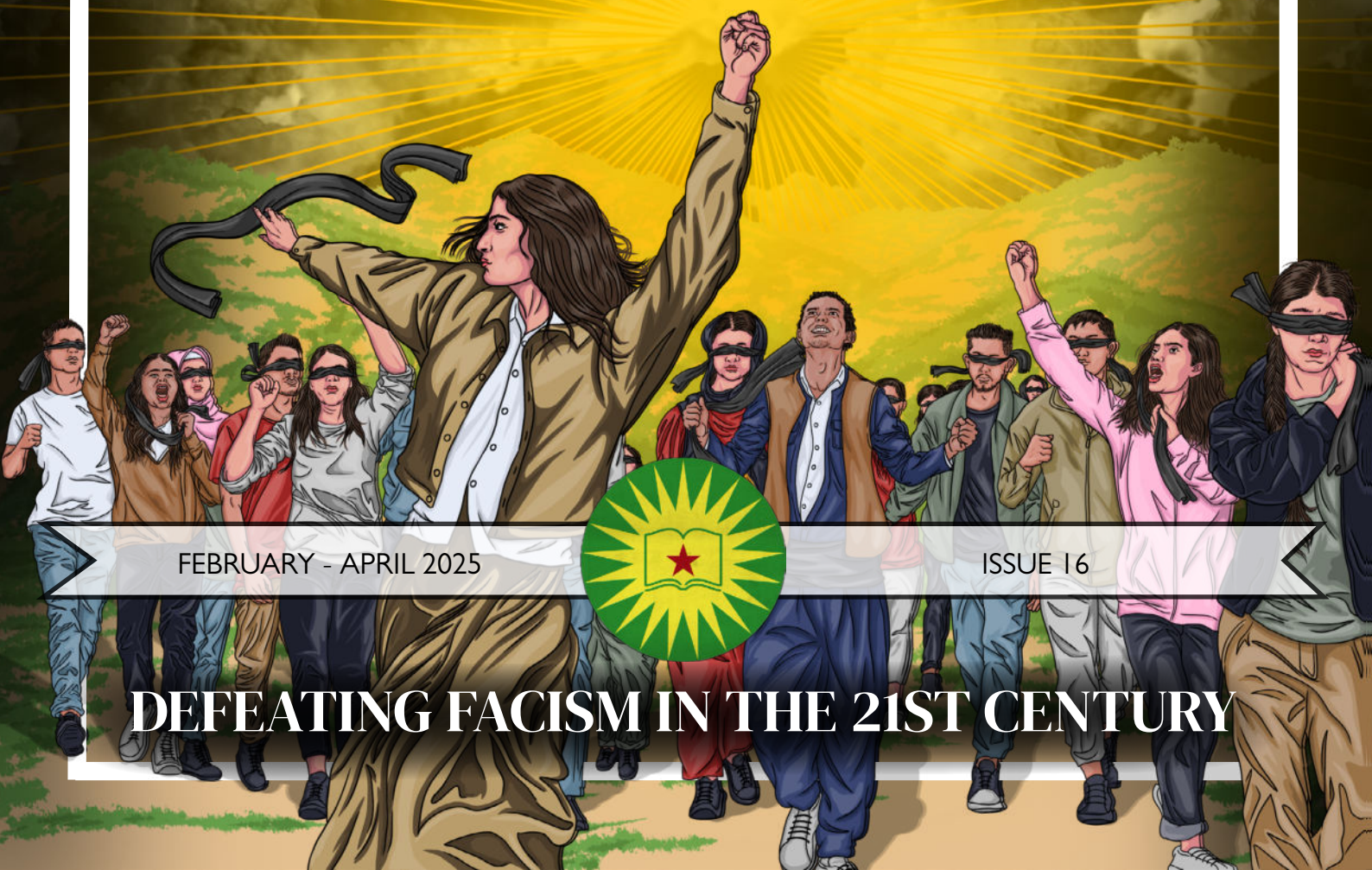


Lêgerîn

To insist on socialism is to insist on humanity



FEBRUARY - APRIL 2025

ISSUE 16

DEFEATING FACISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

EDITORIAL

Dear Youth, in this historical period in which we find ourselves, political changes are taking place all over the world and this stage is developing in different colours and dimensions. In opposition to how the hegemonic global forces portray themselves, the world state system is in a deep crisis. The developments of the political and military phase in the Middle East make this very clear and show us once again how the states at the vanguard of imperialist power such as the USA are trying to give a new shape to the region according to their own interests. It is not the first time that fascist states have tried to achieve this with genocidal policies and by attacking especially the youth and women.

This deep crisis caused by the fascist states can be understood as an existential crisis of the hegemonic forces. The peoples and societies of the world are going through intensive attacks of special warfare, systematic genocide, violence and identity crisis.

But it is precisely in this phase that the forces of the people have been able to gather, organise and resist, making their demands very clear: what we want is a free society based on democracy, women's liberation and ecology! These demands are an ideological threat to the fascist and sexist system, and this is the reason why those who make these demands are facing huge attacks.

In this way, we can understand very well why the fascist states want to eliminate the revolution in Rojava and the Democratic Autonomous Administration of Northeast Syria (DAANES). We can understand why the people's resistance is facing brutal violence, why the sexist system is attacking the woman in every way to prevent her from expressing her freedom-loving thought, will and nature.

**The youth that understands
will make this century the
century of freedom!**

The 21st century, as Abdullah Öcalan said, will be the century of women's freedom! This would be the strongest answer that we, as young men and women, can give in our ideological and organisational struggle.

That is why we need understanding. Because we are a youth that understands and acts. In this new issue of Lêgerîn magazine, we will analyse the fascist state: What is Turkish fascism? What is special warfare against the society? What are the attacks against us as a young women and men?

We are a part of society that will not fit into the frame of the state's nationalism. We are people who fight against capitalism and for justice, for water, land and a free life!

Dear youth, the fascism of this century has a different colour than in the centuries before and we have to understand it very well. On the other hand, we have to understand that the strongest answer against it will be to educate, to organise ourselves and to take back our culture. For this reason, we hope that this issue of Lêgerîn will also help us to better understand the world around us and our international youth resistance!

Lêgerîn Magazine
FEBRUARY - APRIL

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DEFEATING FASCISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

THE NATION AND REVOLUTION

The Democratic Nation as the cure for the fascism of the nation-state

Compiled from the Prison Writings of Abdullah Öcalan

There have been many analyses of fascism, but all the definitions –whether made by the Marxists, liberals, conservatives, or anarchists– have been misleading. None of them had the intention or the power to explain what really happened. The magnificent intellectuals of the Jews, the victims of the Holocaust, also contributed to this misunderstanding. This is because Hitler was the result of everyone's collective intellectual dirt and political praxis. But, of course, who is to acknowledge this?

Nation-state and fascism are similar in their essence. To define fascism to be an exception that has externally imposed itself on capitalism is the biggest misery of the liberal and socialist intellectuals. Capitalism, in terms of being the civilization and state, is the systematic expression of keeping the nation-state, and therefore fascism, at hand at all times. Fascism is the norm. What is an exception is reaching a compromise with democratic structures.

THE PHENOMENON OF NATION AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

It is more meaningful to talk about different types of nations instead of a single type of nation. This will make it possible to talk about nations that have been constructed on different bases. It is instructive to consider a general social phenomenon when try-

ing to render meaning to the category of nations. The paramount question for all clans and communities is one of entity: What kind of society or community am I? It is an inquiry into its own identity. Just as every person has a name and identity, it is possible and necessary to talk about a name and identity for all communities. If there are social phenomena based on differing natures, then it is only natural that they will have an expression of their identity. Name and identity are important for different clan societies to have interaction. Besides, it is absurd to think that all the developments in science and society that have advanced human life and established communication could have happened without naming one's unique features and not have an epithet.

It is of course possible to be multilingual, multicultural, and to have a plurality of political and legal systems. In this huge network of relations, yet again, a name and an identity are a must. There can be a bilingual and bi-cultural nation, but this does not remove the need for designation and an identity. Multiple identities and diversities require the correct choice of methods of coexistence. Indeed, societies can neither emerge nor be governed in any other way.

The spread of Christianity in the European Middle Ages was intertwined largely with the development of the awareness of being a people. In their previous tribal communities, just as with Arabic and Turkish

tribes, the consciousness of being a people from a common background was very weak. Before modernity, Christianity was a factor that objectively raised this awareness. It did not designate these societies to be French or German, but a shared religious consciousness in all these tribes was a huge step towards the development of a people with a common identity. The second step was the political development of the formation of kingdoms. So, after development of a common religion, the formation of the tribes into a mutual kingdom is the final big step into becoming a nation. France is a typical example of this process.

The development of the market results in the increase of social relations; the birth of the nation is near.

Nationhood is therefore the sum of social relations that develop around tribal consciousness, religious consciousness, common political authority, and the market. It may be more meaningful to talk about a nation-society. Becoming a nation is not the same as becoming a state. For example, even though the French kingdom was destroyed, the French nation continued to exist. It may be instructive to describe being a nation as a community that is unified by language and culture. But it is both a narrow and an inadequate definition to say that language and culture alone determine what a nation is. These of course are not the only bases for being a nation; politics, law, revolution, arts-especially literature and music-and market economy all play their role in becoming a nation. Nationhood has no direct relationship with economic and political systems, although they may be mutually influential. It is a very ambiguous matter, and thus any analysis in this regard should be done in a sensitive and balanced way.

The majority of today's communities have become nations. Although there are marginal groups that have not become nations, the majority now are nation societies. It is almost as if there is no individual without a nation – belonging to a nation may even be considered a natural social state. But in the long history of civilization being a

nation has never, before the onset of the capitalist system, acquired such importance. Or, rather, what has been done in the name of nation has prepared the ground for terrible catastrophes.

An excessive emphasis on the elements that constitute a nation has created disaster.

The most important factor in the formation of nationalist ideologies is the link between nation and politics. Nationalist politics will always end in fascist rule (as will nationalism fueled by economy, religion, and literature). The capitalist monopoly has “over-nationalized” the elements contributing to na-

tion forming, such as politics, economy, religion, law, arts, sports, diplomacy, and patriotism in order to attain a systemic



in the name of resolving the crises. Thus, every nation thinks that it will be the strongest of all by not leaving a single social entity out of the power relations. The results have been terrible with a bloodbath in Europe and eventually two world wars that had historically unprecedented consequences. This is not an act of becoming a nation but one of turning nation into a religion: the religion of nationalism. From a sociological perspective nationalism is a religion.

This society is worse off than a possessed society; it can be administered as the system desires. In fact, the initial experimental society of the spectacle of fascism has not failed – the ringleaders have been eliminated. But during and after the Cold War, the system made the society of the spectacle dominant over all societies via nation-states and global financial firms. The current material and immaterial conquest of societies by capitalism far exceeds that of mighty empires such as those of the Sumerians, Egyptians, Indians, Chinese, and Romans. Clearly, the empire phase of capitalism (previous phases being colonialism and imperialism) is the height of its hegemony. Although this phase objectively carries chaotic aspects and show signs that it experiences intense decay, the capitalist system aims to compensate for the effects of decay by deepening the hegemony of the mind.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATION MODEL

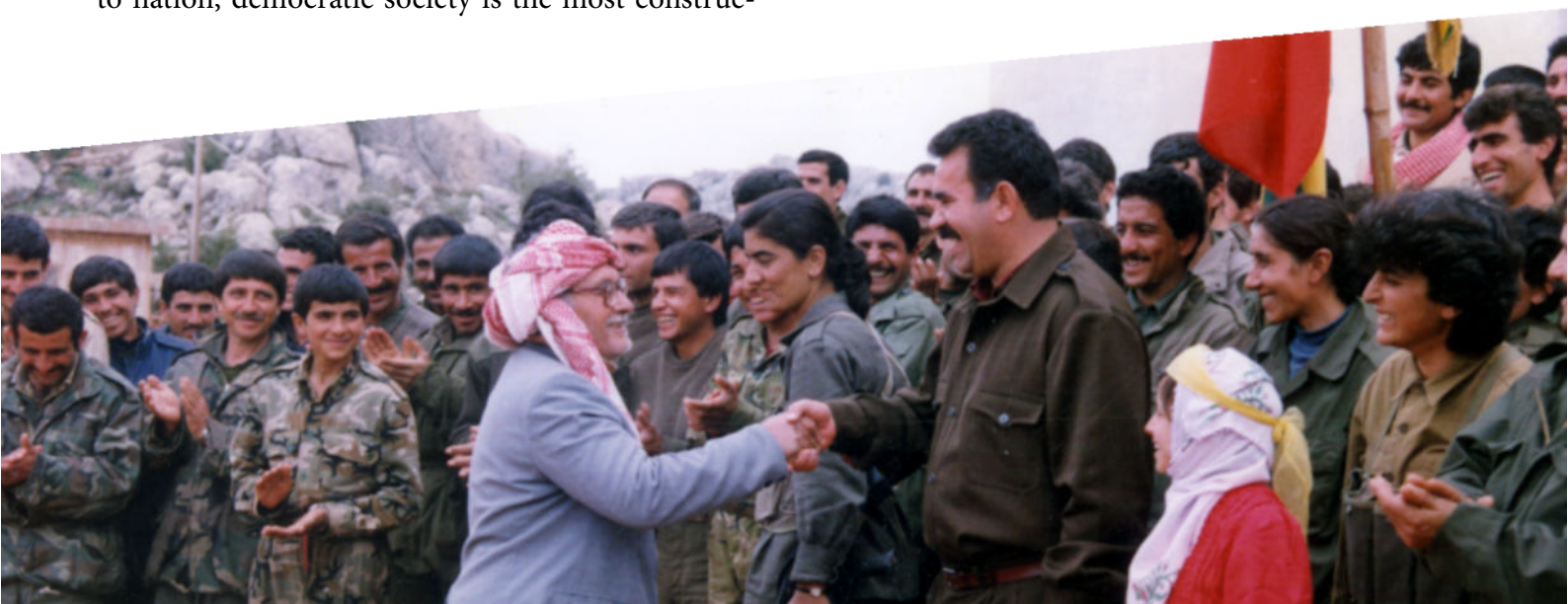
The most beneficial model for a nation is democratic nation. It is very important to understand this: In order to resolve the problems relating to nation, democratic society is the most construc-

tive type of society. Nations can be formed and developed best within the system of democratic society. If they are to mutually support one another instead of using nationhood as a reason for warring and fighting, then the historical stage of the nation of nations, the fiber-nation, may be possible. Only within a democratic system will nationhood not give rise to fighting. Only then is it possible for nationhood to contribute to peace and fraternity in solidarity and cultural plurality.

For societies, the nation-state model is nothing but a pitfall and network of suppression and exploitation.

The democratic nation concept reverses this definition. The definition of a democratic nation that is not bound by rigid political boundaries and a single language, culture, religion and interpretation of history, signifies plurality and communities as well as free and equal citizens existing together and in solidarity. The democratic nation allows the people to become a nation themselves, without relying on power and state – becoming a nation through much-needed politicisation. It aims to prove that in the absence of becoming a state or acquiring power, and without politicisation, a nation can be created with autonomous institutions in the social, diplomatic and cultural spheres as well as in economy, law and self-defence, and thus build itself as a democratic nation.

Democratic society can only be realised through such a nation model. The nation-state society is closed to democracy by its very nature. The nation-state rep-



resents neither a universal nor a local reality; on the contrary, it disavows universality and locality. The citizenship of a uniformised society represents the death of the human. On the other hand, the democratic nation makes the reconstruction of universality and locality possible. It enables societal reality to express itself. All other definitions of nation lie between these two main models.

Although there is a wide range of definitions for nation-building models, an all-encompassing definition is also possible; and this is the definition of nation in relation to its mindset, consciousness and belief. In this case, the nation is a community of people who share a common mindset. In such a definition of nation, language, religion, culture, market, history and political borders play not a decisive but a bodily role.

Defining nation essentially as a certain mindset gives it a dynamic character. Whereas in nation-states nationalism leaves its mark on the common mindset, in a democratic nation it is the consciousness of freedom and solidarity. However, defining nations only through their mindset would be incomplete. Just as mindsets cannot exist without bodies, nations too cannot function without a body. The body of nations with a nationalist mindset is the state institution. This is why such nations are called nation-states.

Nations with a mindset based on freedom and solidarity exemplify democratic autonomy. Democratic autonomy essentially denotes the self-governance of communities and individuals who share a similar mindset through their own will. This could also be called democratic governance or authority. It is a definition open to universality. A nation model that can be derived from the concept of a 'culture nation', but which kerbs and excludes exploitation and suppression, is a democratic nation model. A democratic nation is the nation closest to freedom and equality. And in accordance with this definition, this is the ideal understanding of nation for communities who strive for freedom and equality.

The democratic nation is not content with a common mindset and culture – it is a nation that unifies and governs all its members in democratic autonomous institutions. This is its defining quality. The democratic autonomous way of governance is the foremost condition of becoming a democratic nation. In this regard, it is the alternative to the nation-state. The democratic nation model, as a constructive solution model, redemocratises those societal relations that have been shattered by nation-statism.

It renders different identities tolerant, peaceful and reconciliatory. The evolution of nation-states into democratic nations will bring about enormous gains. The democratic nation model ameliorates violence-loaded social perceptions through a caring social consciousness and renders them humane (a human being who is intelligent, sensitive and empathetic). It may not completely eliminate social antipathies but it can minimise the violence of exploitation, and help to realise the possibility of a more equal and free society.

It not only fosters internal peace and tolerance, it also transcends suppressive and exploitative approaches to other nations and transforms common interests into synergies through which it realises its mission. Once national and international institutions are reconstructed according to the fundamental mindset and institutions of the democratic nation, it will be understood that this new modernity, democratic modernity, has the attributes of a renaissance not only theoretically but also in its implementation.

The alternative to capitalist modernity is democratic modernity, with the democratic nation at its core, and the economic, ecological and peaceful society it has woven within and outside of the democratic nation ●

WHEN THE BIRD IS FLYING

THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONALIST YOUNG WOMEN



The historical resistance of young women is a boundless epic. It lives on in the collective memory of women, awaiting documentation.

In the past three months, events have unfolded rapidly; for the first time in almost four years, the peoples of the world received a message from Abdullah Öcalan from the Turkish prison island of Imrali. In the message, Öcalan stated: **“If the conditions are created, I have the theoretical and practical power to lead this phase from a foundation of conflict and violence to a legal and political foundation.”** For us, as young women, this message—shared during the first meeting after three years and eight months of total isolation—acts as a guiding light in the darkness that surrounds us.

This makes it all the more important to understand what is meant by “creating the conditions.” It implies two things: first, that the necessary circumstances for Abdullah Öcalan to assume his role do not yet exist; and second, that it is the task of this phase to bring those circumstances into being. The words from Imrali are a call to action, creation, and transformation.

ATTACKS AND RESISTANCE

The global attacks on young women have perhaps never been stronger than they are now. Crises have reached an unprecedented peak. Worldwide, the conflict of life-hostile capitalist modernity is intensifying. **Neither the First nor the Second World War reached the incomprehensible levels of misery and suffering we see today.** Capitalist modernity has steered the world toward total catastrophe, and each passing day makes it more urgent to reverse course. Over the past three months, we have witnessed the bloody manifestations of capitalist modernity firsthand.

The resurgence of jihadism in Syria, the Turkish war of aggression against the women’s revolution in northern

and eastern Syria, the martyrdom of female journalists like Şehîd Nazim Daştan and Şehîd Cihan Bilgin, the rise of fascism in the centers of capitalist modernity, abductions in Balochistan, and the death of Gisèle Pelicot—all these brutalities of modernity share one thing in common: they are a war against women.

What unites all hegemonic, dominant forces—exploiters, fascists, and oppressors—is the shared belief that a woman who stands on her own land, with free will and independent thought, organized and fighting for ideals like beauty, freedom, and love, poses the greatest threat. The only common ground that unites oppressive forces, from national governments to gangs, mafias, armies, paramilitaries, and financial capitalism, is the enslavement of women and the war against them.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE OLDEST COLONY

Efforts to prevent women from resisting this war begin before birth. Even before a girl is born, expectations are placed upon her—how she should develop, the happiness she should bring to her parents, and the roles she is meant to fulfill. **It is difficult to cage a bird that has already experienced freedom, and equally difficult to convince a woman who has tasted freedom to accept her own enslavement.** Thus, the system ensnares women from the womb, with patriarchal indoctrination beginning at birth.

No other nation, colony, or group feels the urge for freedom as strongly as young women. Only the united strength of women can radically redirect the ‘Snowpiercer’ of capitalist modernity. Young women must act with all the rage and contempt they have accumulated against this false life.

Whether organized or not, in every corner of the world—from the mountains to the coasts, from remote villages to the metropolises of modernity—every woman has a battle to fight. The current attempts to suppress young women represent the pinnacle of historical tragedy. While the forms of women's oppression have changed over 5,000 years of patriarchy, its essence remains one of enslavement.

The enslavement of women began in the ziggurat temples of the Sumerians, the first state systems in human history. These temples, dedicated to the gods, had three levels: the top for the gods, the middle for soldiers and administrators, and the bottom for the first brothels in history. The word "prostitution" derives from the Latin *prostituere*, meaning "to display." To display something is to turn it into an object. **The subject-object divide began with patriarchy and laid the foundation for the concept of power.** An object has no will of its own; it neither decides for itself nor for others. Patriarchy made men the subjects and women the objects, a dynamic that patriarchal systems have institutionalized over millennia.

Over the millennia, this separation has deepened and become institutionalized. In modernity, it can be found on every street corner, in every interpersonal relationship, in the human-nature dynamic, the state-society relationship, in every area of life, and in every thought. The brothels of the Sumerian temples were not merely places of prostitution and enslavement; they symbolized the first step in the colonization of women and their identity. Over the course of history, the objectification of women has grown increasingly complex, taking on various forms and reaching its peak in capitalist modernity.

DOES LIBERALISM LIBERATE US?

Throughout most of history, young women have played a central role in societal development. During the Neolithic Revolution, women were the driving force behind the creation of an evolving society. However, as patriarchy became an organized force against women and society, the role of young women shifted. They were transformed—from temple prostitutes to court concubines, from housewives to state officials. **Over the centuries, women experienced various stages of enslavement, culminating in liberalism, which persuaded women to view their slavery as freedom.**

If we want to wage an effective gender struggle today, it is essential to understand how we arrived here. Liberalism propagates the idea that ultimate freedom is wearing what we want, doing what we want, saying what we want, and living how we want. But what does freedom mean for a woman trapped in millennia-old chains of enslavement? How can the will of a woman who has been objectified be truly free? The most insidious slavery is that which masquerades as freedom.

The ziggurats of the ruling system of capitalist modernity may no longer be three-story temples, but they still exist. The enslavement of women has reached an almost universal status. An attempt is being made to create a reality in which no area of life remains untouched by the oppression of women. This enslavement is no longer limited to specific actions, such as the physical prostitution or objectification of women's bodies, but has been etched into the thoughts, feelings, and actions of every woman. **Abdullah Öcalan referred to this condition of women as a "universal whore."** As painful as it may be to use such a term, when we reflect on the current reality of young women in almost every corner of the world, in nearly every sphere of life, this is the harsh truth of the 21st century.

THE ABYSS OF WORLD WAR

The world is deeply entrenched in the third world war, and no patch of earth has been spared from bloodshed. Yet, amidst this chaos, the resistance of women endures. Women have never fully surrendered, even as humanity continues its relentless march toward the abyss. **Across all continents, the resistance against war, crisis, and fascism is intense and unyielding.** The Third World War is a ticking time bomb. Femicides and sexual violence are now daily realities in war, while rising fascism and authoritarianism fuel the brutality. The already unfolding ecological collapse and unrestrained industrialism are driving humanity forward like a train with no brakes. Sabotaging this train would trigger an explosion, potentially ending in nuclear war or further massacres. Instead of a bloody night, the struggle of women must be approached with deeper understanding. From the peak of crisis lies the potential to seize opportunities, provided time and space are understood correctly. **Every moment of chaos holds the possibility of freedom.** Young women, through their dual identity as women and youth, possess the ability to see reality with clarity. An organized and educated movement of young women could grasp this momentum, set new tracks for the train, and change the course of history.

However, building such strength requires deliberate steps in ideological struggle. A movement that reflects while it moves, and moves while it reflects, could herald the beginning of the end of patriarchy. **There is no young woman who lives entirely without contradictions with patriarchy or who has completely aligned herself with domination—this would contradict the essence of being a woman.** The alienation of women from their identity, land, and culture is a universal condition, though it manifests differently across regions. Colonization, urbanization, and the destruction of habitable spaces uproot women worldwide. Recognizing these contradictions in every young woman and organizing from there must become the natural task of all women. The revolution of women is thereby amplified.

Our strongest weapon is our word: dialogue, discussion, organization, and self-education. **Even physical self-defense can only be realized through ideological strength.** Self-education fosters a strong, free will and eliminates the enslaved patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting. Jineolojî, the science of women and life, as proposed by Abdullah Öcalan, is not an exclusive practice. **Every woman, in every movement, anywhere in the world, can immerse herself in this science, which provides an alternative to the sciences serving domination.** The history of women before patriarchy has not been written—and those who attempted to write it were burned at the stake.

Yet, neither the past nor the future is predetermined. Every moment can be transformed into one where alternatives are lived. Progress is neither linear nor circular. Like a spiral, we advance—just as the internationalist movement of young women evolves. Internationalism is intrinsic to the nature of women. No matter how much effort is made to isolate and alienate them, it can never be fully achieved. Every woman who feels even a little awareness of her womanhood can naturally understand and empathize with other women anywhere. No borders of nation-states can confine this connection.

THE SPRING OF WOMEN AND PEOPLES

An internationalist young women's movement, aware

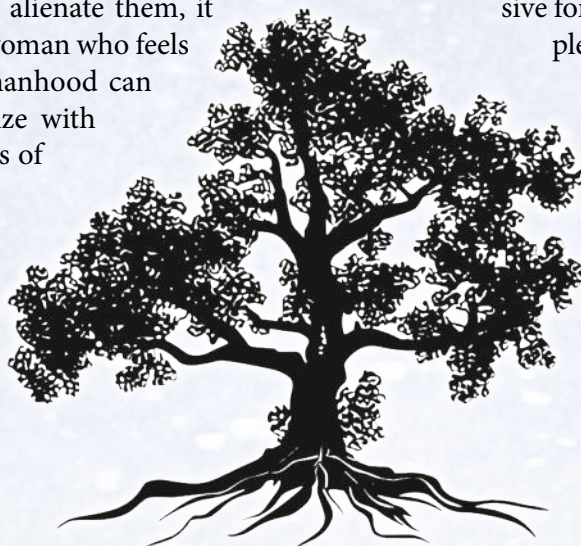
of this reality, can create unity among young women worldwide at an extraordinary pace—and the need for this is urgent. Feminist movements have achieved and continue to achieve incredible things, yet they remain insufficient. A person with cancer is not saved from death by rescuing a single gray cell. We must confront this reality radically and honestly. **The war we are in is too serious for us to waste our time with self-deceptions, especially when the enemy works 24 hours a day to mislead any form of resistance.** Our response must be a radical movement of young women united by their shared grounds while embracing their differences.

The year 2025 will become the spring of women and peoples. **The women's guerrilla movement YJA-Star in the free mountains of Kurdistan represents the forefront of women's resistance.** The guerrilla forces have called for 2025 to be the spring of women and peoples. By turning every piece of land into a front of resistance, we can answer this call.

The question of the 21st century that we, as women, must ask ourselves is: How do we want to live? What alternative can we offer to the nation-state, patriarchy, and capitalism? If our goal is clear, the path and the methods of our struggle will reveal themselves. The way we resist, the way we fight, must serve a purpose. By answering these questions collectively, we can reshape the battlefield in 2025—the peak of the Third World War—and move closer to women's liberation.

In which moments have we felt freedom? When did we sense that we were on the right path? When did we deeply feel our womanhood? The physical freedom of

Abdullah Öcalan, Rêber Apo, will be decisive for the spring of women and peoples. Our moments of freedom are sources of strength for our struggle and will shape our perspective and stance for 2025 ●



LET'S MAKE 2025

the year of victory

INTERNATIONALIST YOUTH PERSPECTIVE

A turbulent year of rapid changes just finished and an even more stormy year is starting. In 2024 important developments in the international arena happened. Lots of governments have been changed, others deepened on their strategic goals. Other governments passed through hard crisis. We can define 2024 as the year of formal government changes. Even if we know that the so-called democratic regimes don't make fundamental changes when the president, prime minister or the party in charge changes, in the crisis that we are living through we can see that these changes are the expression of the shifting stance and approach of every country in the global arena. The November 2024 elections in the USA were the peak of a whole process of preparation on a global scale.

Together with the UK and Israel, the USA is taking up the vanguard role within the forces of Capitalist Modernity. The deep state structures in the USA and abroad, over a long period of time, have been preparing for this moment. The state structures of the USA are not anymore accepting governments who are not absolutely following the line that the USA clarifies. The USA realized that the multi-colour liberal policies pursued until now are not able to face the increasing threat of Russia and China. Therefore, they see the need to impose a harder line.

3RD NATO STRATEGY

Now the USA is following the 3rd NATO strategy in order to be able to face the threat of China. This is actually the greatest threat they are facing in the 21st century. That's why they take steps in a planned way. It has been years that the USA and

its allies are getting ready for this process, which will reach its climax in 2025. Therefore, since the Ukraine war reached a new stage in 2022, NATO has been revived in Europe. The UK and Germany, together with France, will be the responsables of this first NATO. It should counter the Russian influence in Eastern Europe and the European dependency on the Russian gas and petrol. The second NATO, the one which will take most of the efforts of the USA is the Asia-Pacific NATO, led by the UK, Australia and the USA (AUKUS alliance) against China. In this frame the US-Philippines relations have been boosted. They aim to isolate China, to create a barrier in trade and military terms. The USA will defend their ally Taiwan and, when needed, will use it as a reason for war and conflict with the People's Republic of China.

MIDDLE-EAST AS THE CENTER OF THE WAR

The most important developments on the last stage of 2024 where the ones in the Palestine-Lebanon-Syria axis. In just a few days we saw the 61-year-old Syrian Ba'ath regime fall and a new government arise. Of course the fall of Al-Assad's family rule can't be understood only within the events that happened between 27th November and 8th December. This offensive was planned long before, was prepared and put into practice according to a plan of the imperialist forces in the region. The 7th October of 2023 and the massacre of Gaza, the war on Lebanon and the loss of strength of Hezbollah, and therefore the blow to the Iranian influence in the region were the prelude to this offensive. In the near future we might see this war and instability

weaken Iranian and Russian influence in the Middle East while enforcing the position of the USA and especially Israel. The Abraham agreements between Israel and the Arab States are a step in this direction. We should realize that Israel is not a regional, but a global power. Until now it has been one of the main actors on the global level. Now is its moment to stabilize and practice its hegemony in the region. That's why the Turkish State is also afraid of the situation that will come: with Israel becoming a hegemonic power, the central role of Turkey as a proto-Israel will reach an end and it will pass into a secondary position. It won't be the main ally of the USA and NATO in the region, therefore won't be able to sustain the massacre policies that they pursue against the peoples inside Turkey and outside, specially the Kurdish people.

And that's not all: when Turkey will insist on its two-sided diplomacy, it will become an obstacle to the development of the imperialist policies of both Russia and the USA. Therefore Turkey sees really clearly

that if they want to prevent war from getting inside its own territory they have to solve internal problems. They've been try-

ing to «solve» the Kurdish problem for a long time now. They have insisted in the use of force, in the annihilation of the freedom movement as a necessary step for the annihilation of the Kurdish people. But the Kurdistan Liberation Movement and the Kurdish people have resisted.

With the international conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan in 1998/1999, the USA, Israel and the Turkish State tried to annihilate the liberation movement by destroying its leadership. But they are now facing an even stronger movement and they didn't manage to cut the leadership from the rest of the movement and the people. The developments on Imrali Island – where Abdullah Öcalan has been held in solitary confinement since 15th February 1999 – are a key point on the developments on the region. The connection of the resistance of the Kurdish People and the resistance of Abdullah Öcalan materialized in the international campaign «Freedom for Öcalan – Political solution to the Kurdish question».

THE GATES HAVE OPENED, LET'S REACH FULL LIBERATION!

This campaign has shown until now how Abdullah Öcalan's thoughts and paradigm are embraced by people all over the world as a way out of the crisis and a way to reach freedom. This, together with both the resistance of the Kurdish People, the Kurdish Guerrilla and specially the resistance of Öcalan in Imrali have imposed on the Turkish State the need to address the Kurdish question. That's why they have opened the doors of Imrali and allowed one family member and a political delegation to visit Öcalan after more than four years of total isolation. It was thanks to the democratic struggle of the Kurdish people, the peoples of the Middle East and a big struggle on the international level that this visit happened. It would be wrong to attribute this development to the will of the Turkish State to find a solution. It has been the strength of the people and the Kurdistan Liberation Movement that made it possible. A lot of special warfare and discussions about the possibility of a peace process happened since the very first moment when the visit of Abdullah Öcalan's nephew Ömer Öcalan was announced. It is important to know how the doors of Imrali have been opened: by



the struggle. Only in this way the developments that will follow will be able to reach a truly democratic result.

WE NEED TO PREPARE FOR WHAT'S COMING

All the developments that will take place in 2025 will bring big chaos with them, and therefore also great opportunities and changes. Of course the forces of Capitalist Modernity have been making preparations for a long time. They have prepared their irregular warfare, they have pushed themselves in all dimensions of warfare, including Cognitive Warfare in order to «occupy the hearts and minds of their enemies». But we, the Democratic Forces, especially the Revolutionary Youth should also prepare for facing this process. We saw important uprisings and important developments in 2024. Especially the youth, with the vanguard of young women, have risen up in different parts of the world, from Africa to Latin America and the Middle East. But after the uprising, what?

Our role as youth is to organize and lead the uprisings, right? But our role is also to organize society for what is to come. The third world war is deepening, the attacks on women are increasing and deepening, they take new shapes as technology also develops. The world has reached the much-feared 1.5 degree temperature rise. Autocracy, dictatorships and militarism are increasing everywhere as a response to society's reflexes against the world situation. Then what is to be done? If we see the situation so clearly, what role do we have to take?

DEAR YOUTH OF THE WORLD

We can't stay on TikTok or Instagram forever. We can't be satisfied by sharing some radical messages through the digital media. We can't anymore be comfortable while seeing how others struggle or are massacred. In the four corners of the world our brothers and sisters are putting their bodies in front of the enemy. As bad as the world situation has become a strong resistance has also arisen. They want us to believe that «the time of revolutions has passed». What we had in the past was a strong youth who took their consciousness and transformed it into ac-

tion. To understand, feel and act, to think, talk and do was the norm. Maybe we believe that revolution will come by itself, like an apple falling from the tree. Maybe we believe that history will go on bringing justice and equality by itself. The pessimistic ones despair that nature and the world are already doomed to be destroyed by the ambitions of capitalist men.

But none of them are true. If we look deeply into history, we see how decisions change the world. Every revolutionary in history took the decision to change these things. They maybe acted from their homeland or at the international level, but they all made the decision and acted for the good of humanity. They knew that the apple would not fall, as Che Guevara said, we will have to make it fall. It is our turn therefore to take their baton and take their struggle to its final aim, to accomplish their dreams and build free life.

THE PARADIGM AS A GUIDE OUT OF THE CRISIS

Today we have thousands of years of experience accumulated in the struggle. Not only this, we have a paradigm which allows us to understand our place in history and the world as it is and as we want it to be. Abdullah Öcalan's Democratic Modernity Paradigm gives us a role and a horizon, especially to young women and the youth: to make sure that the dialectic of history goes towards liberation. And, dear friends, if we don't take this responsibility, the Capitalist System will win again. But since we cannot possibly allow ourselves to even think of capitalism winning again, it is essential we find the ways and methods for our own victory. Revolution will win and it will be the Youth with its dynamism and strength of life who will make it win.

THAT'S WHY WE SHOULD MAKE 2025 THE YEAR OF YOUNG WOMEN AND THE YOUTH. THAT'S WHY 2025 SHOULD BE THE YEAR OF VICTORY! ●

On 20 January 2025, Donald Trump celebrates his turnover of the United States government, filling it with his sympathizers and making the billionaire Elon Musk his special adviser. Musk performed the Nazi salute multiple times in front of a crowd of oligarchs and international television without shame. This moment shows the reality of fascism in the 21 century.

Faced with ecological collapse, shrinking resources and the impossibility of solving its internal problems, capitalism is in an existential crisis: either systemic changes must be put in place very quickly, or the end of capitalism as a global hegemonic system is only a matter of time. The wars, genocides and revolts of peoples around the world reflect the dead-end at which the capitalist class finds itself. Fascism is therefore back on the agenda to serve as a method of ruling in the Third World War.

No one should be surprised by this development: fascism is the true face of the nation-state. But the nation-state of the 21st

century has taken on new forms, and so has fascism. The atomisation and herding of society, cognitive warfare through new technologies, the further destruction of culture and planet earth, as well as the increasing attacks on women, are all expressions of this 21st century fascism.

We do not have to wait for a specific image of fascism to reappear again. We need to analyse the symptoms of fascism that is in front of our eyes right now, so we can react strategically. Right now, let's strengthen our revolutionary and internationalist struggle, let's follow the vanguards of the women's liberation movement. Let's unite young people all over the world: this will be the only way to defeat fascism as well as capitalism and build the future we need!

From Mexico to Kurdistan, via Italy, Catalonia and Germany, the chosen texts take you around the world to better understand the fascism of the 21st century and the many ways in which youth movements are resisting already.



DEFEATING FACISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

TURKISH FASCISM

An introduction to today's fascism

by the Internationalist Commune of Rojava

As revolutionary youth, we must know our enemy well in order to fight against him effectively. Understanding Turkish fascism, with its more than hundred years of history, is helpful and necessary because the Turkish state has been a project of Western powers and has taken on different roles since its foundation. Through all these phases and transformations that the Turkish state has undergone since its foundation in 1923, it has always been, at its core, a project of the hegemonic powers of capitalist modernity, a weapon of special warfare against the societies of the region and socialist movements.

But Turkish fascism is also a vanguard of modern fascism. If we understand Turkish fascism, we can develop perspectives for anti-fascist struggles on this basis in order to defeat fascism in the Middle East and across the world.

THE TURKISH STATE: BUILT ON THE BASIS OF GENOCIDE AND EXPULSION

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War 1, almost all parts of the current territory of the Turkish state were occupied by Great Britain, France and Italy. In the course of the Turkish War of Liberation and the establishment of the first Turkish parliament, the National Movement around Mustafa Kemal gained power in the newly founded Republic of Turkey.

The movement of the so-called Young Turks played an important role in the mobilization of the National Movement. The Young Turks had already worked towards a constitutional form of government when such activity was illegal during the Ottoman Empire. Their most influential party was the "İttihat ve Terakki" ("Committee for Unity and Progress"), which entered the parliament of the Ottoman Empire after the so-called Young Turk Revolution in 1908.

The Young Turks were one of the main actors in the Armenian genocide. 1 million people were murdered under the Young Turk regime, either shot or driven into the Syrian desert on death marches. **Those who physically survived the genocide became the target of a brutal assimilation campaign**, which was largely carried out through forced Islamisation and enslavement. Armenian women could only save themselves from being murdered by marrying a Muslim man, and thousands of children were taken from their parents and assimilated in state institutions.



The Young Turks also supported Mustafa Kemal because they hoped to be able to keep the land and property stolen from the Armenians under his rule. Many perpetrators of the genocide later became part of the parliament of the Republic of Turkey, which was founded in 1923. There were various currents within the Young Turk movement, supported and influenced by various major powers. Great Britain, Germany, Italy and France tried to assert their claims in the Middle East through the movement. **Turkey's role was to spread the European model of the Nation-State in the Middle East and to provide a blueprint for the founding of the state of Israel.** The basis of the genocides of the Turkish state is the ideology of the Nation-State summarized in the slogan of the Republic: "One nation, one flag, one state".

WHITE FASCISM: ASSIMILATION AS A STATE IDEOLOGY

After the founding of the republic on July 24, 1923, the CHP (Turkish: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Republican People's Party) **established a quasi-dictatorship under Mustafa Kemal.** No free elections were held in the republic until 1950. Under the CHP, over 1 million Christian Orthodox Greeks were expelled and the policy of assimilation against Armenians, Kurds and Ezîdî was continued. Abdullah Öcalan describes this first generation of Turkish fascism as "**white fascism**": other ethnic groups were only accepted on the condition that they assimilated, i.e. adopted a Turkish identity instead of their own. Other languages, especially Kurdish, were systematically suppressed, banned and pushed back. Even today, it can still be dangerous to speak Kurdish in public. Even if the methods of white fascism are more subtle, any form of resistance against the state was still met with massacres, as the Dersim genocide shows.

Especially after the Second World War, the forces of white fascism were massively supported by the USA. The Turkish state became an important instrument for asserting the interests of the USA in the Middle East. It was to be positioned against the growing influence of the Soviet Union and communist parties in the region.

BLACK FASCISM: TERROR AND COUNTER-GUERRILLAS

As the youth awakening that came with the revolution of 1968 began to threaten the foundations of power around the world, other forces were now activated in Turkey by the USA and NATO to crush the youth and labor movement. The increasingly influential Turkish Left was now to be fought by the second generation of Turkish fascism that had been formed after the World War II.

The Grey Wolves (Turkish: Bozkurtlar or Bozkurtçular), as these Turkish fascists are called, are part of a current that Abdullah Öcalan describes as **Black Fascism.** At its core, it is anti-Semitic, racist and has ideological and personal ties to the fascism of Adolf Hitler. The central figure of this current, which led the fight against the Turkish Left from 1960 onwards, was Alparslan Türkeş. Türkeş and other Turkish officers were trained in the USA between 1945 and 1950 and were founding members of the nationalist MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Nationalist Movement Party) and the counter-guerrilla, the Turkish GLADIO offshoot.

As part of the so-called GLADIO program, the USA and NATO set up paramilitary structures in Greece, Germany, France and many other European countries after World War II, which were to be activated in the event of a political takeover by communist parties.

THE MILITARY COUPS OF MARCH 12, 1971 AND SEPTEMBER 19, 1980

In the history of the Republic of Turkey, the military has regularly seized power when the ruling parties were unable to take effective action against workers' organizations and the left. Since 1960, the military has been plotting coups almost exactly every 10 years.

The coup in 1971 was a reaction to the growing strength of the left, which had fought for decisive rights for workers in the previous years. In the following years, the country experienced a campaign

of fascist violence. Thousands of students, teachers, intellectuals and activists were killed between 1975 and 1980.

Hundreds of thousands of Turkish and Kurdish leftists were also arrested or tortured to death as a result of the coup on September 19, 1980. After the seizure of power, a military junta ruled and put into practice everything the right had tried to achieve in the previous years. Left-wing organizations, media and trade unions were banned and the country was subjected to neo-liberal privatization. The Turkish left could not withstand the attacks of the state as it was not prepared for the military coup. **Abdullah Öcalan had warned of the impending coup early on and tried to unite left-wing forces in Turkey.** While the Turkish left was unable to recover from the wave of repression, arrests and murders, the PKK managed to get several hundred cadres out of the country and prepare for armed struggle thanks to the foresight of Öcalan. The prison resistance, especially in the Diyarbakir dungeon in Amed, defied fascism and laid an important foundation stone for the PKK's and the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom, which continues to this day. The stance of **Kemal Pîr, Mazlum Doğan, Mehmet Hayrî Durmuş, Ali Çiçek and Sakine Cansız** became a benchmark for revolutionaries and the culture of resistance all over the world.

GREEN FASCISM: THE ISLAMIC-NATIONALIST SYNTHESIS

The phase surrounding the military coup of September 19 was characterized on the one hand by the brutality of Black Fascism, and on the other hand, forces were already being positioned in the background to implement the USA's future strategy in the Middle East.

From the 1970s onwards, the USA supported Islamism or Islamic nationalism in order to push back the influence of the USSR in Afghanistan and the influence of socialism in Central Asia and the Middle East and to integrate the culture of Islam into the capitalist system.

After the left was largely liquidated in the 1970s and 1980s, Islamists appealed to religious sentiments and were able to gain support among workers through social rhetoric. The Synthesis combined religion with Turkish nationalism and aimed, among other things, to bind Kurdish Muslims to the state.

The synthesis of Islamism and Turkish nationalism is what Abdullah Öcalan defines as Green Fascism. The best-known organization of this current is the AKP (Turkish: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party). The AKP under Erdoğan has been in power in Turkey since 2002. Since 2018, it has formed the government in Turkey together with the MHP.

IDEOLOGIES OF TURKISH FASCISM

Nazi Germany had a strong influence on the theory and practice of Turkish fascism; **Alparslan Türkeş was the central contact person of the Hitler regime in Turkey.** Nihal Atsız, the most influential ideologue of Turkish fascism, assumed a Turanian (Ural-Altai) race and developed the Turkish equivalent of the German race-theory. The aim was to establish a Turanian empire from Central Asia to Turkey.

The Islamic-Turkish synthesis, represented by the AKP, is a mixture of this claim to the Greater Turanian Empire and the re-establishment of the Ottoman Empire. This synthesis is expressed by the fascist coalition of MHP and AKP, which has been in power since 2015.

Turkish fascism manifests itself in three main currents: White Fascism, Black Fascism and Green Fascism. These three currents were shaped by different geopolitical and historical contexts, but are still linked together today in a kind of synthesis. The support of Western powers - whether by Germany during the Ottoman Empire or by the USA after the Second World War - has significantly shaped Turkish fascism and allowed it to serve as an instrument of hegemonic interests in the region. From the genocide of the Armenians and Kurds to modern fascist governments under Erdoğan, there is a continuity that shows how deeply rooted Turkish fascism is in

the structures of the state and society. The combination of nationalism, religion and repression makes it an obstacle to democracy and peace in the Middle East. The systematic crushing of opposition movements, especially the Kurdish freedom movement and the left-wing opposition, remains a central component of Turkish fascism to this day. The strategies employed - including intelligence operations, counter-guerrilla and false flag operations - were later adopted by other regimes and authoritarian states.

THE TURKISH STATE IS A REGIME OF SPECIAL WARFARE

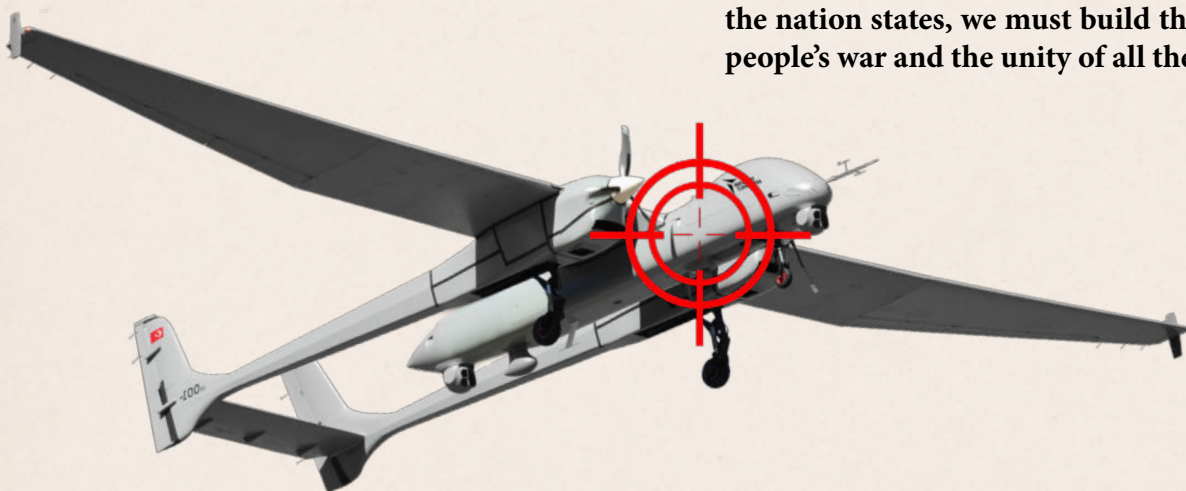
Since the emergence of the Turkish state, it has used strategies of special war to keep itself alive. In all phases of fascism practiced in Turkey, strategies of special war have been used to control, frighten and massacre society. Special war is a war without rules and without morals. A war that serves to secure power by any means necessary. In Turkey, there has been great resistance to the strict ideology of the nation state since the beginning. Kurds, in particular, repeatedly staged uprisings, but Laz, Armenians and socialist Turks also organized themselves against the regime. In order to secure its own power, Turkey established the deep state, i.e. a regime of special war, to suppress the organization of society. **In order to secure its own rule, the Turkish state formed special forces and repeatedly initiated special operations.** As part of the military, units were trained to carry out operations, attacks, assassinations and abductions, plan military coups and manipulate the psychology of society.

CONFRONTING FASCISM

In general, Turkish fascism today plays a pioneering role as a modern fascist regime. Despite its obviously misanthropic, misogynist and nationalist ideology, the Turkish state is recognized as a plausible regime and is still supported by hegemonic forces such as NATO. Understanding Turkish fascism is of great importance for all anti-fascist forces, as many states orient themselves towards Turkey's strategies.

But on the other hand, we should not make it bigger than it is. Today, Turkey is in a major crisis at all levels because it is stuck with the status quo of the Nation-State and shows no willingness to democratize its system. Despite the most perfidious methods, the war against society, daily arrests, assassinations, air raids and media wars, the Turkish state does not manage to control society. **It does not manage to eliminate the revolutionary forces, above all the Kurdish Freedom Movement and the PKK.** Therefore, the strengths, but also the weaknesses of Turkish fascism should be well evaluated in order to fight against it. Especially the contradictions within NATO, the contradictions with the USA and the EU should be well evaluated and deciphered. On the other hand, fascism must be explained to people everywhere and the system behind it must be understood. This can create a stronger basis for the fight against fascism everywhere. Because only if we know our opponent and know ourselves will we be successful in the struggle against fascism and for freedom.

The history of the PKK and the Kurdish Freedom Movement clearly shows how modern fascism can be confronted on the basis of education, organization and self-defence. **Against the special war of the nation states, we must build the revolutionary people's war and the unity of all the oppressed! ●**



THE FRUIT OF MEMORY

Italian Fascism in correlation to Society and the State



By Giordano Pannocchia

In recent years, some words that have not been remembered for a long time are re-emerging. In particular while considering them in correlation to each other. “Freedom”, “memory”, “resistance” and “fascism”, have returned to be an integral part of the discourses that can be heard around us on several levels. They have returned in the empty television debates, in the speeches of the electoral parties in Parliament, in the often exclusively intellectual reflections of some academic circles.

They have also returned -and this is much more important- in daily conversations, in concerns for the future of communities, families and society as a whole. Collectively we want to recognize in that in the last years, the institutional history of this country has seen a change of pace towards a future that does not seem bright. Some approach this with resignation, some with an assumption of responsibility,

Italy is a State in crisis, from many points of view.

The financial economy, the precariousness and the collapse of “public” services that we have been witnessing for many years now, have shattered the hopes of many young generations. But there is more to it than that. In addition to the material crises, there are much deeper-rooted ones, which have been digging into people’s consciences for some time. The political project of the Italian state has lost all credibility and all capacity to show itself towards Italian society as a positive model. Perhaps these promises had even bewitched some young people that the same State has helped to shape. The fact is, in the eyes of everyone this project is nothing more than an administrative structure, a crutch for large industrialists to lean on and a distant master for the large part of the population.

CONTINUITY OF FASCISM

Resistance movements and struggles however have never abandoned these concepts. Immediately in trying to identify a continuity between the partisan Resistance and the anti-fascist struggles from the post-war period to this day; it was recognized that Italy has never completely come to terms with fascism and it was well known names and faces that immediately started to reconstruct fascism in an organized way. An old anti-fascist song from the 70s said that if you want to grow a good crop but you fail to remove all the root of the weed, in reality you have only made a graft, onto which it can continue to grow. This is the militant perspective that has been maintained even through to today. But over the years it has seen the world change suddenly around it, and through these changes it has not always been able to communicate its analysis clearly.

A litmus test that has always given clear indications of fascism’s development and that has always spoken, not only to resistance movements and associations but to all components of society, are the packages of laws, especially those that in Italy in recent years have been called “Security Decrees”. With the last of these measures - the proposal of “DDL 1660” - it seems that many consciences have decided to re-awaken.

“YOU DON’T PROVIDE SECURITY, YOU SPREAD FEAR”

This is one of the many phrases that could be heard at the national demonstration against this bill, held last winter in Rome. The main measures to “guarantee security” are actually nothing more than a repressive package. These are penalties for those who protest in

prisons and in the CPR, for those who hold “materials for terrorist acts”, for those who occupy empty houses. It also allows the police to keep weapons outside of duty.

This proposal comes after a year of almost uninterrupted mobilizations in support of the Palestinian people.

These mobilisations have managed to involve many people, some of whom, thanks to these paths, have been able to find a new perspective in their lives and have developed a deep mistrust towards the Italian government and the state. Awareness and the will to fight, acquired by groups spanning right across Italian society, are certainly two of the aspects that could most undermine Italy's plan for transformation into a suitable pawn to play the role that will be assigned to it in the war. Another snapshot from the event we told you of before, was the presence of a small banner: “against the DDL fear”; perhaps that sentiment is what has stirred so many souls.

HOW TO JUSTIFY WAR?

In the context of today's Third World War, these laws have the sole purpose of constructing in the “public opinion” (that part of society with a petty little-bourgeois mentality that has remained motionless in front of the events and felt untouched by them) a **generalized fear**, which leads to the call for a solution to all this, to seek stability and a de-centering of responsibility for the management of public life. In a speech at her party's feast, the Prime Minister said that her greatest success will be “to make Italians believe in themselves again”. The government's measures, however, aim to bring the population closer to the state, its figure and its party, in a great propaganda work of the statist and patriarchal mentality. However, fear and order are not only seen in social dynamics, but involve other aspects of this war.

One of the most important measures of this DDL security project is its attack against peaceful road blockades, for which a criminal offence with possibility of imprisonment is now expected. This will particularly affect two types of protests: the road blocks of the environmental movements and the pickets of striking workers, especially in the production and logistics sectors. To date, without this DDL being active, in some Italian cities, relevant in the logistics sector such as Milan and Piacenza, are counted around 3000 trade unionists under investigation and facing trial. Under attack are the pickets and blockades that this decree would make illegal, and that in a lot of cases have been a deciding factor for the victory of the workers in important disputes.

We need not seek out the Duce's busts in the houses of ministers (reference to Ignazio La Russa, President of the Senate of Italy, whom openly admitted of having statues of Benito Mussolini in his home; a man that proudly declared of not being an anti-fascist). Their actions are enough to betray the real impulses of the state and political forces. These ones, consistent with a certain history that links them directly to the twenty years of Mussolini, always move in the same direction: that of violence and oppression.

PATRIOTS?

At a G7 meeting in Italy this year, the Italian Minister of Defense spoke of the world as having a “deteriorated security framework,” when looking at the **NATO fronts open on Europe, the Middle East and the Pacific**. Although they cannot say it explicitly, even the great powers can no longer continue to hide the global nature of the wars in progress, a Third World War that the movement for the liberation of Kurdistan has long identified as an attack by the state-nations, as an expression of the patriarchal and statist mentality against humanity.

Italy has a role in this at several levels, from border control to the development of technological innovation, to logistical support for military presence in the Mediterranean, depending on the alliances observed. It has a role towards Europe of a “gate”, together with Turkey, for the control and containment of migratory flows towards the states of the European Union. While Erdogan has assumed a position of blackmailing for the containment of people who would like to enter the EU through Turkish territory, Italy in recent years has always been looking for new ideas to reject people and leave them at the mercy of the Mediterranean Sea. Or, even better, to avoid from the beginning that they start the crossing.

In the last years the main policy has been to make agreements with the Libyan Coast Guard, substantially funding migrant prisons and subsidizing the daily violence that took place - and still plays out - inside those walls. Meanwhile, in recent months the government has tried to open a CPR for migrants through an agreement with the Albanian government, which at the moment has not been successful, after being interrupted by the Italian magistrates.

The Italian “patriots” do what the European Union tells them to do, but above all they put themselves at the complete service of NATO.



The Italian war industries, Leonardo S.p.a. primarily, are the vanguard in the field of aerospace and the production of missiles, cannons and drones that in recent months have been thundering over the skies of Gaza and Rojava.

The country of which the state speaks is nothing more than an economic and political concept, emptied of any ethnic or ethical meaning. This is the true nature of nationalism and fascism, ideologies in symbiosis with war, with the sole purpose of maintaining a society under slavery.

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM!

If we have to recognize enemies from history, it is even more important to recover friendly faces to focus on; and the history of this piece of land is dotted with young women and young men who, in the face of all this, after a lifetime under an educational, cultural, economic and political system dominated by fascism, have not forgotten the values of an ecological and democratic society.

Today we must reveal the deep violence that is happening in our time, both from a physical point of view as well as from a cultural one.

The attempts to silence the voices of young women, the attacks on youth, and all other forms of oppression have a common denominator in a dominant system that calibrates its violence in relation to how much it is at risk. Among the hundreds of thousands of people who decided to oppose fascism in the years of dictatorship there was certainly fear; but in the letters of the condemned and sentenced to death for the Resistance we do not see fear as the main element, instead we see a deep joy, the awareness of having done the right thing.

Even if today the world around us seems to be in the deepest crisis, we have within us the tools to get out of it, which will pass through organization and struggle to eradicate patriarchy, the resulting fascism and all other forms of oppression that burden on the people ●



Our pains and a blossoming hope **MEXICO IN 2025**

By Pedro from La Tormenta

WHAT HAPPENS AT THE TOP, MEXICAN NECROPOLITICS.

Making a brief summary, during the 70 years following the Mexican Revolution a hegemonic party, the PRI, governed the country. This party was created by members of the petty bourgeoisie who had participated in the war against the then-President Porfirio Díaz, who held power for more than 30 years.

The PRI institutionalized the country, created departments in charge of guaranteeing a welfare state, nevertheless a great sector of the population was still being marginalized, exploited and impoverished while that same petty bourgeoisie used the State to consolidate their riches and ability to control the country, at the same time making alliances with organized crime, thus the strength of the state was at the service of capital, be it legal or illegal.

In the 2000's there was a change in the presidential office, the Right took power and after 12 years left the country in shambles, started a so-called "war on drugs" (guerra contra el narco) that left us with a balance of more than 120,000 dead and more than 60,000 missing people. Despite maintaining a rhetoric of confrontation against narcotrafficking, several party members strengthened their alliances and participation with organized crime. It was just a show, all of it. Ambition and power do not distinguish between legality and illegality.

In 2012 the PRI took back power and, with a policy of continuity, violence continued to grow and become much more visible. In 2014 the entire world came to learn about the disappearance of 43 students, an event in which the army, the police, the local and federal government and the entirety of the State machine were accomplices. After this event it

became clear to us that the best way to describe the regime that governs this country is the concept of "Narcoestado" (Narco's State).

From all this horror came many struggles, thousands had to take to the streets, the country seemed about to collapse with rage and despair.

In this tense context a candidate came up, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who, with a progressive left-wing speech, managed to channel people's malaise at the polls. He was elected President in 2018 and in 2024 handed over power to the first woman President, Claudia Sheinbaum.

The summary of our country's last 6 years is the same as the rest of América Latina. Progressivism is naught but the sophistication of the counter-insurgency mechanism that the State has. They co-opt our discourse and give continuity to capitalism in its most savage form. The present government has completed the most destructive megaprojects in the history of our country: the "Maya Train" and the "interoceanic corridor" are extractive projects disguised as sustainable tourism.

Within its thinking the only development that exists is the one that capitalism proposes: destroy to accumulate. This way of thinking is the common ground between narcos, politicians and businessmen. It is a patriarchal line of thought that seeks to also sow these values within the youth. On the one hand, the State has doubled its armed forces, offering young people from the most marginalized sectors of society a "chance to rise up", introducing them into a pro-

ject where weapons, violence and territorial domination are the greatest satisfactions they can aspire to; on the other hand, organized crime casually offers exactly the same thing: a repatriarcalization of youth. Working for the narco, working for the state... no matter if the principles are the same: oppress, destroy, accumulate.

THE ANTERIOR IS THE PAINT WITH BLOOD LEFT BY THOSE ABOVE.

Our history has been a long struggle against men and women whose center of life is nothing but ambition and power. Our defense from below has been the diversity: in colors, in tongues, in thoughts, in ways of being and doing, in ways of living. The current political bet of the organizations from below and on the left could not be understood without studying the history of the necropolitics of the Mexican bourgeoisie; the left-wing and right-wing spectrum in the electoral parties have not made a significant difference in the systemic violence against our people. The conclusions that have been drawn and the fight strategies are based on this clarity of the role of the State as a main agent in perpetuating a system of death.

A LESSON AND A FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE. SEEKING MOTHERS.

It is difficult to say that we are cheered on and encouraged by a struggle when we see that it comes from a deep pain and when that pain is far from going away, from healing, and instead it is increasing every day. In Mexico there are about 120,000 missing people.

The number is still rising, although the current government tries to hide the problem at all costs. From this deep wound a movement of searching mothers has been born. Throughout the country they organize autonomously to go out on the streets and to search not only for the family they lost but also for each one of those 120,000 people taken from their homes. They have become experts, lawyers, investigators, journalists and a whole lot more, all to heal the great pain that this country is going through.

The searching mothers have simply not allowed this Narco's State to normalize death. They have shown a deeply radical ethic based on love. They have been a light and example. They have forced the organizations to rethink what is important for moving forward.

SPIRITUALITY AS THE BACKBONE OF A DIFFERENT PROJECT.

How can we talk about a different tomorrow without thinking that our hearts and minds walk together in the construction of a future? These lands have an incredible profoundness, in the indigenous people there is a wonderful way of giving meaning to life, the physical passes through the heart and is interpreted differently. When remembering the martyrs it is inevitable to be filled with sadness.

The example they have given us must be the way to organize our pain and anger.

On October 20, 2024, our comrade priest, Marcelo Pérez Pérez, was murdered. He was a Tsotsil native and always denounced the injustices despite threats and intimidation. He made many of us understand or reinterpret the faith: not as the desire for things to change someday but as the conviction that through our work we'll achieve those changes; faith in principles, in the path we have chosen and in the struggle that we fight every day. We remember our comrade singing to the people a few verses he composed. We'll remember him like this: an example of life.

*"In my soul I know with deep faith
that we'll soon win.*

soon we'll win,

soon we'll win

*together we'll fight until the end
I want my country to be happy
with love and freedom"*

ZAPATISTAS OF BEFORE AND NOW: THE CONTINUATION OF A DREAM

In the southeast of Mexico, the Zapatista struggle has been born, a light and hope for many people of the world. It is interesting to ask: Why does a guerrilla in the 90's claim a character from almost a hundred years ago? This question also helps to understand the clash between the up and down in Mexico, two visions that will not manage to find a middle ground, two life projects that cannot cooperate.

A common reading of the system of domination, of the power of the state as an oppressive structure and in the service of the capital. Emiliano Zapata rejected the possibility of being a ruler, said that the presidential chair was cursed, that those who sat on it were sick with power. The Southern Liberation Army (Ejército Libertador del Sur) fought for the land, to have a place in this world where they could continue to build their way of life.

When the EZLN burst in at the end of the century many questions arose, one of the biggest surprises was to hear them declare that they did not seek to take power from the state.

Like Emiliano Zapata, they did not start a war just to be the new oppressor. At the heart was also the recovery of land for continuing with this project of life as indigenous people, now also with a greater provocation, the construction of "a world where many worlds may fit".

A wider struggle where everyone from down below could build that other system that we, as the people, have always dreamed of.

After 30 years of struggle and building of autonomy, the EZLN has launched a new provocation called "The commons and non-property", a critique of individualism and the organization of a life to be lived in isolation. A criticism that does not come from classical theoretical reviews, but from the knowledge and practices of the indigenous people. They have raised the possibility of building "the communal"; a series of practices and agreements to inhabit this world in another way: mutual support, collective work, solidarity and an ethic based on love and commitment to one another.

An ethic like that of the searching mothers, a common ethic with all and everyone from down below, a possibility to start again and build something different, without oppressors or oppressed, only people trying to collaborate to have a good life. A path under construction that may be an alternative for the youth, a space for them to explore all the possibilities of what it could be to live outside this system.

It is clear that there is a crisis, the pain crosses all of Mexico from below, but there is also an accumulated history of struggle and resistance. All these pains have begun to unite and build the alternative, our eyes looking toward the chance.

In crises, everything can be changed ●



FIGHTING FASCISM IN PAÏSOS CATALANS

Brief analyses, tasks and challenges

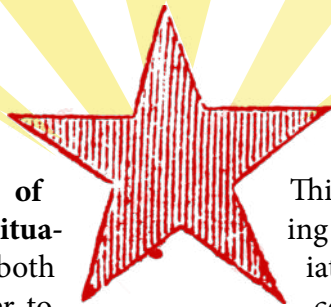
Arran is the youth organization of the Esquerra Independentista, a revolutionary political movement that has the objective of building an independent, socialist and feminist Països Catalans in order to achieve communism.

By Arran

The analysis of the development of the extreme right in the actual situation is a difficult task: it requires both theoretical and practical notions in order to understand a political dynamic that has to do with a specific historical background. Even so, as much as it is a complex phenomenon of international scope, the study of specific cases helps to clarify the plurality of common trends. Researching Spanish nationalism confirms this.

The development of Spain's nationalism—indefinitely associated with the rise and course of the extreme right—aims to establish an identity rooted in a reactionary imaginary and composed of different cultural, historical and political traits, which is useful for the maintenance and promotion of the economic and ideological interests of the dominant classes in the State. This national construct pursues the establishment of a unified imaginary of the nation. For this reason, the consolidation process of the Spanish state has symbolically and administratively excluded other identities, languages, cultures and nationalities.

This has generated conflicts, aggravated by the birth and radicalization of different ideologies and conservative and reactionary political movements.



This brief contextualization serves as a starting point to situate the rebirth of certain variations of Spain's nationalism that have recently assaulted the public scene and that, in the best of cases, represent a radicalized renewal of previous conservative tendencies: that is, the ideological commitment to the recovery of a notion of Spain prior to the Transition, characterized by a culturally exclusionary program and promoter of neoliberal measures. Its resurgence is alarming because the current moment of crisis and precarity is allowing the politicization of growing sectors of the popular classes, among them the youth.

ANALYSING REALITY TO GO ON THE OFFENSIVE

So, how can we explain this growth of the extreme right in the Spanish and French states?

In what way does it contribute elements of interest to understand the reactionary wave that is spreading throughout the continent and the world? Answering these questions requires addressing some key elements to understand the emergence of this trend in our context. On the one hand, in comparison with other European countries, we must point out the relative delay in the emergence of far-right political formations with considerable parliamentary representation.

The late electoral eruption of VOX or other expressions of the reactionary extreme right such as *Se Acabó la Fiesta* (SALF) is explained by the fact that a large part of the interests and ideological aspirations of these factions had traditionally been channelled through the Popular Party (PP) and groups with little media impact.

At the same time, symbols such as the monarchy, the police and even the army capitalized on the representation of Spain as a unified territory.

However, at peak moments of confrontation with the liberation aspirations of the peripheral nationalisms—recently, the *Procés Sobiranista* in Catalonia—, the range of symbols has multiplied and the range of reactionary political options beyond the traditional parties has multiplied, especially when these have been unable to monopolize the subsequent political repression.

In the *Països Catalans*, this dynamic has translated into autonomous governments with the presence of VOX (1) (in the *País Valencià* and *Illes*), the electoral triumph of *Regarupament Nacional* in Catalonia Nord (a territory under French domination), the birth of *Revuelta* (a youth organization linked to VOX with a presence throughout Spain) or the appearance of *Alianza Catalana* (AC) in the *Principat de Catalunya*. At the same time, these events have evidenced the reactionary background of the political program of some formations —such as *Junts*

per Catalunya (*JxCat*)— which until now had white-washed their class nature under the protection of the pro-independence aspirations of the grassroots Catalan national liberation movement.

In a certain sense, the current political scenario concludes the reunification process of the parliamentary standard-bearers of society: despite the fact that in recent years the electoral landscape has changed—characterized by the emergence of *Podemos* and other “progressive” regionalist candidates, in addition to the aforementioned formations—this has not been due to a multiplication of programmatic alternatives. On the contrary, in many cases the birth of these political parties has meant the legitimization of repressive policies, sealing the hardening of living conditions for the popular classes and, particularly, for the youth. This shows how the false promises of democratic renewal and the anti-establishment proclamations of social democracy and the extreme right reinforce the interests of big capital. In short, old wine in new glasses.

Secondly, though moments like this are presented as an alternative to despair, it must be understood that the extreme right and identity values are functional for the maintenance of the current order.

Consequently, the construction of socialism in the *Països Catalans* also has to face the fight against the xenophobic reaction at a time when it channels part of the social discontent, especially among the youth,



towards institutional and parliamentary politics, the economic and ecological crisis or other problems. Therefore, despite the fact that the apparent aesthetic renewal of some philo-fascist tendencies has catapulted them to the media scene, from ARRAN we analyse that the extreme right in the Spanish state has been historically protected by the institutions born of Franco's dictatorship and regime.

In this respect, the Spanish territorial framework and its integrity constitute one of the fundamental pillars of "Espanolismo" or Spanish Nationalism, understood as the category that condenses—in the Spanish conditions—most of the characteristics that other extreme right-wing currents represent in other parts of the world. Similarly, in the French state, the exponential growth of the National Rally and its opposition to immigration coincide with the main axioms of the traditions of European fascism.

In the same vein, the policies promoted by AC (2) do not question—nor do they intend to—the fundamental pillars of the system; in fact, they contribute to its reinforcement through repression and division of the working class in an exclusionary national framework. Ultimately, this means that, in the short term, the existence of this regional matrix party contributes to the division of the working class and benefits the interests of Spanish big capital, to the same extent that autonomous branches of state formations in the País Valencià or the Illes.

Independently of the national identity it promotes, the extreme right endorses and defends the interests of the big bourgeoisie.

ANTIFASCISM IS CLASS STRUGGLE

From our point of view, the work or conscious organization of oppressed nations or peoples starts from the premise that the dispute in these territories transcends the class struggle in a strict sense: in addition to the classes native to the regions, the classes at the state level enrich themselves at the expense of maintaining their political and economic domination. In these territories, the questioning of

the domination system also fights for generating a collective identity that goes beyond the established frameworks, turning it into a potential to confront the reactionary rise.

The creation of this identity, which for our political Movement promotes the expansion of class consciousness, must consider that national affiliation is one of the layers of individual and collective personality. It is very difficult to escape—even if we are not aware of it, our way of understanding the world is also partially conditioned by the place where we were born or where we live. In fact, although capital has become internationalized, a large part of the measures that continue to be applied for its reinforcement are of state matrix.

On a daily basis, hundreds of symbols reinforce a certain ideology or idea of a nation entrenched in administrations, institutions and social relations of domination. For these reasons, a behaviour or political strategy that is alien to the conflictive national reality in which the struggle for social liberation in the Països Catalans tends to reinforce the progressive disappearance of the political conflict and the cultural traits of the minority culture.

It is in this sense that political and youth organizations must promote the process of awareness connecting cultural traits that constitute the richness of humanity and the dignity of our people with contemporary social conflicts that articulate a notion of integrating Catalaneness. All this must be fought using all our weapons, generating new referents in a living cultural front, linked to our national and social aspirations and renewing the way we communicate, adapting to new platforms and new struggles.

That is to say, we are trying to generate a Catalan identity in continuous dispute, as much with Spanish Nationalism as with the most reactionary Catalanism or French centralism.

A Catalanism that integrates newcomers through the socialization of freedom and equality values. It is not an easy task, but it is an urgent and indispensable task that we young revolutionary women must not shy away from.

Unlike other parties or political movements, the Esquerra Independentista neither take refuge in one or another notion of pre-existing Catalanism nor deny the national question to confront the reactionary rise. Unlike Alianza Catalana or the regional expressions of Spanish Nationalism, the Catalan popular culture gathers community values and is in constant change and in process of integrating new members from our community. This identity notion confronts the most reactionary visions of the Spanish or Catalan nationalism because of its internationalist vocation, fostered in the defence and vindication of the cultural and linguistic features shared in all the Catalan territory.

Our identity under construction is explained by a history of struggle and resistance mainly led by the popular classes.

Even so, the renewal of the anti-fascist front not only involves understanding our history, but also forces us to face some urgent tasks. In the first instance, to clarify the revolutionary political program and its short-term translation. In other words, to disarm the seductive politics of the extreme right we must attack its foundations, deeply rooted in the bowels of the capitalist system. The necessary measures to confront the current crisis are not to be found among the tools of the capitalist system: whether on the ecological front or in defense of the right to housing, fascism is never on the side of the interests of the popular classes.

For this reason, a concrete program must include measures such as the expropriation of public housing for social rent, or economic policies that prioritize the ecological transition. This propositional and strategic capacity must be socialized in all the fronts of popular organization and permeate the different factions of the organized working class, permeating at the same time throughout the territory and in the unorganized popular classes.

The main barrier of containment of the extreme right is not in the institutions, but in the street.

Once this program has been elaborated, which a growing number of organizations and spaces of the

popular movement potentially share, we have to make it effective, present it to society and convince through collective mobilizations and victories that political organization is the only way to confront the current crisis. In this way, we will discredit the racism and xenophobic solutions of the extreme right.

In our territory we can already see some examples: the environmentalist demonstration of June 8 under the slogan “Health. Earth. Future.”, the clamors against the touristification and the destruction of the land throughout the Països Catalans, the massive response to the perpetuation of the Palestinian genocide or the announced mobilization to exercise control over the real estate market. All of them are symptoms that a hopeful imaginary is articulated to dispute these dark moments.

An imaginary that recovers its strength inspired by feminist struggles and struggles for sexual and gender liberation, the lessons learned from the last cycle of pro-independence mobilizations and new forms of popular organization. It is all these referents who, innovating in practices of confrontation, denunciation and politicization, have achieved ideological changes that have undertaken processes of class consciousness.

Now it is up to the political organizations to synthesize them and turn them into proposals, actions and mobilizations.

In short, it is clear that these are difficult times, but paraphrasing Linera, for revolutionaries, difficult times is the air we breathe. To analyse the enemy well, to fight it on all fronts, to build horizons of emancipation and to develop them in a conflicted present is the most urgent task; a task that we in ARRAN take on with pride and commitment ●



1. Vox. Spanish far-right political party founded in 2013 that began to have significant media and electoral relevance as of 2018.

2. Aliança Catalana. The Catalan Alliance (Aliança Catalana in Catalan) is an extreme right-wing Catalan pro-independence party founded in Ripoll in 2020.

WOMEN'S REVOLUTION OR COLLAPSE?

Antifascist Resistance in the 21st Century

By Hilde Kramer

**THE ISSUE OF POWER AND STATE IS
VISIBLE IN ONE OF ITS WORST PHASES.**

**THE DILEMMA OF DEMOCRATIC
REVOLUTION OR FASCISM IS ON THE
AGENDA AND STILL VITALLY IMPORTANT.**



ABDULLAH ÖCALAN

This shows in many ways that this century, in which we are in, in which we were born and raised, is and will be a special one. It is tangible and visible.

Nature is literally screaming for change, for another life. But not only nature, society too is in a state of crises, that have escalated so much that the last two options that remain are “decay or revolution”.

The crises in which we are in, are systemic. **They are the result of five thousand years of domination and four hundred years of capitalist modernity.** Because the system of the state on which power is based, rests on the endless exploitation of nature and society, it comes to an end. For nature is not infinite and the societies, especially the women, feel that the time has come to put an end to the system of power and build a free and ecological life. The crisis of the system, that tries to stay alive with the very last strength like an angry beast, becomes visible in the third world war and the accompanying rising fascism.

This war that is taking place on so many levels, is besides the physical war in Palestine, Sudan, Kurdistan or Ukraine, above all a war over our hearts and minds. It is a war of the nation states with the goal of self-preservation. It is a war that they cannot win. **The means the ruling now resort to, is the growing identification of society with the nation state.** For a state cannot exist without the society. The gladly chosen path of the rulers, as did the monopoly capitalists in the 20th century, is that of fascism.

THE STATE, FASCISM AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

Therefore, they get the society in their deepest pores to worship the nation state as something holy. Especially through the media they deprive society of their morals and sell them the opinion of the state as their own. Fascism is therefore the form of government in times of crises. Especially the lower middle class as a class “between the classes” plays an important role for fascism. The lower middle class is the class that is most saturated with the ideology of capitalist modernity, liberalism.

Abdullah Öcalan calls fascism the so called “honored guest” of bourgeois liberalism.

The bourgeoisie unites a fear of loss, paired with the clinging to the existing and a fear of new, of change. This is how it comes about that in times of great crises, especially this class is very receptive for ideas that contain a return to well-known classic gender and family roles. Another aspect that appears in times of crises, is militarization. It is another means to get society to defend the nation state. We can see that

especially the youth is being militarized. On the basis of adventurous advertising posters that romanticize life in the army or with the slogans “defend freedom, preserve peace, protect democracy” and dynamic images of young people in special units of the army, it is attempted to make the youth give their lives in the interest of the nation states.

THE SEXIST CHARACTER OF FASCISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

It is therefore not surprising that fascism is again on the rise in large chaos-intervals in times of crises, although with a different face. We can understand the new face of fascism in the 21st century as a powerful attack on the identity of the free woman and as a reaction on the achievements of the women's revolution. Generally, it is observable that violence in society is on the rise. The image of the patriarchal man is increasingly propagated. This becomes visible in the rising numbers of feminicides and generally in the rise of violence against women and children. The fact that the family as the “state of the small man” plays a big role in this, becomes particularly clear in that a big part of the murders of women happens within these family structures.

Therefore, it is not surprising that all of a sudden Turkish, German, and French fascists fraternise. Because they are united by the image of the patriarchal man and the oppression of the woman.

In the media of the fascist parties, organisations, and youth organisations, it is particularly young women who are the new faces of fascism. They strengthen fascist narratives through the contradiction to how modernity sees and defines the woman, which role liberalism gives her. They stage themselves as strong women, who nevertheless clearly subordinate themselves to the man.

A FREE IDENTITY?

The contradictions to the liberal design of a women's identity are very important contradictions, but still the identity of woman is, in the end, always a victim of this game. Because neither the

one nor the other women's identity is expressing a free woman, they are both unfree identities. Both the full dissolution of gender identities and therewith the giving up of the search for a free identity of woman and man, as well as the return to the classic role of the woman as mother and housewife represent profound attacks on the women's revolution.

The new right is characterized by criticism of capitalism and liberalism, but instead of these contradictions being the starting point for a revolutionary search, reference is made to the old gender roles.

This is accompanied by the search for the supposedly guilty. Political goals are often formulated vaguely and lurid enemy images are constructed. Besides the left-liberal to conservative parties in the governments, it is primarily young men from the middle east and leftists who are held accountable by the right for the increasing violence against women or the liberal dissolution of supposedly traditional values. The fascist counter design is the design of a woman that preserves her homeland through being tied to the household. However, this is out of love and attachment to her homeland. This too is a big attack on the principals of the ideology of women's liberation that states that love for home means a connection to the whole society, to the history, to the country and to democratic values.

HOW HAS FASCISM EVOLVED?

In the hardest economic shock of the capitalist system since its existence, the lower middle classes in the shape of national socialism entered the political stage and stopped the revolutionary downfall of capitalist hegemony. The political reaction knows very well how to assess the significance of the lower middle classes.

“The middle classes are of decisive importance for the existence of a state”, it said in a leaflet of the German nationalist party from the 8th of April 1932.

Franco also made it clear in his statement that there was no need to fear that communism would prevail in Spain because he had built up such a large lower middle class that the middle class or lower middle class, as a class and mentality, would be major obstacle to the success of a revolution.

NEW NATIONALISM

The narratives, that are set by the new right, have changed in contrast to those of fascism in the 20th century. Instead of openly talking about a superior “race”, now there is talk of a superior culture, but the same is meant. Fascism of the 21st century also expresses itself in the attempt to not just build an identification to the nation state identity, but beyond that, to identify with Europe. They try to spread the idea of an ethnic supremacy. Their narratives reach many, as they tie in well with the general dissatisfaction and fear of the crises and the worsening third world war.

The fascism hiding behind many of the narratives is devious and not very obvious.

For example, the focus is on local craftsmanship and the strengthening of rural areas. But other statements are also widely disseminated in the digital public sphere. For example, the demand for remigration, which calls for the immediate deportation of all men from the Middle East and Africa. The fascists of the 21st century are strongly connected, for example, there is a strong relationship between German and French fascist youth organizations and joint educational camps.

Fascism of the 21st century manifests itself in many ways. Particularly bad is probably the appearance of fascism in women like Georgia Meloni or Annalena Baerbock. As cadres of capitalist modernity on the one hand, they strengthen classic family structures and on the other hand, especially Annalena Baerbock, try to bend and twist the values and aesthetics of the women’s revolution, to conversely strengthen the nation states.



As women, they line up for capitalist modernity and with that, are a big threat to the women's revolution. Especially liberalism, true to the slogan "Everyone is the architect of their own fortune", and individualism make sure that everyone becomes their own ruler.

NEW RESISTANCE RISES

Just as there were thousands of women in the fascist era of the last century who stood up against

the annihilation by the fascist and patriarchal mentality, today we stand side by side as revolutionary women and men in the fight against fascism and for the construction of a free life. We stand in the tradition of the many partisan women such as Irma Bandiera or Ilepá Svetozara Radic and want to live up to their legacy and continue their struggle. Because, as Şehîd Sara Dorşin writes:



THIS WAR THAT WE CALL THE THIRD WORLD WAR IS ABOVE ALL AN IDEOLOGICAL ONE. IF WE WIN, THIS IS A GREAT VICTORY OVER A GREAT DEPRESSION. BUT IF WE FAIL, AN EVEN GREATER SENSE OF HOPELESSNESS WILL SETTLE OVER THOSE WHO MAY BE WATCHING WITH INTEREST BUT ARE UNABLE TO FIGHT ACTIVELY ON THE MILITANT SIDE.

BUT FIGHTING MEANS NOT BEING ABLE TO LOSE AT ALL, THAT WE HAVE ALREADY WON WHEN WE REALLY START TO FIGHT. THIS WAR IS OUR WAR, OUR RESPONSIBILITY, OUR DECISION, AND OUR DETERMINATION ●



Şehîd Sara Dorşin

AGAINST ALL FASCISM SOCIETY'S SELF-DEFENSE!

By Cudî Raperîn

Mere rage will not bring the beast of fascism to its knees, it needs a methodology superior to the cruelty of fascism, characterised by balance, ethics and intelligence. Cunning is required. The cold calculation of the enemy does not adhere to human values, ethics and morals. It draws its strength solely from the fanaticism of power and the resulting brute force. This is represented in the unimaginable chaos of the events of the Third World War which are unfolding before everyone's eyes.

What is important now is the question that Vladimir Ilyich U. Lenin asked himself: 'What is to be done?'

The question of 'what is to be done' is the question of how we as young people can present a united front against fascism and defeat it. For 50 years there has been fierce resistance in the land of the fertile crescent. **The youth of Kurdistan together with the internationalist youth from all corners of the world represent a major front of internationalist resistance.** The Turkish occupying state is the climax of 21st century fascism. Behind Turkey's genocidal regime is NATO and the state of Israel. Ideologically, Turkish fascism in its campaign of annihilation against Kurdistan thus also represents the campaign of annihilation against humanity as such. The fascism of the Turkish state is a spawn of capitalist modernity. The Turkish state acted for NATO like a foreign minister for the Middle East, constantly trying by all dirty means and ways to assimilate the cradle of humanity into global capitalism.

THE MANY COLOURS OF FASCISM

Abdullah Öcalan analysed in detail in his defence writings that the Turkish state laid the foundation for Zionism and thus for today's state of Israel. The proto-Israel emerged from the early Turkish Republic. To reduce fascism merely to Mussolini, Hitler or Franco would not only be short-sighted, but would also play straight into the hands of liberalism. Similarly, fascism cannot be reduced to 'mass psychology'; fascism is a much deeper thought process that is not only observed in mass movements. Such superficial approaches of positivist sociology and psychology are even an obstacle to the development of a deeper understanding. **But understanding is the first important step for a successful struggle.** If we do not analyse this, we will not understand why the 'black fascism' of Germany emerged from the liberal Weimar Republic, why the so-called 'green fascism' of Islamism was strengthened by the USA and the Turkish state and why 'white fascism' was strengthened by Zionism and vice versa.

What unites all forms of fascism - white, black and green - is their origin. Fascism does not stand alone, it is closely linked to the flow of capitalist modernity, based on the state, power and violence. State, power and violence in turn are based on the last 5000 years of the triumphant march of patriarchy and the enslavement of women and life. Fascism and patriarchy are therefore closely related. In other words, fascism needs patriarchy. This is because the culture and freedom of women and life would protect society from fascist ideas. Fascism thus initially creates a cage for women in order to keep them away from their revolutionary social role.

SOCIETY GENOCIDE

Physical and cultural massacre are central elements of fascism. The homogenisation of society eradicates language, history and culture. Thousands of languages have already been wiped out or distorted beyond recognition in the course of history. Even today's 'official' languages of the world system, such as English or German, or colonial languages such as Spanish and French, have little to do with their origins. Language is a mirror of thought and history. To fully entrench its rule in society, fascism must systematically ban and repress languages that are full of history and naturalness such as Kurdish, Ketchua, Tamil, Gaelic, Inuktitut and thousands of other indigenous languages, or assimilate languages so that little of them remain. **One of the first things the fascist dictator Mussolini did was to ban all dialects and even completely different languages in Italy, thereby creating a fictitious Italian language.** Which, as a rule, is also stolen from those assimilated languages.

A STORY THAT IS STILL WAITING TO BE WRITTEN

History is rewritten or forgotten, especially the history of women. Neither has the history of patriarchy has been written down, nor that of women's resistance and life. As the German Nazi Göring said, 'The winner will always be the judge and the loser will always be the accused.' The official historiography as it is preached in schools thus represents nothing other than the history of domination and misery. The great thorn in the side of the system is the culture of the people, including its language and history. Diversity of culture is in direct contradiction to fascism. All the more reason for fascism to try to manipulate culture and use it against the people. Traditional clothing, food, dances, songs, stories and myths are either destroyed and banned or put at the service of the state. **Just as Mustafa Kemal created the Turkish Republic under the motto**

'One language, one fatherland, one culture, one flag, one nation.'

RECLAIM OUR CULTURES AGAINST FASCISM!

Language, history and culture together form the identity of a people and a nation. The strong voice of society is silenced by fascism, as if it had scarlet fever, until it is almost no longer able to speak. A revolutionary youth movement must counter this head on by strength through diversity. **In the fight against fascism, collective identity must be strengthened by defending and revitalising language, history and culture.** Above all, women and young women within anti-fascist youth movements, must clearly take on their role in the fight against fascism. Because in the western world it is becoming increasingly clear how much the role of women is being utilised by fascist forces.

European fascism in particular is being more than insidious in this approach. It puts women in the front row in order to say: 'Look! The woman is emancipating herself, she has gone from housewife to stateswoman!' The ideas behind this are nothing less than the basis of fascism itself. It lies dormant in the state, just waiting to be unleashed in all its cruelty. History, language and culture are systematically manipulated by fascism and young people in particular are deceived by this ideology.

A revolutionary youth must strengthen their historical consciousness, familiarise themselves with their culture and defend its language. In this way, it can create an identity that is highly self-aware that it can defend itself against any attacks by fascism. But in today's system of capitalist modernity, it is not possible to defend identity without organisation. The system concentrates more and more on spreading liberalism with methods of special warfare, weakening personalities and thus making organisation more and more difficult.



NEED OF A NEW YOUTH LEADERSHIP

A strong organisation consists of strong individuals, strong individuals arise from a strong organisation. An organisation, a movement, is made up of all its different elements and forms a whole from them. It would be strange if a body consisted only of many identical organs, for example 78 lungs instead of lungs, heart, kidneys and intestines. All organs function in their own way embedded in the big picture - the body. Within it, they function harmoniously like an orchestra. However, both a body and an orchestra need a conductor. The revolutionary youth movements have been in a crisis of being without leadership since the first youth revolution of 1968. There have been strong personalities in every generation of history who have taken on the difficult task of paving the way. The 21st century also needs its pioneers. With the international plot against Abdullah Öcalan on 15 February 1999, NATO, Israel and Turkey hoped to destroy the Kurdish freedom movement once and for all by kidnapping its ideological and practical pioneer, and by locking him up in solitary confinement on Imrali. But true leadership is not simply characterised by physical presence.

Zarathustra, Mani, Abraham, Jesus, Mohammed, the Trung siblings of Vietnam, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, Thomas Sankara, Şehîd Sara Sakine Cansiz, Şehîd Kemal Pîr and thousands of revolutionaries of history still live in the minds of billions of people and show them the way. The revolutionary and internationalist youth of this age must honestly ask themselves the question of their leadership and act accordingly. **The struggle against fascism is looking for its pioneers!**

Thus, Abdullah Öcalan and the ideology of the Kurdish Freedom Movement, its philosophy and its paradigm for a free life represent a universal approach. Both in the analysis of fascism, the history of patriarchy, the analysis of state, power and violence as well as in their alternative; the research of Jineoloji (science of women and life), democratic modernity and the revolution of women, Öcalan has proposed a solution approach that represents a line for all peoples of the world in the struggle.

EDUCATION AS ACTION AGAINST FASCISM

In order to understand fascism and the solution in depth, a deeper ideological understanding through education is required. Nothing should stand in our way of placing education at the centre of our lives 24 hours a day. **Education goes beyond reading. Every moment can become education, education is a way of life.** Being a socialist brings with it this responsibility. Because fascism manipulates the historical consciousness and collective memory of society, we must defend and deepen it as a task of self-defence. At every single moment, even if no physical attack, murder or massacre is committed, special warfare and manipulation methods continually aim to influence us ideologically. Whatever does not fit in to the fascist paradigm it will try to destroy.

This is particularly evident in the reality of Kurdish society. Turkish fascism has created a 'good Kurd' and a 'bad Kurd', whereby the 'good Kurd' is merely the assimilated Kurd who is rendered weak-willed and completely integrated into the system. **The 'bad Kurd', or 'the terrorist', is the Kurd who resists and defends their culture. This logic can be found everywhere in today's world.** This mentality can also be applied to patriarchy and the reality of women.

Especially in the raging third world war, thinking in black and white plays an important role in maintaining the state of war. Means such as social media, mass-produced news, the sports industry with its delusion of reducing people to their instincts such as eating, sleeping, drinking and sex have led to a mental stagnation that fascism needs to hypnotise and lull society to sleep. That the third world war has been raging for thirty years is no secret, a look at the state of the world should make this immediately clear. It is important to understand that there is a far more complex web behind the Third World War than behind the First and Second World Wars. **Humanity is in a war of to be or not to be and the outcome of the third world war will determine the continued existence of humanity.** In order to make young people unable to fight, and defenceless against attacks, the system creates powerlessness, hopelessness and nihilism.

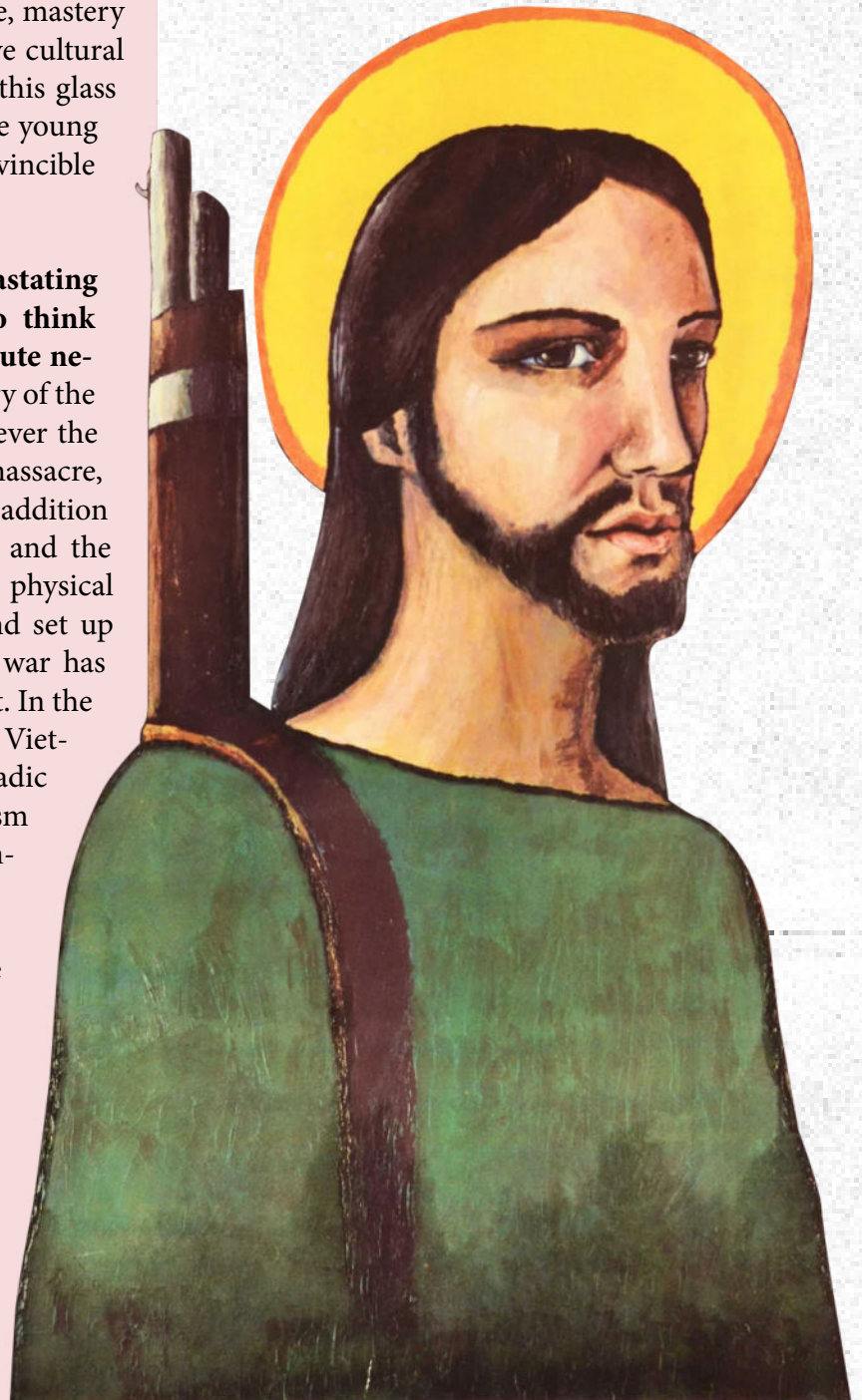
FASCISM IS NOT INVINCIBLE

But the fight against fascism is not a fight against an invincible power. Fascism is based on power, but postmodern fascism in particular is a system of fragility. It is not deeply rooted in society. No system based on the state, power and violence can become deeply rooted in society. On the contrary, such systems are fragile. Europe is a clear example of this. Modern fascism in the guise of Meloni, the AfD, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS), Rassemblement National, Fratelli d'Italia is gaining strength in a phase in which society is at a boiling point. Every conceivable crisis that society is struggling with has driven it into anger, fear and powerlessness. The youth in the fight against fascism, with a good understanding of history, clear and authentic language, mastery of the art of propaganda and an alternative cultural lifestyle, can put the nail in the coffin of this glass fascism and shatter it. Education can make young people understand that fascism is not as invincible as it is made out to be.

At the same time, it would be a devastating self-deception and denial of history to think that physical self-defence is not an absolute necessity. Anyone who learns from the history of the last thousands of years realises this; wherever the enemy sees no possibility of a cultural massacre, he will carry out a physical massacre. In addition to education, the organisation of society and the struggle at the level of our own mentality, physical self-defence must be well thought out and set up appropriately. The revolutionary people's war has strong models in history and in the present. In the spirit of the Trung brothers and sisters of Vietnam two thousand years ago, from Lepa Radic to Şehîd Zilan; the resistance against fascism has many fronts; in the spirit of internationalism these fronts will unite as one.

Today, the free mountains of Kurdistan are the front line of socialism. Their victory will push back post-modern fascism by miles on the battlefield of humanity. Every attack of fascism on the free mountains of Kurdistan is therefore an attack on socialism as such. The construction of democratic modernity is thus the cure for the disease of capitalism.

IT IS THE TASK OF EVERY SOCIALIST TO UPHOLD THE VALUES OF HUMANITY, THE VALUES OF SOCIALISM, AND TO USE THEM TO DEAL A DEATH BLOW TO FASCISM •



WHAT OUR SONGS SAY



An encounter between an Êzidî revolutionary musician and a young Occitan internationalist

Thérèse Roanet

“Tell me, why do people not listen to music and cry in your country? Why is your music so joyful whereas here in Şengal (1), our mothers listen music and shed tears?”

“You know, in Europe too, we sometimes cry listening music. When we don't feel well we listen to sad music. We mostly listen to love songs that end badly or speak about angst when the world looks even more grey. But here it's different...”

“Yes because our sorrows and songs carry the weight of the 74 genocides suffered by my people.”

We stop for a moment. A kemençe whispers a melody that blends with the breeze from the Şengal mountain. This ancestor of the violin was created in Mesopotamia hundreds of years ago. Its harmonious humming mingles with the dull rumble of a Turkish drone passing overhead. These drones of ill omen, which throw bombs to spread terror, fly over the sacred land of the Êzidis every day and continue the 74th genocide discreetly (2). The Turkish state bombs in red with his rockets, he bombs in white with his lying propaganda, slaughtering bodies and wiping out cultures that stand in his way.

“- When did you start to sing?”

“You know, since young I always was very close to my big brother Hassan and, because we were not rolling in money, we were going to herd sheep together and we would sing.”

“The shepherds are the best singers. A few days ago, I was in the Şengal mountain, its vast stony expanses, the fresh wind piercing the blazing sun. I was observing the vast plains of the city of Şengal, at the bottom it's old souk ravaged by bombings appears clearly. I was sitting under a rocky overhang, the ground strewn with pieces of fabric damaged by time. I imagined the refugee families here 10 years ago, children crying in their mother's arms, thirsty. A flock passed, the shepherd sang a dengbêj and his voice resonated throughout the mountain, clear, limpid. Shivers ran through my body.”

“Our songs are as vast and powerful as our mountains where the shepherds sing. Our mountains are our refuges, and our songs are the refuges of our society and it's history. But when Daesh arrived in 2014, when the peshmergas of PDK ran away taking our weapons, we had to leave our land and flee massacres and horrors in a long walk full of suffering. PKK guerrillas, YPJ and YPG fighters came to rescue Şengal's population and opened a humanitarian corridor to enable us to take refuge in a migrant camp in Rojava. They then led a heroic struggle which, thanks to the immense courage of hundreds of martyred comrades, led to the liberation of Şengal in 2015.

During this time, we went to the South of Kurdistan (Başûr) with my family where we stayed for two years. We had close relations there who helped us and found us jobs in order that we could provide for our needs. We worked in the fields. We were far away from our house but our heart's stayed in Şengal. We lived near Suleymaniye, a big city where the

European culture has damaged the society, it takes us away from the others and from ourselves. When I was talking about European culture, I made bad leap. This culture which is invading us in the Middle East, that is intent on homogenising us, is not that of Europe but that of capitalism. And this capitalism destroys your cultures too. You know, in Europe you too lived genocides.”

“Yes, it’s true, and if we learned more from our history we could develop a deeper internationalist struggle with the peoples who are suffering the cruel attacks of capitalist modernity. By the way, I would like to tell you the very old history of my ancestors. It was 800 years ago. At that time, religions from Zoroastrianism, straight from the Middle East spread into Europe. In my country, in Occitania (3), they were called Cathars. Much like the Êzidis, their belief was closely linked to nature and carried strong values such as sharing and asceticism. Women also had an important role. But, because it seems that these beliefs contained so many values linked to life, values that are dangerous to those who govern this world, they tried to destroy them. In this way, the Pope sent a crusade to massacre the Cathars. The resistance was immense. In Montségur, 200 believers were sentenced to die at the stake.

Without ever renouncing their faith, they sang until their last breath when the flame was lit under the immense stake. After this genocide, my country was invaded by France. Eight centuries later, there is almost nothing left of this disaster, neither in writing nor images nor objects,

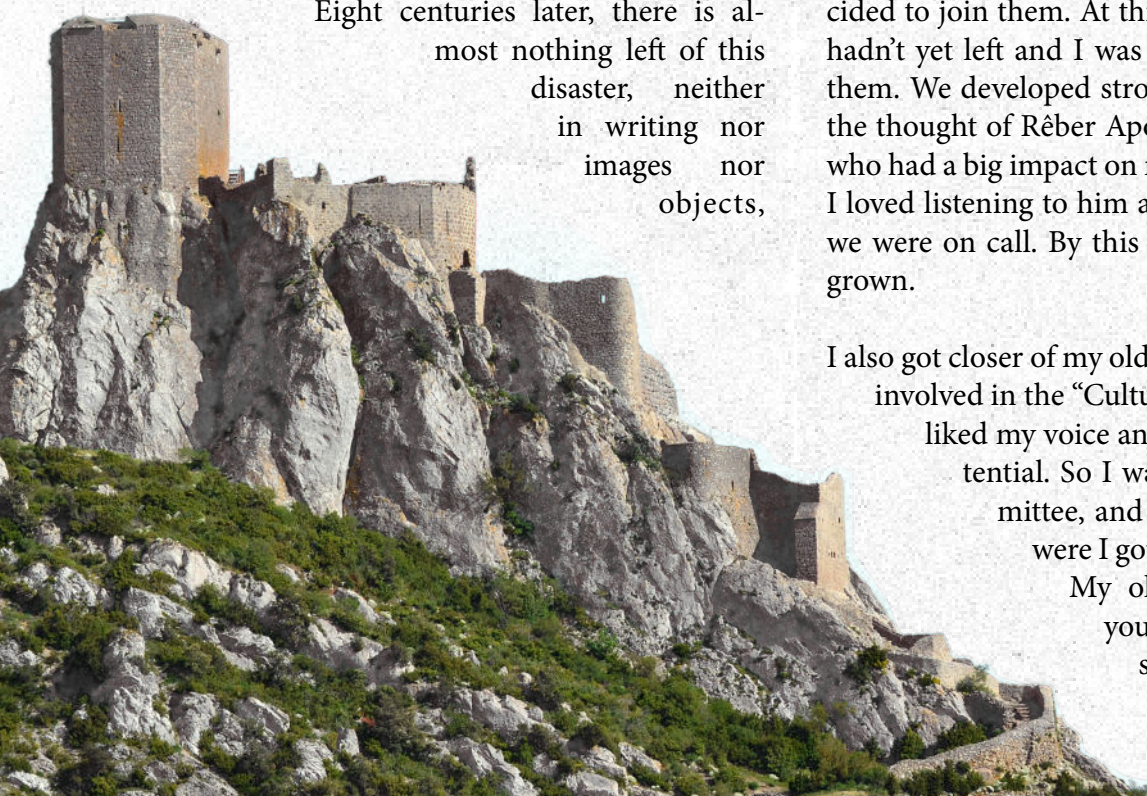
and this religion has been totally annihilated. Even our language is gradually fading away and disappearing. However, some songs have reached us that still bear witness to this time.”

“It’s amazing to think that a song is stronger than a fortified castle. I too would like to write songs that will still be sung a thousand years later. Because with these songs, your Cathars have become immortal. So their values, belief and resistance can continue to be passed down.”

I hum slowly the thousand years old melody, and it’s as if we’re traveling through the ages, carried by the resistance and belief of the people who rebelled. My voice fades then is caught by his. Was it a song? Was it a scream? His voice frees itself from his rib cage, a majestic power that echoes in the mountains.

“My friend, the Şengal’s mountain burns in the mist... It’s a very old song talking about one of the many genocides perpetrated against the Êzidî under the Ottoman empire. I learnt it from a comrade of the Şengal Resistance Units (YBŞ) with whom we used to sing a lot. I joined the YBŞ in 2017 when my family and I returned to Şengal. At this time, the region was full of life following Daesh’s defeat. The autonomous administration of Şengal, that had been set up in 2015 was growing and multiple of committees were flourishing. I had then heard about YBŞ and YJŞ (Şengal Women Units) which were set up to guarantee self defense for the population, and I decided to join them. At this time, the PKK Guerrillas hadn’t yet left and I was sent on training alongside them. We developed strong comradeships based on the thought of Rêber Apo (4). One of the comrades who had a big impact on me was singing all the time. I loved listening to him and singing with him when we were on call. By this way, my love of music has grown.

I also got closer of my older brother Hassan who was involved in the “Culture and Art” committee. He liked my voice and told me I had a lot of potential. So I was asked to join their committee, and I joyfully accepted. This is where I got to know my culture better. My older brother taught many young people from Şengal to sing. I made a lot of pro-



gress by his side. We worked a lot together. We also collected old archives from the region. My brother Hassan formed the group of Koma Çiyayê Şengalê in which I participated. From Şengal to Qandil, we shared our songs in various celebrations. We had also released music clips about the resistance and autonomy of Şengal.

My brother carried out immense work to bring our culture to life here. He worked tirelessly, non-stop. He was so absorbed in work that he sometimes didn't eat all day, he slept little. So much that his stomach ended up being damaged. Step by step he began to feel great pains, he couldn't eat anything, he was exhausted. One day he fainted. I resuscitated him and took him to the hospital of Mosul where he had an operation.

Over the next two years, he underwent several more operations. Doctors eventually diagnosed him with cancer, which spread rapidly..

He fell as a martyr on the 23rd of March 2024, saying goodbye to his family and his friends."

The sun has set. A star burns brightly in the sky, sparkles in my comrade's eyes.

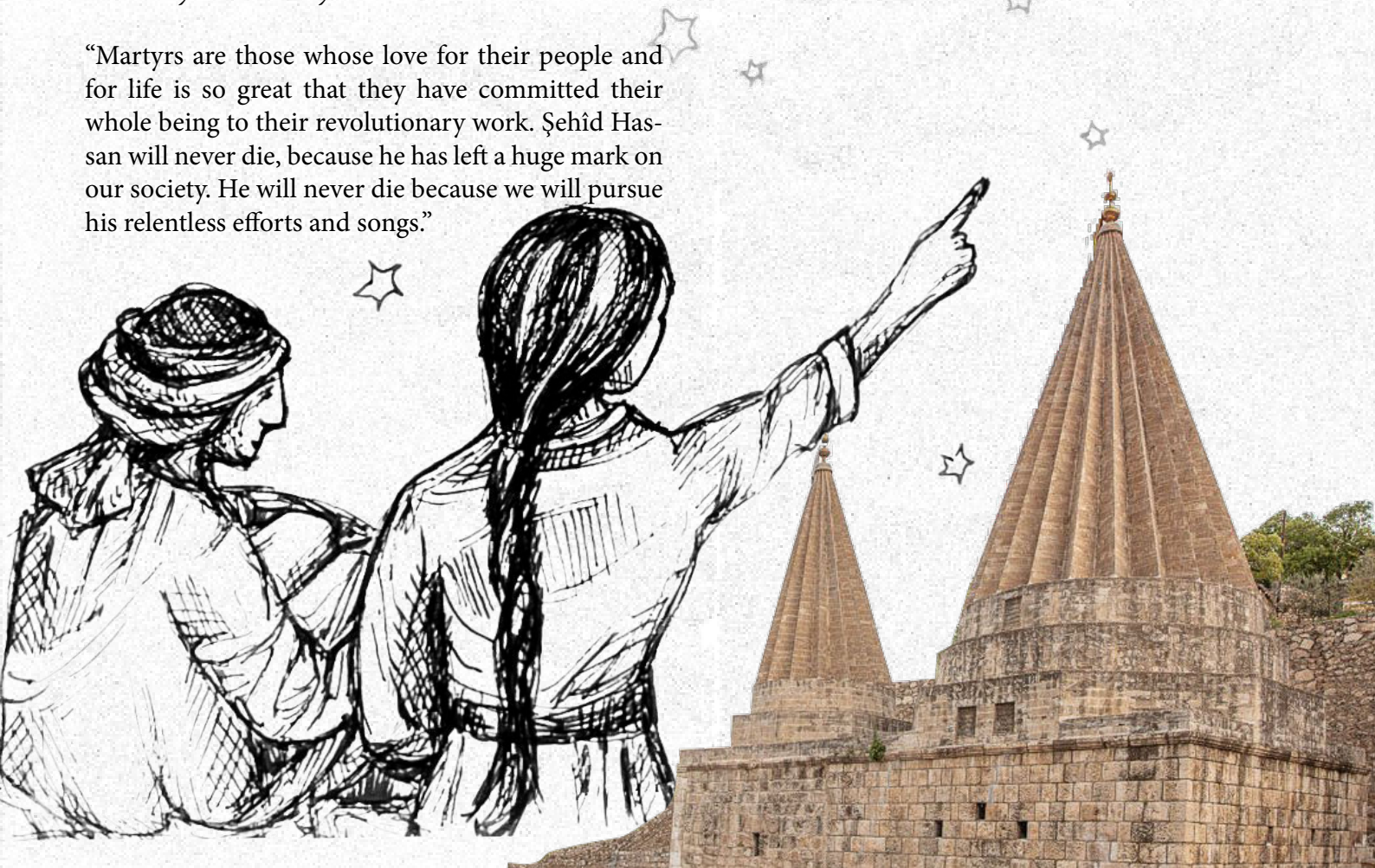
"Martyrs are those whose love for their people and for life is so great that they have committed their whole being to their revolutionary work. Şehîd Hassan will never die, because he has left a huge mark on our society. He will never die because we will pursue his relentless efforts and songs."

1. Şengal is located in the north of Iraq (in South Kurdistan). It is the central place of life for the Ezîdî people. In 2014, genocide was perpetrated by Islamic State mercenaries (ISIS) in Şengal.

2. Ezîdî people are a Kurdish-speaking ethno-religious group originally from Mesopotamia. They are known for following an ancient religion: Êzdiyatî or Ezidism, and for having suffered over 70 genocides and massacres in the course of their history.

3. Occitania refers to the historical territory where the Occitan language is spoken. This includes the southern half of the French state, the Arran valley in Spanish State and around ten valleys in the Italian Alps.

4. Rêber Apo is a name for the people's leader Abdullah Öcalan.





MY REAL LIFE IS ABOUT TO BEGIN TODAY

Honouring the Legacy of Fidayeen Mahal Baloch alias Zilan Kurd, A Symbol of Unity Between the Baloch and Kurdish Nations

Written by Mirain Baloch

This article offers a glimpse into the life of Fidayeen Mahal Baloch, alias Zilan Kurd. In honouring her legacy, we respond to the request of our Kurdish revolutionary comrades to commemorate the symbol of unity between Baloch and Kurdish national liberation struggles. We deeply admire their revolutionary spirit and their aspiration to forge bonds between oppressed nations battling colonialist forces. The sacrifices we endure, and the pain we bear, strengthen our collective consciousness as we march toward liberation.

Fidayeen Mahal Baloch expressed this unity in her revolutionary words when asked about her chosen alias, Zilan Kurd (1). She declared, "I want to convey this message to the activists involved in the struggle for the independence of Kurdistan that we, too, are a brave and fearless nation like them and are engaged in a battle against the enemy for our freedom. I want to inform them about the Baloch national movement through my actions." Her words, and her historic actions, have left an eternal mark on the histories of both the Baloch and Kurdish liberation movements, serving as a powerful emblem of solidarity between these oppressed nations.

Like the Kurdish people, the Baloch nation has endured the scourge of colonization for over a century and a half.

Once an independent and sovereign Nation, Balochistan was first colonized by British imperialists, who reshaped its socio-political and geographical landscape. To solidify their exploitation, Baloch territory was forcibly partitioned, divided among Afghanistan, Iran, and British Balochistan, stripping the Baloch nation of its unity and sovereignty.

In the aftermath of World War II, fearing the rise of international communism, European capitalists and particularly the British conspired to undermine Balochistan's independence. This resulted in the Pakistani occupation of Balochistan on March 28, 1948, marking the beginning of a new chapter in the colonization of Baloch Nation. To this day, imperialist powers, especially expansionist China, support the Pakistani colonial army in its brutal suppression of the Baloch national movement, perpetuating genocide and exploitation.

Despite this, the Baloch people have fiercely resisted. Since the early 2000s, the resistance has intensified, with political and military organizations uniting under a common cause. The Pakistani state has responded with ruthless violence: military offensives, mass graves, enforced disappearances, and the brutal display of mutilated bodies. Among the countless brave souls who stood against this tyranny was Fidayeen Mahal Baloch, a glorious example of resistance and sacrifice.

Born on March 16, 2002, in Surbandan, Gwadar a picturesque fishing village by the shores of Bahr-e-Baloch (Baloch Sea) where Mahal Baloch grew up surrounded by natural beauty and revolutionary uprisings.

Encircled by the sea and Mount Mhedi, life flows calmly, but its people live under the shadow of oppression enduring a silent genocide and ecocide. From a young age, Mahal demonstrated exceptional courage, leadership, and dedication. She began her early education at Oasis School in Gwadar. After completing her Matriculation, she enrolled at the Government Girls Inter College, Gwadar. For higher education, she joined the School of Law at the University of Turbat. Her academic excellence earned her the title of “best student,” while her peers affectionately called her the “favourite among the students” and a “natural leader.”

Mahal was a charming soul with an insatiable thirst for knowledge and a love for reading and writing. Her personal collection of books included revolutionary literature from figures such as Maxim Gorky, Frantz Fanon, Paulo Freire, and Leila Khalid. Reflecting on her passion for reading, she wrote in her diary: “I read passionately because books give us noble thoughts and ideas. Due to constantly reading, revolutionary sentiments within me strengthened, and I became more conscious about my land and my people. This is why reading books plays an important role in our lives.”

She was not only a devoted reader but also an aspiring writer. Mahal enjoyed narrating fictional stories, collecting old Balochi folk tales, and writing about the natural beauty surrounding her. Her deep connection to Mother Nature inspired much of her personal diary, where she

captured the essence of her beloved homeland. She also had a creative side that brought joy to her companions. Mahal handcrafted colorful cards, keychains from threads, and beautiful objects made from seashells, which she lovingly gifted to her comrades on birthdays and special occasions. From a young age, she displayed a passion for collecting unique items, such as handicrafts, letters, autographs, and seashells, cherishing the small wonders of life.

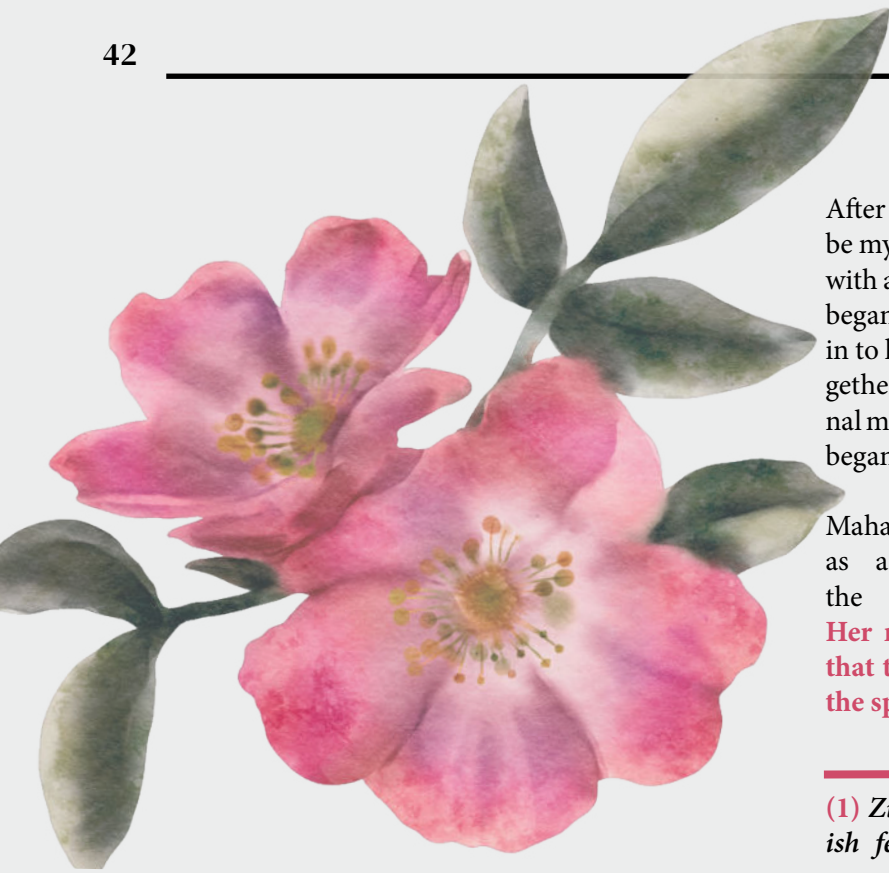
Living in a colonial society where patriarchy and oppression are manifested by colonial structures, Mahal reflected on the societal barriers she faced as a young girl: “My favourite sport is football. My father and grandpa were both footballers. It was my wish to become a footballer, knowing that no one will help me because we live in such a society where girls are not encouraged to play football. Sometimes we have to follow society, and I know this wish will never come true. Sometimes our wishes remain incomplete.”

Mahal’s writings offer thoughtful and compelling wisdom about her revolutionary journey. She wrote: “I hate oppression and subjugation, which have turned my nation into misery and suffering. We are not given our rights within our land. Day in and day out, we are forced into oppression. I love liberation—the liberation after which my entire nation can live in peace and sovereignty within their land.”

Witnessing the injustices faced by Baloch and oppressed peoples of the world deeply shaped Mahal’s consciousness. She saw the elderly humiliated, the youth abducted, and intellectuals, writers, and educators brutally murdered. Among the many tragedies she endured was the martyrdom of her beloved teacher and school founder, Sir Zahid Askani Baloch, a visionary educator who was assassinated by the Pakistani military and its secret services. Such events ignited in Mahal a fiery determination to fight for her nation’s dignity and freedom.

In her personal reflections, recorded in her diary, Mahal laid bare the anguish of her people: “The oppressors have snatched all happiness from the lives of the Baloch. Today, every Baloch household is in mourning. The misery and suffering that a Baloch endures are unimaginable. With each passing day, a son is abducted, and their mutilated bodies are discarded. Witnessing such brutalities, my tears have dried up; I can weep no more. Yet, I remain hopeful that the days of oppression are nearing their end. Every Baloch—children, men, women, and youth—will come together to craft a solution. A new dawn will break soon.” This combination of love and hatred defined Mahal’s revolutionary journey: love for her people and hatred for their oppressors.





Mahal Baloch, along with her eight Fidayeen comrades of the Majeed Brigade (Baloch Liberation Army's self-sacrificing unit), initiated Operation Herof (Black Storm) on 25th of August 2024, the deadliest operation in terms of scale and intensity in the history of the Baloch national struggle against Pakistani occupiers. Martyr Fidayee Mahal Baloch following in the footsteps of her predecessors, the brave Baloch women Fidayee Shari Baloch and Fidayee Summaiya Qalandrani Baloch, joined the Baloch Liberation Army in 2022 and, after a year, dedicated her services to the Majeed Brigade. Mahal Baloch began Operation Herof by driving a six-hundred-kilogram explosive-laden car to the Bela Headquarters of the Pakistani Army, targeting the central gate of the camp. This decisive act enabled her fellow Fidayeen to breach the enemy camp with ease. Due to her timely and effective blow to the colonialist forces, the other brave sons of Baloch Nation managed to capture and hold key positions within the army headquarters for over twenty hours.

A few hours before the start of Operation Herof, all the Fidayeen (self-sacrificing fighters) sat together, chatting and sharing their thoughts. Fidayee Junaid Zehri asked the group, "What does life mean to you?" Each Fidayee responded to the question in their own way. Finally, Fidayee Mahal Baloch replied, "The life before this wasn't life. My real life is about to begin today."

After a brief pause, Mahal added, "I want my last meal to be my favorite biryani, which I will cook myself and share with all my fellow Fidayeen." Smiling, Mahal stood up and began preparing the biryani, with all the Fidayeen joining in to help her. They laughed and talked as they cooked together. When the biryani was ready, they shared it as their final meal, cherishing the moment together. Afterward, they began their preparations and embarked on the mission.

Mahal Baloch's life, actions, and legacy serve as a symbol of the resolute solidarity between the Baloch and Kurdish liberation movements. **Her message resonates across borders, reminding us that the fight for justice and freedom is universal, and the spirit of resistance knows no bounds ●**

(1) Zilan was the alias of Zeynep Kınacı, a young Kurdish female militant of the PKK that, without telling anyone of what she was planning, carried out a successful self-sacrificial attack against Turkish soldiers on the 30th of June 1996. The action was a turning point for the Kurdish Freedom Movement and the letters she wrote explaining her action became a "manifesto for life" that inspired generations of young people, especially young women, to fight for their freedom.



LETTERS FROM TWO *freedom fighters* TO THEIR FAMILIES

Fascism didn't start yesterday, and neither did the anti-fascist resistance. Faced with the modern fascism that emerged in the 1920s in the form of Benito Mussolini's regime, a revolutionary resistance developed at the same time, insisting on humanity and free life. Decades after the Partisan-led war that led to Italy's liberation, fascism is once again on the rise, both in Europe and around the world. If we go a few hundred kilometers east of Italy, we can see that fascism never ceased to exist throughout the 20th century on the soil of the Turkish state. Despite changing its shape and colour over time, fascism is firmly existing today in the form of the AKP regime led by Erdoğan.

From the heart of resistance in the face of oppression we share with you here two letters written by two young female anti-fascist fighters to their respective families.

Anty, nom de guerre of 33 years old Irma Marchiani, in spite of her weak health and after months operating as a courier and informer, she joined the Battalion Matteotti as a fighter in the spring of 1944. Always ready to protect the lives of her comrades and appreciated and respected for her audacity, tenacity and empathy, she was named deputy chief of her division. Following her capture by the Nazis, she became a martyr on the 26 of November 1944. Nevertheless, she fell with certainty of the future that her brother Pietro and little sister Pally would live in: a free home, redeemed from the fascist shame.

On 23 October 2024, as the war continued in all parts of Kurdistan, PKK guerrilla fighters Rojger Hêlîn and Asya Alî carried out an action against TUSAŞ, an arms factory owned by the Turkish state. This company is responsible for the production of drones, helicopters and aircraft used directly in the war against the Kurdish people. The two fighters carried out their action knowing that they would be martyred in the process, writing letters to their comrades and families in advance. **Born in 1989, Asya Alî, the only daughter in a family of four children, grew up in Izmir.** Several decades after the Italian fighter Anty, she too joined the anti-fascist resistance, fighting for the peoples liberation. In 2015 she joined the PKK and later the 'Şehîd Zilan Battalion', an unit within the guerilla forces known for their self-sacrifice actions.



LETTER FROM ITALIAN PARTISAN ANTY

Sestola, 10 August 1944

Dearest Piero, my beloved brother,

The action that I take today, an action that has been coming for a long time, requires me to write you these lines. I am sure you will understand, because you know very well the will that I possess. I follow my thinking, the ideals that once upon a time our own grandfather felt. I am already part of a Formation, and my commander truly has a lot of belief and trust in me. I hope to be useful; I hope that I will not disappoint my superiors.

My choice doesn't surprise you, am I right? I am sure this would be your choice also, if only so many things did not assault you. Well, one of the family is enough and that someone is me. When I received a letter from Pally after I invited her here, she also answered me: "What right do I have to escape the common danger?". It is true, but I did not remain here to stay calm, but because my soul and heart love this village.

But now everything is sad, the events unfolding cover even the most beautiful things with a sad veil. In my heart bloomed the idea (unfortunately shared by too few) that everyone must give their support. This call is something so strong, something that I feel so deeply, that after arranging a couple of things I can depart content.

"You have something in your eyes that tell me you will be able to lead", the commander told me, "Your mind is your greatest credit, I never dreamed of enlisting a woman, but you I did"

And yet he had seen me only two times. I will do my duty, if Fate will leave me with the gift of life, I will be happy, if not please don't cry for me. I ask you just one thing: don't think of me as a bad little sister. I am a creature of action and my spirit needs to wander, but all towards high and beautiful ideals.

You know it well my dearest brother, that below my calm expression (quiet maybe?) is concealed a soul that strives to reach something. Stillness is not for me. Maybe the years that passed by restrained my body, but my will was never inert. God made it so I was readier than ever today.

Think of me dear Pietro, and bless me. Now I know you are in danger, after all that is the case everywhere nowadays,

So I salute you and kiss you so so much and cuddle you tightly,

Your Sister, Armiger

LETTER FROM PKK FREEDOM FIGHTER **ASYA ALÎ**

TO MY FAMILY

I can imagine you'll be shocked by the news. But if you've understood me even a little bit during our time together, you should know that my joining the party and my struggle afterwards would not be ordinary, that I would always want more, I would always want the best. I always told you that if I didn't join the PKK, I would blame you for the rest of my life and I wouldn't be happy and I would make you unhappy. Because you've always demonstrated your love as an obstacle to me. True love, on the other hand, requires the creation of a space where your beloved person can live freely. So I want you to know that my love for you reached its true essence after joining the PKK.

You must understand that the effort that you gave me, above all your discipline and morality, has led me to choose a life of freedom. To be worthy of you was to fight for you. If you really love me, as you've always said, then keep fighting. Resist the enemy not just to the extent of your strength but with all your will, and never cry for me. Your crying humiliates me as it does not glorify me. This will be your first battle with the enemy.

I'm going to ask you two things. First, raise my nephews with their own language, their own identity. They should not feel the lack that I felt and they should know Rebertî, the PKK. Second, bury me in any graveyard of şehids, even if there is only a tiny bit left of me. I only sleep peacefully with my comrades. You may lose one daughter, I have lost hundreds of comrades. I hope you understand me.

My dear mother, forgive me for not being able to spend too much time with you and caring with you as your only daughter. I was always comfortable thinking that my father and my brothers were caring for you. But I realized within the Party, among my female comrades, that the need of women for other women, and for women discussing with women cannot be fulfilled by anyone else. So, when I know that you can build everything that you couldn't with me with the women around you, it will be the best gift for me.

As long as you remember me, I am with you, but you will have a stand according to my struggle and remember that all my comrades are your children. I am also a child of thousands of families of şehids. At the level you understand me, I'm with you.

Apoistic Greetings and Respect

Asya Ali

11 November 2022

What happened in history?



15th February 1999 [Kenya]

On this day, Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), was kidnapped in Kenya in an operation conducted by various intelligence agencies, including those of Turkey, the US and Israel. Since then, he has been held on the island of Imrali in solitary confinement. Over the years, the fight for his release has been a central work of various organisations, to put an end to what is described as an international conspiracy against the Kurdistan Liberation Movement and the People's liberation of Middle East.



17th February 1942 [USA]

Huey P. Newton, one of the founders of the Black Panther Party, was born on this day in Monroe, Louisiana. His participation in the party involved armed patrols to protect black people from the police: 'Many people in the community couldn't believe at first that we only had their interest in mind. No one ever gave them support or assistance when the police harassed them, but here we were, proud black men, armed with guns and knowledge of the law.' He also developed the concepts of Revolutionary Intercommunalism as an alternative to Black Nationalism and strongly opposed sexism and homophobia in the context of radical movements.



11st March 1845 [Aotearoa]

The battle of Kororāreka took place in Aotearoa (New Zealand) when Māori rebels defeated British forces and seized the town (now called Russell) during the Northern war. Some of the Ngāpuhi people were not accepting the growing British colonial authority in the area, which was exemplified when the British Union Jack flag replaced the flag of the Māori United Tribes flag flying over Kororāreka.



18th March 1871 [France]

The revolutionary government of the Paris Commune took power. The Commune ruled Paris for two months, with progressive social democracy policies. Feminist, socialist, communist and anarchist ideas played important roles in the Commune. In the same time, uprising started in other cities of the french State and communes were declared in Marseille, Saint-Etienne, Narbonne, Toulouse, Perpignan, Grenoble, Bordeaux and Nîmes. Because of the military repression they were defeated after few days. Today, 18th March is, in memory of the martyrs and prisoners of the Paris Commune, the International Day of Political Prisoners.



26th March 1953 [Kenya]

Mau Mau guerrillas, fighting against British colonialism in Kenya, attacked the Naivasha police station. They inflicted a humiliating defeat on the police and freed 173 prisoners, many of them Mau Mau, from an adjacent detention camp. Although the uprising was eventually suppressed with mass repression and mass killings by British forces, independence was achieved a few years later.

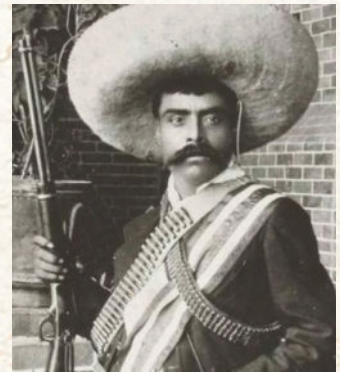
30th March 2018 [Palestine]

On this day, a sequence of massive protests, also known as the Great March of Return, began in Gaza, Palestine. The population demanded the right of return for refugees to their ancestral lands, which are now settled in what is formally recognised as 'Israel'. They also demanded an end to the blockade of Gaza. Despite their peaceful strategy, Zionist forces executed several Palestinians. Support for armed resistance increased significantly after these marches.



10th April 1919 [Mexico]

On this day, Emiliano Zapata, peasant leader during the Mexican revolution of Nahua Indigenous and Spanish descent, was assassinated in Chinameca, Ayala, by the "revolutionary" Carranza government. Early in life, he began to advocate for the rights of Indigenous peoples in Morelos when he saw wealthy landowners continually stealing their land, with no response from the government. So he began taking part in armed land occupations. With the outbreak of revolution in 1910, Zapata became the leader of the Liberation Army of the South. The force was a peasant militia fighting for "tierra y libertad" (land and freedom), a slogan they adopted from Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón.



19th April 1945 [Italy]

In Italy, the CLN (National Liberation Committee) called for an insurrection to force the Nazi and Fascist forces to 'surrender or perish'. Italian partisans and Allied troops liberated Bologna on 21 April, Parma and Reggio Emilia on 24 April, and Milan, Turin and Genoa on 25 April. On 25 April, while trying to escape, Mussolini was arrested and executed along with his mistress Clara Petacci.



25th April 1974 [Portugal]

In Portugal, the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) took control of various structures in the country in a coup that overthrew the fascist dictatorship that had ruled for decades. The date marked the beginning of a difficult and controversial revolutionary process (PREC), characterised by various instances of popular control over factories, neighbourhood councils and an intense political struggle, including that of the women's movements. Although not always described as such, the Carnation Revolution began in the colonies of the Portuguese Empire. The revolutionary process was brought to an end by another coup (25 November 1975) that installed a liberal democracy in the country, driven by the influence of various external powers.



26th April 2022 [Balochistan]

On this day, Shari Baloch carried out a self-sacrifice bombing near the Confucius Institute at the University of Karachi. She was the first female martyr of the Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA). The attack killed three Chinese academics and their driver, in the context of the growing influence of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, increasing the population's fears about the continuing deprivation of resources in their homeland. The 30-year-old fighter marked the beginning of the 'era of women's active participation in the armed struggle'.



Internationalist Youth In Action

**All over the world the youth is reclaiming the initiative!
Here we compile some of the actions that took place from
November 2024 to January 2025.**



GERMANY

Young internationalists unfurled a huge banner on a statue symbolising peace with the slogan: 'Refuse World War 3 - no medium-range missiles in Germany - no Eurofighters in Kurdistan.'



ZIMBABWE

A young man from Zimbabwe opened a picture of the leader of the freedom-seeking people, Leader Apo, in front of the Turkish consulate, condemning the isolation. "Until Mr. Öcalan is free, until the Kurdish people are free, we will not rest, we will not stop".





SARDINIA

Young Sardinian internationalists spoke at the seminar about the history of Kurdistan, the women's liberation movement and the importance of Leader Öcalan for young women all over the world. Sardinia has been systematically occupied and used by different forces for centuries. The Sardinian language has been devalued and thousands of years of culture suppressed. Young Sardinians have been inspired by the Kurds' struggle for their identity; to protect their language, culture and history.



INDONESIA

Indonesian and Papua youth shared a public call: "Öcalan is not just a political prisoner—he is a symbol of the struggle of oppressed peoples, a thinker who shaped the ideas of radical democracy, social ecology, and women's liberation.

As long as he remains imprisoned, none of us are truly free."



ALGERIA

Dozens of activists, including Greta Thunberg, who attended the Sahrawi Solidarity Summit, expressed their support for the Rojava revolution and solidarity. The Sahrawi Solidarity Summit takes place in the Sahrawi refugee camps in southern Algeria.



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

Lêgerîn's film recommendation

BLACK SKIN WHITE MASKS

This documentary gives us a detailed insight on the works and influence of Frantz Fanon, his life and his special view on the colonized mentality.

With this recommendation, we also want to inspire you to read his books and to think about our struggles as a continuation of his analysis. We have to fight not only against fascism but to bring forward total freedom from the oppression and colonization of humanity, which has been going on for thousands of years.

The movie explains in depth the theory and biography of the anti-colonialist revolutionary Frantz Fanon, the writer of "Black Skin White Masks". In 1925, he is born in Martinique, a French colony, which is later ruled by a close accomplice of Hitler: Admiral Georges Robert. Fanon realizes quickly that the Black enslaved people of his society have a very complex problem in addition to the constant violence of the oppressor: Their consciousness is enslaved as well. In his first book, which he wrote at the young age of 27, he analyses the mind of the oppressed. He describes the way in which the colonizers have implemented their racism and absolute control into the view of Black slaves on the world and on themselves. The absolute colonization of the thoughts is affecting the oppressor and the oppressed at the same time: The master cannot think himself without the slave. The slave finds his reality only in relation to his master.

We see the important role that Frantz Fanon had in the liberation struggle of the colonized nations, which continued even after physical independence was reached. Black people, as Fanon writes, took on the role of the oppressor for themselves and for each other. They are wearing "white masks" because they cannot find their true identity apart from the European racist approach.

This struggle applies not only to colonial contexts back in time, but also to our situation today: How can we free our consciousness from what has been taught to us? In which ways are we keeping ourselves from becoming free? Especially in confrontation with new fascist strategies we

need to take bigger steps towards developing our truth. We cannot accept the truth that is given to us by the imperialist regimes. How can we find our own identity as youth, as young women and as society as a whole? Frantz Fanon has played an influential role in answering these questions. As a psychiatrist, he saw the mental impact of colonial violence in the fighters of the liberation as well as in the soldiers of the colonialist state. He helps us understand how the violent uprisings of the colonized people is an act of love for the world, both to free the oppressor and the oppressed from a hateful system. In all of Frantz Fanon's life and work we recognize this will to live. The destructive violence of the colonizer's army and racist education, on the other hand, is bringing forward total the death of nature, of values, of consciousness and of humanity. In the history of Frantz Fanon's life it is visible how his experiences have led him to the conclusion that to free yourself is to kill the colonizer within you, as well as the colonizer in your homeland:

"TO SHOOT DOWN A EUROPEAN IS TO KILL TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE, TO DESTROY AN OPPRESSOR AND THE MAN HE OPPRESSES AT THE SAME TIME: THERE REMAIN A DEAD MAN, AND A FREE MAN"

FRANTZ FANON
*"The Wretched
 of the Earth"*
 (preface from
 Jean-Paul Sartre)



Who are we? Lêgerîn is a world-wide media platform built by and for the internationalist revolutionary youth. Its ideological line is connected to the paradigm of Democratic Modernity, developed by Abdullah Öcalan from the ongoing revolution in Kurdistan. Democratic Modernity is a third way, against neoliberal capitalism and fascism that are feeding each other and attacking the whole humanity through imperialist wars, exploitation, destruction of life and society's values. Capitalist Modernity is global and organized, so the fight back should also be!



Organize local distribution:

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

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



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

Internal Work:

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

How to support? Lêgerîn is built jointly with the participation of hundreds of people who share their knowledge, effort and resources and are part of one of our work areas voluntarily or actively participate in the network for the production and distribution of our materials. Until now, Legerin has been known in the form of a magazine, but now, under this same identity, we are developing new projects and audiovisual media. Without the effort and the communal organization of the work, Lêgerîn could not exist. Especially for the phase of creating new projects in which we are as well as to make a more effective management of the magazine itself, we are currently looking for people who can carry out works.

Financial support and partnership:


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

Where are we from? How was life before capitalism?

Return to our roots to open up the future - let's research the reality of our ancestors in our cities and villages to find the democratic basis of society.

**YOUTH RESEARCH GROUPS:
Download it online!**



A group of young women, likely members of a youth organization, are marching in a rural village. They are wearing dark brown shirts, green trousers, green caps, and black face masks. Some have red scarves. They are carrying rifles. In the background, there are traditional thatched-roof houses, utility poles, and mountains under a blue sky with clouds. Other people are visible in the distance.

History is not over as
long as the youth are
fighting.

Lêgerîn

The magazine of the internationalist youth