different corners of the globe

The spirit of internationalism permeated every facet of the conference, fostering connections between revolutionary organisations from different corners of the globe.

Delegates explored the importance of collaboration in addressing global challenges through combining our campaigns and struggles, and fostering a sense of shared responsibility for the well-being of humanity.



As I reflect on my experiences at the World Youth Conference in Paris, the prevailing sentiment is one of

Paris, with its storied history of revolutions and social movements, served as a fitting backdrop for this gathering of young minds determined to shape a better future. The workshops, discussions, and interactions at the conference underscored the power of unity in addressing the complex challenges of our time. The exchange of ideas and the forging of connections laid the foundation for a global movement committed to dismantling oppression, exploitation, patriarchy, imperialism and militarism.

As I carry the lessons and inspiration garnered from the World Youth Conference back into my organization and community in Kenya, I am reminded that the pursuit of a just, free and equitable world is an ongoing journey. The conference was not merely a moment in time but a catalyst for a sustained movement towards global solidarity. The experiences in Paris have left an indelible mark on my understanding of the world and my role in shaping its future. The path forward may be challenging, but with the collective spirit ignited during the conference, the journey towards a more just and compassionate world free of exploitation and oppression is both achievable and imperative.

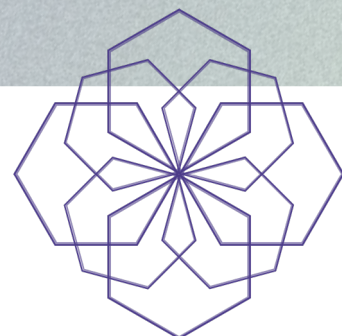
Truly, Capitalism is not inevitable; another world is possible!

Declaration of the YOUTH WRITING HISTORY Conference Principles



Preamble - AS THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD, AS WELL AS HUMANITY AS A WHOLE, we are currently confronted with a systemic crisis of unprecedented intensity. The ecological catastrophe is worsening daily, wars are intensifying everywhere, nationalism and fascist movements are spreading across the globe. In order to fulfill its endless thirst for profit, the capitalist world system is destroying the environment and ultimately robbing humanity of its basis of life. We experience the consequences everywhere, be it in our personal lives or in our environment: social isolation, femicide, poverty, misery, violence and environmental disasters. We are growing up in a catastrophic world and we refuse to accept the reality that is presented to us. Young people around the world are organising and fighting for a better future. For us, being young means searching for the truth, for a better world and a better tomorrow. We are convinced that we can achieve this. If it is not us who intervene in this crisis, who will? If we don't start acting now in the face of these disasters, when will we do? Against this background, we have come together in the «Youth Writing History» network to put our common struggle on a new footing. We want to discuss, network, educate and organise together.

So, we, over 400 young people from 49 countries and 95 organisations, movements and parties, declare that:



10 Principles of the Youth Writing History Conference

1

A SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT GLOBAL CRISIS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED OUTSIDE THE EXISTING CAPITALIST SYSTEM and only by building a new, just and truly democratic world order.

TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, THE UNITY OF ALL DEMOCRATIC-REVOLUTIONARY AND ANTISYSTEMIC FORCES IN THE WORLD IS NEEDED. As «Youth Writing History» we work on the basis of mutual respect for our different forms of organisation, ways of struggle and political traditions. Furthermore, we actively work on the worldwide unity of all struggles and resistances that are in fundamental contradiction to the ruling system and its world order.

2

3

OUR COMMON NETWORKING AND ORGANISING IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF «UNITY IN DIVERSITY». We focus on the principles that unite us, our common goals and our resolute opposition to capitalism, while leaving room for differences, contradictions and diversity in theory and practice.

OUR COMMON POINT OF REFERENCE IS INTERNATIONALISM and the realisation that a different world can only be achieved through the common struggle of all oppressed people worldwide. We defend the fraternity of peoples as a fundamental value of our network.

4

5

WE FIGHT AGAINST ALL FORMS OF DOMINATION, EXPLOITATION, CAPITALISM AND ITS IDEOLOGY, LIBERALISM, which divides society under the flag of false freedom and promotes individualism, patriarchy and the destruction of nature and we stand together against sexism, racism and any oppression based on gender, sexual identity, religion, handicap, language or nationality.

WE ARE UNITED IN OUR FIGHT AGAINST ALL FORMS OF OCCUPATION AND COLONIALISM and recognise the right to legitimate self-defence of every society. We consider it one of the most urgent internationalist duties of the youth in struggle to first of all fight resolutely against the imperialist policies spreading from our respective homelands. We defend the right to self-determination of all peoples and declare our solidarity with all oppressed peoples, especially the Palestinian people and the Kurdistan liberation movement.

6

7

WE REGARD FASCISM AS A COMMON ENEMY OF HUMANITY and the resurgence of fascist and historical revisionist tendencies as a threat to peace and the future of our societies. As a network, we resolutely stand by the peoples and youth in the antifascist struggle.

WE CONSIDER THE YOUTH AS THE MOST DYNAMIC PART OF ANY SOCIETY and the engine of any change. We consider the autonomous organisation of youth, based on their own strength and independent will, as a guarantee of the pioneering role of youth and the key to the constant renewal of our struggles and organisations.

8

9

WE STAND FIRMLY ON THE SIDE OF ALL PEOPLES IN STRUGGLE and declare our solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in all countries. We regard the liberated and selfgoverned territories of this world, from the indigenous regions of Abya Yala, to the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, the free mountains of Kurdistan, the strongholds of the liberation movements and antiimperialist struggles in Asia, as well as the struggles for national self-determination on the european continent and the ongoing struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa, as outposts of free humanity. The defence of the achievements of the struggles of the past decades is our common task.

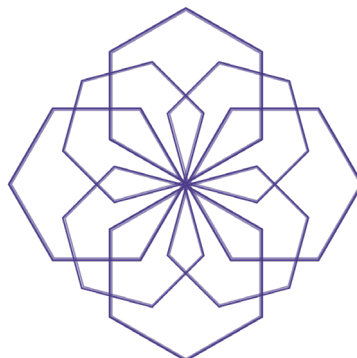
TOGETHER WE WILL WORK FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS. While the rulers of this world act together and in a coordinated manner against our struggles, their repressive apparatuses exchange information and persecute oppositionists and revolutionaries across all national borders, our movements and struggles often remain isolated from one another. The rulers are coordinated worldwide, so, we rely on global cohesion and international solidarity. Wherever our movements are attacked and persecuted, we will support each other and back each other up. Together we will work for the freedom of all revolutionary prisoners. Amid the global campaign for the freedom of the revolutionary Abdullah Öcalan, which started on 10th October, we declare our support for the demands of the campaign «Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan - A political solution for the Kurdish question!

10

OUR COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION WILL BE BASED ON THE AFO-REMENTIONED PRINCIPLES. We may have different ways of thinking and we may have different methods, ways of working and traditions in our movements. We differ in our cultures and languages, some of us come from large movements and some from smaller ones. But we do not see our differences as an obstacle. Instead we see this diversity as a richness and on this basis we want to discuss together, learn from each other and join up forces. Our differences are our strength, it will not weaken but strengthen us on our common path. Our fundamental common ground is our opposition to capitalism, our insistence on humanity. In the face of the global crisis, the ever-increasing war, the ecological catastrophe, the enslavement of women and a system that tries to rob us of our right to a dignified future, our differences and contradictions must fade into the background. As the youth of today, we have a responsibility towards history that we have to fulfil. We no longer want to wait for tomorrow, we want to build a free life here and now. And we are willing to fight for it.

THIS WORLD AND HUMANITY NEEDS A YOUTH THAT HAS WILL AND STRENGTH, IS ORGANISED, BELIEVES IN ITSELF AND IS RADICAL. The current problems will not be solved within the capitalist system; seeking solutions within the cage of capitalism brings no advantage. Capitalism has driven humanity to the edge of the abyss. Our survival is only possible through the defeat of capitalism and the construction of a different life and a different world. The conclusions we draw from the current situation show very clearly that we must come together and become an organised force in the shortest possible time. What is needed is a unity of spirit and strength among young people in struggle worldwide. If in 1848 the Communist Manifesto, which still influences millions of people today, called out «Proletarians of all countries, unite!», today we want to take up this legacy and shout:

**«YOUNG PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES,
UNITE AND CHANGE THIS WORLD!»**



Paris, 05th November 2023
1st World Youth Conference - Youth Writing History

A message from Komalên Ciwan to the World Youth Conference



During the World Youth Conference, there were several youth organizations that were not able to attend, due to state repression and discriminatory border policies. Instead, some participated by sending recorded video messages. Among them was Komalên Ciwan.

The «Association of the Organization of the Democratic Youth of Kurdistan», abbreviated as Komalên Ciwan, is the largest union of democratic youth organizations in Kurdistan, and includes youth associations, clubs, and collectives from all four parts of Kurdistan. The statute of the federation states that «Komalên Ciwan consists of associations, organizations, trade unions, assemblies and communes, which are organized on the basis of the development of a democratic society and a free life in accordance with the perspective of the Democratic Nation».

In the message, Özgür Şerker, member of the coordination of Komalên Ciwan, talks about the historical significance of the conference, and the necessity for all the peoples of the world to stand together against the forces of Capitalist Modernity, united under the vanguard of the youth and the women. We have reproduced the message here in full.



“The youth can change the world if they unite their strength, will and belief”

Dear comrades,



Özgür Şerker, in his message recorded for the conference

In the name of the Apoist youth movement, Komalên Ciwan, we send you our warmest greetings and respect. We congratulate you, the youth of the world, on this first World Youth Conference.



Perhaps we have never seen each other, nor did we have the chance to get to know each other. Perhaps we have very different backgrounds. Some of us are from the Middle East, Asia or Africa; others are from Europe or Abya Yala. We might come from different nations with different beliefs, cultures, and traditions. But we are sure our hearts beat for the same cause. We are seekers on the path of

freedom; we are fighters for a free life. That is why we want to emphasise the importance of our gathering through the World Youth Conference, to stand shoulder to shoulder and join hands. It is of the utmost historical significance for us. That's why we, the Apoist youth movement, are very excited, happy, and joyful about the organisation of this conference. We can see the attempt to revive the spirit of the '68 youth movement. We can see the will of the youth to become the vanguard of change in today's world. That is why we are convinced that this conference will be a great success and that we will achieve great results with the spirit created here.

We are seekers on the path of freedom; we are fighters for a free life

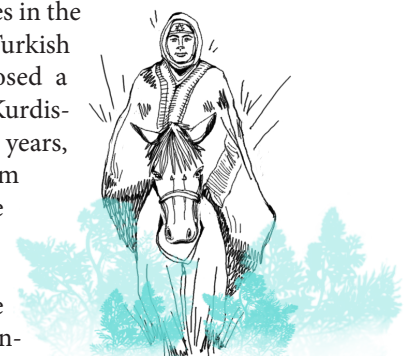
As we all know, in the course of history, humanity has endured much suffering under the various systems of oppression. The rulers have always attacked and oppressed the people and caused great pain. Many sacrifices have been made throughout the history of resistance. Humanity has been confronted with bloodshed, violence, exploitation, rape, genocide and injustice. This system, in the form of capitalist modernity, has reached its peak. The system of capitalist modernity has become global and is targeting humanity on a universal level. We

can say openly that in the 21st century, humanity is wailing under a constant onslaught.

Capitalist modernity is the biggest enemy of humanity. It is the enemy of all human values and was created on this foundation and for this purpose. This is how it tries to sustain itself, and therefore, its attacks continue all over the world. There is only one thing that counts for capitalism: profit, the system of buying and selling. For the interest of the rulers and elites, no value is so great that it cannot be sold. No principle is followed, and no morals remain. Everything is appropriated by their interests to sustain the system of power. This is a reality we can witness today in the war between Israel and Hamas. The Middle East has been caught up for thousands of years in a war that doesn't bring any solution; thus it is involuntarily held in a status quo of constant crisis. This is not the Middle East's destiny but a situation created by the rulers and capitalist modernity. Those aren't problems that arise from society itself. Humanity never chose to live with these problems. We say it again: those who created these problems and are the reason for the people in Kurdistan and Abya Yala, the people in Asia and Africa and Europe to suffer is the capitalist system. The system deprives the youth of its energy, women of their freedom, and humanity as a whole of a beautiful life. If

you want to understand the reality of the system properly, you have to look to Kurdistan. Kurdistan is like an open book to understand the truth of capitalist modernity.

For a hundred years, the capitalist system and its front states in the Middle East, like the Turkish fascist state, have imposed a genocidal policy upon Kurdistan. Against that, for 50 years, our struggle for freedom in Kurdistan under the leadership of Abdullah Öcalan has continued. For 50 years, we have been fighting an existen-



tial war against this system, and in the course of all this we have made abundant sacrifices. Our people endured much pain, but as a result, today, our struggle is spreading over the world, mainly through Öcalan's efforts and thoughts. By taking Öcalan hostage on Imrali Island, the capitalist forces wanted to isolate him as the source of free thought and life from humanity. 25 years of torture and isolation have passed since then, and it is getting more intense day by day. No matter how much these attacks have intensified, Öcalan never stepped backwards. He wasn't silenced in Imrali and will never give up the struggle.

On the contrary, with his remarkable struggle, he became a source of inspiration and freedom for many peoples, allowing him to break through the walls of Imrali. He created a significant alternative to capitalist modernity with his philosophy of democratic modernity. From the new paradigm evolved a perspective of hope for the Kurdish people and all people striving for freedom. If today we, the Apoist youth movement, can lead a revolution like this in Kurdistan, and if we can struggle and discuss with our free will and build on the strength of thought and ideas in ourselves, it is because of Öcalan. That's why we want to share what we have discovered and what Öcalan has brilliantly analysed on Imrali: Until the problems in the Middle East are solved, global problems won't be solved either. If a people is still oppressed, the rest of the world also can't call itself free. If today, the people of Abya Yala can't live a free life with free thoughts, then in Kurdistan, no one can be free either. If today, the Palestinian people are not free, then the Jewish people can't be free either. If the women and youth of society can't play their role as vanguards, this society can't define itself as free, either. We have discovered this as a result of 50 years of struggle. Today, we believe we will gain even more hope and strength with this conference. The more we can spread the struggle for democratic modernity in all parts of the world, the more we are convinced that we will end the oppressor's system and create free life.

This World Youth Conference is a challenge to the oppressors and the system of capitalist modernity. Just like the '68 movement, with its youth spirit, wrote history and spread all over the world, made the system shake, and drove forward a social and cultural revolution, today, this conference is of the same meaning. Today, we say to the whole world, you can't any longer hold back the oppressed peoples who strive for their freedom with your crisis. With your politics, you can't deceive us any longer. The youth won't accept being degraded into a meaningless force anymore.

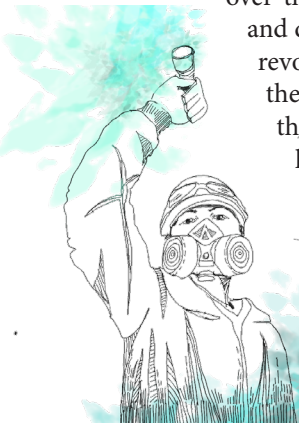
You can't use the youth as tools for your power interests anymore. We own big ideas and knowledge today and can change the world's destiny. This World Youth Conference is the right place to prove this. This conference demonstrates that young people, from Asia to Africa, from Kurdistan to Europe, can change the world if they unite their strength, will and belief. We don't need those oppressors. We don't need those warlords. More than ever before, humanity deserves to live in freedom. Deserves to live a better life based on beauty, common moral values and unity.

We, and all of you, are creating this hope today. We are convinced that this conference will bring important gains as a result of its discussions and decisions. Even if the circumstances didn't make it possible for us to physically participate in this conference, our hearts are with you. We believe that the ideas of democratic modernity and the line of democratic confederalism can provide solutions with courage and depth for the discussions and analysis of our problems as youth during this conference. The rulers will fear the results of this conference, and on this foundation, we think we will begin a new phase of struggle together. We hope these discussions will not remain with the conference only. With these discussions and the decisions to be made, we will create a common, united, worldwide front for the struggling youth. We will feel all the problems of all societies in the depth of our hearts and minds. We will rise up against all injustice; we will not remain silent. And what's most important, like this, we will become the vanguard for our people and the people of the world.

In the end, we send our greetings to all participants of the conference with big excitement once again. We declare our love for all of you, and we are sure that you will achieve results on the road to ultimate victory.

Long live the spirit of the '68 movement!
Long live the youth of the world!
Long live internationalism!
Serkeftin! Serkeftin! Serkeftin!

Recorded in November, 2023 from the free mountains of Kurdistan



THE FIRST TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE OF 1966

"Create two, three...

many Vietnams!"



By Olegario Hêvî

The first solidarity conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Tricontinental Conference, was held from January 3 to 15, 1966 in the city of Havana, Cuba. This massive gathering brought together over 500 representatives from eighty-two countries across the global South, representing political parties, social movements, and anti-imperial organizations, as well as trade unions, and student and women's groups. The Conference was attended by revolutionary cadres, speaking for the peoples of the three exploited continents, all united in their fight for liberation. Never before had such a gathering of representation from Africa, Asia, and Latin America been convened in one place. Despite the different realities, cultures, beliefs, construction methods, and philosophies of each society, a common denominator was identified: the struggle against colonialism,

and specifically American imperialism, which was deemed the most dangerous threat to all revolutionary processes at that time. Solidarity and internationalism took on a new face, as driven from the global South.

Solidarity and internationalism took on a new face, as driven from the global South

At that historical juncture, the world was caught in the midst of the Cold War, a scenario that saw the globe polarized between the communist and capitalist blocs, with the Soviet Union and the United States leading each respectively. Meanwhile, in Africa, fervent uprisings of the people, embodied in movements for national liberation against colonialism and Western imperialism, were shaking apart the old systems.

This situation meant that important delegations from the Congo, the Zimbabwean people of Southern Rhodesia, and

the Liberation Movements of Angola and Mozambique attended the Conference with special urgency. Also noteworthy was the presence of the legendary Amílcar Cabral, representing the Guinean people fighting against Portuguese colonialism. Just one year after the Conference, Cabral was assassinated. The Soviet Union delegation was invited as an observer to the meeting of the peoples of the global South.

The slogan of Che Guevara, «create two, three... many Vietnams,» also emerged as a direction to secure the freedom and independence of peoples

The Tricontinental Conference also saw the attendance of prominent leaders from the Latin American revolutionary movement, including Chilean Salvador Allende, Guatemalan Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, Guyanese Cheddy Jagan, Venezuelan Pedro Medina Silva, and Uruguayan Rodney Arismendi. Additionally, representatives from different factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization participated in the event. Various heads of state who couldn't attend in person sent messages, such as Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the DPRK, Kim Il Sung, Egyptian Gamal Abdel Nasser, Algerian Houari Boumediene, and Tanzanian Julius Nyerere.

During this Conference, multiple economic, political, and cultural topics were debated, whose impact resonated beyond the event. In the book "Three Continents, Asia, Africa, Latin America," edited in May 1966 by Prensa Latina, one can find the topics discussed and analyzed by the delegations during the event, culminating in the analysis of the political situation of all participating countries.

This conference arose from two fundamental preceding dynamics. One was the organization of states of the anti-colonial movement, which had founded the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961, which included not only radical regimes, but also those with a more conciliatory attitude towards imperialism. Similarly, there were movements with unconcluded national liberation wars, which had a more radical character, and these had gathered in the 1957 Organization of Afro-Asian Solidarity (OS-PAA).

The remarkable soul, and driving force behind the Tricontinental Conference, was Moroccan Mehdi Ben Barka, who unfortunately did not live to see his efforts. Two months prior, on 29 October 1965, he was kidnapped in Paris, tortured, and brutally murdered. His assassination is believed to have been orchestrated by American, Moroccan and Israeli military intelligence, although three individuals were convicted by French courts as

perpetrators. Despite this, the case remains unsolved, and the masterminds of this political crime were never brought to justice.

The Tricontinental Conference demonstrated the diversity of the global revolutionary movement, and their common interest. It saw profound debate within the revolutionary movement, including echoes of the dispute between the Soviet and Chinese communist visions. Debates also arose regarding the paths to socialism, particularly regarding armed struggle versus other, peaceful transitional methods; as well as the necessary alliances and solidarities to be forged internationally. In these discussions, Cuban positions and those of Allende of Chile were heard. Fidel Castro emphasized that, "the duty of every revolutionary to make the revolution" and criticized the lack of effective and consistent support from the socialist bloc to Vietnam, which had been under



attack by the U.S. since 1955. He attributed this weakness to intra-communist disagreement, which he characterized as "byzantine discord." The slogan of Che Guevara, «create two, three... many Vietnams» also emerged as a direction to secure the freedom and independence of peoples.

Without going against the Cuban way, Allende expressed the following: "It will be the people of Chile themselves, and the conditions of our country, that will determine whether we use this or that method to defeat the imperialist enemy and its allies".

Later, Allende pointed out: *"We stand with the peoples of Asia and Africa and the Arab world, who fight with arms in the Congo, in the Portuguese colonies, in Yemen, in Laos, especially in Vietnam, against the common enemy. We believe that their struggles are valuable aids for the Latin American peoples who, in their own way and on each front, oppose imperialism. We stand with the fighters of Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and especially with the brave Dominican people, whose heroic battle we stand in solidarity with to conquer their freedom and expel the Yankee invaders. We also stand with those who struggle to defeat imperialism."*



It is true that the participation of youth and women was fundamental in this political event. Most of the revolutionaries who attended were young militants and cadre, and audiovisual records show the significant presence of women. However, finding documentation that specifically details those activities of the women and youth in attendance, in a deep and exhaustive manner, is challenging. From this Conference emerged the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), whose Executive Secretariat, with representatives from the three continents, is based in Havana, Cuba to this day. From OSPAAAL came the "Tricontinental Magazine," a space for information, denunciation, and militant solidarity. In its issues, in addition to written articles, a variety of posters were published that significantly contributed to strengthening the struggle, raising awareness worldwide, and denouncing what was happening against the people's struggles.

Cuba's internationalist position was clear and powerful. Fidel Castro said: *"Without boasting, without any kind of modesty, this is how Cuban revolutionaries understand our internationalist duty, and this is how our people understand their duties, because they understand that the enemy is one and the same, the one who attacks us on our coasts and in our lands is the same one who attacks others. And that is why we say and proclaim that the revolutionary movement can count on Cuban fighters in any corner of the Earth. Our people have felt as their own, each and every one of the problems of other peoples. Our people welcomed them with open arms, and bid them farewell with closed arms, as a symbol of a bond that will never be broken, and as a symbol of their fraternal solidarity towards other peoples who fight, for whom they are also willing to shed their blood. Homeland or death! We will overcome!"*

Undoubtedly, this event serves as an important reference point in the history of revolutionary movements. However, as internationalists of the Apoist movement, we must adopt a critical perspective to construct and strengthen revolutionary movements everywhere. We should ask ourselves:

Why did this internationalist proposal not progress and strengthen significantly? Is it perhaps because it was created within the dynamics and logic of nation-states, without questioning capitalist civilization? How can we open debates on the nuances, and the new faces, of imperialism and anti-imperialist struggle in our time? How can we foster more discussions within the international left to question the reality of nation-states and the forces that compose this capitalist modernity? How can we propose and build an internationalist proposal for our present time, while learning from these precedents?

To all honorable Myanmar revolutionaries

A message from the YPG and YPJ self-defense forces in Rojava towards the Myanmar's resistances forces

In January 2021, in Myanmar, a coup d'état led by the military junta brutally halted the democratization process initiated a few years earlier. Mass protests were drowned in blood. Hundreds of the young people leading the demonstrations headed into the jungle and the countryside, where they came into contact with ethnic armed struggle organizations. The latter had already been fighting for several decades against the central state and the denial of their right to autonomy.

In December, the YPG/YPJ self-defense forces sent a message of support to the resistance in Myanmar, responding to a previous message of solidarity with the revolution in Northern and Eastern Syria by the Karenni Nationalities Defense Forces, which we published in the previous issue (#12).

Since then we received the sad news that the commander Sayar Richard, who was the main responsible for organizing the solidarity message, fell martyr along with 20 other comrades as a result of an air strike.

As editorial committee of Legerin we express our solidarity with their families and with all the Karenni and Myanmar people in struggle.





Image from the message recorded by YPG/YPJ in North and East Siria, 2023

We salute you with our belief that building a free society is possible through the leading role of women's freedom and the brotherhood of peoples, which will create a more beautiful world. Therefore, with all determination and resolve, we will wage this struggle in the name of all humanity, and on this basis we send you our greetings filled with love and respect.

The perspective and paradigm of Leader Öcalan, represented by democratic civilization and the organization of self-administration, which is based on the will and joint representation of both sexes away from the tools of power such as the state and others, and on the model of Democratic Confederalism, has the ability to solve all issues related to freedom for the twenty-first century. This perspective sheds light on the authoritarian relationship of man over others, man over nature, and also the authority of men imposed on women as basic issues, and therefore, as much as they are analyzed, the power of solving them becomes clear. On the basis of getting closer to equality and balance in nature, the reality of women's and men's freedom will be able to thwart all policies of dictatorship, fascism and gender, and by solving peoples' issues, it will transform the world into a situation in which free life can be lived. Our struggle depends on these principles, and based on this concept, the meaning and value of our joint struggle with you is more important than anything else.

The fascist Turkish state carries out illegal attacks on our people and our land on a daily basis, amid international silence towards it. Therefore, we strongly reject the policies of the dominant powers that use the Turkish state as a stick against us. We ap-

preciate your message, which shares our pain and supports our steadfastness. Your supportive and solidarity stance increases our strength and determination, and we thank you very much.

The crisis that the state and authority systems are experiencing creates problems and deepens them day after day. The forces of power attack the people in brutal and fascist ways to prevent the people from building their free spring. In fact, these authoritarian regimes sharply attack people, women, oppressed people, minorities and cultural identities, whether in the military field or in the ideological, political and social fields, and in this way they try to hinder the struggle for freedom. They repeatedly try to turn the lands of oppressed peoples into battlefields, so that they can hinder democratic developments on the one hand, and on the other hand exploit them as tools for settlement and conclude new agreements with dominant countries. Despite this, with the struggle for freedom that has been ongoing for nearly 50 years, led by Leader Öcalan, and with the Rojava Revolution led by women, the democratic revolution of the people has gained the opportunity to define itself.

As we fought against ISIS, we were able to stop the racist conflicts that turned into civil wars between the peoples of the region. With the option of a shared life of peoples, which we define as the "Democratic Nation," the necessary steps have been taken to realize this ideal. The capitalist hegemonic powers and regional states that oppose our revolution are relentlessly launching genocidal attacks against the Kurdish people. Our ideological approach and model, which has a perspective to solve all the problems of the people, frightened the dominant powers, and as a result we are subjected to such attacks in front of the eyes of the whole world.

The model of Democratic Confederalism, has the ability to solve all issues related to freedom for the twenty-first century

You, the people of Myanmar, have multiple identities and cultures, and you also have many strong democratic dynamics. Therefore, they are trying to control you and suppress you using the methods of the fascist and military junta. Because you have revolutionary knowledge and have the opportunity to spread freedom and democracy throughout the region and the world, they are trying to hinder you with these offensive methods. While we carefully follow your struggle, we condemn and reject the world's silence against the oppression, dirty war and illegal attacks carried out by the fascist military junta against your people.

To repel these attacks, you can organize yourselves more quickly and protect your legitimate rights in accordance with the principle of «self-defense.»

Despite your limited capabilities, we welcome your sacrificial attitude with great admiration and respect. The multiplicity of national identities in Myanmar reveals the fact that it can be an example of the unity of peoples for the freedom of the region and the entire world. Your society has strong characteristics that are compatible with the “Democratic Nation” project. You will be able to protect your own identity on the one hand, and you will be able to express yourselves as a participatory group on the other hand. On this basis, with this strength, your demand for freedom and your continuous struggle, you will be able to thwart the plans of capitalist countries.

We define women's freedom as the essence of society's existence. In this sense, we as the YPG and YPJ approach it strategically and we have an army built on this basis. In your letter, you highlighted the importance of organizing women in the army, and women have a prominent role in your struggle, and this is of great value to us as well. We believe that women's freedom, insofar as it resolves gender conflict, can liberate society, and based on this we send our special greetings to all revolutionary

We believe that women's freedom, insofar as it resolves gender conflict, can liberate society

women in Myanmar. We all believe that the struggle based on the principles of women's freedom will inevitably win and has the ability to liberate the entire society. The organization and philosophy of Free Women represents the conscience, resistance, and will of society. Accordingly, we have full confidence and belief that your legitimate cause will certainly prevail in building a free and dignified life.

We share the same feelings towards your struggle, and we also see your steadfastness and resistance against the ruling regime in the country, and to the extent that we stand in solidarity

with you, we can provide the required support and assistance. We, as the defense forces, will organize the strength of the people's struggle through the strategy of «Revolutionary

People's War» with tactical expertise that will eliminate the enemy's fascist techniques. Through our belief in freedom, we will fight the war of freedom with all resolve and determination until the end. We will not retreat from it in any way, and we will transform the values of freedom that we represent together into a way of life. In order for this revolution to turn into a regional and global revolution, we will fight and struggle until the end and we will definitely win. With this pride and determination, we salute you once again and believe that you will defeat the fascist junta and any form of dictatorial regime. On this basis, we wish you victory in your struggle, and you have all of our respect.

**With our revolutionary greetings and respect
10 November, 2023**

General Command of the YPG and YPJ



The martyrs open the path

By David Hampton, Lêgerîn UK Committee

If it were not for Anna Campbell, I would not be writing this article. I moved to Bristol – the city where Anna lived, struggled, and departed from on her journey to Rojava – about a year and a half after she had been martyred. When I moved here, I was not only unfamiliar with the ideas and goals of the Kurdistan Freedom Movement, but I had never heard Anna’s name. In learning about her life, I have learnt that the words Şehîd Namarin (martyrs never die) form the bedrock through which memories of struggle are kept alive. These words shape the way we relate to each other and act as revolutionaries, as internationalists, and as youth struggling for a democratic future.

Anna left Bristol for Rojava in the summer of 2017 to join the YPJ and defend the women’s revolution against the fascist Islamic State. There, she took the battle name Hêlîn Qereçox. She was in Rojava when the Turkish occupation of Afrin began and she asked her commanders to let her fight there, seeing this task as part of the same fight against fascism. It was here that she was martyred by a Turkish air strike on the 16th March 2018 (1). Before she left, she had been deeply involved in antifascist and refugee solidarity work, had worked with Bristol Hunt Sabetours to take direct action against illegal animal hunting, and was organizing with Bristol Anarchist Black Cross to support political prisoners. Each of these struggles, and the joy with which she engaged with them, represented her love and desire for a truly free society. As a committed internationalist, her decision to leave was not an abandonment of these struggles, but rather a deepening of her commitment to a politics of liberation and an expansion of her revolutionary personality.

Everyone’s journey into struggle is simultaneously personal and collective

A journey is personal since the circumstances that affect your decisions are unique, and collective since these circumstances are created by the decisions and sacrifices of many people that interlink in ways beyond our ability to

understand. As Rêber Apo argues that ‘those who cannot correctly write their own history of freedom cannot live freely either’, tracing how martyrs have shaped our own journeys into a collective struggle is a vital step for developing a revolutionary and internationalist consciousness.

My first encounter with Anna was in the anarchist social centre in Bristol, where there is beautiful artwork commemorating her sacrifice. This building, with meeting rooms, a library, an archive, and a communal kitchen,

is a vital space for both making connections with other activists and movements and for the transmission of knowledge of past struggles that we continue to learn from. Like so many of us in Bristol, it is a space that Anna frequented regularly.

I remember upon seeing this artwork being struck by a feeling of tangibility that was initially hard to comprehend. Growing up in the UK – the birthplace of industrial capitalism and a core centre of the worst excesses of capitalist modernity – it is drilled into us from a young age that revolutionary politics are a childish myth, that revolutions are impossible, and that struggles are

something confined to history that no longer have any relevance to our society.

Learning about Anna turned all of that on its head and forced me to try and overcome the contradictions I had internalised

Here was a woman who was raised in the same society as me, who lived in the same city as me, and who used the same spaces as me who had given her life to defend a revolution thousands of miles away. In learning about her I began to learn what internationalism can mean in practice, and I was inspired to learn more about the ideological pillars of the revolution that she had left her home to defend. If Anna were not commemorated in this way, then I cannot be certain that I would ever have experienced this feeling that has guided my politics ever since.



From Bristol to Rojava, Anna lives

It helped to concretise these thoughts further when I learnt that before leaving Anna had helped set up Kurdistan solidarity groups, and that after she had fallen Şehîd, friends and communities across the UK inspired by her expanded these groups and took on the task of spreading the ideas of the paradigm across all our movements. In her life and in her death, Anna has brought the shining star that the movement represented to her into the consciousness of so many people who have been guided by it ever since. It has been through interacting with these friends, these groups, and these structures that I have come to know the movement on a deeper level and commit myself more fully to it. The friends who have taken these steps understood that we cannot view martyrdom as something preserved in a moment of idealised perfection, but as something that actively exists in our struggles. To truly remember Anna means fighting for the ideas she died for and struggling with the joy with which she fought for them.

Earlier this year I had the privilege of attending the First World Youth Conference in Paris with a small delegation from Bristol

Here, we met revolutionary youth from every continent who had all been brought together by their desire to learn from the Kurdistan Freedom Movement and connect with each other as internationalist youth struggling across arbitrary state-imposed borders. Perhaps the most beautiful thing we experienced at this conference was the Martyrs' Wall, with a table adorned with pictures of Şehîds and surrounded by pictures of young martyrs from different historic and contemporary liberation struggles. To us, it felt fitting that we could contribute an image of Şehîd Anna Campbell to this table and share in her remembrance with everyone else present who has been inspired by her struggle. To me, it felt like I had come full circle and moved a step closer to reaching a synthesis of the personal and collective aspects of my journey.

Above all else, I felt even more determined to continue fighting for a free, communal, and democratic future



The beauty of remembering Şehîds is that across the world Anna is remembered differently yet provides the same inspiration. The way she is remembered in Bristol allows us to connect to her life and her struggle in a tangible way, as we imagine her in familiar spaces performing familiar tasks to familiar people. So, while her image shines on around the world as a young internationalist woman who gave her life defending the women's revolution, to us in Bristol she is just as much the person who cooked communal meals in the social centre. We remember her not just as an internationalist fighter, but as an antifascist, a prison abolitionist, a queer feminist, and as a friend. All these aspects of her struggle are inseparable and remembering them enables us to continue fighting. And while the way we connect to her is different from how a young girl in Rojava who sees her image in the komel (Kurdish social centre) might connect with her, in remembrance we all become connected to something larger, to a common horizon, and to each other.

Although this article has been written about Şehîd Anna Campbell since she is most familiar to me in my context, the same feelings I have described can be applied to anyone who fell in the struggle for freedom.

Every martyr came from somewhere. Every martyr had friends and family that they shared the beauty of life with. And every martyr had a reason to struggle

Do not let them become abstract in their death and confined only to memory. Wherever you are in the world, research and discover your martyrs, connect with them, keep their memory alive in your struggle, and let it inspire others, as the remembrance of Anna did for me and many other comrades. **If Martyrs never die, then Anna will always live.**

1. If you would like to find out more about her life, you can read her biography in issue 7 of Lêgerîn "In Memory of Şehîd Hêlin Qereçox - Şerda Intikam"

Şehîd

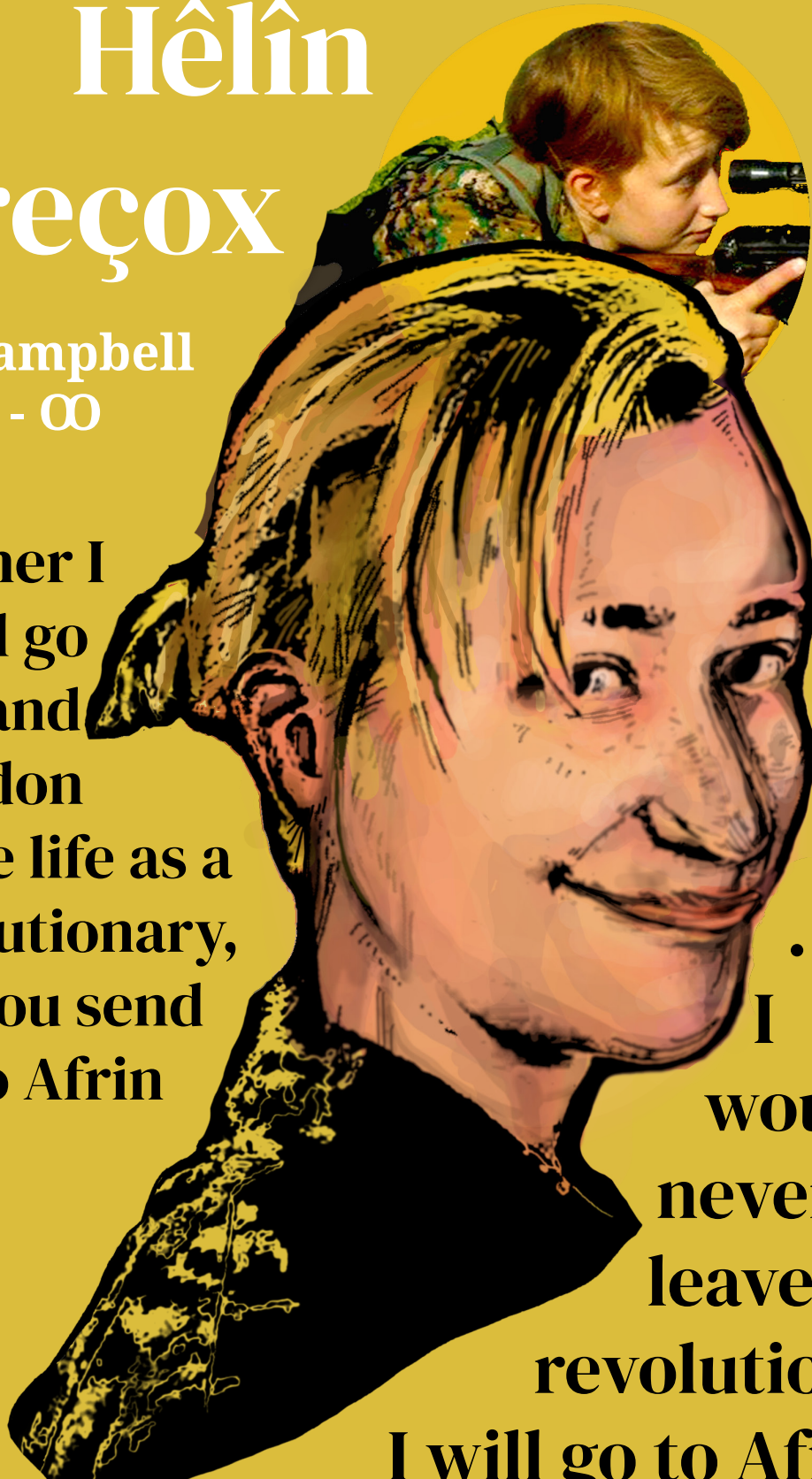
Hêlîn

Qereçox

Anna Campbell
1991 - ∞

"Either I
will go
home and
abandon
the life as a
revolutionary,
or you send
me to Afrin

...but
I
would
never
leave the
revolution so
I will go to Afrin!"



Every generation must discover its mission

In Remembrance of Frantz Fanon



By Ka-Ubuntu

Algerian Liberation from France colonialism, 1962

Frantz Fanon, revolutionary psychiatrist, brilliant writer, has ardently fought all kinds of alienation. Born with French nationality in the West Indies in 1925. He died as an Algerian on 6 December 1961 at the age of 36, a few months before Algerian independence, in which he had played an active part. Created in 2020, our independentist Réunionese and pan-African organisation, Ka Ubuntu, wants to pay tribute to this major contributor to independence in Africa. We share his vision of an internationalist struggle, the right to self-determination and the sovereignty of each people.

Born in 1925 to a middle class family in Martinique, Frantz Fanon was deeply marked by his racial heritage and his experience of society under French colonial domination. Growing up in colonized Martinique, Fanon was confronted with the reality of colonial oppression and the consequences of institutionalized racism from his earliest childhood memories. These experiences shaped his perception of the world and created the basis of his decolonial commitment. Over the years, Fanon developed a profound analysis and a critique of the colonial dynamics, shedding light on domination mechanisms and the devastating effects of colonization on colonized people. His work has helped to raise awareness of the need to understand colonial structures in order to get rid of them.

In 1943, Fanon decided to leave Martinique to join the Free French Forces (Forces Françaises Libres) at the age of 18. His voluntary commitment shows his desire to contribute to the fight against Nazism and the oppressive forces threatening liberty and human dignity. *“Every time dignity and human liberty are questioned we are affected, Whites, Blacks and Yellows, and every time they are threatened in any place whatsoever, I will commit myself to it without return.”* - Fanon.

But his experience in the French army quickly revealed the contradictions and injustices persisting even at the very heart of the military apparatus. Indeed, despite his upbringing imbued with the ideals of the French revolution and the principles of equality and fraternity, Fanon came up against a disconcerting reality. The French army, which was meant to embody these values, turned out to be imbued with flagrant racial discrimination. This called into question the very basis of his identity and his relation to France.

The young Fanon was confronted with the prejudice against the colonial African troops who were treated differently and oftentimes discriminated against, leaving him with a sense of deep disillusion. He shared this disillusion in a letter to his parents in April 1945, where he expressed his confusion

towards this brutal reality: “If I didn’t return, if you learn one day of my death at the hands of the enemy, take comfort, but never say: he died for a good cause [...]; because this wrong ideology, the shield of secularists and imbecilic politicians, must no longer enlighten us. I was wrong!”

This experience profoundly influenced Fanon, and marked the foundation of his reassessment of colonialism and his fight for the emancipation of the colonised people.

His personal experience of racism and the genesis of his work, “Black Skin, White Masks”, are intimately connected. Fanon began writing this book in the late 1940s while studying medicine in Lyon. “Black Skin, White Masks” was published in 1952, when Fanon was 27. The book is the fruit of his in-depth reflections of racial mechanics and their impact on society. It is an essay that explores the complex dynamics between black and white people, examining the psychological consequences inherited from colonialism.

Fanon, as a precursor of decolonial thought, highlights that colonization is not just about economic domination, but also influences individual and collective psychologies. He highlights how the colonized, conditioned by the colonial system, integrate and internally accept their alleged inferiority, while the colonizers assimilate and claim their alleged superiority. Through his writings, Fanon encourages the oppressed to free themselves from this psychological imprisonment, to become aware of their own identity, their “négritude”. However, he makes it clear that this awareness is only an initial step towards overcoming the artificial categories of Black and White.

Fanon’s aim goes beyond a simple understanding of racial and colonial dynamics. He seeks to emancipate individuals by encouraging them to free themselves from the mental chains imposed by centuries of domination. Fanon said “I am not a slave to the slavery which dehumanized my fathers.”

In 1953, Frantz Fanon decides to move to Algeria where he works as a psychiatrist at the hospital of Blida. Fanon analyzed the behavior of the colonized in Algeria and realized that psychological treatment alone would not suffice. At the International Congress of Black Writers and Artists, he highlighted the use of exploitation, torture, razzias and racism, which reduced natives to inert objects in the hands of the occupying nation. For Fanon, it was pointless to deal with the consequences without tackling the causes, as coloniza-

tion engendered more psychological disorders than he could treat as a psychiatrist.

That’s why, in 1954, he joined the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), despite threats, attacks and expulsion, renouncing his French nationality to go into exile in Tunis. His writings in the press are read worldwide, advocating pan-Africanism and encouraging the internationalization of struggles. With regard to this internationalization of struggles, Fanon won

the esteem of freedom fighters such as Che Guevara, Mehdi Ben Barka, Amílcar Cabral, Agostino Neto, Nelson Mandela and many other liberators. His reputation

among independence movements grew when he became the Algerian provisional government’s ambassador-at-large for sub-Saharan Africa in Ghana.

Fanon said “I am not a slave to the slavery which dehumanized my fathers.”



Frantz Fanon giving a speech in Accra, Ghana, 1958

For Fanon, the quest for freedom demands sacrifice. He sees insurrection as a duty, even if it meant using violence. His major work, “The Wretched of the Earth” (“Les Damnés de la terre”, 1961), is an analysis of the processes of decolonization and their repercussions. In it, Fanon explains his vision of the paths to liberation, highlighting the imperative of a total revolution to shatter the oppressive structures of colonialism. He warns of the risks inherent in neo-colonialism, and calls for a radical transformation of post-colonial societies.

“The colonial regime is a regime established by violence. Colonial rule has always been established by force. It was against the will of the people that other peoples, more advanced in the techniques of destruction or numerically more powerful, imposed themselves. Violence in everyday behavior, violence towards the past, which has been emptied of all substance, violence towards the future.” - Excerpt from *L’an V de la révolution algérienne* (1959)

Fanon’s vision of violence provoked fierce controversy in France. Often criticized for his position as an apologist for violence, it is important to point out that criticism comes mainly from “propagandists of imperialism and supporters of the hierarchy of civilizations... essentially the organic intellectuals of the markets.”

In his writings, Fanon approaches violence through the prism of praxis, a notion that integrates both theory and action. For him, violence is not merely a means or a end in itself, but an element of praxis intimately linked to social transformation and the struggle against oppressive structures. He does not

glorify violence for its own sake, but sees it as a contextual tool within a broader struggle for emancipation.

In his analysis, Fanon point out that violence is often perceived as a necessity in the face of colonial oppression. He sees it as an inevitable response in situations where the oppressed find themselves at an impasse, confronted by deeply entrenched systems of power and exploitation. "Colonialism is not a thinking machine, not a body endowed with reason. It is violence in its natural state and can only bow to greater violence." - *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)

"Colonialism is not a thinking machine, not a body endowed with reason. It is violence in its natural state and can only bow to greater violence." - *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)

For Fanon, revolutionary violence is a tactical strategy used to break with the oppressive colonial order. It is one of the ways of tearing down structures of domination, liberating the consciousness of the oppressed and inciting them to claim their freedom.

Fanon warns of its dehumanizing and alienating effects, recognizing the psychological and physical after-effects on both oppressed and oppressors. Thus, he empathizes the importance of post-violence social and psychological transformation, involving the complete reconstruction of decolonized societies. He stresses post-conflict disalienation and psychological rehabilitation, and advocates for reconciliation and the construction of a truly free society, based on equality, justice and mutual respect. This awareness underlines the importance of a thorough understanding of the implications of post-colonial violence.

At Ka Ubuntu, we defend the idea that violence can become inevitable when all peaceful avenues are systematically ignored by the imperialist and colonialist system. Colonial regimes establish themselves in our nations through violence. We see this again today in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

On La Réunion, the imperialists constructed a settlement colony, introducing a system of slavery motivated by economic interests and imbued with racism. A system of unspeakable violence and cruelty. After its supposed abolition, "engagism" took over in our country. Engagism in La Réunion was a system whereby workers, often from India, China, Africa, Madagascar or the Comoros, were recruited under contract to work on the sugar plantations after the abolition of slavery. These workers, known as "Engaged" (engagés in french), signed contracts for a fixed period and were often subjected to harsh working condi-

tions and unfair treatment. Displaced and mistreated, the Engaged were destined for an existence of servitude which, in many respects, brought them close to the status of slaves.

Since 1946, La Réunion is a French Department located 10,000 km from Paris. This departmentalization is a continuation of colonization in a different form. French colonialism is maintained on La Réunion by presenting itself as the welfare state. They distil in the subconscious of the Réunionese population that without the French, they could not survive. All the while, economic and social inequalities are rife on the island – a reality that no one can

deny. Today, the violence to which our people are subjected is subtle and far more dangerous than the blows of a stick.

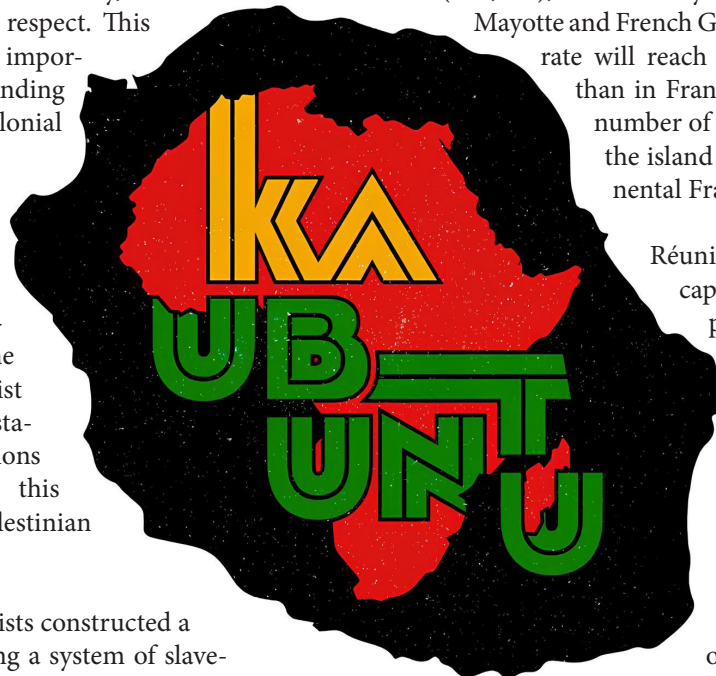
The youth faces a variety of form of symbolic violence which have a significant impact on their development and well-being. The violence present in Reunion's youth can manifest itself in subtle ways through discrimination in education, employment and access to resources. This discrimination contributes to perpetuating cycles of socio-economic disadvantage.

The youth faces a variety of form of symbolic violence which have a significant impact on their development and well-being. The violence present in Reunion's youth can manifest itself in subtle ways through discrimination in education, employment and access to resources. This discrimination contributes to perpetuating cycles of socio-economic disadvantage.

La Réunion, with a third of its population under the age of 20 (260,000), is the third youngest region of France, behind Mayotte and French Guiana. The youth unemployment rate will reach 32% in 2022, 2.5 times higher than in France. Furthermore, a considerable number of young people are forced to leave the island to pursue their studies in continental France (2,300 students per year).

Réunion's youth, marginalized by the capitalist system, find themselves plunged into delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse. This marginalization leads to a militarization of the youth, as a result of the colonial state's propaganda aimed at recruiting these young people into its army. It is therefore imperative to politically educate our youth so that they participate in the emancipation of La Réunion and overthrow the colonial order.

"Every generation must, in relative opacity, discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it", said Fanon. It is up to each generation to preserve its sovereignty, its right to self-determination, enabling its people, its nation, to free itself from all forms of foreign domination, using all means, including violence if necessary.

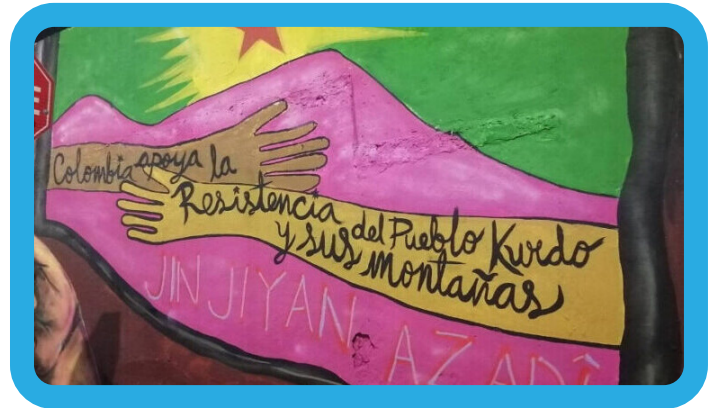


Internationalist youth in action

All over the world the youth is writing history. Here we compile some of the actions that took place from November 2023 to February 2024



Young women celebrate with a cultural evening the finalization of a circle of reading and discussion around the topic of Jineolojî in Turin, Italy on December 2023



Mural painted in Bogotá, Colombia to denounce the attacks of the Turkish state against the Kurdish people. January 2024



Presentation of the Lêgerîn Project during a musical event in Marseille, France in February, 2024



Seminar organised in the Kayole Community Centre in Kenya for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan as part of the global campaign for his liberation. February, 2024



Internationalist Long March for the Freedom of Abdullah Öcalan. Walking from Basel, Switzerland to Strasbourg, France. February 2024



Mass march in Cologne, Germany on the 17th of February for the Freedom of Abdullah Öcalan. Attended by tens of thousands of people and lead at the front by the internationalist block

If you want us to share your actions in the next issue, send us an email at legerinkovar@protonmail.com with some photos and information about it. The youth around the World is organising and taking action, join them!

What happened in History?

March



3rd of March, 1816 [El Villar, Bolivia]

Juana Azurduy, an indigenous woman in what is now Bolivia, led her women's militia armed mainly with slingshots and clubs to victory in a battle against Spanish colonists. Azurduy had a deep appreciation for the indigenous people of Bolivia, and in addition to Spanish, she spoke the South American languages Quechua and Aymara. Between 1811 and 1817, Azurduy fought in twenty-three battles in the effort to liberate the region. When the Bolivian War of Independence began in 1809 Azurduy immediately joined the revolutionary forces, and went on to command a two-thousand strong guerrilla army. Resistances like these would prove decisive in Spain's eventual withdrawal from Abya Yala, and the Bolivian independence on August 8, 1825.



8th of March, 2021 [Mexico City, Mexico]

After months of confinements due to the lockdowns for Covid, the feminist movement in Mexico was preparing to go out to the streets again for the International Women's Day. After the previous year's mobilization brought hundreds of thousands to the streets, the government of Manuel López Obrador, president of Mexico, erects massive barriers around the presidential palace, knowing that after a year of confinement in which domestic violence and gender violence has increased, the women are ready to take once more the streets. But despite the heavy police violence and repression, as thousands of women march in Mexico City, they manage to bring down a part of the barriers, showing once more that neither state nor patriarchal violence can stop them.



11th of March, 1845 [Aotearoa (New Zealand)]

The Battle of Kororareka occurred, launched by a small group of native Māori insurgents against the English colonisers. British forces were outnumbered, and it ended with the rebels seizing the city of Kororareka, demonstrating their opposition to the ongoing colonization of their land. This battle was an engagement of the Flagstaff War in New Zealand, which followed the establishment of British control in the islands. This battle was fought between 11 March 1845 and 11 January 1846, in and around the Bay of Islands, New Zealand.



21st of March, 1994 [Mannheim, Germany]

In the 90s in Germany the repression against the Kurdish Liberation Movement became very intense, with many people incarcerated, social centres closed and symbols of the movement banned. But this attack was not only directed against a political movement but against Kurdish people themselves. This being made clear when in 1994 the German government banned the celebration of Newroz, the day of the new year in many Middle Easter cultures and, particularly for Kurdish people, a symbolic day of resistance for their freedom and existence. In response, two young Kurdish women and political militants, Bedriye Taş "Ronahi" and Nilgün Yıldırım "Berivan" decided to set themselves on fire on the night of Nowroj on March 21st in the city of Mannheim while holding hands together. This action had a huge impact on all of German society and exposed the unjust persecution of the German state against Kurdish people, forcing the state to back down.



29th of March 1985 [Santiago, Chile]

On 29 March 1985, two brothers, Rafael and Eduardo Vergara Toledo, were murdered by police in Santiago, Chile. Rafael, 18 and Eduardo, 20, were members of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), which was engaged in a guerrilla struggle against the right-wing

dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Around 7:30 PM, they and four other MIR members were intercepted by a police patrol near their homes. They promptly fled, but Eduardo was shot, and despite his brother's pleas to leave him, Rafael stayed with him. Rafael was then brutally beaten and shot in the head. The date was then unofficially commemorated by many people as the Day of the Young Combatant, which is traditionally marked each year by riots and attacks on police, in working class districts of Santiago and in other poor parts of the country.

April

10th of April 1919 [Ayala, Mexico]

On 10 April 1919, Emiliano Zapata, peasant leader during the Mexican revolution of Nahuatl Indigenous and Spanish descent, was assassinated in Chinameca, Ayala, by the "revolutionary" Carranza government. With the outbreak of revolution in 1910, Zapata became the leader of the Liberation Army of the South, a peasant militia fighting for "tierra y libertad" (land and freedom). After Francisco Madero took power in 1911, Zapata denounced him for betraying the revolution, and drafted the Ayala Plan: a radical programme of land reform. Zapata's southern army allied with the revolutionary armies in the north, led by Pancho Villa and Venustiano Carranza. They soon overthrew the government, and called a convention to form the new government. Zapata declined to participate as none of the organisers had been elected. Carranza put a bounty on Zapata's head, hoping that one of his own fighters would betray him, but none did. In the end he was lured to a meeting with one of Carranza's men and murdered. To this day Zapata continues being a symbol of peasant and indigenous resistance, inspiring the Zapatista movement to take their name after him.

14th of April 1816 [Barbados]

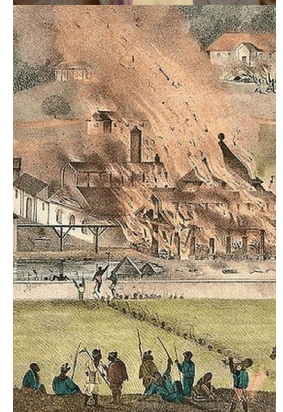
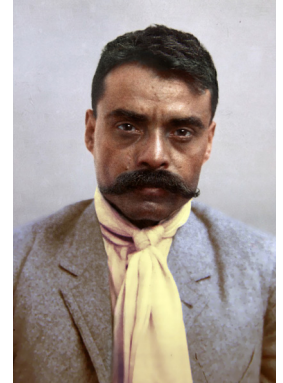
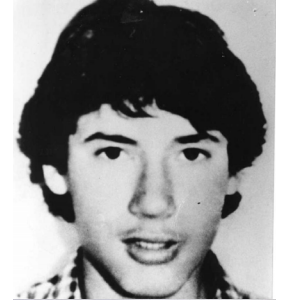
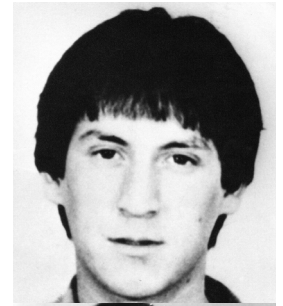
On 14 April 1816, an uprising of enslaved people known as Bussa's rebellion, named after its leader, broke out on Easter Sunday night in Barbados. It was to be the island's largest rebellion of enslaved Africans. Enslaved people took advantage of the temporary freedom from work and the cover of permitted gathering for Easter festivities to organise themselves. The revolt began with the burning of cane fields in St Philip, and soon around 400 men and women working on over 70 other estates had joined in. British colonial authorities declared martial law the following day, and soon suppressed the uprising. While only two whites were reported killed, 120 enslaved people were killed during the repression, with 144 executed and 132 deported in the aftermath. Bussa is today remembered in Barbados as a national hero

18th of April 1960 [South Korea]

On 18 April 1960, South Korean students began a series of demonstrations that would escalate into what became known as the April Revolution. The demonstrations and student strikes were in response to the brutal murder of Kim Chu Yol, a student and anti government protestor. The protests would eventually depose the Rhee regime, and led to brief period of civilian rule.

14th of April 1919 [Limerick, Ireland]

On 14 April 1919 in Limerick, Ireland, a general strike was declared in protest against the declaration by the British military of a 'special military area' in the region, which led to the establishment of a soviet (workers' council). The workers took control of the town, closing down the pubs, maintaining order, and arranging for the distribution of food which was brought in from around Ireland and from trade unions in Britain. The strike committee



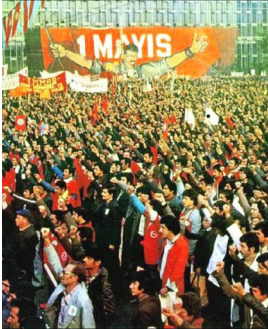


set up its own newspaper and then printed its own money, while the British troop presence in the area increased. On April 27, with Irish capitalists and British trade union leaders withdrawing their support for the soviet, it was declared over with the promise that the special military designation would be withdrawn seven days later, which it was.

25th of April 1974 [Portugal]

On 25 April 1974, Portugal's right-wing Estado Novo dictatorship was overthrown by a military coup by low ranking army officers who had formed the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA). When officers loyal to the dictatorship ordered the troops to open fire, a mutiny by rank-and-file soldiers effectively prevented a counter-revolution. The events would become known as the Carnation Revolution, as few shots were fired and people adorned troops with red and white carnations which were in season and being widely sold on the streets at the time. The collapse of the regime was then followed by a working class uprising which lasted over 18 months.

May



1st of May 1977 [Istanbul, Turkey]

On 1 May 1977, a massacre took place at a May Day demonstration in Taksim Square, Istanbul, in which at least 34 people were killed and up to 220 injured. Up to half a million people took part in the march on International Workers' Day organised by the Confederation of Revolutionary Unions (DISK). No perpetrators were ever caught for the massacre, but among the suspects are Counter-Guerrilla, the Turkish section of NATO counterinsurgency program Operation Gladio, and the CIA.



15th of May 2011 [Spain]

On 15 May 2011 tens of thousands of protesters took to the streets across Spain in protest against austerity following a call out on social media. In Madrid, up to 50,000 protesters marched, and there were clashes with police and destruction of storefronts. That night, 100 protesters began an encampment in Puerta del Sol, and decided to remain there until elections the following week. Police attempted to clear the occupation on May 17, which instead prompted occupations in public squares of 30 more cities. The protesters became known as los Indignados ("the indignant ones") or the 15M movement. Protests occurred continuously until August, although widespread protests gradually died down, and instead many people became involved in more localised campaigns against specific aspects of austerity measures which were being introduced by the government following the 2007 financial crisis.



17th of May 1972 [England]

On 17 May 1972, 10,000 schoolchildren in the UK walked out on strike in protest against corporal punishment: particularly the use of the cane. When they attempted to occupy Trafalgar Square, police moved in and dispersed the young people and began arresting organisers. Within two years, London state primary schools banned corporal punishment. It was banned in all other state schools in 1986.



29th of May 1972 [Mumbai, India]

On 29 May 1972 the Dalit Panthers were formed in Mumbai, India. Modelled on the US Black Panthers the Dalit Panthers was formed to combat caste discrimination. Dalit refers to members of lower castes in India (sometimes referred to as "untouchables"). The Dalit Panthers advocated for both the abolition of the caste system as well as of class society. The organisation also advocated for women's rights, health women's study circles, and intervened to support Dalit women experiencing abuse and assault.

Joventut de fuòc - Youth of fire

This song was written in commemoration of the first World Youth Conference in Paris. Original lyrics written in Occitan and French

*Parava que lo batement d'ala
d'un parpalhon al Kurdistan
Pertot a l'entorn provòca una
tornada als vents violent*

**1. Jeunesse naît d'un monde
noir**

À qui on a volé l'histoire

Qui refuse de s'incliner

Qui recherche la vérité

Sous le grand dôme étoilé

Tant de langages ont résonné

**Comme tant de visions du
monde**

Nos racines sont profondes

**Nous sommes les enfants
du chaos**

Qu'on a cherché à diviser

En portant haut nos couleurs

Nous construisons l'unité

**2. Jeunesse en avant ouvre
la voie**

Contre le capital et le patriarcat

Les peuples révolutionnaires

Tissent l'autonomie populaire

**Celles qui avant nous ont
lutté**

Toujours sont à nos côtés

Amis, si l'un de nous tombe

Soyons mille à sortir de

l'ombre

**Au Myanmar, au Rojava, au
Chiapas**

Decimos : ni una menos

D'Abya Yalla jusqu'en Asie

Jin jiyàn azadî!

**3. Nous n'sommes plus
seuls mais des milliers
Force de vie et de liberté
Nous ferons plier les
bourreaux**

**Nous ferons trembler les
États**

S'il faut prendre les armes

Nous joindrons le combat

S'il faut chanter, ensemble

**Nous ferons résonner nos
voix**

Fini le temps du désespoir

**Plus que jamais nous
devons croire**

La révolution adviendra

Il n'y a pas d'autre choix

R. Jeunesse de feu

Jeunesse d'espérance

De tous les continents

Nous suivons la même

voie

Jeunesse de feu

Jeunesse d'espérance

C'est en unissant nos

forces

Que nous écrivons l'histoire

English translation:

*I have heard a butterfly wing
flapping in Kurdistan
Causing all around a hurricane
of violent winds*

1. Young and born in a dark
cruel world

Whose history has been
stolen

Still refuses to bow down

Looks for a truth of its own

Below a full sky of stars

So many tongues did whisper

So many eyes did witness

Our roots going deep in
Earth

We are the children of
mayhem

That they try and try to
divide

Let's hoist the colours and
hope

In difference we'll unify

2. Young and looking for
renewed roads

Through capital, patriarchy

Our people's revolution

Will build autonomy for all

Remember all the past
struggles

Shadows walking at our side
Through the graves wind will

blow

Believe freedom soon will
come

In Myanmar, in Rojava, in
Chiapas,

Decimos : ni una menos

From Abya Yalla to Asia

Jin jiyàn azadî!

3. We're not alone but thousands

Strong with our lives and
liberty

Oppression will bend its
head

Because we make shiver the
states

When you will take up
a-arms

We will fight together

And if I hear you're singing

With you I will raise my
voice

The times of despair are
over

And we believe more than
ever

We'll come to revolution

'Cause do we have other
choice ?

R. Youth wrought in the
fi-ire

Youth shaped with higher
hopes

From all over the world

We are walking on the same
road

Youth wrought in fire

Youth shaped with higher
hopes

Gathering all our strenghts

We're writing history

WHO ARE WE?

Lêgerîn is a world-wide media platform built by and for the internationalist revolutionary youth. Its ideological line is connected to the paradigm of Democratic Modernity, developed by Abdullah Öcalan from the ongoing revolution in Kurdistan.

Democratic Modernity is a third way, against neoliberal capitalism and fascism that are feeding each other and attacking the whole humanity through imperialist wars, exploitation, destruction of life and society's values. Capitalist Modernity is global and organized, so the fight back should also be!



« Lêgerîn » is the kurdish word for « to Research»; Researching being the constant process of revolutionaries to find a way to collective freedom. It was also named to remember Lêgerîn Çiya, real name Alina Sánchez, from

Argentina, internationalist doctor and fighter of the YPJ (Women's Protection Units) who died in

Hassake in March 2018. Legerin was founded in July 2020 and since then has published 11 magazines, started a website and is present in social medias such as Instagram and Twitter. In order to make its discourse accessible beyond the borders of nation-states, the magazine and its digital forms are available in several languages.

HOW TO SUPPORT?

Lêgerîn is built jointly with the participation of hundreds of people who share their knowledge, effort and resources and are part of one of our work areas voluntarily or actively participate in the network for the production and distribution of our materials. Until now, Legerin has been known in the form of a magazine, but now, under this same identity, we are developing new projects and audiovisual media.

Without the effort and the communal organization of the work, Lêgerîn could not exist. Especially for the phase of creating new projects in which we are as well as to make a more effective management of the magazine itself, we are currently looking for people who can carry out works of:

Internal Work:

- Editorial Team!
- Translation / Proofreading.
- Use of programs such as: Photoshop, InDesign, After Effects, Premiere Pro, etc.
- Management on social networks such as: Twitter, Instagram and web design
- Poems, paintings, fiction writing, research, video making

Financial support and partnership:

- With your financial contribution, you help us to be able to develop more ideological material and with higher quality
- You can make a specific donation with the amount of your choice, or donate every month automatically with our Patreon (patreon.com/legerin).
- If you have printing production means, audiovisual and digital tools, or any material help you can share with us for free or lower costs, you are very welcome!

Organize local distribution:

Regardless of where you are in the world, you can take part in the dissemination of the magazine's materials and in publicizing the ideological perspective of the paradigm of democratic modernity and the political program of democratic confederalism. To do this, you can organize with your surroundings to:

- Physically or digitally distribute the magazine.
- Generate reading and discussion groups.
- Organize seminars and face-to-face or online presentations in which a member of our editorial team can participate.



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patreon.com/legerin
legerinkovar@protonmail.com

If you are ready to participate in spreading the new youth internationalism, contact us!

"They have handed us a torch that
cannot be extinguished"



Ş. Bişeng
Brûsk

Ş. Sara
Hogir
Riha



**We will be the ones to write the
continuation of history**



Lêgerîn

The magazine of the internationalist youth