

LÉGERIN

No.5

"Insistence on socialism is insistence on being human"



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Merhaba hevalno

We are proud to present you some novelties in our new Edition. Among them: An analyze of Rêber APO, which has not previously been translated into other languages. Also a portrait of an internationalist martyr, who describes the impact of his sacrifice on the militants of his region. A summary of the actions undertaken by the self-defense forces in Kurdistan. Unpublished testimonies of internationalist comrades who are determined to write a page of history hand in hand with the revolutionaries of Kurdistan.

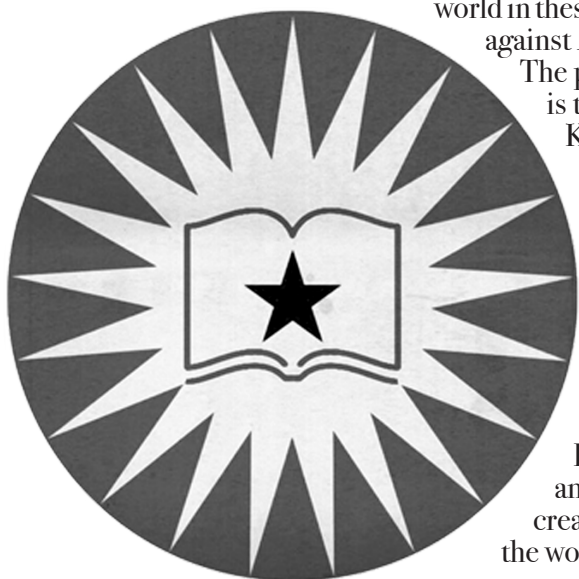
At the time of writing these few lines of introduction the war is in full swing in Kurdistan. Even if the war is not reported by the Western media, its reality is hitting us hard in the revolutionary lands of Kurdistan. Precious comrades are being murdered, refugee camps and hospitals are being bombed, villages are living under the daily fire of enemy artillery. The Turkish state and its Western supporters are trying to demoralize the revolutionaries. However, the terror that they rain down from the sky and their macabre plots do not weaken our revolutionary determination. On the contrary, our will grows stronger by the hour. When the fascists try to eliminate us, we know that we are on the right track, we know that they are afraid of our strength, which is growing stronger and stronger no matter what they try to do to us. The comrades are fighting for months heroically in the mountains of Kurdistan, against the face of fascism and we are the seeds that are spreading all over the world and are ready to create new, many Rojavas.

The imperialist states want to stifle our voices and make the world deaf to the revolutionary calls from Mesopotamia, for this our role as a relay and revolutionary media has become more strategic.

We have made it our mission to spread the philosophy and ideology of Rêber APO throughout the world in these revolutionary times. On the 9 October 1998 the international conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan was launched to isolate the kurdish freedom movement.

The plot looks first and foremost as an attack on a person or a movement. But it is the attack on the socialist values, struggles and hope that flow together in Kurdistan. Regardless an enormous effort was put into this conspiracy, the imperialist state were not successful. Since this time, national states took the 9 October as a starting point for new warstrategies and attacks. It is our task to break the isolation and to spread the revolutionary struggle everywhere.

In our magazin we share experiences and analyses from the revolution to build bridges between the fighting peoples around the world. We want to be an inspiration for discussions and revolutionary proceses, as a fire for a new internationalism. Our presence is spreading like an oil stain, we are becoming the nightmare of Turkish fascism and Western liberalism. Every day comrades from all over the world join the ranks of the revolution and embrace revolutionary life. Every day revolutionary internationalism increases the potential of our organizations and our resistance. We are building the world of tomorrow, true, just, and democratic.



The question we have to ask ourselves,

When will you join the Revolution?

If not you who?

If not now when?

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Internationalist Perspectives

The Internationalist Commune



down with it. In view of the catastrophic situation, it is time for even the most stubborn to understand that all reformist hopes for a "human capitalism" must be in vain and that only the radical break with the existing system can create a way out of the misery. It is obvious that all solutions that fail to go beyond the logic and categories of domination are doomed to failure from the outset. In order to eradicate the problem at its root, what is needed today more than ever is fundamental revolutionary change, a cure for the disease, rather than just the treatment of superficial symptoms. It is clear that this change can never be implemented within the existing system, only against the interests of the ruling classes and through constant and conscious struggle from below, the revolutionary construction of its own alternative.

With each passing day, there is a growing awareness among the masses that revolution in our day is not a question of desire or mood, but an inescapable necessity and the basic condition for a life in dignity and freedom. The social movements, protests and uprisings that have flared up again and again globally in recent years, sometimes violently and rapidly, are a clear expression of the search for an alternative and the path to a better world. Whether as a protest against the destruction of the environment and a climate policy that only serves the interests of the capital monopolists, or as an angry reaction in the streets to the ongoing violence against women. Whether as a strike, blockade or open street struggle, whether in the form of communal self-organization from below, independent self-help in the neighborhood or as guerrillas hidden in the jungles of the cities, on the tops of the mountains and in the depths of the forests - the new world is alive and fighting. As isolated as many of the individual struggles may still be, they are all part of the same global awakening - the direct expression of what we call Democratic Modernity.

More than 30 years after the fall of the real socialist regime and the final declaration of victory of the capitalist world system, the lie of the lack of alternatives to exploitation and the end of history arrogantly proclaimed by the rulers is being called into question. The golden glittering facade of an order hostile to life, which lacks any moral and human qualities and is based on nothing more than the most brutal slavery, bare theft and ruthless plundering of all material and ideal values, begins to crumble. Faced with the unvarnished and gray foundations of this system, which are once again beginning to come to light in all clarity, the question of the alternative is raised. Scientific-democratic socialism, as a modern expression of the millennia-old unbroken resistance of historical society, as a movement of becoming human and as a bearer of hope for all those who still groan and moan under the yoke of capitalist exploitation, has never lost its significance and topicality and today again determines the agenda of the oppressed. Réber APO already knew how to analyze quite correctly at the beginning of the 1990s that with real socia-

War, expulsion, mass exodus and genocide. Poverty, misery, hunger and slavery. Oppression, exploitation, rape and femicide. Depletion of nature, ruthless plundering, contamination of the environment; the total destruction of the foundations of life. The true face of capitalist modernity stares back at us as an ugly visage from newspapers, television and the news pages of this world. In the globally networked world of the 21st century, in which everyone with a smartphone in their hand becomes a livestream witness to every crime, battle and massacre, in which even the smallest event and the tiniest movement does not go without comment and in which information itself has become perhaps the most powerful weapon, all masks have long fallen. The bloodstained face of a system that despises humanity and is hostile to life stands bare before us. A glance at the news is enough to grasp the immense dimensions of the chaos into which the rulers have plunged humanity and the entire planet. The ultimate urge for exploitation, maximum profit and unlimited growth, which is hidden in the core of the essence of the existing world order, has driven our human society to the very edge of the abyss and today threatens to drag nature and life itself

lism only the bureaucratized and statist variant of socialism experienced its decline, but by no means socialism as such had been defeated. He stated that to question socialism is to doubt human nature itself and noted that socialism will have to take on many times greater tasks in the 21st century. In order to be able to answer the most burning problems of humanity, the liberation of women, the solution of the ecological catastrophe, the destruction of imperialism and the liberation of societies from state domination, a movement on a world scale is needed, socialism must therefore develop into a true humanity movement. Even if Leninism could not provide a lasting solution in the 20th century, the workers and the peoples succeeded in fulfilling their historical mission to a large extent under the guiding star of the Leninist paradigm. However, in order to meet the new responsibilities and historical tasks of the 21st century, a new paradigm and a courageous critique of committed mistakes and theoretical shortcomings are needed. Instead of abandoning socialism per se and capitulating to the pretended lack of alternatives of the system, Rêber APO set out to create a unique socialist paradigm of the 21st century, which not only provides concrete solutions to concrete problems, but also overcomes all categories of dominant thought and subjects the 5000-year-old state-centered civilization to a radical critique. Armed with these new ideological weapons and conscious of its own historical responsibility, the Kurdistan Freedom Movement, under the revolutionary leadership of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, has carried the proud flag of socialism into the new millennium and embraced the revolutionary legacy of the history of internationalism and the common struggle of all the oppressed. The red flag that flew steadfastly on the barricades of Paris even in the hail of bullets, that fluttered on the mast of the armored cruiser Aurora when the starting shot of the October Revolution shook St-Petersburg, that in the storm of iron, steel and fire freed whole continents from fascism and led by hundreds of thousands of guerrilla fighters through the jungles, forests and steppes of the Tricontinental, today flies on the tops of the free mountains of Kurdistan and from the rooftops of the revolutionary areas of northern and eastern Syria. And so today we can say with all clarity: the sacrifice of all those who colored this flag with their blood was not in vain, because the wheel of history continues to turn.

The struggle of free humanity is today experiencing its latest episode in Kurdistan and the Middle East, where the ongoing global war, the worldwide confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution, between society and state, is being fought out as an open and armed struggle to death. For imperialism, there is probably no region in the world that is of such strategic relevance as the Middle East. As the last untapped territory, the last market not yet penetrated by the global monopolies, and the home of traditional and value-oriented communities whose social and cultural character is opposed to bourgeois individualism, modern meaninglessness, and the materialistic depletion of meaning from any interpersonal relationship, rich in resources and potentially profitably exploitable labor, the monopolies' interest revolves around this crucial interface between continents. Not only the land, but also the minds and hearts of the people must be occupied. Traditional sociality must give way to capitalist culturelessness in order to ensure a long-term and profitable occupation of the region. Not only

Alexander the Great and Napoleon knew that whoever can bring the region under his control controls the world and so the Middle East and Kurdistan as its heart, is also today the scene of the fiercest imperialist wars of partition. While the hegemonic powers and regional regimes are fighting over who can seize the leadership of the ruling civilization, the peoples of Kurdistan and the Middle East managed to impose their own alternative beyond dictatorship and imperialist foreign domination and to forge their own power in a self-determined way in the crevices and canyons torn open by the contradictions among the powerful. The revolution of Rojava and Northeast Syria and the heroic struggle of the guerrillas on the mountains of Kurdistan have already become a beacon of hope that illuminates the way out of the darkness of capitalist modernity for the oppressed, the women, the youth and the workers. The end of history is exposed as a cheap lie, because the alternative, the utopia of a life free from exploitation and oppression, in harmony with society and nature, is already alive today in the revolutionary process.

The hope for a different world and the belief in the power of change grows with every victory of the peoples of the Middle East. The revolutionary forces of Kurdistan provide practical proof that even in the 21st century, revolution is not an impossibility, a childish dream or a deluded utopia, but something that is immediately feasible. Since the heroic resistance of Kobanê, a global solidarity and resistance movement unfolded, which stood side by side with the fighting people of Kurdistan not only in the victories but also in the most difficult times of confrontation, and also helped a new, young internationalist consciousness to be reborn. All over the world, we shared joy and pain, followed every development on the battlefields, feared for our comrades on the fronts and in the resistance positions, and celebrated every victory together. The Kurdistan revolution has always seen itself as an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process, but with the swelling of the global resistance movement in recent years, progressive humanity also made itself a part of this struggle and began to recognize it as its own. Internationalism, as the consciousness of the unity of the global struggle for liberation, the knowledge of the oppressed about the common enemy and the international character of the exploitation system, experienced its renewed rise with the growth of the new movement gathering around the revolution of Kurdistan. Transcending all ideological boundaries and theoretical trench warfare, which have often remained as the only regrettable legacy of the 20th century to the global revolutionary movement, the armed struggle and revolutionary society-building in Kurdistan and the liberated areas of the Middle East, united the radical left, all progressive, revolutionary democratic forces worldwide, into a united front of resistance. This front may not have formal organizational structures, nor statute and a program, and it may be that this form of unity in struggle is only a snapshot in times of sharpest confrontation, and yet: When worldwide millions of people take to the streets with the same slogans on their lips, as in the times of the defense of Afrin or even Cire Spi and Serekaniye, driven by the same hope, full of rage and hatred for the common enemy, and find a common expression of resistance with creativity and determination, with the same ways and means, then the front becomes a reality. It is time to recognize what is already emerging in the common practice on the streets and in this awareness to

develop our worldwide movement, from loose networking to a common front and thus to put our struggle on a qualitatively completely new basis.

When the rulers have innumerable platforms, bodies, organizations and the most diverse means and ways of counter-revolutionary coordination at their disposal to hold down and repel the constant onslaught of the peoples. When the system of capitalist modernity is obviously organized worldwide and we are confronted with an enemy that thinks and acts globally and, in the face of the strengthening revolution, is quite capable of letting all particular interests recede into the background and act together and transnationally, then, for the oppressed, for all those who fight for a free tomorrow beyond this corrupted order, the worldwide organization of the struggling is the most urgent need of the hour. While our side of history continues to be isolated by nation-state borders, divided into ethnicities, denominations and religions, eaten up by power and positional struggles among themselves, each on his own, fighting a desperate battle against windmills, the rulers are well aware of their common interests and the identity of their situation, no matter in which country, and are waging a global, coordinated and highly organized war against rising humanity. There may be tactical disagreements and competitive struggles between them, but the common strategic interest of maintaining a system that secures them control over surplus value and the means of production unites them all in a global counterrevolutionary front. Wherever the interest of capital and the skimming of maximum profits, is threatened, the system strikes with all its force like a single clenched fist. The international conspiracy against the leadership of the Kurdistan Freedom Movement Rêber APO and the Kurdistan Workers' Party PKK, which has been continued and spun uninterruptedly since the 90s of the last century, is perhaps the clearest expression of this reality. From Russia to the U.S., to Turkey, Syria, European Union states, and reactionary Middle Eastern and African powers, the common enemy also brought together the most contradictory partners. They are all part of a long-planned and meticulously prepared concept of annihilation against the revolution in Kurdistan and the Middle East, which culminated in the criminal kidnapping, abduction and imprisonment of the revolutionary leadership of the Freedom Movement in 1999 and finds its continuation today in the internationally coordinated and supported wars of aggression of Turkish fascism and its henchmen. It would be a strategic mistake to see the attacks of the fascist invaders on Afrin, Girespi and Serekaniye in Rojava, the occupation operations of the Turkish army and its collaborators in Southern Kurdistan, from Xakurke, to Heftanin, until last this year against the liberated guerrilla areas in Gare, Zap, Metina and Avasin, only as the work of the Erdogan regime. The Turkish attacks are not only diplomatically, economically and militarily supported by imperialism but are in fact taking place under the direct guidance and pressure of the various capitalist hegemonic powers, first and foremost the United States of America and the largest counter-revolutionary alliance in existence today, NATO.

The war against the freedom movement is an international one and as such it must be answered globally. While our enemies have very well recognized the global character and the enormous radiance of the Kurdistan revolution, our

side often lacks the necessary foresight, and the opportunities, possibilities and dangers of the current phase are not properly evaluated. Not only in Kurdistan and the Middle East, through all societies across the entire globe there is a rift that divides the world into two irreconcilable fronts. The capitalist world system, as the last representative of the 5000-year-old civilization system, has been in a constant state of chaos since the collapse of the real socialist camp in the early 1990s. With the loss of the hegemonic counterpole to the USA the established order was falling out of balance. Real socialism, even in the second half of the last century, despite all the hopes of the oppressed, had more or less lost any revolutionary character and, while imperialism was extinguishing struggling peoples by the millions with chemical weapons, carpet bombing and napalm, had come to terms with the ruling capitalist system under the completely delusional concept of an alleged "peaceful co-existence". Personified by the then Soviet Union and its leadership clique, real socialism had in any case long since become a supporting pillar of capitalist modernity and, after the end of the Second Great War of World Partition, pursued a foreign policy that was no longer intended merely to bolster the backs of the oppressed and struggling, but also to serve its own economic and geopolitical claims to power. Confronted with the rapidly unfolding new reality of a multipolar world order after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the U.S., now the sole leading hegemonic power of the ruling civilization, found itself in need of giving the global world system a new design. In the Middle East, this plan finds its counterpart in the so-called "Greater Middle East Project," which aims at a fundamental transformation of the region, the overthrow of the old despotic regimes that stand in the way of opening markets to international capital and global financial flows, and the liquidation of all resistant social forces.

More than 30 years after the demise of Russian state capitalism and its dependent systems, we can see how mercilessly the US-American project has failed. Not only did they fail to establish a stable order, they only deepened the chaos in the region. It is not the resistance of the existing regimes, nor political Islam, as some might suggest, but rather the blossoming of revolution and the democratic forces of the Middle East, the youth, the women, the oppressed peoples and religious groups, as well as the working people, who have entered the stage of history as an incalculable factor that crosses their plans. With the beginning of the Spring of the Peoples in 2011, the Middle East was shaken by what was probably the biggest supra-regional uprising in its history, and the awakening masses not only made the despotic dictators and their coterie tremble in their palaces, but also imperialism got to grips with fear. Especially when, in stark contrast to the countries of North Africa, where the popular movement was suffocated in blood by outside intervention or Islamofascist forces, the peoples of Rojava and northeastern Syria succeeded in fighting for a very fundamental and radical alternative to everything that existed, all alarm bells rang and the imperialists began with a broad-based intervention plan. But neither Al-Nusra Front nor the murderous gangs of the Islamic State could break the united will of the peoples and under the leadership of the vanguard of the regional revolutionary process, the Kurdistan Workers' Party, the wave of revolution succeeded in spilling over to other areas and thus the Yazidi people of Sengal also began to take their fate

into their own hands from now on. Each attack strengthened the revolution, brought new experiences and also ensured that the ideas behind the liberation struggle, the paradigm of democratic modernity, were spread in all directions.

The revolution in the Middle East is now an independent factor in the region and has become a force that cannot be easily ignored or even destroyed. In the end, it is mainly thanks to the successful and determined struggle of the revolutionary-democratic forces of Kurdistan and the region that the imperialists' calculations did not work out. The revolution is the unknown variable, the incalculable that makes all their plots burst. When we look at the current political-military developments, it is essential to always start from our own strength and not to attribute the dynamics and direction of movement of the political process exclusively to the schemes of the superpowers and their regional collaborators. The revolution is an acting subject and not a pawn in the hands of foreign interests. The struggling peoples of the region are writing their own history. It would be a great mistake not to recognize the own position of strength and to explain the course of history solely in terms of the policies of the rulers. If we take a look at the facts, we can see more than clearly that neither the Russian Federation, nor the United States, nor any other power has managed to establish its own project in the last 10 years of the civil war in Syria. The peoples of Northeastern Syria, however, have been building their own future in a self-determined way for nine years now. Without asking anyone's permission or even asking for help, they created their own political system, an economy capable of meeting their own needs and forces to defend their gains, a people's army unparalleled in the history of the Middle East. While their plans crumbled miserably into dust, the peoples have gained strength, are no longer will-less and docile, and have learned to fight back. The heroic struggle of the guerrillas on the mountains of Kurdistan, in Southern and Northern Kurdistan, in the cities and metropolises of Turkey, is living proof that it is quite possible for the oppressed to win military victories against a NATO army armed to the teeth, equipped with sophisticated weapons systems and the latest reconnaissance technology. The historic victory of Gare in February of this year exposed the helplessness of the occupiers and imperialists and demonstrated to the whole world that the guerrilla is not an obsolete model in the 21st century. Instead, it continues to be the universal weapon of the peoples in their struggle against exploitation, oppression and foreign domination.

But not only in the Middle East, the system of capitalist modernity is coming under increasing pressure across the globe. The mass protests and social uprisings that have shaken the world of the rulers since the 2008 global economic crisis and the 2011 Spring of Peoples are today finding their direct continuation in the mass movements against the management of the capitalist crisis, corruption, abuse of power, police violence, racism, environmental destruction, sexism and femicide. These mostly spontaneous uprisings, which broke out on all continents, from Chile to Iraq, from the USA to Lebanon and Europe, and immediately sent waves of revolt throughout the world, are an expression of the general dissatisfaction with the existing conditions. Even if there is usually a lack of a fundamental critique of the system and a concrete project and the necessary organization, they

nevertheless show very clearly the striving of free humanity to free itself from the millennia-old yoke of class civilization. The youth, in particular, emerges in these processes, just like women, as the decisive revolutionary subjects of our epoch, giving dynamism, force and persistence to the struggles. Starting from the South American continent, but likewise in Asia and other parts of the world, mass protests against assaults, violence and murders of women, as well as against the control and exploitation of the female body by men, the state and capital, gripped societies and in many cases developed a comprehensive and very fundamental critique of the patriarchal system and the civilization built on it. A deepening consciousness of the connectedness of male domination, class division and state oppression is emerging from the struggles and poses a life-threatening danger to the dominant system. Already today, millions of struggling women around the world relate to the holistic approach of women's liberation ideology and draw strength and hope from the revolutionary struggle in Kurdistan and the Middle East. Rêber APO's paradigm treats the women's question neither as a secondary side contradiction nor as a question of individual approach, but analyzes and defines patriarchy as the decisive basis and constant of 5000 years of class civilization. Thus, the liberation of women, as a basic condition for national liberation, emancipation of the working classes and for overcoming the split between society and nature, moves to the center of the struggle for the liberation of humanity. The common identity of women, the shared destiny worldwide, just like the identity of the youth, unites the struggles across all national borders today and thus becomes a basic building block of a new internationalist consciousness.

Crucial for the further course of history is above all the increasing awareness and awakening of the youth worldwide. The youth, as the most dynamic force in society, is ready to fight and sacrifice if necessary and has always been at the forefront of any social transformation process and fought courageously in any revolutionary battle. No matter which historical example we turn to, it was always young people who resisted the attacks of counterrevolution in the streets, on the barricades and in the trenches. It was young people who fought in the narrow streets of Paris, it were young soldiers and workers who stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd in 1917, it was young people who as partisans and Red Army soldiers liberated Europe from fascism and as guerrillas in the jungles and mountains of the Tricontinental, drove the colonialists from their homeland. If we also speak more generally about society, we will see that it is mostly young people whose labor power is exploited as modern wage slaves in the factories and are burned as soldiers on the battlefields in the interest of the rulers. We must recognize that youth, as a specific social group, has a specific social role and mission and original characteristics. Biologically, as well as socially, the youth represents the future of any society. They possess physical strength and power and they have an insatiable will to create, a creativity and curiosity that puts the youth in a state of constant seekers. The youth is bound to their ideals, convinced of what they are doing and ready to take any risk for their cause. Tentative personal doubts are alien to the youth. If necessary, they throw themselves blindly into the fire of battle, knowing that it will probably burn them. The youth is naturally driven by a quest for justice, freedom and equality and can neither just stand by and do nothing, nor

accept oppression. As a social group, the youth holds an enormous intangible potential of energy and force that the rulers would also like to abuse for themselves and their interests. Thus, they leave no stone unturned and spare no effort when it comes to winning over the rising generation and integrating it into their system. Constant ideological bombardment through the media and the Internet, a gradual professional brainwashing in school and university and a preoccupation and anesthesia of the youth through drugs, medication, empty consumerism, hedonism and morbid relationships are only one of a few methods of the system to prevent the youth from recognizing themselves and accepting their social responsibility. A completely meaningless life for the moment, fulfillment only in individual pleasure and the boundless satisfaction of desires, without moral values and a sense of responsibility, without goal and aspiration – lost in the digital world; this is the ideal that the capitalist system has planned for the youth.

But if we look at the past five years, we can see very clearly that the youth all over the world is becoming more and more aware of its historical role and has entered the stage of the world revolutionary struggle as an independent subject, as youth for itself. It has been the great shortcoming of all previous revolutionary struggles and attempts that the youth fought in the front lines and gave their lives in thousands, but remained excluded from most decision-making processes after the revolution. The youth fought, the old ruled. In cases where the youth was also represented in the revolutionary councils and governments, it was as youth in general, without the decisive consciousness of their specific identity as youth. With the advent of scientific socialism in the 19th century and the victorious real socialist revolutions, some consciousness was formed. Youth came to the fore for the first time with their identity, and youth associations such as the Komsomol in the Soviet Union with its millions of members represent an important legacy of the world youth movement. However, they also could not save themselves from degenerating into nothing more than an appendage of the party as a whole and a pillar of the state apparatus. The degree of autonomy they had fought for was too small and could not provide any space for the youth to form their own will. It was not until the global youth revolt of 1968 that revolutionary history witnessed what it means when the youth no longer asks for permission, but begins to fight according to their own decision. With the '68 movement, the youth became self-aware for the first time and courageously defined themselves as subjects of struggle.

Even today we can observe a rapid awareness and politicization of the youth, especially in the ecology movement and the global struggles against climate destruction and the destruction of the natural basis of life. Confronted with the bitter reality that the existing system of rule threatens to steer us straight into ruins, the young world claims its right to a future worth living. As much as movements like FridaysforFuture or the climate justice movement may be infiltrated by liberal elements and systemic forces, the mass movements of the past three years have ensured that the youth has recognized themselves as political subjects and have decisively raised awareness that the environmental catastrophe is not a product of chance but the result of the capitalist mode of production and life. Already today many succeed in making

the leap from ecological to revolutionary consciousness. If revolutionary forces worldwide would approach the struggles in a more determined, organized and theoretically well-founded analysis to become a part of the mass movement themselves and not leave the field to social-democratic or green-liberal reactionaries, then the young climate movement would transform itself into perhaps the most dynamic anti-capitalist movement of our time, even faster than any counterrevolutionary force could strike back. The ecological movement has the potential to turn into the most dynamic anti-capitalist movement of our time and to shake the metropolises of capitalist modernity. Furthermore, the character of the environmental catastrophe as a global human problem naturally gives the struggles an internationalist character. In the environmental question, more than in any other topic, it becomes clear that isolated, spatially limited approaches to solutions, artificially created utopian landscapes, as well as any struggle that allows itself to be confined by the borders of nation states, cannot provide an answer to this urgent problem of humanity. Only the global defeat of capitalist circumstances and the reorganization of society and production on the basis of democratic principles – socialism – can fight for a way out of the downfall. If Rosa Luxemburg postulated at the beginning of the 20th century "socialism or barbarism", we can state quite rationally and without exaggeration that today, without the socialist solution to the crisis, humanity and life on this planet will be doomed to extinction.

The system is well aware of the explosive potential of these emerging youth movements. Therefore, they try to relieve some of the pressure by implementing small surgical interventions and selective reforms, to placate the youth fighting for their right to life, and to steer the movements into system-compliant directions. In the history of civilization, capitalism is probably the most flexible system of rule to date and has always been capable of reinventing itself. Today, in the same way, the rulers are once again trying to give the capitalist world system a new design. The aim is to redefine the global equilibrium and to program the societies accordingly. The attempts of the state and capital to lull the radical environmental movement with empty talk of "green capitalism" and limited growth as well as the appropriation of the women's movement by liberal feminism and other postmodern currents are a crucial part of the concept of restoring capitalism. The state tries to make the youth and women the carriers of the same old new system. Thus, not only wasting their revolutionary potential but above all using their fresh blood to keep the dying old man alive a little longer. The worldwide rise of fascist movements and authoritarian centralist forms of government must also be seen in the context of the global situation and is the response of the ruling classes to the worldwide awakening of free humanity. When the rate of profit is under threat, at times when the skimming of surplus value is no longer guaranteed, the bourgeoisie has always sought refuge in fascism in its struggle against revolutionary movements. Along with bourgeois democracy, fascism is always an option on their table. Fascism is the form of rule of capitalism in revolutionary times. Fascism is therefore not a coincidence, an accident of history, a slip, nor a pure expression of human irrationality, but rather a consciously driven project under the direction of the ruling classes that serves nothing more than the preservation, defense and restoration of the capitalist normal state. Fascism

is thus the direct product of the dialectic between revolution and counterrevolution and must be understood as the organized counterattack of the ruling classes against the oppressed. Even if we do not recognize the revolutionary potential of the current situation, the rulers see their throne in danger and are arming themselves in every corner of the world - ready to strike back and nip any revolutionary alternative in the bud.

In particular the corona pandemic, which has held humanity in its clutches for more than a year and a half, was a welcomed opportunity for the rulers which they did not let pass without making use of it. Curfews, assembly bans, total control and surveillance of public and private life, an unprecedented atomization and isolation of society, terror of fear, police equipped with all kinds of authorizations and the army on the streets; the corona pandemic became for them the dress rehearsal for the state of emergency and a perfect opportunity to get society used to the new customs. With digitized homeschooling, home offices and the like, the already rapid digitalization of social life was pushed further. Activism was moved from the streets to sometimes absurd online gatherings and digital demonstrations; outrage and protest, slogans and pamphlets were written in only 120 characters. Above all, the mass youth movements became victims of the assembly bans or began to regulate themselves. Large sections of the revolutionary left also went over to a political corona truce and had their resistance quarantined by the state. That the corona pandemic continues to be kept so high on the agenda, especially in Western countries, has not only something to do with the actual threat situation, but rather, with the fact that the virus has become an effective and powerful tool for reshaping society. Chaos, emergency, and restoration are the general formula with which the system keeps itself on its feet. Even the deceptive contrast between a "crazy Donald Trump" who has left behind a foreign policy mess and a "sensible Joe Biden" who wants to restore the old position of the U.S., as he declared himself, must be understood as one of the many varieties of the capitalist system.

All in all, we must conclude that humanity today is at a crossroads. The global system of domination is in deep chaos. It is clear that it cannot continue as it is, but who will emerge victorious from the chaos is far from being decided. There is no law of nature that would say that crisis is inevitably followed by revolution. Who will win the battle, the ruling system or the revolutionary-democratic force? It depends on the degree of organization of the respective forces, their determination and willpower and their ability to understand the phase correctly and to intervene quickly. Only history will know the outcome of the chaos. Either we carry out a development of global struggles against the system, inflame global revolution and the establish a democratic and socialist world order, or a state of emergency, fascism, war and restoration of the same system under new guises will prevail. The second option would inevitably lead to ecological collapse and the death of our planet. Therefore, as young people of this world, we carry a historical responsibility of unspeakable magnitude and gravity on our shoulders, perhaps more than all generations before us. The fate and continued existence of humanity is in our hands today. We know today that this system is by no means without alternative; on the con-

trary, there remains no other option than revolution itself. The revolution in Kurdistan and the Middle East shows us the way to success and has proven to us the right methods of organization and struggle. There is no reason for us to wait any longer. We have no time to lose. As the revolutionary youth of the world, we have to organize ourselves, strengthen our struggle country by country and in alliance with the revolutionary movement of Kurdistan and its vanguard, the Kurdistan Workers' Party, we have to fight for the global unity of struggle of the youth against capitalism, fascism and imperialism. In Kurdistan and the Middle East, the revolution has won some important positions. The liberated areas of North and East Syria and the guerrilla bases in the mountains of south, eastern and northern Kurdistan are bulwarks of humanity that must be defended at all costs. At the same time, if the enemy tries to suffocate the fire of revolution here by invasion, occupation, encirclement, embargo and global political isolation, then it is our highest responsibility to light these flames everywhere. No matter where we are, we must deepen the struggle and defend the revolution. Given the world

situation, waiting for time to ripen or for the revolutionary situation to come about automatically would be nothing more than sheer madness. Behind the seemingly invincible mask of capitalist modernity lies a battered, exhausted and already decaying system. This is not to say that the system is incapable of regenerating and recreating itself, but that the moment of chaos is a moment of unique weakness. That imperialism and all its allies are ultimately nothing more than paper tigers, which may look fearsome but collapse at the slightest breeze, was already known by other great revolutionaries before us.

As long as we are weak and continue to let ourselves be divided instead of creating unity among us, as long as democratic modernity is disorganized while capitalist modernity is a world system that is elaborated down to the smallest detail, the rulers will continue to sit firmly in the saddle and be able to determine our destinies. But if the day comes when we join hands and the oppressed of this world finally fight in one front, then times will change and the days of this criminal system will be numbered. Individually, country by country, in an isolated struggle against an immense superior power we are lost. Only when we learn what it means to fight as a world movement, when we overcome the borders in our heads and recognize the unity of the global war that is being waged against us and fight back the attacks in unity, we will be able to implement the revolutionary process not only regionally but also worldwide. It is the youth who not only have a special responsibility in this question but also, because of their common identity and dynamic characteristics, have the best conditions to play a pioneering role in the development of such a movement. The creation of a global revolutionary youth movement is one of the most urgent tasks of our time and the key to the establishment of a new internationalism, because the new world has always been young.



An international plot against socialism and freedom

Young Internationalist Women



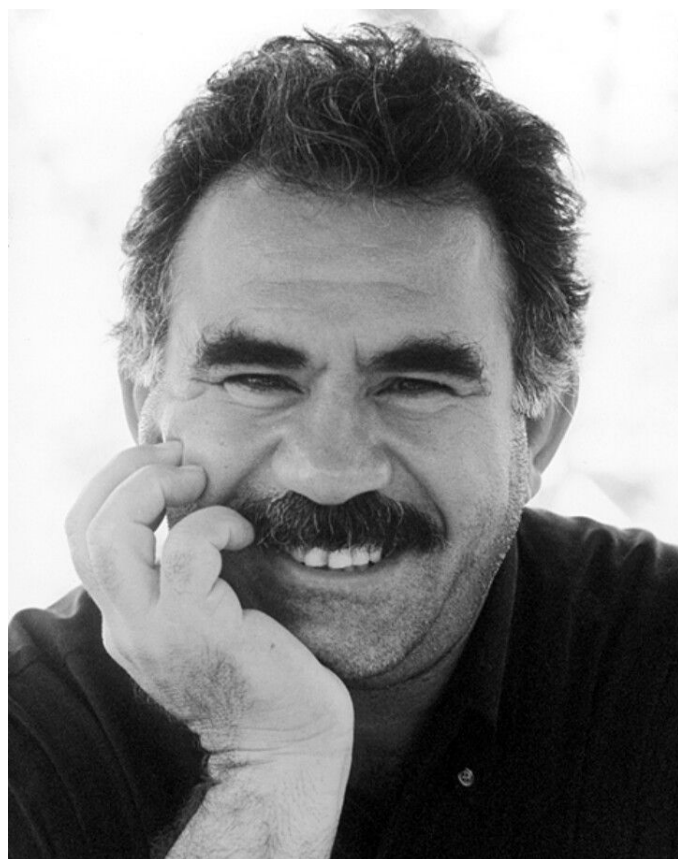
October 9, 2021 marks 23 years of the international conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan. The conspiracy began after his departure from Syria on October 9 and ended with his arrest on February 15, 1999, when the Turkish secret service, with the support of the Gladio organization, kidnapped him from the Kenyan capital Nairobi. With a long campaign of persecution by the Turkish State and the complicity of the Kenyan authorities as well as the Greek Embassy, he was taken by the Turkish State from Nairobi, where he was promised two weeks of asylum, to an unknown location. Pressure from the Turkish state led to Öcalan's departure from Syria in 1998 and would later also result in the signing of the infamous Adana Agreement between Turkey and Syria, which Recep Tayyip Erdogan uses to this day as a pretext for his interventions in northern and eastern Syria. In this regard, the kidnapping of Öcalan fundamentally violates international conventions and laws, especially the principles of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, because Abdullah Öcalan represents the will of millions of Kurds and other ethnic groups who long for freedom, coexistence and peace.

The kidnapping plot against Rêber APO was nothing but a stage of a series of conspiracies against the societies of Mesopotamia, in particular against the Kurdish population. These found their beginning with the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916, which was followed by further agreements. The Kurdish identity and region have always been a thorn in the side of the bourgeoisie. The different ethnic and cultural societies in the Near and Middle East were an obstacle in the construction of nation states. Neither the deeply historical social-communal realities of life nor cultural and moral values were compatible with the construction of nation-states and their ideology. With the 1916 agreement and the subsequent 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, Kurdistan was divided among 4 countries and the bond of conspiracy against the Kurdish society was tightened once again. The Kurdish society, which did not want to integrate into the nation-state concept and responded with great uprisings, was subjected to great massacres and new conspiracies. Until finally in 1938 the massacre in Dersim put down the resistance.

Years later, the victory against fascism, the hope of socialism and the spring of national liberation struggles revived the youth spirit for a better world and the Kurdish question

in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. Among them Abdullah Öcalan and his friends, who brought life into the Kurdish society after years of silence. The group around Rêber APO, which proclaimed its party at the end of the 1970s, managed to overcome the fall of real socialism through good criticism and self-criticism and formulated a new strategy for the reality of Kurdistan and the Middle East. The fall of the Soviet Union in the early 90s was a blow to all liberation struggles and socialist movements. All socialist forces disintegrated after the end of the Soviet Union, but the PKK grew bigger and stronger in the early 90s. When the socialist movements hopelessly succumbed, thousands of young men and women joined the ranks of the guerrillas. From villages and cities. Kurds and Turks. The deeper understanding of criticism, self-criticism, women's liberation and the deep examination of oneself created a new force in Kurdistan that did not fit into the imperialists' plans.

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The USA and Europe had completely different plans for the Middle East, which did not envisage individual initiative, independence and democracy. The Kurdish society and the Near and Middle East were not allowed to come into contact with socialist ideas under any circumstances. Because the survival of capitalist modernity is only possible through the oppression and exploitation of these societies. When the PKK proved itself against all odds in the 90s and the Turkish state, with all means, was still not able to crush the Kurdish movement, a new international conspiracy was launched. The PKK, which raised the flag of socialism once again, should not get further support and space in Kurdistan. Therefore, these thoughts should be killed before they gain too much influence. The plot against Rêber APO is not only an attack against a person, but an attack against freedom and socialism. Rêber APO is the leading force of the party and the liberation struggle at that time and today. He himself is the greatest source of inspiration for the struggle for free personality and society. Two important attributes that are very dangerous for the capitalist modernity. The struggle of Rêber APOs and the formulated criticism of real socialism creates a new perspective for the struggle of a free world and exposes the lies of capitalist modernity. The interstate conspiracy is an attempt to eradicate the ideology and thoughts of socialism through the isolation of Abdullah Öcalan. The PKK was supposed to be liberalized and integrated into the capitalist system through this big blow. However, the imperialists' plans were met with resistance from the societies. Thousands of people besieged the cities of Europe, hundreds of people set themselves on fire. As the resistance spread all over Europe and Kurdistan in the very beginning of the plot, a new chapter in the history of democratic modernity began. The history of peoples and societies. The history of moral and ethical values. The history of women. Of humanity!

What the nation states could not realize and understand was that the ideology of PKK and Rêber APO touched millions of hearts, set thousands of women in motion and had already revived the hope for socialism. Today, the thoughts of the new paradigm are spreading all over the world and giving strength to the people. The thoughts of Abdullah Öcalan are the engine for women's liberation, ecology and democracy. The achievements of the revolution in Rojava are the spring of the 21st century. Therefore, the freedom of Rêber APOs is the freedom of societies and the step towards a democratic socialist life.

Long live Rêber APO!

Long live socialism!

Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan!





Society's Peace and Democracy Problem

Abdullah Öcalan in Sociology of Freedom

The general conclusion I have reached is that the source of social problems lies in the combined effect, domination, and colonization of the oppressive and exploitative monopolies. They exploit social nature (society's existence) and in particular the economic resources that generate surplus value. The problems do not arise from nature (first nature) or any social factor (second nature).

Societies cannot survive without social morality and politics, which are factors necessary to their existence (their social fabric) and for addressing society's common affairs. The natural state of society, its existence, cannot be immoral and apolitical.

If a society's moral and political fabric has not properly developed or has been undermined, distorted, and paralyzed, then it can be argued that society is occupied and colonized by various monopolies, capital, power, and the state among them.

To sustain this sort of life is a betrayal of and alienation from its own existence; it is to exist like a herd, like goods, commodities, and possessions under monopoly domina-

tion. Under these conditions, society has lost the natural essence and proficiency of a natural society or become obsolete. Such a society has been colonized or, even worse, has become property in every way, leaving itself to decay and poverty. There are numerous societies that fit this definition, both historically and currently. Those that have decayed and been annihilated far outnumber the survivors.

When a society can no longer create and run institutions that provide meaningful moral and political guidance, that society has succumbed to oppression and exploitation. It is in a "state of war." It is possible to define history as a "state of war" waged by civilizations against society. When morality and politics are dysfunctional, there is only one path open to a society: self-defense. A state of war is nothing more than the absence of peace. As such, only self-defense will make peace possible. A peace with no self-defense can only be an expression of submission and slavery. Liberalism today imposes on societies and peoples peace with no self-defense. The unilateral game of democratic stability and reconciliation is nothing but a fig leaf on the bourgeois class domination achieved by the armed forces. It is nothing but a covert state of war. The major plank in capitalist ideological hegemony is the idea that a true peace is a peace that requires no self-defense. "Sacred concepts" have been used throughout history to express this idea. Religions, in particular civilized religions, overflow with an abundance of such concepts.

Peace is only possible and meaningful if society can defend itself and protect its moral and political character. Peace, particularly the peace that Michel Foucault worked so hard to define, could in this way acquire an acceptable social expression. Peace understood in any other way is nothing but a trap and an implicit state of war on all peoples and communities. In capitalist modernity, the word peace abounds with pitfalls. Using the word without correctly defining it has many drawbacks. Let us redefine peace: peace is neither the complete elimination of the state of war nor stability or the absence of war under the supremacy of one party. There are different parties to any peace, and the complete dominance of one party over another does not and cannot denote peace.

Furthermore, weapons will fall silent only when there is acceptance of the functioning of society's moral and political institutions.

The three conditions mentioned immediately above must be met for principled peace. Any other peace would be meaningless.

Let's elaborate on these conditions; first, a complete disarmament of the different parties is not on the table, but the conflicting parties must vow not to attack one another regardless of the dispute. Military superiority will not be pursued. All sides must accept and respect the right of the other to maintain the means necessary to ensure its security. Second, the ultimate superiority of one party over the others is not at stake. While it is possible to achieve stability and quiescence under the rule of the gun, this cannot be called peace. Peace is only on the agenda when all sides agree to stop the war without one of the parties achieving armed superiority, regardless of whether they are right or wrong. Third, again regardless of the positions of the various sides, they agree to respect the moral (conscience) and political institutions of societies when addressing the problems underlying the conflict. This is the framework of what we call a "political solution." A cease-fire that does not include a moral and political solution cannot be called peace.

Democratic politics is a central issue for a principled peace. When society's moral and political institutions are functioning, the natural outcome is the process of democratic politics. Those who want peace must understand that peace can only be attained if politics based on morality play a part. To attain peace, it is essential that at least one side acts on the basis of democratic politics. Otherwise, the sole result will be a "peace game" played in the interests of the monopolies. In that situation, democratic politics plays a vital role. Only dialogue among democratic forces can stand up to power and the state forces and achieve a meaningful peace process. Without such a peace, even if the warring parties (monopolies) silence the weapons for a time, the state of war continues. Of course, there is war fatigue and economic difficulties arising from logistical needs, but as long as these difficulties can be resolved, the war will continue until one side attains unchallenged

superiority. The silencing of weapons in this context cannot be called peace but, rather, a cease-fire that portends a fiercer war to come. For a cease-fire to lead to genuine peace the three conditions we have outlined must be met.

On occasion, the side engaged in self-defense (the side in the right) may attain conclusive superiority. This doesn't change the three conditions for peace. As was seen with real socialism and many legitimate national liberation struggles, immediately establishing your own rule and state to secure stability cannot be called peace. This is just replacing an external monopolistic force with an internal force (state capitalism or a national bourgeoisie). Calling it socialism does not change the basic sociological reality. A principled peace is not something that can be attained by the superiority of power and the state. If power and the state, whatever they call themselves (bourgeois, socialist, national, non-national) do not share their advantages with the democratic forces, then peace will not be on the agenda. In the final analysis, peace is the conditional reconciliation of democracy and the state. History overflows with stories of the many attempts at such conditional reconciliations. There have been principled examples that have endured and others that have collapsed before the ink dried on the treaty. Societies do not only consist of the establishment of power and the state. No matter what restrictions are placed on society, unless it is completely annihilated, it will continue to live in keeping with its own moral and political identity. Although not a focus of written history, this is the essential reality of life.

Society should not be seen as a narrative about power and the state. On the contrary, seeing society as the decisive nature would contribute to the formation of more realistic social sciences. No matter how big or wealthy power and states may become, including capital monopolies (like the pharaoh and Croesus) or their present-day beast-like heirs (the new Leviathan), they can never eliminate society. Because, in the final analysis, it is society that determines them, and those who are determined can never replace those who determine them. Even the present rulers' spectacular and unsurpassed media propaganda cannot obscure this fact. At the end of the day, they are the most miserable and pitiful of forces playing at being giants. In contrast, human society cannot be stripped of its meaning as the most wonderful creation of nature.

The system of democratic civilization—our main paradigm—is a system in which society, both in its historical and present form, is interpreted, scientifically explained, and reconstructed. That is the subject matter of our next chapter.





The Victories of the “Modern Guerrillas” against Turkish Imperialism

Berxwedan Kobane member of the revolutionary youth

How does the guerrilla movement of Kurdistan manage to survive in the 21st century, in a world where technology is undergoing renewal day by day? For some time now, there has been discussion within the guerrillas about how to overcome the classic guerrilla. Many would declare the guerrilla struggle null and void, considering that the states and modernized war technology work apart from human power. But which heroic force makes the young men and women in the mountains of Kurdistan continue to fight despite this technology and deal such great blows to the enemy? Already in the offensive around Garê, the guerrillas of democratic modernity have proven their worth. But what was the motivation of the Turkish state to attack the mountainous region of Garê?

The mountainous region of Garê is a strategically important location for the guerrillas. Unlike Metîna, Avaşîn, Zap, Heftanîn and Xakurkê, for example, Garê is not located on the border with Turkish territory, but further inland to the south. In this respect, Garê has always had the advantage for the guerrillas of not being on the direct front line, but also of offering space for organizational work, reconnaissance, etc., despite air strikes and drone surveillance. On February 10 of this year, the Turkish occupation army launched a large-scale operation to invade the Garê region. Accompanied by massive bombardments and blanket aerial surveillance,

the Turkish army sent hundreds of its special forces with helicopters from the south, i.e. from the territory of the KDP (Nationalist Party of Iraqi Kurdistan), to Garê. On the very first day, they tried to capture the strategic peaks of the area, but failed miserably due to the direct response of the guerrillas. Wherever the Turkish army dropped its soldiers, despite hours of bombardment, the guerrillas were there to deal heavy blows to the attackers.

The aim was quite clear. The intention was to use this surprise lightning operation to penetrate one of the guerrillas' core areas in order to gain a permanent foothold there. For days, the entire area was bombarded from the air without interruption. In the cave, which contained prisoners of war, Turkish soldiers and MIT officers, the Turkish army finally used chemical weapons, killing both its own people and our guerrilla friends. However, after four days, the highly modern Turkish army, the second largest army in NATO, was defeated and had to withdraw. In this respect, February 14 of this year is a historic milestone for the victory of the guerrillas.

To avoid embarrassment, the Turkish army resorted to its paramilitary forces, Islamist gangs from Syria, the use of village guards and KDP henchmen. Fewer Turkish soldiers, whose fighting morale was broken, were sent to the

front lines, and other forces were used as cannon fodder. A central role was played by the KDP, which has been busy for months encircling guerrilla areas from the south and provoking an escalation that would lead to a deadly intra-Kurdish war. And even if the KDP were to be held accountable for its crimes, such an escalation would be entirely in the spirit and interest of Turkish fascism. The situation is serious and the war is in a critical, decisive phase. The Turkish state is also aware of this and accordingly is leaving no stone unturned to move forward.

That is why the Turkish army is using chemical weapons and poison gas in Metîna, Zap and Avaşîn to capture the partisans' defense tunnels and caves. Despite all these measures, the guerrillas continue to resist. At the same time, it is interesting to note that the propaganda of the Turkish fascist state, which usually accompanies every military operation, was relatively modest and restrained this time. Apparently, they decided not to make too much fuss in order to avoid a possible embarrassment like in Garê.

The myth and propaganda that even guerrillas are ultimately powerless against the overwhelming power of the state was once again broken and exposed as a lie. Garê was a victory for all of us, in Kurdistan and around the world, a victory for all of us who marched side by side with the anti-fascist resistance of the last years and took up the struggle against Turkish fascism and its international collaborators in different ways. As much as the Turkish state tries to hide and distort the truth through propaganda lies, as much as it tries to break the resistance through the currently ongoing, broad and massive military campaign against the guerrillas, it will not be able to nullify our victory, the victory of the guerrillas in Garê. The Turkish army was brought to its knees in Garê and now it is being brought to its knees every day in the mountains, in Metîna, in Zap and in Avaşîn.

For months, the young men and women of the HPG and YJA-Star have been resisting around the clock. Confronted with a highly modern armed NATO army, which has received the green light for its campaign of destruction from its NATO partners USA and Europe and is supported by the collaborators of the KDP in Southern Kurdistan, the guerrillas have no other choice but the will to resist and to win against fascism. This will, and thus the realization of the project of a "modern guerrilla" of the 21st century, ensures that the Turkish state has yet to make any significant territorial gains, even after months of hard fighting. The victory in Garê and the unbroken resistance of the guerrillas are the result of the revolutionary determination of the apoist guerrillas, as well as the restructuring and reorganization of recent years into a modern, professional guerrilla. The ability of the HPG and YJA-Star to hold their territories in Southern Kurdistan until today and to continue to be active in all areas of Northern Kurdistan is primarily related to this professionalization.

Restructuring the guerrilla into a Modern Guerrilla Movement means creating a new reality, developing a new fighting strategy, new tactics and a new discipline, seriousness and professionalism. "Today, the guerrilla moves like a ghost. It is nowhere to be seen, but it is everywhere. It does not let itself be seen, but it watches the enemy. It does not allow itself to be controlled, but it monitors the enemy. This is the way of today's guerrilla," Murat Karayilan Commander of the Central People's Defense Headquarters, in 2020, describes the modern guerrilla. The 21st century guerrilla must subvert the enemy's information and weapons technology. It must create creativity, determination, attachment to its greatest weapon. The practice in the struggle for Gare, has confirmed to us the success of the restructuring of the guerrilla.



The concept of modern guerrilla no longer builds only on the classic guerrilla tactics, but professionalizes itself in all points of war and revolution. The modern guerrilla must be firmly rooted in its ideological-political convictions, determined for the construction of socialism in the 21st century: a guerrilla of democratic modernity, a guerrilla of democratic, ecological society and women's freedom.

The modern guerrilla must be disciplined, organized and structured. The modern guerrilla must know the enemy and itself, move according to circumstances and conditions, and be specialized in the weapons at its disposal. The fundamentals of the classical guerrilla still apply, but the modern guerrilla organizes itself according to the ever-evolving technical capabilities of states and rulers. As a result, modern guerrillas are finding their own creative responses to the ever-changing characteristics of contemporary war. Although quantity does not lose its importance, quality takes precedence in modern warfare, and this is especially true of guerrillas. One of the main reasons why the Kurdish freedom movement continues to be internationally criminalized, politically-diplomatically-economically marginalized and isolated, why the U.S. and Europe support and fund Turkey's war against the PKK by all means, why Abdullah Ocalan continues to be kept in isolation, and why Rojava is not given official status internationally, is the luminosity that a successful guerrilla struggle against a NATO state in the 21st century can bring. The imperialists are afraid that the 21st century model of "modern and professional guerrilla" could become an example and model for other peoples and social struggles around the world. Let's imagine, if they already have such big problems with the guerrillas in Kurdistan and fail to destroy the PKK for more than 40 years, what would happen if two, three, many modern guerrilla movements emerge in different parts of the world? What if 2, 3, many fighting movements adopted this model?





Jineoloji: A women's paradigm for social liberation

European Jineoloji Committee
jineoloji.org/en/

(This article was previously published in issue 3 of the magazine "Rojava is not alone")

Jineoloji is the latest important step in the continuation of the intellectual, politico-ideological, self-defense and mobilization struggle and mobilization of the Kurdistan women's movement that began more than 30 years ago. In this article we briefly present the basis of Jineoloji, why we need a women's science and the role knowledge and science play in the construction of a free life.

To understand why women's science is necessary and why it is necessary for all social and revolutionary movements, we need to know and understand why the Kurdistan women's movement also saw this need and what their answer to this question was. In order to do so, we are going to make a brief overview of the development and evolution of the Kurdish women's movement that started from within the armed Kurdish national liberation fight led by the PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan). In the year 1987 the militants of the movement, while working on their autonomous organization internally, on the other hand, they also transmitted and shared their progress in all areas of the social struggle. The popular insurrections against the colonization of Kurdistan (in Kurdish "Serhildan"), which started from 1989 onwards, were led by women. From the point of view of Kurdish society, this was the beginning of a new phase of national resistance with a woman-focused nature. In this sense, the women's movement continued

its theoretical and practical work in intellectual, political, social, cultural and self-defense areas. The following key phases in the history of the movement would be: 1993 - formation of the autonomous women's guerrilla, 1996 - theory and practice of total disconnection from the patriarchal system, after 1998 - ideology of women's liberation and creation of an emancipatory identity for women, 1999 - formation of the ideological party of women, from 2000 onwards - construction of the democratic confederal system within the framework of the new social paradigm whose three basic pillars are: radical and direct democracy, ecology, and women's liberation. In this context, women's councils, academies and cooperatives were created. After all this evolution, and under the slogan "the liberation of women is the liberation of society", the women's movement then focused on ideological, philosophical and intellectual work.

It is at this moment when the women's movement in Kurdistan wonders how it could ensure and guarantee the practical achievements made during these decades of struggle, that is to say, how it could make its achievements and experiences gained in the revolution into a system that can guarantee them in time, and on what basis and values it would build that system. They asked why real socialism and national liberation movements were unable to reali-

ze their ideals and objectives of a liberated society, and especially why none of these attempts had led to a real liberation of women, rather the contrary, many were based on the silencing of women's role and efforts in such processes of change.

The triumph of the revolution, that is, the defense and guarantee of the freedoms achieved, will be impossible in the long run without a change in the mentality of the whole society, that is to say, in order to truly transform reality and society, we must first transform thought, theory and knowledge. It is to understand revolution not as a process of substituting one government for another, of overthrow and consequent seizure of power. If we aspire to a true social revolution, the process of development of a free society cannot be planned from the outside with the above methods and be applied as a definitive model, because then the society is again incapacitated. Rather the contrary, this process must be shaped by society itself, the social groups and the individuals themselves. In this context the Kurdistan liberation movement introduces the notion of an "ethico-political society", that is, the political capacity of the society and its collective consciousness of freedom are imperative factors in order to be able to push for change from everyday life to politics.

The main task of the social sciences and knowledge in this process would therefore be to generate this critical and political capacity, i.e., to generate a change of paradigm, thinking and understanding of reality. Moreover, only from a knowledge that considers the liberation of women in all of its analysis and procedure, we will be able to get to the true root of the social problems, find the appropriate solutions and build new forms of emancipatory life relations free from oppression under the ideological principles and values of the revolution.

However, if we look at the current notion of the sciences we see that it is contrary to this understanding. The science has acquired the masculinist, sexist and classist characteristics of the patriarchal system and is used as a tool of power for the maintenance of its domination.

It is at this point that Jineoloji is proposed. Jineoloji means a radical intervention in the hegemony of the dominant male, neoliberal and capitalist mentality, a radical chan-

ge in the way of observing the universe and life, a change of paradigm and the necessary merging and interaction between sociology and ideology. Abdullah Öcalan named Jineoloji for the first time in 2003 in his book "Sociology of Freedom", where he expressed the need for a science of women as a fundamental principle for the development of a free life and society. The term Jineoloji is formed on the one hand from the Kurdish word "jin" meaning woman, which shares its root with the Kurdish words "jîn" and "jîyan", which mean "to live" and "life" respectively; and on the other hand by the suffix "-lojî" which derives from the Greek term "logos" which means knowledge, understanding, science. Therefore we can literally translate Jineoloji as the science of woman and life. The work of Jineoloji began in 2011 with the formation of a first committee in the guerrilla in the liberated mountains of Kurdistan. Since then, Jineoloji has spread to all areas of the movement and been put into practice in all four parts of Kurdistan and Europe, setting up committees, research centers and academies and developing its knowledge through camps, seminars and conferences.

The liberation movement of Kurdistan, which came from an experience of political formation from Marxism-Leninism begins, from the internal struggle of women, to propose the interpretation of the revolutionary process from its own experience and therefore to open itself to the updating of the existing theories and to the critique of the theories and to the critique of its own actions. This is in fact one of the main characteristics of the Kurdish women's movement: the systematization of women's experiences of struggle as a concrete method of ideological theorization and collective knowledge creation. The knowledge of Jineoloji will therefore be based on considering practice as a source of theory production, and in turn this theory will then improve and guide our revolutionary practice. In other words, Jineoloji proposes the path of practice-theory-practice, unlike the unidirectional methodology of modern science from the Enlightenment, which starts from theory to enlighten the world of practice, thus denying the processes of popular accumulation of experiences.

Despite the ideological and methodological confrontation that we have at Jineoloji with the scientific academy, we do not deny the positive contributions of the different



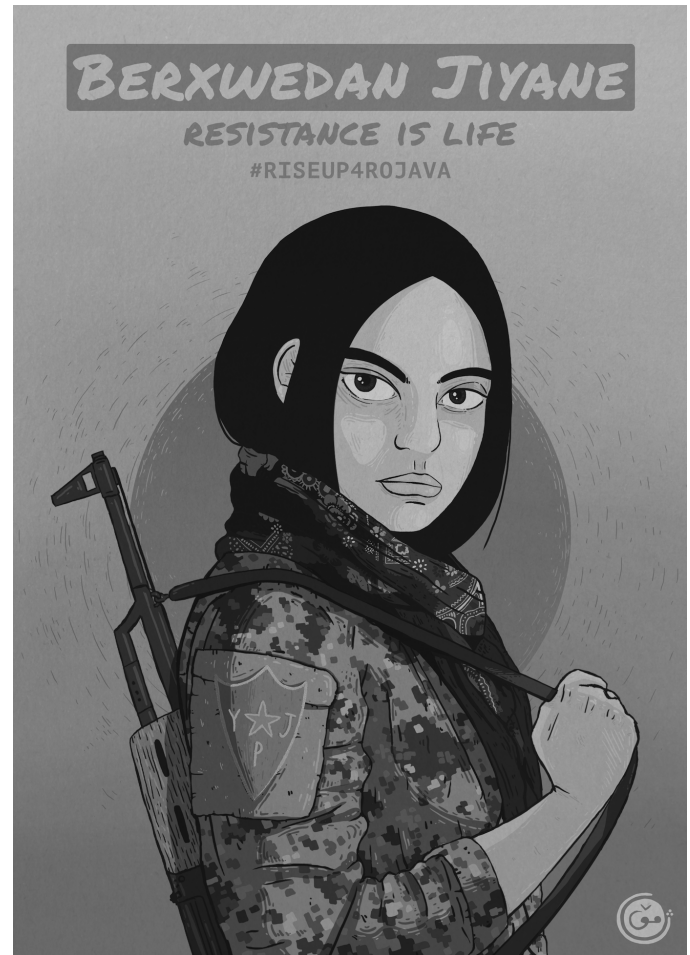
sciences that have enriched the perception and knowledge of reality. However, if we observe the injustices caused by the capitalist imperialist patriarchal mentality and its legitimization by the sciences and their methodology only in the last 3 centuries, it becomes more evident than ever the urgency of a critique not only of the sciences, but also to all systems of knowledge of history such as mythology, religion and philosophy, from which science has inherited this logic of domination and slavery imposed on women, society and nature.

From Jineoloji we seek ways to overcome the mechanism, determinism and positivism of patriarchal rationality, which artificially divide reality between the hierarchization of subject and object: I and the other, oppressor-oppressed, rational-emotional, public-private, cultural-natural, etc; being the characteristics of the subject given to men, and those of the object to women.

Jineoloji is therefore presented as a method of self-defense against the attacks of positivism and capitalist modernity. When we say self-defense we do not refer only to the armed sense, but also to the construction of social and mental structures that are capable of facing and responding to the repression and attacks of the system. Jineoloji defines several practical areas for the organization and defense of social life that will be developed with the free perspective of women and through which Jineoloji itself can also improve and develop: ethics and aesthetics, demography, ecology, economy, health, education and politics.

In addition, Jineoloji analyzes the social construction of female and male identity and conservative understandings of gender. It will question the current relations between women and men and the concept of sexuality, love and aesthetics to rescue women from definitions such as "virgin, housewife or sexual object", thus returning her to society in the position she deserves as a free subject. We need to problematize, theorize and think politically about everyday life and question the relations of oppression in the different ways of linking ourselves, thinking about how to transform these relations. In this context, Jineoloji presents itself as the science of "free coexistence", proposing new human relations on which social life develops and which are based on partnership and mutual respect: *"The life of a couple is a social construction. Today's life is not between a man and a woman, but between masculinity and femininity that have been socially constructed. We cannot deny that the hegemonic construction of the binary sexes has influenced the relationships that exist between them, thus creating a hegemonic form of relationships. There can be no love in an imposed hegemonic relationship. The first basic condition for love to exist between human beings is that both sides are free and have a free will"*. (Introduction to Jineoloji, 2011).

This change in the way we relate to each other and to our environment will only be possible if each of us begins a personal, willing and committed struggle that frees our personality from the capitalist patriarchal mentality. It is for this reason that Jineoloji considers it fundamental to include men in our analysis and transformation in order to know by what methods the dominant masculinity was built and is maintained and consequently be able to finally "change the man".



On the other hand, Jineoloji acquires its knowledge also from emancipatory social experiences in history such as the neolithic revolution, matriarchal communities and the achievements of feminism and all global women's struggles, because it believes that women can learn from and influence each other. Feminisms have taught us to uncover the patriarchal structures rooted in the mindset, they have pointed out social sexism, in history and in science; as well as the importance of the racialization of women and of the sexual division of labor. They have also generated great experience of struggle for all women. However, despite the great work of feminisms and feminist epistemology, all these efforts have not culminated in the creation of a common social knowledge that could lead to real social change and propose a political model and an alternative way of life to the capitalist and neo-liberal system; many feminisms have been assimilated into the system itself. This is the main criticism that we make from the Jineoloji, the lack of generation of a social proposal and a militancy in women. By militancy we mean the true overcoming of the lifestyle and mentalities of the individualist capitalist system and the fight against patriarchy in all aspects of life through organization and active militancy that can lead a real social change. To end patriarchy, it is not enough to point out and oppose to the hegemonic system; we need a women's revolution to question and change the most deeply rooted patriarchal relations and mentalities. In this context, the women's movement of Kurdistan presents us Jineoloji both as a solution to historical social problems, as well as a method of developing women's knowledge that has the potential to unite and guide all anti-patriarchal, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggles of the world in the social revolution.

The issue of women's liberation, gender liberation and the liberation of all oppressed women had never before been so urgent and intense. Therefore, a corresponding organization, formation and development of alternative structures are more necessary than ever. It is imperative for our struggles in any part of the world to analyze from an anti-patriarchal and anti-system perspective what the social problems are, to analyze them in their historical context and to formulate solutions, i. e., to regenerate a "theoretical and intellectual" work in which we can include the knowledge of our practical experiences of life and struggle, and which give a current ideological perspective to revolutionary movements in order to understand and organize the political transformation of society. In this sense we can summarize the main tasks of Jineolojî for this 21st century like this:

- the development of the cultural bases and the theoretical and scientific framework of the women's revolution.

- the historical analysis of women's liberation and resistance and the analysis of the current situation of women's and feminist movements, as well as the results of their achievements.

- the analysis of the main problems of society that have been developed by patriarchy and capitalism and the proposal of alternatives and solutions, from the transformation of institutions such as the family to the creation of basic structures of free living relations.

- the development of a social science that constitutes the basis for the creation of a new system of knowledge based on the liberation of women and men, and that develops common strategies together with the anti-systemic movements and avoid their assimilation.

With Jineolojî the women's movement of Kurdistan has taken the historical responsibility for the victory against patriarchy, putting itself at the forefront of the global fight for the liberation of women and society, and inviting us all to fight and liberate ourselves together with them.



From Mesopotamia to world democratic revolution

YPG - International

There is very little, and at the same time very much, what one can learn from us. (...) It is a tradition for us that we open our hearts completely when someone new comes to us. (...) So don't view yourself as a stranger here. (...) Right now, this revolution is the strongest smoldering oven of the world revolution. She is the liveliest burning oven. In this time, the revolution in Kurdistan is the most internationalist of all revolutions. So contribute towards it with patience, as if it is your own revolution.

Serok APO, 1997 (dialogue with Ş. Ronahî – Andrea Wolf, German internationalist)

“Why did you come?” is a frequent question asked to all internationalists who come to Rojava. The response varies from person to person, and in the case of those who have just arrived, usually consists of a smile and a few broken sentences in Kurdish or Arabic. But despite our varied origins, all who come searching for something.

Internationalism is one of the founding principles of the new phase of organization and struggle of the oppressed classes that started during the second half of the 19th century. Since then, it has been clear that borders and States are nothing but a farce. Different peoples have been suffering exploitation and tyranny from a supranational system; it follows that it is essential to seek unity and organization across geographical and cultural boundaries. Building class unity among peoples was possible because it was accompanied by building ideological unity - a project of society for the whole world, an international alliance of peoples for socialist democracy.

Examples of internationalism can be found throughout revolutionary history. Brave revolutionaries from outside France fought alongside native French revolutionaries to defend the Paris Commune. During the Mexican Revolution, some internationalists crossed into Mexico to take up arms, especially in the PLM's uprising in Baja California. Others formed support and solidarity committees for Emiliano Zapata's armed movement.

Revolutionary groups across the world recognized the strategic importance of the events in Mexico, aware that in the absence of international solidarity, each movement would have to face global capitalism alone. As we have seen, the enemy, that is the ruling classes of the world, the patrons, the generals, the capitalists, are all organized internationally. Pentagon operations like the Plan Condor and GLADIO made this clear in the past, and today, signs of this collusion continue to exist in the forms of the IMF, G20, and other organizations. Indeed, it was the work of an international conspiracy involving the intelligence services of multiple nation-states that eventually caused Abdullah Öcalan to be abducted and imprisoned.

In the revolutionary syndicalism of the Americas, in the steppes of Russia and Ukraine, in the fields of Manchuria, in the streets and valleys of Spain, and in the mountains across all Europe, internationalism has been a living part of different struggles and revolutions. In a world that has become increasingly industrialized and globalized, the possibilities of developing cross-border relations between movements also grew. World revolution became a more pressing topic, inspired by such examples as Cuba and Vietnam.

Despite what the prophets of neoliberalism had to say, history didn't end in the 1990s. Today, revolutionary struggles continue, and internationalism remains a central element. From the Selva Lacandona to the streets of Genova to mountains of Zagros, the struggle for social transformation echoes across the globe.

In 2012, in the early days of the Syrian Civil War, the Rojava Revolution sprang forth. It declared its international character and gained worldwide attention. In the battle for Kobanê (2014), a wave of solidarity backed the city's resistance. People all over the world gave their support to the YPG and YPJ in solidarity against the Islamic State. It was then that internationalist men and women began to come to Rojava to join the fight against IS, that was defined as the enemy of humanity.

The contributions of internationalists in Rojava once again demonstrated the living spirit of internationalism. Among the many thousands of martyrs the sacrifices of almost 50 Şehids from YPG and YPJ International have proven the determination of people from around the world to take part in the revolution of North and East Syria until the end. People, communities and organizations around the world see in this revolution a light of hope and a virtuous example; an alternative to capitalist modernity, which leads our species towards exploitation and destruction.

What does it mean to be part of revolutionary self-defense

The military strength and accomplishments of the YPG and YPJ are a physical representation of the will and determination on the people of Northeastern Syria. Our forces

do not protect or fight on behalf of the people; they are the people. The Syrian people lived under a regime that sought to weaken their self-confidence and make them more reliant on undemocratic governance. As long as the state could monopolize the organization of armed forces, it could convince the people of their inability to defend themselves, and thus justify its own existence. Now, the YPG and YPJ have proven the opposite; the responsibility of defense must lie with the people themselves. Now, the democratic structures in SDF territory have the space to gain confidence and develop themselves.

Our commitment to egalitarian and communal principles runs deep through the structure of the YPG and YPJ: there is no pomp associated with command and there are no obsequious salutes to superiors. The only form of address is *heval*, meaning friend or comrade, applied to all and without discrimination of rank. The discipline is maintained through revolutionary self-discipline and the respect given to the commandship and the organizational structure. This is in opposition to the traditional method favored by state militaries of severe punishments for the smallest infractions. Authority is not imposed by privileges such as family or religious background, as is common elsewhere, but is gained through earning the respect of others by one's own good example.

The feeling of comradeship, *hevaltî*, is the backbone of our revolutionary organization. The love that we feel for our comrades is what allows us to undertake incredible sacrifices; love is what allows us to overcome adversity collectively, because we know that it is in this love that the new world grows.

Some people when thinking about what it means to join the YPG may think it's just about military training, shooting and throwing grenades. And if indeed part of our time is dedicated to military activities, of equal importance are

the actions of communal life – of cleaning and cooking, and of ideological development through discussion and education. It is in this daily life that we seek to practice democratic society, analyzing and always seeking to improve ourselves, and especially as men to overcome patriarchy and “kill the dominant male” within ourselves. Every revolution must be accompanied by many internal revolutions.

The YPG and YPJ did not rely upon technical or numerical superiority to defeat the Islamic state, and we make use of our same strengths now in the war against the fascist Turkish State and the jihadist gangs it props up. In this asymmetrical war, the strength of belief and conviction are more important than ever. By defending our territory from the Turkish state, our fighters demonstrate that the fundamental concept of people's war is still valid. In order to counter the ever-growing technological arsenal of the Turkish military, we develop new tactics and capabilities, all based upon the knowledge that determination is the most valuable quality a fighter can possess, and that creativity and ingenuity will triumph over technology and numbers.

The success of the YPG and YPJ demonstrates the necessity for a revolutionary pluralistic military structure. The unique organization of the YPG and YPJ is what allows for men and women, Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, Turkmen, Assyrians and of course Internationals to fight together on the frontlines. Even though fighters from different backgrounds often join through their own organizations, they train and fight together.

The unity of the many peoples organized within the YPG and YPJ would not be possible without revolutionary methods of conflict resolution and dialogue. Most important is the system of *Tekmîl* (feedback) and *Civîn* (meeting). *Tekmîl* allows fighters to criticize and self-criticize in a structured environment that aims to develop the individual, and thus the group as a whole. Likewise, *Civîn* is an opportunity for fighters to bring criticism, proposals, or other important points





directly to their leadership. The result of these interactions, beyond simple problem solving, is to encourage fighters to take initiative and responsibility over their shared work. By giving a place for all to speak, the structure of the YPG and YPJ can adapt to the varied cultures and values of their members. Even more importantly, by linking the fighters to one another and to their leadership, the unit benefits as a whole from the ideas and perspectives of each of the members.

Our role as internationalists

Our work and our presence as internationalists is to break down the walls - of geographical distances, of imaginary borders, of cultural, historical and linguistic differences, of ideological dogmas - in order to build bridges between our peoples, organizations and experiences.

The Revolution in North and East Syria is well aware that no state can be trusted, and it is not in its interest to seek alliances that go beyond tactical immediacy. The only possible alliance is with the oppressed peoples all over the world.

Over these years we have demonstrated that solidarity is much more than a written word, and through it we hope that our participation in the Revolution can be consolidated in each one of us so that we can contribute to the translation of this experience and develop similar processes in our countries, uniting all workers in the world.

In this new phase of the war, we are sometimes to maintain defensive positions, a condition which, however, in no way requires us to adopt a passive posture. On the contrary, there is a lot of work to be done, and more than ever we need to insist and seize every opportunity to pursue and preserve the political offensive.

If Daesh (ISIS) is the enemy of humanity, what should we say about the fascist Turkish State that supported and financed the caliphate in every way possible, and now recycles the ex-jihadists in the gangs of mercenaries at its

service in the occupied territories of Rojava? What to say about all the destruction, killing, raping, bombardments and cutting of water that provide life for hundred thousands of peoples?

After all, who is this enemy? If the caliphate and religious-terrorist fundamentalism are a product of the policies of the powers and financial markets in the Middle East, does this not show that the real enemy of humanity is capitalist modernity and the patriarchal mentality as a whole? A war that does not only concern Mesopotamia and the Middle East, a war that cannot be fought only with weapons: a real world war, of humanity against the chains that want to subjugate the possibilities of building a free life.

Therefore it is not wrong to frame it as the third world war.

Now is a very good moment for internationalist to come. The Rojava Revolution is starting its tenth year, demonstrating against all expectations and an international imposed embargo a quiet rare longevity, and it is possible to see and understand all the great advances that where made, as well as all the contradictions, questions and problems that are faced and still remain to be overcome.

It is not about recruiting people to fight this revolutionary world war. Most likely, if you are reading this article, it is because you are already involved. It is more about how and how we are going to fight capitalism and patriarchy, how we can organize their global defeat through the democratic action of peoples. At once each of us represents the collective aspirations of one's own country, and in the

same moment we are a unified voice demanding freedom not only for North and East Syria but for every oppressed class and people in every corner of the world.

Alone, Rojava can never be definitively safe, and will always be under siege, target of attacks and intrigues. It is essential that other processes of social revolution develop around the world. Today Rojava and the YPG – Int are an opportunity to establish a practice, a style, of revolutionary people's warfare shared throughout the world. Its important also to remark that women friends that are reading this and want to join this unique womans revolution, can look for YPJ – International.

The challenge we seek to face here is that of pursuing a world democratic revolution, in a process similar to the Neolithic Revolution. That is to say, a long and diversified process, which takes place everywhere, each place according to its own time, but which, starting from common bases and premises, allows us to reach a new great and deep transformation of society.

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“Tania la guerillera” (Tamara Bunke)

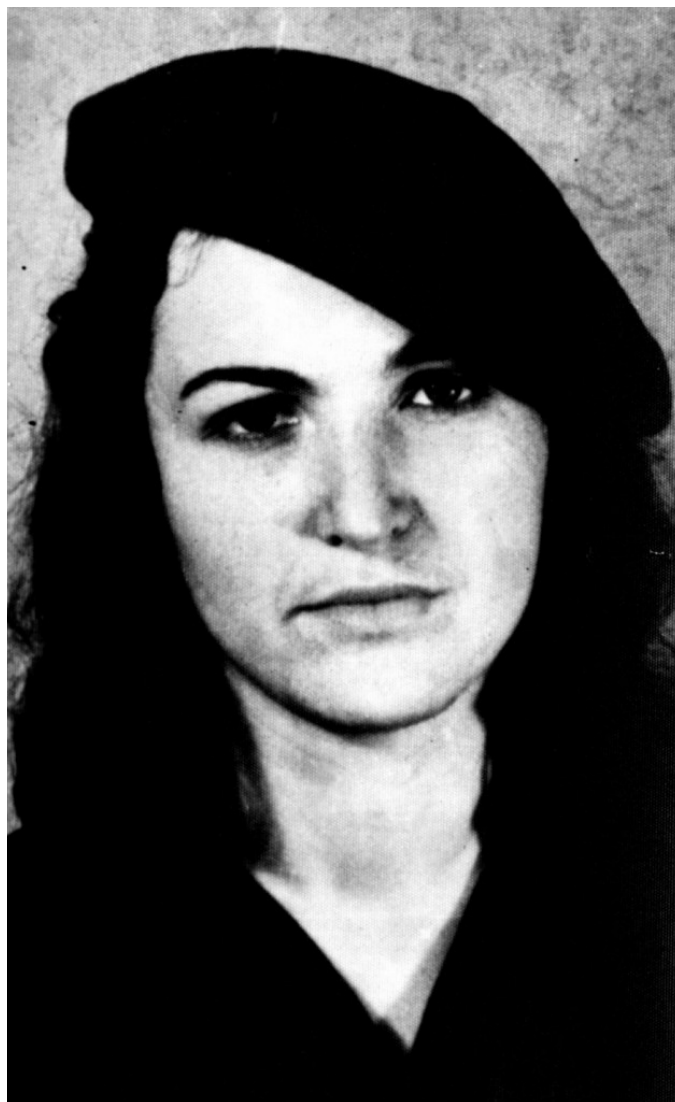
I was discussing with a comrade responsible for seminars and lessons on History. He asked me about my understanding on internationalism. As an internationalist he wanted to discuss with me the meaning, the role of the internationalists in the Kurdish freedom movement. So I tried to explain what was my conception on it, international solidarity, help and brotherhood between the peoples, a tool to improve revolution and build bridge between different regions of the world etc. I missed a crucial point on my explanation.

After some minutes of discussion the comrade look at me and said:

-I think the role of an internationalist is to be an exemple of revolutionary commitment. An internationalist proves that when you are ideologically convinced, when you feel the rightness of the revolution in your soul, mind and body then you know what have to be done. In this sense internationalists shows a way. Wherever the revolution is, whatever the situation is, they will join the revolutionaries to be part of the liberation of a land which is not theirs. Their commitment to revolutionary principles is a proof that humanity is tied together, that brotherhood between peoples of the world is not only necessary but possible. They are a great example for all the revolutionaries.

When this comrades told me this I was surprised. He was my example of commitment. More than 20 years in the party a good part of it in Turkish and Syrian jails, lot of society work confronting the contradictions of the modern world and the building of a self-organized society, years of war and resistance in the different fronts of Middle-East, from Iraqi Kurdistan, to Lebanese Palestinian camps or even desert war against ISIS. He was the one I admire, it was difficult for me to understand his admiration for internationalists. Certainly because, the internationalists I met by myself are for a good part between crazy adventurers and lost tourists lot of them pretend to be revolutionaries, but the reality is that the majority of them came here to add something to their “tinder” profile. So few have a long term revolutionary perspective and a strong will to dedicate their life to the political work in, to educate themselves in order to bring democracy and freedom to humanity. Actually this is not only true for internationalists but for every “revolutionary” I met in the West.

This friend then gave me an example. He told me the story of “Tania la guerillera” or Tamara Bunke. A woman born in Argentina raised in East-Germany who finally decided to live in Cuba to join the revolution there and then the internationalist Latin-American insurrection project of Che Guevara.



Let's not talk about the contradiction and the debate about “Che's” “Foco strategy”, let's concentrate on the life of Tania and try to understand her commitment with the revolution and her way to embrace her historical role with humbleness and dedication.

Tamara Bunke was born in Argentina where she lived her childhood in a political environment. Her parents were communist militants who were very active during their time in Argentina. She soon got the consciousness of being part of History and to belong to humanity. When she was a young teenager her parents decided to move to East-Germany where she started her own political life joining the youth organisation of the Socialist Unity Party. With the youth organisation she participated in different revolutionary youth meetings and festival around the world. Because of her dedication to the political work and her proximity with the Latin-american culture and her capacity to speak fluent Spanish she became an official translator for the youth organization.

That's how she got assigned as a translator for Ernesto Guevara when he visited East-Germany in 1960. Already aware of the Cuban revolution which had a great influence on her revolutionary perspective the encounter with Che made her more decided to take a further path into revolutionary work.

In 1961 she moved to Cuba where she started to dedicate her time and energy to voluntary brigades of work to build homes and schools in the Cuban countryside. With those brigades she also gave lessons as a teacher. As she was conscientious of the importance of this process to build popular democracy for the society she applied with much self-dedication and self-discipline. Her work was quickly seen as exemplary. So she got to work with the education ministry and participate in important cultural works as the Cuban Literacy campaign or women struggle structure within the Federation of Cuban Women.

With her impressive work in the civil field, it was Ernesto Guevara himself who proposed her to be part of the "operacion fantasma" which goal was to create "one-two or three Vietnam" in Latin America to counter North American neo-colonial policies and imperialists appetite.

Obviously she agreed, and joined a difficult training with the Cuban Secret Services. During her training she impressed her mentor "Benigno" who said about her that she was at the same time "very gracious and very tough". Her new developed skills for spying and social camouflage will naturally designate her for undercover mission.

In 1964 she travels to Bolivia with an undercover identity: Laura Gutiérrez Bauer a right-wing expert of latin folklore. Her mission is to gather information on Bolivian government military capacities. For this her task was to infiltrate Bolivia's high society using her fake identity to get close to the power structure. She was so successful, that she went on holidays with the Bolivian president René Barrientos. At the same time she produced a very valuable collection of Bolivian music folklore (still one of the best ever produced today) to deepen her cover. With this we can easily see all the effort and dedication she put on her work, giving much importance to the role she was playing and playing it at the perfection. During the time of the operation in Bolivia she was one of the only reliable urban agent deployed by the guerilla. The informations she gave were very valuable for the guerilla columns led by "Che".

In 1966 her cover get destroyed by a captured Bolivian communist who gave crucial information to the enemy. Then she had no other choice but to join the insurgent guerrilla of Che in the Bolivian jungle. Within her combat unit she again took crucial responsibility until they get ambushed by the Bolivian army and their CIA counter-guerilla experts, when crossing a river. During this ambush "Tania la guerillera" got killed and drown into the river. Her body will be found and hidden some days later by state forces. After many years Cuban authority will find her grave and will finally repatriate her to Cuba where she lies down along with "Che" and so many other revolutionary heroes.

After her death many propaganda campaign have been launched by the enemy in order to counter the powerful example she gave to all revolutionary of the world. At first Bolivian state and counter-guerilla specialists tried to hide her body in order to erase her existence. Then she was accused of being a KGB or even a Stasi agent and because she was a women, an Uruguayan right wing writer depicted her as the lover of Ernesto Guevara. He declared she was

pregnant and had many relationship with other militants. All of this rumors have been proved false with time, but this also shows very well the threat she was for imperialists. Even dead the symbol she became as to be destroyed. They put lot of energy in the attempt to erase her from History. As they were not successful in the process they tried to broke her image. They used every means they could to do so, as she was a women they also attacked her femininity and her dignity from "evil communist agent" to "terrorist whore".

Obviously I did not became an expert on the life of "Tania la Guerillera", but I get to know her name, and her legacy to the revolutionary epic. Her memory is actually quite popular among latin-american leftists and especially in Cuba she is celebrated as an example. Today in 2021 we can still see in her life a revolutionary who paved the way for others, someone who inspired other to follow the same way like the heval who told me her story. She inspired revolutionaries in Middle-East fighting in Latin-America who themselves inspired me as a latin-american to join the struggle.

Speaking with this comrade I started to understand the importance of the symbol internationalists can represent. We have to give importance to our role, with humbleness and sincerity understand the role we can play in Revolution and do our best to fit with it. As Tamara Bunke with her discipline and her humbleness played her role, she did her best whatever was the task she got to do. In my mind I see the contrast with revolutionaries I met around the world. Most of them want to be The leader of their own revolution (even when they pretend to have an anti-authoritarian practice being confuse with the concept of leadership) and categorically refuse to join a movement they do not control fully. Most of westerners fall in the trap of individualism in their revolutionary practice, even though they sincerely want to develop a revolutionary approach. How many of my fellow comrades back in my country did fall in the trap of the "purity" rejecting everything which does not fit totally with the utopias they have, refusing to play their role and embrace their responsibility to potentiate revolutionary movement

In this sense of being ready to accomplish ones roles in the frame of a revolutionary mass movement, I always remember the sentence of my commander who say: - The one who does not want to do the thing find excuses, the one who want to do the things find methods and solutions.

With this hevalno, I invite you to ask to yourself sincerely and answer with strength and modesty: Who am I? What is my role in the frame of the revolution? How can I reach it?



Health volunteering a testimony

Çiya Baran *An internationalist in Rojava*

An internationalist comrade was working in the healthcare field. He had the chance to share with the nurses of the NGO "Heyva Sor" (Kurdish Red Crescent). Here he shares with us his view on his tasks and responsibilities.

With the popular uprising that took place in July 2012 and its subsequent revolutionary process, the popular institutions created in Rojava to respond to the needs and will of the inhabitants in the area can be counted in tens. In an area so punished by the Syrian Regime as Rojava was, there was an urgent need for a revolutionary proposal that crystallized with institutions of self-defense, education, economy, healthcare... It is in the field of healthcare where Heyva Sor a Kurd (Kurdish Red Crescent) begins its journey in the North and East of Syria in the same year 2012. Over the time, Heyva Sor has become a well-acknowledged institution throughout the territory.



"The truth is that the possibility of working on this project was in my head before I came to Rojava. I have always thought healthcare is one of the main challenges to face in any revolutionary process. Besides this, this job allows to connect with people in a very special way. Just like the people who defend this land with their arms and bodies, health workers are also very loved and respected.

One morning in April 2021, I arrived at the Heyva Sor base in the city of Derik. It was the place of ambulances. As soon as I saw those ambulances, I understood that I was going to have to witness many misfortunes. In that moment, I thought I may not have considered enough what it meant to work with Heyva Sor, but, anyways, I was motivated and determined to face the challenge that it would be for me to spend a season there.

The "Taware" (Heyva Sor's base) was a small plot of land of about 50 X 80 meters. On one side, 6 ambulances so small as modern were stacked under a sheet metal roof. On the other side, several containers-houses in the style of the construction site were connected by another sheet metal roof. The containers consisted of the women's dormitory, the men's dormitory, the kitchen, a small office and storage room, and the living room. The floor of the plot of land

was made of stones, on which the ambulance drivers made small skids every time they went in and out.

The job of this "Taware" was to be the first to get to the scene where any kind of tragedy happened, try to minimize the damage as much as possible, and transport (if necessary) the injured to the hospital. On the second day, I realized that Heyva Sor was also a mortician since the ambulances were carrying coffins, or at least, as far as I knew, those dead who arrived from Bashur after crossing the Tigris at the famous Semalka border crossing.

On my first day at Heyva Sor, I received a quick first aid training: how to jab, an IV, how to measure someone's blood pressure, etc. The next day the training continued with a practice: I inserted one of the nurses an intravenous line. The truth is that I had never really put myself in the position where I would do this, but when I suddenly found myself in the situation, I just did it. I was definitely going to do things in Rojava that I had never done before, and would never do again.

Add to all this my limited ability in the Kurdish language and how it hindered my learning in nursing. I had to learn many specific words related to medicine in Kurdish and Arabic, because in times of stress in the middle of an emergency, there should be no room for doubt.

One day, while we were in the "Taware", the notice came that a girl had hurt her leg (or at least that's how I understood it). I deluded myself into imagining a sprained ankle or something like that.:

- "tu heri" (you go).
- "Tamam" (okay).

I was given a Heyva Sor jacket and got into the ambulance along with the driver and a nurse named Jewale. In Derik itself, in a dark street, many people were crowded together, speaking Arabic and waiting for the ambulance. A strong smell entered the ambulance; the girl's family worked with sheep. At first I didn't reach to see the girl, but suddenly a man with a red Palestinian on his head appeared with a little girl in his arms. At that very moment it became clear that it was not a sprained ankle. The girl, 10 years old, looked as if she had been taken out of the war. Semi-conscious, she was wearing on her head a large patch covering half of her forehead and one eye, her hands and some of her clothes were stained with blood, and both of her ankles were and her two ankles were bound together with adhesive tape. Amid faint, desperate moans, we put her on the stretcher inside the ambulance, where two men also entered (I guess one of them was her father).

I was now with Jewale and the girl in the back, as the ambulance raced off to I didn't know where. At that moment I understood I had to put into practice the theory I had learnt "on the spot". Jewale showed me some X-rays that had been taken of the girl, she had fallen off a roof and had broken her right clavicle and tibia. It seemed that the girl had been like that for several hours, and she barely had enough strength left to complain about the excruciating pain she was in. Her name was Xebir, and she was an Arab. After exchanging several words in Arabic with her, Jewale began to ask me for the material needed to start an IV to improve her condition. After the IV was started, Jewale asked Xebir if she was in pain, to which she undoubtedly replied that she was. It was time for a pain reliever.

At every step we took, Jewale explained calmly and with certainty what to do. The fact that Jewale was also an Arab made things a lot easier, because he was not fluent in Kurdish, and thanks to that, he spoke to me in a very simple way, which I greatly appreciated, and I was able to understand at the first time almost everything. It was a paradox of life that I understood an Arab better than a Kurd in Kurmanci. I filled the syringe with the medicine he asked me for (I think it was cyclophenate, or something like that), and he gave her the shot after asking the driver to stop for a moment. After a few minutes, Xedir relaxed and fell asleep. Since her tibia was broken, Jewale explained to me that her leg needed to be stabilized and took out of a drawer a long rack that looked like something out of the cupboard where the dishes are dried. With a bandage and sticking plaster, we blocked her leg. That was our intervention and I slowed down. At that moment I asked for the first time

where we were going, "to Qamishlo".

Since the poor girl had to be checked all the time to make sure she was well, she had to be woken up and talked to often.

- Try to wake her up - said Jewale in a clear sign of wanting to get involved in the work we were doing and thus learn - but she's Arab, she won't speak Kurdish.

- Xedir, Xedir, Çawa yi? - I asked her while I touched her arm. (How are you?)

- Ez Basim - she answered me without opening her eyes (I'm fine).

- She knows Kurdish! - I exclaimed Jewale - Xedir, tu Kurdi dizani? - (Do you speak Kurdish?)

- Ere, ez Kurdi dizanim (Yes, I know Kurdish).

- Es heye? (Are you in pain?)

- Ne! - she answered me while she rose her right thumb and opened her eyes. In that moment she looked at me with an exhaust smile without understanding well who that person who spoke broken Kurdish and whose eyes weren't weren't known to her was.

- Her bijî! (Hurray!) - I answered excited - Xedir, tu xurtî, berxwe bide! (Xedir, you are strong, resist!) - and to my surprise, the girl, getting strength from I don't know where, raised her arm again and this time clenched her fist tightly, thus responding to what I said. - Her bijî! - I repeated, even more excited to see that fist as a resistance symbol.

After a while, we arrived at Qamishlo "Em hatin Qamishlo Xedir, naha em e biçin mesfaa" (we have arrived at Qamishlo, Xedir, now you will go to the hospital). The ambulance stopped in front of the hospital. About two dozen men swarmed the hospital entrance. We handed the X-rays to the doctor (an old man who looked as if he had just got out of bed and he were putting on his coat helter-skelter) and we put Xedir on a gurney (which hurt her a lot, as she moaned in a way I had never heard her moan before). We said a quick goodbye to his relatives, and rushed back to Derik.

As the days went by, I got to know Heyva Sor's companions better and better. In this Taware, including drivers and nurses, there were 24 people working there, only 5 women (one of them was the team leader).

In the days I spent at Heyva Sor, I felt very proud to have been able to come here, because thanks to working in the health field, many doors were opened to me, and thanks to that I was able to learn about different things that happen in Rojava. Still, there were a lot of things that I didn't quite understand, but I ended up accepting that perhaps I would never fully understand all of that, I even questioned the very concept of understanding something, because

from my positivist point of view, I needed to know exactly what was going on, and in the Middle East, often nothing is black or white.

Regarding Covid, more and more departures were due to the damn virus. The protocol, basically, consisted of visiting the person who claimed to have the coronavirus, taking his temperature, pulse and oxygen, and little else. Of course, sometimes we wore very cheap green overalls that we would throw away when we left the house.

Visits to homes for Coronavirus were multiplying. Thanks to entering many houses I was able to confirm that in many of them there was affection for Abdullah Ocalan, because in many of them his picture was hanging. I was happy about this, since it was obvious that with the movement I would only visit families who sympathised with it, but my random visits for health reasons helped me to ascertain the real popular support for Serokati's proposal.

Often, analyses of revolutionary processes focus on the seizure of territory, the control of a land in the hands of a people with its respective armed force. Undoubtedly, this is usually a turning point, but we often forget that once the territory is "liberated" the real marathon begins. To understand the Rojava revolution as events that took place in

2012 would lead us back to a simplistic and limited analysis of what a revolution is. Revolutions do not occur at a specific time and place, they are dynamic, often contradictory and endless processes. Those experiences in which they have thought "we have already made the revolution" are those that have been devoured by the great machine of capital and liberal ideology. For all this, a revolution, in order to be truly popular and massive, has to reach all the pores of society. This includes all kinds of civil institutions, for example, Heyva Sor, making their contribution from their sphere. Maintaining the "revolutionary tension" cannot be left to the revolutionary forces alone. All civilian institutions have to reflect on their role and ask themselves: what is the contribution that Heyva Sor (for example) can and should make to the Rojava Revolution? Specifically in the field of health, there is a very good experience from which lessons can be drawn, and that is Cuba. The role that health work has had and has had there, has been fundamental to keep the flame of the revolution alive.

I hope that Heyva Sor, as it has done so far, maintains the awareness that it is making an important contribution to the revolutionary process in Rojava, and that rather than being satisfied with what it is already doing, it aspires to more. For my part, I am more than grateful and proud to have been a member of such an institution.





Young Women autonomous structure in Şehba

An Interview with Avaşin Sosin an Internationalist young woman

Merhaba heval we hope you are well. We would like you to tell us about your experience in Rojava among the youth women structure and more specifically about your time in Şehba. But before that can you introduce yourself in a few words?

Merhaba hevalno!

I am 20 years old, I am an internationalist from Europe and I have been living in Rojava for more than 6 months. I left my country of origin with the idea of learning from the revolution, of getting out of the very theoretical world in which I was evolving before and confronting reality and its contradictions. The importance of internationalism has always been very clear to me, whether it is the sharing of knowledge, the solidarity put into practice or the feeling that our struggles, although different, are deeply connected. When I arrived in Rojava, I first spent a few months in the internationalist commune and then was sent to the Young Revolutionary Women's organization (Jinen Ciwanen Şoresger) in Şehba.

What is the internationalist commune?

The internationalist commune is located in Rojava, in the Cizirê canton. It was founded in 2017 on the initiative of young internationalists from all over the world and the Rojava Youth Movement (editor's note: YCR-The movement have change name and constitution in nov 2018 to become "Revolutionary Youth Movement of Syria" actual TCS-S). The commune functions as an academy, that is, life is punctuated by ideological educations, seminars or more simply the viewing of documentaries followed by discussions. Besides that, we play sports together, we take care of our garden, we visit families in the surrounding villages. But above all we learn to live together in a revolutionary way. We practice on a regular basis the mechanisms of the movement and we try to develop our militancy and our sense of Hevaltî (editor's note: Hevaltî is a central concept in the practice of the movement, literally this word means camaraderie/friendship)

After going to the commune you went to Şehba, with the organization of young revolutionary women. What did your task consist of? Can you tell us what you were able to experience?

To begin with, you have to understand that the Young Revolutionary Women's Organization is the autonomous wing of the revolutionary youth movement. In itself, I call it "organization" to try to explain it as best as possible but the translation is not perfect because it can lead to thinking that YCŞ and Jinên Ciwanen are two completely separate entities. Jinên Ciwanen's primary goal is to organize the youth while giving special importance to the role of young women in the revolutionary process. To do this, they organize among women according to the principles of democratic confederalism and are active in all cities of the Autonomous Organization of Northern and Eastern Syria.

Coming back to the question, my experience was mostly following the leaders of Jinên Ciwanen in Şehba to see how they worked and to learn Kurdish. Their work has many aspects and meets various needs. They organize events, open youth centers in different villages of Şehba making sure that young women will take care of the self-employment.

Concretely, what does it look like to organize young women in this context?

For example, the responsible of the Jinên Ciwanen in Şehba goes to visit the autonomous work of the youth center in one of the villages to ask them what difficulties they are facing, to propose perspectives etc., basically she coordinates the work. As for her, the local head of the youth center will go and talk to the young women of the village, visit the families of the martyred young women or set up a women's volleyball team.

Also in Abdullah Öcalan's philosophy, on which the youth movement is based, education has a central place in building a free and revolutionary society. YCŞ and Jinên Ciwanen therefore organize educations that can last from a few hours to several months sometimes. These lessons consist of courses on jineology, history, democratic confederalism, etc. The youth educations can be mixed or not. If they are not, Jinên Ciwanen is in charge of their organization.

It is important to understand that Jinên Ciwanen is for young women who are not married and that sometimes families are opposed to their daughters becoming politically involved. I remember a 14-year-old girl whose family wouldn't let her go to the village youth center because of honor issues. So we went to her family to talk to them and try to convince them to let her come to the center whenever she wanted. Now try to imagine how difficult it is sometimes to get families to agree to let their daughters go to a 2-month education!

When you arrived in Rojava, you were in Cizirê first. What differences did you observe between Cizirê and Şehba?

Şehba is a very different area from anything I had seen before in Cizirê. Şehba actually belongs to the canton of Afrin. Its population is originally mainly composed of Arabs, Turkmen and "Arabized" Kurds. In 2012, the revolution began and the YPG and YPJ took control of much of Rojava, including Afrin. However Şehba, remained in the control of the regime, then Al-Nusra took control to and handled it to Daesh. In 2016 the region was liberated during the operation of Manbij by the SDF forces.

In 2018, Erdogan launched the "Olive Branch" operation to get rid of the presence of the Autonomous Organization of Northern and Eastern Syria and its armed force YPG/YPJ. Despite the remarkable popular resistance, the Turkish fascist state managed to occupy the city causing thousands of people to flee. These people, the overwhelming majority of whom are of Kurdish origin, have taken refuge in Şehba, Aleppo or Cizirê canton. Currently, there are two main refugee camps in the region with a population of about 750 families each. The living conditions in the camps are difficult, whether it is about water or work. Another peculiarity of the region is that you are surrounded by enemies, whether it is the Turkish army, Islamist gangs or even the Assad regime and you can feel it. To get to Şehba you have to cross the regime's zone...



How is the "cohabitation" with the different factions that occupy the area? What is the relationship with the regime?

The "cohabitation" is very complicated to be honest. For example, fuel oil comes from Cizirî in tanker trucks and to get to Şehba, it has to go through the regime. The regime sometimes asks for a tax on the fuel oil, which is refused and so the regime refuses to let the trucks pass. Each time a gigantic arm wrestling match is set up which weighs heavily on the living conditions of the population. Indeed, without fuel oil it is not possible to heat oneself, to heat water or to make the cars, buses and trucks that bring water to the refugee camps move. These techniques used by the regime are reminiscent of those used by the Turkish fascist state regarding the blockage of water. Another example is the village of Şerawa, which belongs de facto to Afrin but was not occupied by the Turkish fascist state during the last war. This village, like the others on the border, is regularly bombed by Turkey and Islamist gangs.



What lessons do you draw from these experiences? Did your stay in Rojava allow you to rethink your practice, your activism at home? When you go back, if you go back, what would you like to bring back with you?

It's a difficult question I find because I would have so many things to say. It was very interesting to go and see in practice how the youth movement is organized, how they function and work every day to build a revolutionary life and world. I think going to Şehba was an incredible opportunity for me because I got to meet the people of Afrin there, these women and men who had a thousand and one stories to tell me about the war, the hope, the beauty of the olive trees that were stolen from them. In Rojava I learn every day to be better, to organize my life and my thoughts to achieve having a revolutionary life. I learn to be patient, to be more understanding and tolerant. I think I am growing a lot by being here because I am pushed all the time to challenge myself, to go beyond my limits and to get used to new situations which allows me to find flexibility and stability at the same time. When I return I want to bring back with me the strength, courage and determination of the women and men who are fighting here to build a revolutionary life now and in the future.

Thank you for answering our questions, we wish you all the best for the rest of your revolutionary journey. Serkeftin!



"One World, One People" Şehîd Kendal Qahraman



On May 3, 2016, in Tell Tamer, Kendal Qahraman fell a martyr, becoming yet another of the heroes of the war against the Islamic State. Exactly five years later, one of us was speaking before a small crowd in a square in Lisbon, while in two other cities in Portugal similar events were also taking place. One spoke of Şehîd Kendal and carried a large yellow flag with his face and name printed on it, after he had traveled, somewhat clandestinely during the times of pandemic confinement, to the city of Portalegre to, with his comrades and the family of Ş. Kendal, visit the martyr's grave in the town where he had been born. The second of us was not far from Tell Tamer, having left for Rojava a few months earlier, abandoning his Portuguese name and adopting as his new name Kendal, in honor of the hero who had been born as Mário Nunes.

It would be more than fair to say that since we had learned more about Ş. Kendal and his struggle, that both of our lives had been touched by his influence and example.

Mário was not much older than us; he was born on January 23, 1994 in Portalegre, a town in the interior of Alentejo, in southern Portugal. When reading about his childhood, spent between the city where he was born and where he now rests, and Portimão, a city on the coast of the Algarve, practically in the far south of the country, we can only sympathize and recognize ourselves in the very cultural mentality that Mário went through, the same mentality that would lead him to Rojava and lead us, in our own way, to follow his path.



Among the various European peoples, there are aspects in which the Portuguese and our neighbors from Southern Europe should be the ones who can best understand the Kurds. Fascism and anti-fascism, war and guerrilla war, revolution and counter-revolution, all these are things that exist in the recent memory of the Portuguese, which our grandfathers and fathers called everyday life. The stories of the colonial war were present during Mário's youth. No one from our grandparents' generation lacks a story about where they were when the revolution came, what they lost with the war, what they saw and felt during the revolutionary process. When Kurds tell us their stories, we cannot help but feel a familiarity, a sense that we have heard

something similar before. In a sense it is ironic that shehid Kendal, being raised in a family of portuguese military (who have been colonizers troops), was affected, when during his lifetime he heard about people being subjugated by fascism and colonialism. In the step he did we can see the great contradiction that states create in the mind of their own soldiers. Making them believe they fight for a just cause when actually it's not. Making them believe in freedom when actually they fight for the oppressor.

But that is the generation of our grandparents, and of our parents. Mário was born almost 20 years after the Portuguese Revolution that, by then, had already dissipated, somewhat asphyxiated under the weight of normality, of reformism, of the integration of Portugal and the Portuguese in the capitalist world order. Our youth did not grew up inflated by the revolutionary spirit that everything is possible and that we should demand the impossible: we grew up during the apogee of liberal hegemony in the world, when, faced with the overthrow of real socialism, liberalism proclaimed itself as the great winner of History. The interesting experiments of which our parents had been a part had been abandoned, and we were advised to accept things as they were. That not only was it futile to try to change the world, but that it was in itself evil, an attack on what was the best of all possible worlds.

It's hard to describe how deafening was the dissonance between the stories we heard and the reality we face every day. It is impossible not to feel that something had been lost, something very precious. And we had indeed. All our youth had their revolutionary spirit amputated, to make us more tender servants of capital.

Attracted by what he had heard in the family stories, Mario abandoned his studies to join the Portuguese Armed Forces, believing that this was where he would find a place to realize his interest in improving the world. It wasn't long before he was disappointed. Once the institution from which the Portuguese Revolution sprang, the Armed Forces had since become a comfortable post for various officers who, while doing nothing useful, were fed by the taxes of their people and served at the table by conscripts like Mário, who in fact spent his three years of service at the officers' table.

It is easy to imagine how Mário must have felt when he heard the news of what was happening in the Middle East, the rise of the Islamic State, the genocide committed against the Yazidis, and seeing the Portuguese military, who could have helped, disinterested in even moving from the chairs they occupied. And it is even easier to sympathize with his decision to desert his very important post washing tables and leave for Kurdistan to contribute however he could in the war against jihadism.

His first attempt to join the struggle was through the Peshmerga in Erbil, but he was eventually refused, returning to Portugal without much hope. His dream is, however, rejuvenated, like that of so many other internationa-

lists, by following the news around Kobane and the heroic resistance of the YPG and YPJ against the Islamic State, and he begins to make contact with the Lions of Rojava, through whom he eventually manages to make his journey, like so many other internationalists before and after him, to Rojava, announcing upon arrival that "now it's going to start."

Adopting the name Kendal Qahraman, Mário was in Rojava twice throughout 2015 and 2016. On his first journey, he would fight in a Kurdish YPG unit, participating in the liberation of the Abd Al-Aziz mountains; on his second journey, he would join unit 223, a unit of foreigners in Rojava, and in that capacity he would contribute to the liberation of Al-Shaddadi, a center of the Islamic State's slave trade.

But the pressures that the capitalist world was imposing on the Revolution would eventually victimize Kendal who, hearing from Portugal liberal media reports demonizing his image, comparing him to the IS jihadists he was fighting against, being unable to return home by the closing of borders by the international blockade, and feeling the pressures of war turning into depression, Kendal would eventually fall on May 3, 2016, driven to despair by these psychological assaults.

The death of Şehîd Kendal Qahraman may not have been by enemy fire, but it is nonetheless a death resulting from war, the result of the total sacrifice he made for the Rojava Revolution and its peoples, a sacrifice that raises him to the status of Şehîd and makes him worthy to be remembered by all of us.

Nor does his death mean, for us who follow his path, the end of his dream, the impossibility or fatalism of it. Şehîd Kendal did not fail or lost the war. In fact, from the moment he left for Kurdistan, it was impossible to be defeated. He showed our generation, desperate as it is for something that makes sense in the dissonance of the liberal world, that a better world is possible. That it is possible to fight for something better, and that if we do, if we dedicate ourselves to something greater than ourselves, we will be immortalized.

Şehîd Kendal Qahraman has revealed to us that the age of heroes has not ended. And he also revealed to us that heroes are not distant beings at the ends of the earth. That it is not only the Kurds who can bring about a better world, but Portuguese and any other people. The revolution, the better world that is formed, is not only possible in Rojava, but in Portugal, all over the world. As Şehîd Kendal would say, "one world, one people." And that is what we seek, above anything else. To fulfill the destiny we were promised - to fulfill a revolutionary Portugal.

Şehîd Namirin!

Mário Nunes Presente!

Two members of "Plataforma de Solidariedade com os Povos do Curdistão"





The resistance and defense of the revolution in Kurdistan

Non-exhaustive report on the resistance actions that have taken place since the beginning until June of 2021

The war in Kurdistan has gained momentum. The various fronts have been heated up and the "low intensity" war could quickly turn into open warfare once again.

After the operation on Garê in February, a new large-scale military invasion in the Medya defense zone was launched on April 23. The Turkish state found itself, once again, confronted with the determination and resistance of the liberation movement and its self-defense forces.

The resistance responded to the aggression, resisting on the spot in the area of the Turkish military operation and also in a decentralized way throughout Kurdistan and Europe. The most radical resistance actions took place in Kurdistan and in the Turkish metropolises. They targeted the symbols of the fascist government of Erdogan and the AKP-MHP alliance. In Europe and the rest of the world solidarity actions took place from France to Mexico, Germany and Argentina.

In Syria, the liberation movement still faces multiple threats to the revolution in Rojava. Whether it is the forces of Bashar Al-Assad's regime, the gangs or cells of the dying

Islamic State or the mercenary jihadist forces of Turkey, the war continues.

The resistance to the nation-states and imperialism of foreign powers (Russia, USA, Iran, Turkey) is taking place in complete silence from the Western media. In the context of the Coronavirus pandemic and major sporting events, attention is once again diverted elsewhere. Resistance against the legions of capitalism is not a subject that interests Westerners.

In this article we want to share with our readers information that they will not find in the mass media. The history of revolutionary resistance in the Middle East, the very recent history of the war of revolutionary peoples against fascism, capitalism and imperialism for a free life, for a society of justice, ethics and self-determined politics in Mesopotamia. This is the history that is being written today, in the present, that we want to share with you. So that those who shed their blood to defend the revolution are never forgotten. So that their struggles resonate throughout the world. Here is a part of their heroic actions:

HPG and YJA-Star on the Mountain Front:

The HPG and YJA-Star are facing attacks from the Turkish army in the Free Mountains of Kurdistan (in the north of Iraq also called South Kurdistan and in the Turkish occupied North Kurdistan). In Garê in February 2021 but also in the rest of the Medya defense zone since April 23 fighting is underway. On June 25 (2021), the guerrilla command issued a communiqué on the clashes that had taken place.

The statement said that a total of :

- 288 guerrilla actions
- 389 invaders were eliminated.
- 47 invaders were wounded.
- The loss of 54 guerrilla fighters
- the capture of several tons of military equipment, including more than 650kg of explosives
- 17 enemy vehicles were damaged or destroyed, including 6 helicopter fighters.

The statement of the guerrilla also relates:

- The destruction of several dozen enemy fighting positions
- The massive use of poison gas and other chemical weapons by the Turkish army (it should be noted that these weapons are prohibited and that their use is considered a war crime).
- Forest fires deliberately set by the Turkish military
- Looting of natural resources sent to Turkey

During the ongoing resistance one of the new guerrilla units also went into action. The Shehid Delal Amed Unit is a guerrilla fighting group that specializes in the deployment of radio-controlled drones. The unit has carried out more than 39 attacks against the occupation forces. In addition to the tactical factor and the advantage of using UAVs for guerrilla warfare, there is also the psychological factor. Until recently, the Turkish army had a monopoly on the sky. Today the tabur Shehid Delal Amed changes the deal and makes the invader also fear attacks from the sky. The impact on morale is obvious and the dozens of attacks conducted by the specialized unit have been successful.

In Syria, the HRE (Afrin Liberation Forces) fight jihadist mercenaries, soldiers and Turkish agents:

At the beginning of July 2021 the Afrin Liberation Forces (HRE) issued a statement in which they reviewed the first six months of 2021. The HRE state:

"After occupying Afrin, the Turkish invading state has carried out all kinds of barbaric practices against our people. It implements all kinds of malicious policies targeting the demographic structure and natural environment of Afrin. The actions and resistance of our forces continue resolutely in the face of the barbaric crimes committed by the Turkish state..."

Their account shows :

- 67 guerrilla actions
- The elimination of 112 Turkish soldiers and mercenaries

- At least 1 high ranking commander and several members of the MIT (Turkish secret service) neutralized.

- 19 vehicles and 4 military bases destroyed by the liberation forces.

- Communication equipment and weapons were confiscated from the enemy.

The HRE balance sheet also reports that the bombardment from the Turkish occupied territory caused the death of a dozen civilians including at least 4 children. The jihadist mercenaries also attempted ground attacks on the positions defended by the HRE, 5 of our comrades were killed in these attacks.

In another statement the liberation forces detail an action against the invader:

On May 10, 2021 in Sherawa district (formerly part of Northeastern Syria self-governance) two actions were carried out by the liberation forces. The first one targeted a Turkish military position near the village of Cilbir. The second (a sabotage action) targeted a local command meeting between the MIT and mercenaries. At the end of the day 2 MIT agents were eliminated and 2 agents wounded as well as 3 mercenaries killed.

The SDF (Syrian Democratic Forces) retaliate to the Turkish attacks and continue to suffocate Daesh:

Since the war in Serekanye and Girê Spi in 2019, the SDF had made the choice to remain in defensive positions along the front. Not responding to the attacks of jihadist gangs and Turkish bombardment just defending the front line rather than risking a military offensive that could have unpredictable diplomatic consequences. But in the face of constant aggression the defensive position is no longer sustainable. The attacks and the threat to civilians from Turkish artillery fire (often with chemical weapons such as white phosphorus ammunition) cannot go unanswered forever.

At the end of June, the SDF released videos showing attacks on mercenary positions on the front of the occupied area around Serekanye, claiming that the time for passive defense is over. Also the Manbij military council said that it destroyed a Turkish army base used as a platform to launch rockets at populated areas. This statement shows that the decision of the SDF affects all fronts in Northeastern Syria.

Also, a recent report by the Syrian Democratic Forces counts a total of 206 artillery attacks and more than 10 infiltration attempts by groups of ground fighters on the Ain-Issa/Til-Tamir front, in which 50 mercenaries were neutralized and more than 25 were injured

At the same time, the SDF forces as well as the Internal Defense Forces (Asayish) have been carrying out campaigns against Daesh cells that remain very present and active in the territory of AANES (Auto-Administrated North-East Syria). The camp of Al-Hol in particular hosts tens of thousands of refugees from the civil war, as well as the families of Daesh militants among whom are hiding the leaders of the terrorist organization, most of whom are foreigners co-



ming from Europe and neighboring countries. Especially in this camp the situation is critical, several assassinations have occurred and the camp has served as a base for the defeated Islamic State's attack organization. The SDF has conducted large-scale arrests and searches leading to the capture of more than a hundred Islamic State militants including senior commanders. Caches of weapons and explosives were uncovered and seized. The SDF claims to have captured 245 jihadists in these operations.

During this first six-month period, 14 SDF fighters fell as martyrs while resisting attacks by Turkish mercenaries and jihadists.

In Bakur and Turkey the YPS and the "Children of Fire Initiative" are leading the struggle:

Since the establishment of the YPS in 2015 and the end of the ceasefire between the PKK and the AKP/MHP government, revolutionary direct actions have resumed. In 2021 the YPS (Yekîneyên parastina sîvil - civil defense unit) claimed to have successfully carried out several attacks on AKP and MHP centers in the Kurdish regions, as well as popular mobilization actions.

On June 12, the YPS attacked an AKP office in response to the rape of Kurdish youth by AKP members. The YPS

claimed to have destroyed equipment and injured the two guards on duty during the attack.

"Children of Fire Initiative" (Inisiyatîfa Zarokên Agir), is a direct action campaign that specifically targets economic centers linked to the Erdoğan regime and for several years already, through incendiary sabotage actions, destroys lucrative businesses of the government and its supporters.

In the month of June 2021 alone they have declared to have set fire to and destroyed, 15 factories, 4 government centers, 3 MVAs, 7 factories and workshops, 5 ships, 5 warehouses, a hotel, a restaurant, a canteen, 33 vehicles, 6 truck-TIRs, 3 minibuses, 3 working machines.

The balance sheet that we have compiled here is not an exhaustive one, as we are missing a certain amount of information linked to the fight against Daesh in particular, but also to the clashes that have taken place in recent months with the Assad regime in Syria. That said, the figures we have shared with you show the importance of the resistance movement and the capacity of the Kurdish liberation movement to respond. Of course, all the forces described above can only be understood as organizationally separate organizations, yet part of one political movement, sharing the same ideological values.

With rage in our hearts the struggle continues.





What happened in history?

September:

5 september:

1791: Olympe De Gouges writes “The Declaration of rights of Women and Female citizen” in the frame of the french revolution. This declaration aimed to include the women into the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen” and to attract the attention on the tyranny imposed by man over women natural rights. Later Olympe de Gouges will be tried and executed for her provocative writings accused falsely to stand for the monarchy



8 september:

2017: The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) announce the beginning of the Deir ez-Zor campaign code named “Bahoza Cizirê” (Jizireh storm), with the stated aim of liberating all areas north and east of the Euphrates occupied by the Islamic State (ISIS). After many pause in between due to back-stab attacks by the Turkish state on SDF positions like the battle for Afrin, the campaign was finally successful and declared as a total victory on 23th of march 2019 following the liberation of the last jihadist stronghold in Baghouz.



11 september:

1973: A coup in Chile, funded by the CIA and headed by General Augusto Pinochet, topples the democratically elected president Salvador Allende. Salvador Allende was world first socialist president elected, he incarnated a hope for a bloodless social-revolution. His assassination by the fascists mercenaries of the CIA, and following massacres and “disappearance” of leftist militants and leaders, showed to the world that revolutionary can expect no mercy, no peace, no respect, coming from the capitalist states.



1980: A new constitution of Chile is established by the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. 7 years after the bloody coup against the socialist democratic alternative to savage capitalism. The fascist dictator imposed a new constitution for the country. Mainly influenced by the "Chicago-Boys" the new constitution privatized public services such as education and health system and abolish the social progress made by Allende government. The new laws surrendered national public services to foreign multinational monopolies, like North-American mining companies and Pharmaceutical corporation, as a result of this policies repression against social movement increased as well as unemployment and poverty.

12 september:

1980 Military coup d'état in Turkey: The coup started a terrible situation of repression for political militants. More than 500.000 were jailed and thousands disappeared. Students, teachers, lawyers, journalist and judges were persecuted and tortured because of their political activities. During this period PKK militants have been jailed in the infamous Dyarbakir military prison where their heroic resistance against torture and intimidation will become a legendary and epic chapter in the history of the party. Among them were great militant like Mazlum Dogan, Kemal Pir, Sakine Cansiz and many more.

16 september:

2014: The Islamic State (Daesh-ISIS) launches its offensive against Kobane Canton and city. Their goal was to weaken the position of self-administrated region defended by the YPG-YPJ. The battle last 6 month long until the definitive liberation officially announced by YPG-YPJ in march 2015 along with the declaration of the beginning for a liberation campaign in the region,. The battle of Kobane was a turning point in the war against ISIS. Compared with the battle of Stalingrad it was the first major defeat inflicted to the jihadists.



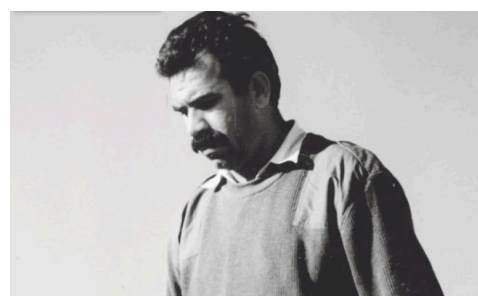
October:

1 october

1949: Mao Zedong proclaims the People's Republic of China. After a decades long civil war the revolutionnary forces succeeded to free the country. With the successful strategy of the people's war the vanguard along the people of China defeated the reactionary force from China and the colonial imperialist power of the Japanese and British state.

9 october

1998: Rêber Apo have to leave Syria because of the Turkish pressure on Assad regime. After a failed attempt against his life, Abdullah Öcalan will travel all around Europe (Russia, Italy, Greece) to seek asylum. Persecuted by many intelligence agency (CIA-MOSSAD-MIT) no state will allow him the status of political refugee until his abduction in february 1999 in Nairobi.



15 october

1989: in South Africa, the African National Congress, led by Nelson Mandela, is legalized after almost 30 years of prohibition. Meanwhile Nelson Mandela the president of ANC was still imprisoned, he has been released in 1990 and elected as president of South-Africa in 1994. The struggle of the ANC put an official end to the segregationist Apartheid regime in 1991.



20 october

2017 – Syrian civil war: The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) declare victory in the battle for the liberation of Raqqa the “Cenga Mezin” operation is a success. After nearly 5 month of heavy battling in the city of Raqqa, the democratic forces alliance declared a great victory against Daesh (ISIS). Throwing out the jihadist from their main stronghold.



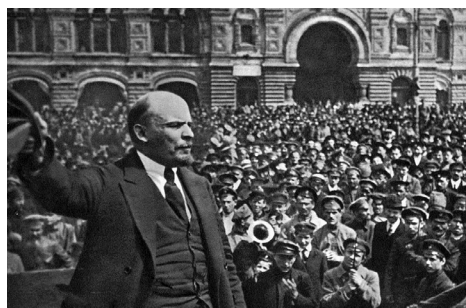
23 october

1984: in Joateca (El Salvador), lieutenant Domingo Monterrosa Barrios - responsible for the Mozote Massacre during the Salvadoran dictatorship - captures a fake transmitter of Radio Venceremos (of the FMLN front) loaded with explosives. When he traveled by helicopter to transport the war trophy, the guerrillas blew up the device.



24 october

1917: in Russia the Bolshevik seized the power and handle it totally to the popular council (the Soviet), accomplishing the slogan of the october revolution “All power to the soviets”. Social-democrats and liberal factions tried to delay the building of a popular power after the october revolution. The Bolshevik party tool the responsibility to accelerate the process and impeach the reactionary class to take over a bourgeois like parliament.



25 october

2020: in Chile the Constitutional Plebiscite to change the Pinochet constitution is held. The approbation of the plebiscite is an historical victory against the fascist dictatorship. Nearly 30 years after the end of the fascist regime the constitution was still shaping the daily life and rule of the Chilean peoples. No government post-dictatorship took the responsibility to change this criminal constitution, the popular rebellion in Chile and the massive mobilization forced the state to put an end to the fascist era constitution.



Freedom

*Freedom will not come
Today, this year
Nor ever
Through compromise and fear.*

*I have as much right
As the other fellow has
To stand
On my two feet
And own the land.*

*I tire so of hearing people say,
Let things take their course.
Tomorrow is another day.
I do not need my freedom when I'm dead.
I cannot live on tomorrow's bread.
Freedom
Is a strong seed
Planted
In a great need.
I live here, too.
I want my freedom
Just as you.*

Langston Hughes



R I G W A R