

### **EDITORIAL**

fter the call for Peace and Democratic Society by Abdullah Öcalan, new developments in the political process have been made in Syria and practical steps taken in order to protect civil society and stop attacks by the Turkish state. Despite the continuing attacks by mercenaries and Turkish drones, the Autonomous Administration insisted on finding solutions for a democratic future of the country. This is not a utopia, but it is the current situation in northern Syria. It is not the result of geopolitical calculations by the imperialist powers, but a reflection of their defeat. It is the fruit of a heroic struggle by a people who are united, organised and in permanent resistance.

The positive developments in Syria are also the embodiment of the appeal of the people's leader Abdullah Öcalan: nothing can prevent democratic society, organised at all levels and self-aware, from bringing peace to the chaos of the Third World War. After weeks of insisting on the path of war, the Turkish state is now forced to take concrete steps towards a political and legal resolution of the Kurdish question.

calan's appeal is a message to all societies around the world: develop your own organisations, your own democratic policies, your own will! His messages on 8th March and on the march to Amara (the village where Abdullah Öcalan was born) provide compass points for women and young people around the world, representing the vanguard of social change.

In this new issue of Lêgerîn we want to ask what obstacles prevent us as young women and men from using our full potential. What are the problems we face on a daily basis that hold us back in our path

# The young people's march is a march towards freedom

towards freedom? As Öcalan says in his message to young people: "Socialism means society, communalism. Socialism means socialization. This is called communal, socialist politics. This is achieved by organizing. Organization is the most important job." Anything that prevents us from living a communal life and being organised must be seen as attacks by the system to isolate us and render us weak. Drugs, depression, sexist mentality, economic insecurity, liberal lifestyles... these are all symptoms of the system's offensive against the revolutionary spirit of young people.

Therefore we want to share with you, with a perspective from every continent, the problems that young people face in their daily lives, but also the concrete solutions that are being put in place: a house of learning based on the ideas of the people's leader Öcalan and the Jineoloji in Papua, a return to the land and the construction of cooperatives in Kenya, a neighbourhood assembly in Chile, the resistance against forced exile in Sicily and the self-organisation of young peoples Councils in Rojava throughout Syria.

In the face of World War 3, let's strengthen our unity, our organisation and our determination as young people. The march of youth towards freedom is unstoppable!

### Lêgerîn Magazine

The cover illustration was done by Alexandra Lêgerîn. Thanks to her for this work and thanks to all the illustrators.



### Contents.

<b>Editorial and Contents</b>	2	Learning house: Liru Kunume	
m 1 c 1 c		Rio Kogoya	25
<b>Towards a free life</b> Abdullah Öcalan	4		
Abdullari Ocalari	+	The Youth and the Revolution in the new	
Organized self-defense		<b>Syria</b> Interview with Nadiya Yusif	29
Internationalist Young Women Perspective	8	interview with ready a rush	
		The collective liberation of the young	
Today more then ever: If not now, when?		women	
Internationalist Youth Perspective	11	Mizgîn Avzem	33
What keeps the youth from struggling?		Fight liberalism!	
Introduction to the dossier	14	Paolo Barontini	37
			0.
The journey of a young Kenyan		A journey to the Zapatista community	
Wachira Nyaga	15	Collective caracteresnoexistentes	40
The fighting youth of our time		The martyr of light - Şehîd Ronahî Yekta	
Territorial Assembly of Juan Antonio Ríos	19	Pelîn Zozan	43
·		1 6411 2 62411	
Against forced exile, youth resistance		What happened in History?	46
in Sicily! Spine nel Fianco	22		
Spirie riet i iarico	22	Youth In Action	48
My Basic Principle is a Magnificent Life		Capernaum - The City of Hope - Movie	50
with You!		The training of the provide	00
Oth march massage from Ögalan	22		

### WHAT KEEPS THE YOUTH FROM STRUGGLING?

## TOWARDS A FRE LIFE

### What kind of death I am against and what kind of life I reject?

An evaluation made by Abdullah Öcalan in the 1990s

reat revolutions do not arise amongst the advanced civilisations. Those who do not have to fight for their position do not feel the need to make a revolution. As far as I remember, I know myself as a person who has difficulty liking himself. Even the people I represent - or try to represent - I could not and cannot accept as they are. When I remember my childhood, it is my rejective attitude that first comes to mind. This strong rejection does not only exist on an emotional level. It is rather a non-acceptance of the reasons and circumstances causing the deep downfall of a community. This fact shaped the development of my personality, first in my family and in the village, then in my later life. I still cannot accept this people and its population today: they have found themselves in a situation that is simply unacceptable. The result is something very repulsive, a severe lethargy, a severe defeat.

When I share my memories, things may become easier to understand. What a misfortune to come from this people. A misfortune too, to come from this village, from this family. I say this not to slander or devalue my own reality, but to disclose my background. Revolutionaries must be loyal to their own reality. How can anyone who has lost touch with one's own reality be a revolutionary? Doesn't one have to question this person's humanity altogether? When I recognised my disastrous reality during my childhood, I asked myself typical questions: Can I save myself? Can I reject myself? Childish dreams... I then wished



I had another family, I belonged to another nation. If only my parents were different! If only I had been born in another society!

I can remember that I often had such questions and thoughts. But at some point I realised that there was no escape, that there must be no escape. The only decisive thing was the basic fact... The dreams and wishes of being different were not allowed to play a big role. What can one do in this state of being helpless? In a people's reality without sublime values, one is already in the joy of self-denial, already accepting the state of damnation, lagging behind the development of humankind... Life is anything other than worth living. This village seems paralysed, everything national, everything social has almost

completely dissolved. And in this village, there is this family, which can only sustain itself economically with a lot of effort. How did I feel about this time of my childhood? What were the influences I reacted to?

## There are not too many memories, but my first steps were those of rebellion.

I remember that I started looking for friendship very early on. Strangely enough, I always found only interest in a child with whose family my own was in an irreconcilable dispute. Our families raised us in such a way that we were prepared to continue this conflict later on, and to protect our family honour which meant our destruction. I don't know whether my pursuit in contacting with this child is a sign of intelligence or whether it derives from the need to defend myself. I had a simple desire to start a friendship with this child. Hasan became my friend, later he fell in a very unfortunate way as a martyr. This friendship with him was my first secret 'organisation', which I had to hide from my family. I remember that I was very happy to walk with my friend as soon as we left the village. But once my grandmother saw us and she shouted at my mother: "This child of yours will become one without honour!" Despite all that, I didn't betray my friend. Even under the pressure of social norms, I continued and deepened this friendship, though in a different form.

I began to oppose one of the most important feudalist principles; I do not want to live according to the prescribed laws, not according to the rules of the father or mother - that is how I made my earliest revolutions.

When I took my first steps into the bourgeois society of this Kemalist republic, I had little self- confidence, no big goals. I felt the same helplessness, the loneliness of this society. But I also saw the need to start down the wrong path. Although I did not see any real opportunity for advancement, I forced myself to climb the social ladder step by step. In schools, I finished every year as the best. Until I graduated from university, I didn't understand anything about this

education, I didn't accept anything - but I was always first. It must have been some kind of inner resistance. With the language of the system successfully overcoming the system - but in reality not believing in it, not wanting to know anything about it. That, too, is a way of fighting that I still use today. Some words I speak in a language that everyone understands, but I have my own understanding when it comes to life. I don't think those words mean anything to me. I do not agree with the contents of that path and feel that it was an act of destruction against my own identity.

### This is where the revolutionary begins to develop: to adapt when necessary, but never to betray one's own spirit.

However we must not sell out thoughts and basic ideas, such things are necessary for the interests of one's own people. In a state in which the individual could sell oneself to the system a hundred times a day, one does not do so for the sake of personal pride.

What can be concluded from this is that if the family of humankind regards you as non-existent, if you cannot raise your voice against all the injustice, and yet in this situation you do not sell your soul in order to protect human honour - if you are able to do that, you can set many things in motion. If there are to be accurate analyses about my person, this link could be a part of it. I am still in the situation of not being able to describe myself sufficiently, comprehensively enough...

It is very difficult not to fall in the face of this denial, the pressure, and to stay upright, to keep oneself on one's feet, and not to lose oneself. A really great personality must understand how to go ahead without falling down. For others, the Kurdish person can be a strong bearer of burdens, a very good wife, a very good husband. For others, the Kurdish persons can be a very good soldier, a very good commander. For others, the Kurdish person can be a good worker and servant, even a good intellectual or a good craftsperson. But when it comes to one's own identity, to one's own liberation, the Kurdish person says: "I am not in." That is the tragedy.

We say: "You can't just live the way you think. We want to convince you of the basic principles of life." This is our biggest fight. Of course, I determine the way, the pace, the approach, that is my freedom. My legitimation for this is everything I learned in the 'Union of Humankind'. It gives me the certainty that the pressure I am putting on is absolutely necessary and, above all, very justified. In this respect, I can trust myself until the end. My observations have led me very quickly to results; therein, I have gained a great advantage.

Just as I have gained strength in the area of language, I have also gained strength in the area of action and involvement. Of course I had to learn – if I compare the present time with the time of my weakness – to use this strength correctly. A personality who, as a child, feels a great weakness towards all social values and develops into a position of strength can be assumed to be able to fulfil a leadership role. It is not so important if that is the case with me. I often think about what I am as a human being and what the issue of 'leadership' means. It's true that I insist on being human. This can be based on the reality of the people or the reality of a person – ultimately choosing to be human.

When I first met someone who could be in a completely different position today, he told me: "I can remember you like a friend from my childhood." I was surprised by his statement. Actually, with that he got the reality. He, who was alienated from himself by the political reality, saw in me only his childhood friend. With that, he said something essential about me. This man could see me as a modest, simple man. This is an important indication of a fundamental characteristic of leadership. At the same time, he saw in me a friend from his childhood. This also means that in a leadership position one must not deny or reject one's distant, earliest childhood. Even more generalised: One must be in the possession of humankind oneself. Every person, regardless of nationality, gender, social and political level, must be able to see a part of their own self in you. I think every person who makes a similar assessment expects a little humanity from us. It pleases me very much that I can live up to this wish a little.

# I am very impressed that there are still people who want to understand the other and who want to find something in the other – it gives me hope.

I am not interested in the material situation of our age. Nor does it fall within my field of interest - how strong a nation is, which name is strongest, how the economy is developing on a global scale. My interests are very valuable to those who have lost human values and are again searching for solutions to the problems of humanity. I feel proud of those who break free from highly developed social and material conditions and come here. In this step I see real humanity. The people, who leave their secure situation in the system, who do not value a life in which they could have fulfilled their material desires, are also important to me - initially regardless of which class they belong to. Unfortunately, there aren't that many of them. More people support vulgar materialism than one might think. This vulgar materialism finds its expression in the weakness of one's own nation, one's own class, whether as oppressed or as oppressor, whether as exploiter or as exploited, but also in the weakness of one's own family, in the weakness in relation to oneself. This is what is generally lived; but what they call human or humanity is exactly the opposite.

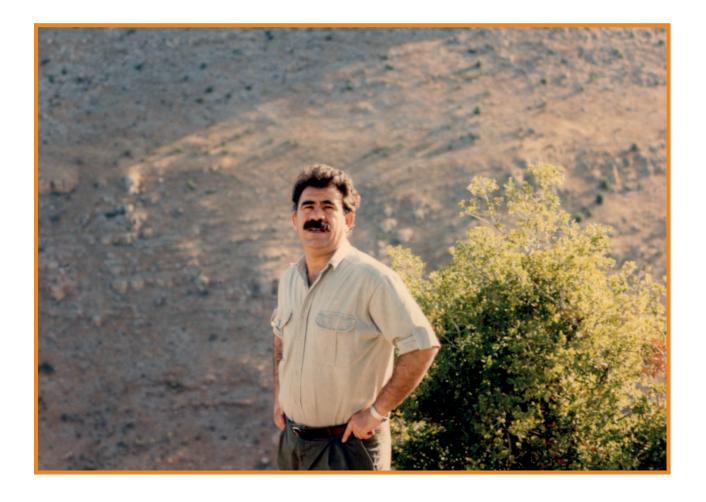
All friends and comrades who want to understand my dialectic of life must understand the following: what kind of death I am against and what kind of life I reject. When I ask: "What to do? How to live?", then I have the whole world against me. This population itself and all comrades are against us. The difficult problem – that which I have to solve as a leader – lies exactly at this point. If humanity, or some of its representatives, had understood this intolerable life of this people and had taken action, I would not need to do anything. And if this people would recognise its own problems, its own suffering and not let itself be so humiliated, I would not have intervened so massively.

No doubt I'm not doing this for myself. I try to convey these feelings, for which we are fighting here, to the population and to other interested people. Will there also be people from other parts of the world who see themselves as friends, or who want to become our comrades? Our desire and our actions are themselves a solution. We will not make ordinary calls for friendship. You can't win any good friends and comrades with that anyway. But if there are people who carry this desire in their hearts, they should know that we put our unlimited power and strength at their service. That can be a person or a people. This is not the place to call for support and solidarity with 'requests'. That's no sense of greatness either - if you want to be great, fight a great fight. Such people have existed in history, and I believe they will continue to exist in the future.

For me, it would be sufficient if one or two friends of each nation, of each people, were to be found who approach us

# in this way, but under the condition that they really want to wage a great struggle.

If they have this goal, they should analyse themselves a little and if possible develop their own actions. The name of my party, the name of my people is redundant here. Those who want to give something to humankind cannot think in terms of 'I'. They cannot approve of these traits, of these characters. At this point, I'm trying very hard. These people are very much appreciated by us in this respect. If they understand us correctly in this respect and if they stand as friends and comrades within their own population, if they make themselves understandable and comprehensible to it, if this people learns from them to understand other peoples - then I firmly believe that I can also be for other peoples what I am for my own. At this point, I have great faith in myself. If we develop our future efforts after this evaluation, we can, even if delayed, develop a good example of friendship. Coming here is an important sign of friendship, it shows a link in the chain of friendship



# OUR ANSWER IS ORGANIZED SELF-DEFENSE!



### **Internationalist Young Women Perspective**

Women Commune of Rojava, send greetings to all the young women in the world. In a sexist system that aims for the domination of the whole world, through the oppression and exploitation of women's bodies, cultures and values, the life of any young woman is a resistance by itself.

We are writing these perspectives while entering into a new politically historical phase. In the recently published calls of Abdullah Öcalan, he made clear that women and especially young women have to play a central role in the democratic transformation of the society; leading the people out of this situation of chaos and violence. In the calls, especially the ones that he addressed to women on the 8th of March, and again later to the youth, Leader Apo, Öcalan, affirms again that young women have the knowledge, the emotions and the strength to play this important role.

Now our question is this: we, as young internationalist women, how much do we really believe we have the capacity to play this role? How much do we see ourselves as a leading force of change and creation? How much do we recognize the perspectives of Leader Apo in our lives and our realities? In a time where violence waged against humanity by the im-

moral capitalist and imperialist forces is reaching its highest level, without limit, the democratic forces must take a strong stance in defense of freedom and democratic values. While doing so, we must work to better understand the root causes of our social and political problems.

### THE HISTORICAL WAR AGAINST THE YOUNG WOMAN

In order to correctly understand the present, we have to look at the history of the women. In the Neolithic time, before the system of central civilization, the importance of women's role in society was at its peak. At the beginning of central civilization, systems of hierarchy and class domination were started through the violent oppression of women. This system showed itself to be an effective form of domination and spread around the world. Instead of playing her central and natural role in the organization of society, managing the economy and building communal life, women became property of the men.

We can find evidence of this process in mythology from the time, in which the mother goddesses that had been represented as holy figures of free and natural life, began to have that role stolen. The myth of Tiamat and Marduk symbolizes the violence of this process. Tiamat was one of the most important mother goddesses of Neolithic time. Marduk, her son, killed her with three arrows. One inside her head, to kill her thoughts and values, one inside her heart, to kill her love and life, and one inside her uterus, to kill her ability to create life. After this event, known as the first feminicide in the history of humanity, Marduk used her dead body to create the earth and the sky. From this moment on, a new culture was slowly built up - a culture of rape, killing and enslavement. Throughout history, the dominant male mentality continued and developed, killing women's ability to think, to love and to create life; using the women's bodies, intelligence and emotions for its own interests.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, in the colonisation and invasions of capitalism from England and Netherlands, this mentality reached a new levels; with the most violent attacks against women in the whole history of humanity, the witch hunts. The witch hunts destroyed a whole universe of beliefs and practices that embodied the values of a democratic, healthy and free society because these values were an obstacle and threat for developing capitalist systems. Looking at this process it becomes clear that capitalism built itself up on sexism. As a consequence of this femicide, other women were pressured into being obedient and silent; submitting to hard work and the abuse of men in order to survive and be socially accepted. This dynamic continues today and is expressed in many different ways. Some examples; as

women we learn to not trust in ourselves, to not believe in our thoughts and emotions, to not follow our instinct and to not speak without permission. We are taught that if we want to live a life that is accepted in the system we have to shape our mentalities and our way of seeing and understanding the world to the same way that the man does. Or we have to become like the man wants us to be, accepting his violence and his oppression and normalizing it. At this point we should ask ourselves: When we talk, when we act, when we laugh, how much are we doing so according to the spirit of a free woman? Or how much our thoughts, emotions and actions are still under the influence of men?

### THE SEXIST SYSTEM'S OPPRESSION IS ORGANIZED WORLDWIDE

It is especially our responsibility, as young women, to be aware of the whole structure of violence and rape culture that the system has enforced on the societies all over the world in order to make the woman weaker and unable to play her vanguard role in the liberation of the peoples. As Leader Apo said "as long as the rape culture is not overcome, the truth of society cannot be revealed in the fields of philosophy, science, aesthetic, ethic and religion". The construction and dissemination in the media of hypersexualized models of femininity has intensified the problem, openly inviting sexual aggression and contributing to this misogynistic and rape cul-



ture in which women's aspirations for autonomy are degraded and reduced to the status of mere sexual provocation. Also in the fields of music, art, cinema the woman is represented as the object to sell, to conquer, to utilize. The sex industry, which is run predominantly by male criminal organizations capable of enforcing slavery in its cruelest form, its one of the highest example of this.

The brutality of the attacks on women is often so extreme that it seems devoid of any utilitarian purpose. The goal is again to terrorize and to make the woman feel powerless. Such violence cannot simply emerge at random from the daily life of any community, it is systemic violence. It is planned, calculated and executed with the highest guarantee that it will not be punished by the nation-state.

We are witnessing an escalation of violence against women, especially in those parts of the world - sub-Saharan Africa, Abya Yala, Southeast Asia - that are richest in natural resources and are now targeted by commercial enterprises, and where the anti-colonial struggle is strongest. The capitalist powers, through the Third World War, are determined to turn the world upside down in order to consolidate its power, which was weakened in the 1960s and 1970s by the anti-colonial, feminist and anti-apartheid struggles. It is again under a great threat today thanks to the uprisings of the youth all around the world and to the Jin Jiyan Azadi Revolution. Just like in the early stages of capitaism, their goal cannot be achieved without attacking the women, who are directly responsible for the reproduction and the defense of their communities.

The increasing militarization of countries through the propaganda of war and national security, the building of new military bases and infrastructures, the strict connection between universities and war industries, the number of armed men legitimated by the state such as private domestic guards, commercial security guards, prison guards, gang and mafia members, and soldiers in regular or private armies, plays a central role in increasing the mentality of the dominant man in the society. In this way violence becomes inseparable from every aspect of life, and also individual male violence becomes the re-

sponse to women's assertive demands for autonomy and freedom. The expression of this mentality is the growing number of women killed in their houses by their partners, in their place of work, in school, in the streets. For how long can we, women from all the countries, accept this violence? For how long we will continue to stay silent when the sexist system enslaves us and destroys our lands and societies?

### **ENOUGH! WE ORGANIZE OUR OWN SELF-DEFENSE**

A gainst these organized attacks of the system, our first step to defeat this violence is to organize ourselves. In doing so, we have to come together and become ourselves as young women, we must develop our own will and ways to protect ourselves

defense. We must never forget that we are in a time of war and as a consequence also the resistance must be organized on several fronts, in all the fields of the life. The decision of women to react, break our isolation and join with other women is crucial to the success of our goals. Such an objective, however, cannot

from the attacks of the system through self

be achieved if we as women do not acquire the resources we need to be independent from the system of men, not just in a physical and economical way, but also in our thoughts and mentalities, so that we will not be forced to accept degrading and dangerous working conditions and family relationships in order to ensure our survival. Starting from this point, together we will develop the capacity to find solutions and strategies that can serve the building and the defense of a life in freedom and coexistence for all the people. When we as women are a united front, we become a force of creation for a new way of life, a new culture based on the principle of the Democratic Society. For every woman killed by this dominant male system, we must organize together our strength and our will, we must build structures where we can live in a communal and autonomous way, we must organize self-defense courses, a system of education to understand the reality of the system and its attacks against us, we must create a sociality that is based on love, respect and dignity. We must start a global offensive to liberate ourselves and bring the world out of the chaos created by the system

# TODAY MORE THEN EVER

if not now,

WHFN?



MHO5

if not us,

### THE UNIVERSE, HISTORY AND US

o correctly understand the present days, we need to faithfully understand History and in order to know what to do, we need to understand ourselves and to see ourselves. Again, we need to become aware of the Universe and History. Only in this way, we will be capable of having the correct take on what is going on today and how history-defining these moments we are living in are. At the same time, in order to understand the role of the Youth and Young Women in this, we need to make this principle a compass of us. That is also why the great philosophers, prophets and revolutionaries starting from Confucius through to Zarathustra, and to people's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, they insisted on this method to fully understand the reality we find ourselves in. In this sense, rightfully understanding what is happening in the world in the last months, will also help us to clarify the situation that we live in our countries, in our community and in our own lives.

### A DARK AND GLOOMY SCENARIO

The Third World War that is storming all over the globe today, it is a war that is expressing the contradiction between two ideologically opposing modernities: the one of the enemy, that we call Capitalist Modernity and ours, the one of the people, that we call Democratic Modernity. Since the beginning of

civilization and the state system (some 7000 years ago in Mesopotamia) these two have been struggling against one another. Capitalist Modernity only appeared after thousands of years of peaceful living and co-existence in society before it's first developments around 5000 BCE. Every empire, government or individual needs to be understood in this dialectical reality. The politics of war, the erasing of the societal relationships, the dismantling of the cultural resistance: all of this, it needs to be analyzed as an attack that Capitalist Modernity is waging against society, and that this attack is rooted in a long history.

### THE WARRING POLITICS OF THE SYSTEM: HIDING AND MANIPULATION

In this sense also, if we want to grasp in the right way what is happening and changing we shouldn't be tricked by the media of the system or by their tools of propaganda. In fact, what they are trying to show is that the war that they are waging is between states only, let's say NATO vs Russia in Ukraine, or for example Israel vs Hamas in Palestine. Or again that today for example, Trump will start an economical war on the rest of the world with tax and tariffs for goods entering in the USA, trying to show that USA doesn't need the global infrastructure of good's exchange that is at the base of finance capitalism. Or again, that the rising of fascism is something that is happening only through isolated individuals or organisations like Milei in Argentina or the AfD in Germany.

But it is not like this: all of these events are not genuine confrontations of opposing forces but are only small mechanisms and adjustments that the system of Capitalist Modernity is making in within its own ranks in order to survive and continue domination in the most efficient way. For sure, it can be true that Trump or Milei and their style and politics are more brutal and open in their way of domination and it is also true that the normalization of their oppressive politics can have serious and detrimental long term impact on society, but their substance is ultimately no different from other more "progressive" state actors. The substance of this war, the true contradiction, is the one waged on society, between capitalism (and it's facilitators of whichever party) and society as a whole, and we can clearly see the effects on the youth, the woman and the people.

### LIBERALISM AND ITS ATTACK ON THE YOUTH

This war that is waged on the society is also waged at an ideological level. Capitalist Modernity's weapon in this is Liberalism. What is it? An ideology that wants to destroy the capacity of society for self-organization and self-reliance in order to force a politics of oppression, violence and exploitation, so that the society cannot respond to the attacks of Capitalism. What is Liberalism trying to do? First and foremost, it is destroying the culture and history of the society thus creating a homogeneous, repetitive and rootless society. We can see this by the way the system manipulates the identity of the young woman and young man and the relationships forced on them, relationships totally shaped by patriarchal understandings. Because of the social characteristics of the woman, the system aims to frustrate her natural search towards freedom by pushing it towards more liberal forms of activism. At the same time, the young man that is in an identity crisis because of the oppressive identity and form he was socialised into, now wants a way out and is looking for new models. However the system is manipulating and redirecting his quest towards reactionary ideas and models such as Andrew Tate or Elon Musk who use digital media as their weapon. This tendency is also seen in the statistics of the last election turnout such as in Germany where young women are preferring the more liberal

left parties, whereas big sections of the vote for extreme right parties are coming from young men.

#### **OUR LIGHT IN THE DARK**

In the darkness that Capitalist Modernity is trying to impose through violence, wars and oppression, on 27th of February, we have witnessed something that can light our path towards freedom once again. From the Imrali Prison, on which Abdullah Öcalan is being held captive and tortured for the last 26 years, a historical call and opportunity has reached all of us. We want to highlight this clearly: this is not a development that is concerning only Kurdistan or Turkey. At the base of the call there is the will to change the way that the PKK has organized itself until now and the will to push forward a new initiative for peace with the Turkish State. But it is not only this, we need to understand this attempt in a more broader perspective. What Reber Apo, Abdullah Öcalan is trying to do, is a radical attempt to push forward a model that could work as a viable alternative for all of the Middle East and the whole world. Today, for their own interest, in the Middle East, the different forces of Capitalist Modernity are trying to impose their own alternatives onto society. Whether it be the Iran-Hezbollah project, the Israeli-NATO one or the one of the Muslim Brotherhood-Turkey. They fight each other, they use the worst words against each other but they serve the same system of domination

upon society. Against all these forces is the project of Democratic Modernity, and its model of Democratic Confederalism as the only real and radical alternative to them. This is what Leader Apo is trying to make successful with the process he has started. In this sense also, the attempts made by Druze and Alawites in Syria towards this direction of self-governance are really meaningful and they will determine, together with Kurds and rest of the people, the possible future of a democratic Syria.



### THE STRUGGLE FOR **SOCIALISM**

The idea of Socialism is the core of the call and the transformation process that Leader Apo has started. Socialism means being-society, socialism means the organization of the people, working and walking with the people. The influence of Real Socialism, which impacted all revolutionary movements of the 20th century, PKK included, ultimately created a socialism that resulted in serving and in fact intensifying the modernity of the enemy. Counter to this Leader Apo is once again putting the organization of the community and of society, in accordance to their own natural and original ways of being, as the basis of struggle. In doing so he returns to the true essence of socialism which means the self organization of humanity in order to continue its existence. When understood like this, organization (as a verb, as a practice) becomes as important to society as bread, water and self-defence.

### **ORGANIZE EVERYWHERE!**

Some weeks later, during a march of the Youth in North Kurdistan, a message from Abdullah Öcalan was shared again. Deeply fundamental to the message is the topic of organisation. As Internationalist Youth, we think that the question of organization is a crucial one: it is the engine for the transformation and realization of a more stable and long-term movement of the Youth. A movement capable to catalyze the moment of activism and revolt into a lasting situation of democratic self-administration and self-government. Organizing all our surroundings, starting from our schools, universities, families, friends, places of work will make our chance of success so much higher!

#### THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Of course the effect of the call had an impact that was visible quickly after across the whole region. Both in Kurdistan and Turkey to start with. On one side in Rojava, attempts are now being made to implement the call with

the establishment of a permanent role of the Autonomous Administration in the establishment of the new Syria. In this sense again, the struggle of the people and of the SDF, with the now nearly 100-days long resistance against the jihadist gangs on the Tishrin Dam, is the most clear proof that the organization of the people can become a key factor also against the hegemonic forces that are trying to define the Middle East.

But the struggle is not only growing in the Middle East. In Serbia a huge movement of the people is challenging the undemocratic politics of the government. The youth are also leading a struggle in Balochistan for the successful self-organisation of their people and in Latin America where the Zapatista Youth are waging a cultural resistance, organizing international events of arts and culture.

### ORGANIZE. FOLLOW THE PATH THAT WAS OPENED, MAKE REVOLUTION SUCCEED!

Education, organization and action are the tools of the struggle that we need to wage in more radical and self-critical way today. Democratic politics, the idea of self-organization and education are for sure the most powerful antidotes that we can see and find when we are re-thinking the necessities of our struggle against liberalism and Capitalist Modernity. Education as a basis for the struggle against the patriarchal, oppressive, destructive mentalities of Capitalist Modernity will play a decisive factor in our organizations.

**s** a conclusion, we want to say that the path has Abeen lit in front of us, it is up to us now if we choose to walk it. If we are capable of making the right steps towards democracy and freedom, then we will be capable of achieving better days for all humanity. Capitalism is pushing us down the road to extinction and misery whether we choose it or not. Choosing the road to freedom is the question that is before us, many are already walking it. Today more then ever we remember the Youth during the Revolution of the '68 and their slogan:

"If not now, when? If not us, who?"



### On this issue's topic

WHAT KEEPS
THE YOUTH FROM
STRUGGLING?

s young people and young women all over the world, we represent the most active and dynamic social force, the one who fights and brings about change. Unfortunately, we face problems in our daily lives that prevent us from using our full potential and living a truly free life. As young people in struggle, we have to get to the root of these problems to free ourselves from an oppressive system.

Looking at the current world situation, we are confronted with wars for resources, power and capital, drug wars and military juntas, protest repression, murder and genocides. With it comes a mentality that is implemented on us and tries to distract us from taking action against this. We know where this leads from our own experience and from looking around us: psychological problems and nihilism, drug addiction and finding ourselves in situations of great economic insecurity and isolation. Hyper-sexualisation and sexism, the abusive use of digital media, and disconnection from one's own society or culture are other problems we can testify to. There is nothing normal about any of these situations. They are the product of a capitalist and patriarchal system that seeks above all to neutralise young people and use them as a production and military force.

For issue #17 of Lêgerîn magazine, we proposed to young people from political organisations, universities, neighborhoods and villages to organize discussions about their current issues. Our friends answered by sharing their experiences from Abya Yala to Asia, via Africa, Europe and the Middle East. What are the main difficulties in everyday life experienced by young people? How do they express themselves? Of course, the idea is also to get the discussion going on the solutions to all this: How can we collectively overcome these problems? What has already been put in place? Especially we highlight in this issues texts that have collectively been written by our friends from Kenya, Sicilia and Chile. We had also the great opportunity to realize an interview with Nadiya Yusif, the spokerperson of the Young Women movement in Syria and we received a text from comrades in Papua on the building of a learning house as solution for the problem of the youth.

Together and through collective organization, youth of the world cannot be defeated!

### from depression to collective struggle

# THE JOURNEY OF A YOUNG KENYAN

The 1st April 2025, the Revolutionary Socialist League, together with other political organizations, organized an event in Kenya entitled "Exposing State weaponization of drugs and alcohol against activists". The aim was to to "discuss the systematic use of drugs and alcohol as a tool to destabilize youth-led movements and misrepresent protests as driven by intoxicated individuals rather than politically conscious and organized communities." We wanted to share with you a testimony produced as result of this event. It has been written by Wachira Nyaga, a dedicated community organizer with Embu Community Justice Center and a party member of the Revolutionary Socialist League.



#### By Wachira Nyaga

fter finishing high school in 2012, I found myself struggling to survive in an economy designed to keep the poor in chains. Like many young people, I hoped to uplift my family from the suffering imposed by the neoliberal system. In 2015, I started working as a tout in the chaotic and exploitative matatu industry (matatus are private minibuses that act as public transport, the tout manages the money tickets and passengers), working

the Githurai 45 route from the rapidly growing suburb of Ruiru to Nairobi's Central Business District. After three years in the industry, I realised that my economic struggles would not be solved by working as a tout. The challenges were grotesque. I was constantly harassed and arrested by county askaris and the police. The matatu business is one of Kenya's most corrupt industries, with state officers openly collecting bribes from the wee hours of the morning at roundabouts and roadblocks, never car-

ing whether the casual workers they extort have even made a profit or had breakfast. You either pay, or you suffer the consequences. The rampant arbitrary arrests and ignorance of the law by all participants in the industry put young workers at risk of spending much of their youth in prison, fueling my realisation that the police and justice system exists to protect the rich while oppressing the poor.

It was through this experience that I developed a deep yearning to fight for change. The same youths I worked with who were parents, siblings, and friends continue to suffer under the weight of systemic poverty. As I searched for alternative work, I found myself in the unstable world of small-time hustling, selling whatever I could to survive. But in 2018, everything changed.

### MY COMMUNITY ORGANISING JOURNEY

I met Edgar, popularly known as Liberator, who introduced me to community organising under the banner of the Githurai Human Rights Network. I began working with community groups to raise consciousness about human rights, accountability, and the Constitution. Through Liberator, I later met Garang Mzalendo, both of whom were radio presenters at Ghetto Radio, hosting the popular Changamka Show, which combined social justice with reggae music. Their work inspired me, and my focus sharpened, culminating in the formation of the Githurai Social Justice Centre (GSJC), which later became part of the Social Justice Movement Working Group. As GSJC grew, I became deeply involved in organizing across Nairobi's informal settlements. My revolutionary mission became clearer I had a duty to fight for justice and freedom for the people. But community organising is not without its challenges. The work is unpaid, yet human rights defenders carry the immense burden of documenting injustices, from extrajudicial killings to gender-based violence. The emotional and psychological toll is heavy. The lack of psychosocial support for organisers meant that I was absorbing all the trauma without an outlet.

### EFFECTS AND OVERCOMING MENTAL HEALTH AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

As the work of defending my community intensified, I unknowingly sacrificed my well-being. I started using drugs khat (Miraa) and alcohol (Chang'aa) to keep up with the demands of organising. The situation worsened when my house was demolished and I was forcefully evicted leaving me homeless. With no community support and a growing sense of despair, I became trapped in alcohol abuse. What started as a way to escape my struggles, quickly consumed my life.

I spent my days drinking in local chang'aa dens, often skipping meals, and losing touch with my responsibilities. My young family suffered my wife and child became ashamed of me while the community dismissed me as a lost cause. Human rights defenders are often vilified; perceived as nuisances rather than protectors of the people. My struggles reinforced that perception, further isolating me.

### One thing I had always believed was that change begins with me.

I had wasted years drowning in alcohol, and I knew that if I remained in the same toxic environment, nothing would change. I had to make a choice either continue on my self-destructive path or reclaim my life. I decided to leave Githurai and return to my rural home in Embu.



# TURNING A NEW LEAF THROUGH THE COMMUNITY KITCHEN AND ORGANIZING THE EMBU COMMUNITY JUSTICE CENTRE

Leaving Nairobi was not just about escaping substance abuse; it was about creating a new environment where I could rebuild myself. One thing that was clear is that, as a revolutionary, it's our duty to organise everywhere capitalism is entrenched and in

Embu, it was no different. Oppression was everywhere from unemployment of the youth, suppression of women, and poor conditions of peasant farmers. Historically, despite

Embu being the centre of resistance for Mau Mau, it remained marginalised and underdeveloped. This is the reality for many towns in Kenya which have railway economies, inherited from colonialism. When the neo-colonial government of Jomo Kenyatta took over, Embu was among the many areas that were further exploited and subjected to historical injustices by neo-colonial leaders.

As a cadre of the Social Justice
Movement and a disciplined adherent of the Revolutionary Socialist League, I knew that only militant discipline would get me back on track by employing political education through community organising. I stand guided by the wise words of Maya Angelou, 'No one is free until everybody is free'.

In Embu, I sought new ways to sustain myself while remaining committed to the struggle. I started a community kitchen, which became a means of survival and a new space for organising. The kitchen provided a platform to engage farmers and rural workers about their struggles, helping me underline that the same oppressive structures in urban informal settlements existed in rural areas. Farmers were being exploited, the government was failing them, and their struggles were no different from those of the urban poor.

### "A soldier without political ideology is a potential criminal" – Thomas Sankara.

Through these conversations, I saw the need to organise. The Embu Community Justice Centre was born out of this realisation, providing farmers and workers a platform to fight collectively for their rights. By advocating for cooperatives, trade unions, and revolutionary consciousness, we began laying the foundation for an alternative system that prioritises people over profit.

#### CONCLUSION

My journey from substance abuse to organising a new justice centre was not easy, but it was necessary. The capitalist system is designed to break us, to push us into despair and self-destruction. But the fight for justice is not just about confronting the state—it is about confronting the conditions that weaken our people, including mental health struggles and substance abuse

Community organising is not just political; it is deeply personal. By rebuilding myself, I was able to rebuild my commitment to the struggle. My experience has shown me that revolutionary discipline, collective care, and political consciousness are essential for sustaining both individuals and movements. The fight continues, not just in Nairobi, but in every corner of the country where people refuse to accept oppression as their fate. For a free, just, and organised society—one community at a time.



# THE FIGHTING YOUTH OF OUR TIME

### A VIEW FROM THE TERRITORIAL ASSEMBLY OF JUAN ANTONIO RÍOS, INDEPENDENCIA, SANTIAGO DE CHILE

In the population of Juan Antonio Rios, in the heat of the popular uprising that took place in October 2019, a territorial assembly was self-convened among the residents. It initially lacked a concrete objective but responded to the need to organize life in the face of the new scenario that the uprising created. From that date until today, our population has maintained grassroots work that has overflowed into other areas, surpassing the initiative of the assembly and generating a response to problems such as supply, youth, work, education, sports and political analysis to guide our paths.

Since then every year, and on each date that is important for our people, we carry out political and cultural activities to work on the memory and to reflect on current issues. On March 29th, we commemorated the Day of the Fighting Youth, in memory of Rafael, Eduardo Vergara and Paulina Aguirre, young people who were killed in 1985 in the midst of the military regime.

To this end, we held a discussion among the organizations of the area and we listened to the families and friends of the four young people killed in our neighborhood. Thanks to this, we were able to hear different stories of youth, reflect on what youth means for us and synthesise the day into this article and as our contribution.

n March 29th we commemorated once again the Day of the Fighting Youth in Chile. This day is dedicated to the memory of the comrades Rafael and Eduardo Vergara Toledo, 18 and 20 years old respectively, who were killed in 1985 in Villa Francia, a historic neighborhood in Santiago. As well as in memory of Paulina Aguirre Tobar, a young militant of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), 20 years

old, who was killed on the same day, on the same date. These three assassinations took place during the Pinochet military regime and were a part of the state violence of the time which sought to silence all attempts at resistance.

### We are no longer under a dictatorship, but we are still being killed...

Our people are stained with blood from the violence of the state and it's various tentacles and our population has not been oblivious to this. In order to listen and analyze the youth, we invited relatives and friends of four of our neighbors who were murdered; Carlos Godoy Echegoyen, Maximiliano Rodriguez, Tomas Perez and Alonso Verdejo.

The militant youth of the 80's were responding to a historical process in our country, and there were also seeds of revolution in our population. An example of this is the life of Carlos Godoy Echegoyen. He was a socialist militant, as was his entire family. Rafael, as he was nicknamed, was at the forefront of important political tasks and popular mobilizations. He was capable of this through his high level of organization, efficiency, discipline and dedication. One of his main tasks was the political training and organising the mass resistance of the young socialists of the time, a task through which he made an important contribution to the popular struggle until the day of his death.

### HOW DO WE FACE THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY'S YOUTH?

The first thing we would like to point out is that it has been a challenge for us to characterize today's youth. There has been a tendency by social movements when analysing the youth of Chile to focus on

the militant profile of the political parties of resistance in the midst of the military dictatorship. What we still consider appropriate within that time is that the revolutionary values that were developed during that period have left their mark on the history of the popular movement, providing principles such as consistency, discipline and courage, which were expressed in life and death by the young fighters.

But are these values still present in our youth today? Or in ourselves? And the answer is that we believe that the determination of the youth of the 80's is still valid and present in the most recent processes of social mobilization. Proof of this is the student movement, which has continued the rebellion of our people since the toppling of the dictatorship, the Penguin Revolution in 2006, the mobilizations of 2011, and a series of strikes, takeovers of institutes and universities, to finally jump the turnstile of the subway and start the biggest popular revolt that our eyes have seen. And the fact is that the virtue of the youth to promote revolutionary processes in Chile has been cultivated through the study centers, which are strongly criminalized today, of course we already know for what reasons.

But why doesn't this flame reach all the young sectors of our population? In our neighborhood, the youth who we are connecting with, following the death of Maxi and Tomás, are not even allowed to finish school because of the stigmatized profile they

have. This leads us to think that there are different types of youth, that although they have similar values throughout history, they are silenced in different ways. If you are a secondary school youth, you are silenced through repressive laws or the dismantling of public education and the young people of our population are subjected to condemnation, marginalization, or simply killed with impunity.

For this reason, we have recently increased our concern for the youth of the pobladora, because we see here the greatest potential of our class, and we firmly believe that these youth deserve the fruits of organization. But what are these fruits?

Organization gives us the tools to be able to confront this powerful enemy, so it is important to share these analyses among the organizations and to know what we are doing for these youth, how we can strengthen ourselves and to provide, in a more coordinated and systematic way, this support to children and youth. In our area we have created initiatives for the popular youth. An example of these spaces is the Comedor Popular Maxi Rodriguez, created by Maxi's mother and sister. They have transformed their pain and anger into struggle and love for young people, creating a safe environment for them, free of condemnation, where they can be heard, loved and recognized. Other examples in the area are sports projects, such as the basketball workshop in which Alonso Verdejo participated. An example of popular sports, as is the



Carlos Godoy Echegoyen Sports Club. All these initiatives respond to the search for safe recreational spaces for and by the youth, promoting healthy relationships among the participants. Also among the organizations that have emerged in recent times, there is a popular pre-university Yoshua Osorio, which provides popular education tools to young people who want to take the admission exam to university education.

Although these spaces have developed spontaneously, with the discussion held to gain an understanding of the situation of young people, we realize that we can improve some practices of those who make up the organizations. And here the first thing that came out of the discussion: the need for these spaces to be created by them and for them; where they can make decsions and propose ideas. For that we need to listen to them, get closer to their lives and interests. There is a tendency to use young people as a tool because of the energy that characterizes them. But we cannot continue to let people think like this, because it replicates a practice from an older politics and does not contribute to the youth claiming their rightful place in society.

Furthermore, we believe that it is important to understand ourselves, our identies and what that means politically, as poor, as class, as women, as youth, we need to recover our identity as a people that has been lost in the hands of neoliberalism. Whatever the organization, its ideology and characteristics, be it anarchist, communist, socialist, indigenist, etc., we seek to generate a common identity as one of struggle. One always based on respect for our differences and non-imposition and against individualism, competition, consumerism and the empty and consumer identities generated by social networks and media. Finally, among the reflections that have come out of

our dialogues on youth, there is that of matching our words with actions. In this sense, we emphasize the importance of fighting not only externally, but also internally, in order to achieve a profound transformation. We have grown up in this system and its vices are also within us. Someone said, "95% of the battle is against our inner enemy". So we have to fight day by day to transform these liberal and patriarchal practices. The enemy is waging a psychological war against us, so we have to fight against the personalities that capitalism has created.

Therefore, it is necessary that while we are confronting the common enemy, we also fight our inner enemy. From there, we can build and put into practice the life that we really want to live and not the one that capital has imposed on us.



We must continue to fight, resist, organize and build. Up with the fighters and up with the youth of la pobladora





### By Rio Kogoya

Rio Kogoya is an indigenous youth of West Papua who comes from the highland part of the region, from the Lani tribe. He is also a member of Progressive Papuan Youth (KMP2), a collective of Papuan youth established in Jakarta in 2023. The first aim was to discuss and develop a progressive individuals to fight the mainstream solutions to the West Papua conflict, and also to eliminate patronism in the democratic movement. The collective has adapted the principles of Democratic Confederalism developed by Abdullah Öcalan to organize people. Another adopted principle is to understand not to command, adopted by the Zapatista movement in Mexico.

ince the control of Indonesian government over West Papua began, supported by western imperialists, the indigenous Papuans have lost everything. Our forest, water, land and culture are destroyed by the exploitation of our homeland. Many Papuans saw the Indonesian government's existence as a colonial state. It has occupied our ancestral land and been bombing our villages since 1961s.

In the process of occupation, the Indonesian government is trying to alter the vast demography of populations by implementing the transmigration program, implemented 1964 until 1999 under president Soeharto's regime. Even though the program has existed since the western colonization, here I will only focus on the Indonesian colonial regime. The program stopped in 1999 but the newly elected president, Prabowo Subianto, was eager to activate it again in 2023. The transmigration program aims to relocate people mainly from Java to West Papua, the political reason is to help the development in West Papua. The impact was extraordinary towards native people. Our ways of life, traditions and populations are dominated by the outsider. And the government is seizing massive amounts of the indigenous land for transmigrants to utilize. The shift in population has also triggered tensions between native people and

outsiders (pendatang). Many have argued the program is part of settler colonialism.

Alongside the transmigration program there is also massive exploitation, keeping indigenous Papuans away from their land and culture. For example, the food program called the National Strategic Project (PSN). Taking over millions of hectares of customary land to plant sugarcane. Both programs are run by the military, who came to protect the transmigrants and PSN.

#### THE WEST PAPUAN YOUTH

The colonialism in West Papua has affected the youth. Histories have shown us that the colonizer state everywhere is always trying to vanish the culture and tradition of the colonized. Trying to separate the young generation from their roots and leaving them feeling inferior. The colonial state has injected their education and values of life. Aiming to frame what belongs to the colonized as bad, superstition, and containing dark magic.

In West Papua most young people are not speaking in our mother tongue, practicing our traditions, or

wearing traditional clothes anymore. Sometimes we feel shy, outdated and afraid. In 1970 there was a military operation named Koteka Operation (Operasi Koteka) the Indonesian army banned indigenous people in the mountains (Wamena, Enarotali and Wagate) from wearing Koteka, traditional clothes. They are forced to wear modern apparel like pants, shirts etc. as a symbol of civilization. In school we only learned about Javaness and other western Indonesian culture and history. Only being given limited knowledge about ours. There are 250 tribes in West Papua each with different local knowledge but we homogenised as our customary house, Honai¹. Meanwhile, there are Befak from Malind tribe, Kunume from Dani, Kamasan from Biak and many more.

For me personally the deadliest impact of colonialism in West Papua is the women's oppression. It is supported by the expansion of capital in mega projects and mining such as PT Freeport, PSN, BP Petroleum and many others. In the past our ancestors valued women as the source of life. They are the ones who nurture the land and protect the forest. The divisions of labour between male and female was clear, for instance the men are in charge of clearing the garden while women plant the vegetables. And harvesting

will then be done together. The first crops will be distributed to the whole community then the next we can use for our household. We lived side by side and solved everything together. But when the colonizer state started from the west to create an Indonesia that was supported by imperialism, everything became blurry and was destroyed.

Alongside the presence of multinational companies supported by the Indonesian government, women suffer a lot. In our traditions the men possess land and they have the rights to decide what to do with it. But the decisions must be for the benefits of the whole community. It changed after multinational companies and other extractive government projects came. The corporations use bribery as a strategy. They approached some indigenous leaders and politicians to give them cash, alcohol and women sex workers to hand over the land

ownership rights for the company<sup>2</sup>. Indigenous women were never involved in the process while they are the one who nurture the land. This leads to violence in the domestic area.

### LIRU KUNUME AND THE RECLAIMING

In the middle of uncertainty and oppression we still believe that there is hope, as long as we the young generation organize ourselves and fight back. In West Papua we have initiated a place to learn together about our identity. We created Liru Kunume on 1 December 2023 to deal with the feeling of inferiority that has killed our self-confidence. Liru means learning and Kunume house, learning house. The language belongs to the Lani tribe who inhabited the highlands part of West Papua. We are motivated by Abudllah Öcallan's perspective on Democratic Confederalism that values differences within communities over nationalism. We believe that by creating a space for dialogue between tribes in West Papua we are able to discover strategies to reclaim our identity, and fight the oppressed systems. The relations between women and men that have been broken by the capitalist systems in West Papua can be restored using the experience in Rojava, that successfully established the Jineolojî academy, which we can use as guidelines to understand the women's knowledge here in West Papua.

We believe by creating a safe space to talk about our history, traditions, habits and other local knowledge we can create a unity between peoples. The most important part is reclaiming our destroyed identity as Papuans. Liru Kunume is expected to be a collective house for all tribes to share their knowledge and experiences of violence, to create ideas to reclaim what is ours



**1. Customary House:** it is a building used by the indigenous Papuans for living, solved collective problems and practicing customary rituals.

2. https://thegeckoproject.org/id/articles/the-secret-deal-to-destroy-paradise/

# AGAINST FORCED EXILE YOUTH RESISTANCE IN SICILY!

#### By Spine nel Fianco

pine nel Fianco, our youth organization here in Catania, was born in 2021. We are young people who have began to organize and fight around the theme of liberation from patriarchy, for an alternative to school or university education. We choose to organize ourselves as young people and not just as students because we think it is necessary to look at ourselves not only in the role and compartments in which the system places us, but to rebuild an identity that is ours, transversal to society.

This comic strip was made by a friend, Santo, who immediately offered to do it when we discussed how to reveal the problems faced by our generation, but the thought behind it is collective.

To choose the points on which to focus, we sat in a circle and started talking about the main difficulties that young people face in our land, starting from everyone's experience. Different themes emerged from the discussion, such as isolation, exploitation, militarization, control and oppression of the family and so on. In the end we thought that speaking about forced emigration was the best thing because it is one of the dimensions that touches all aspects of a person's life. The emigration of young people is a large-scale phenomenon in Sicily and has lasted for centuries. The economy that was built in Sicily by the State and capitalists, which keeps the population poor and poisons the territory, and

the mentality that was taught in schools, these two factors combine to push hundreds of students and workers to go to Northern Italy or Northern Europe.

For us, organizing against injustice, relearning our history and building communities is the main alternative to forced emigration.

Some, when they started organizing with us, were disillusioned with the place where they lived. They wanted to leave their land and go away.

We began to pose as collective themes

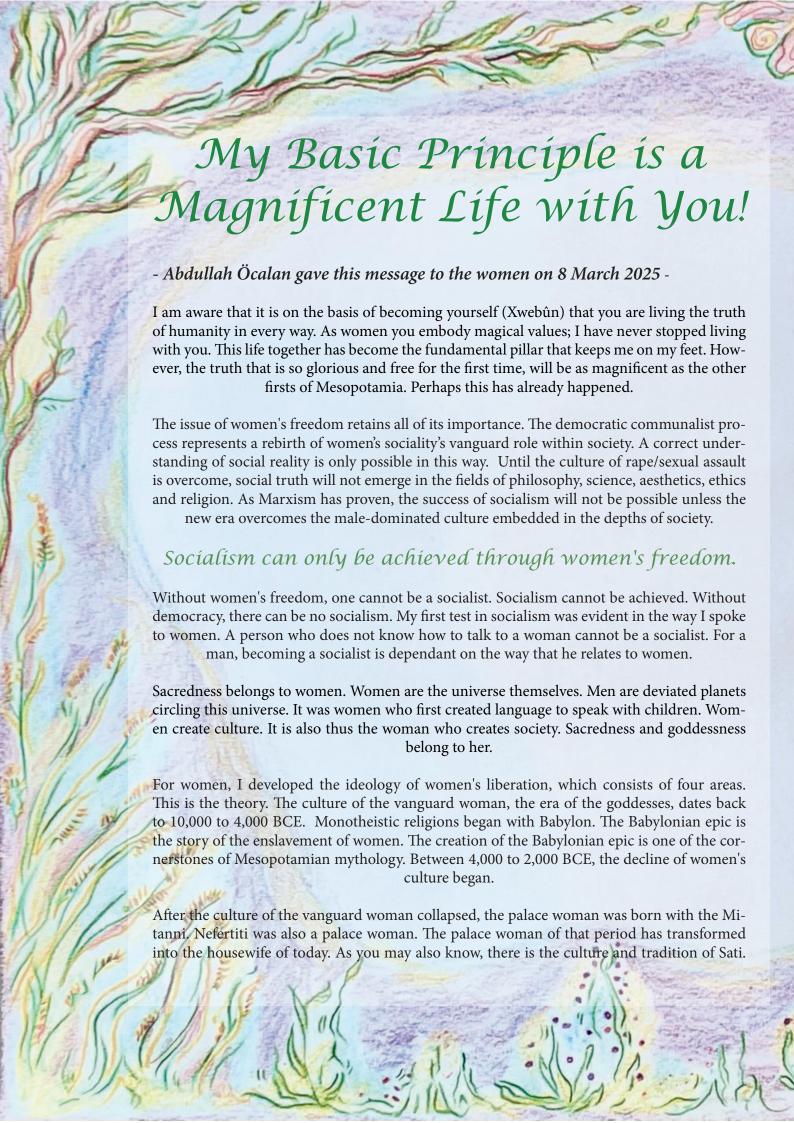
the issues that created individual intolerance, such as economic blackmail, housing difficulties, family pressure. Sometimes we found solutions together, other times it was enough to talk about it to find the strength to overturn a situation that you can no longer accept.

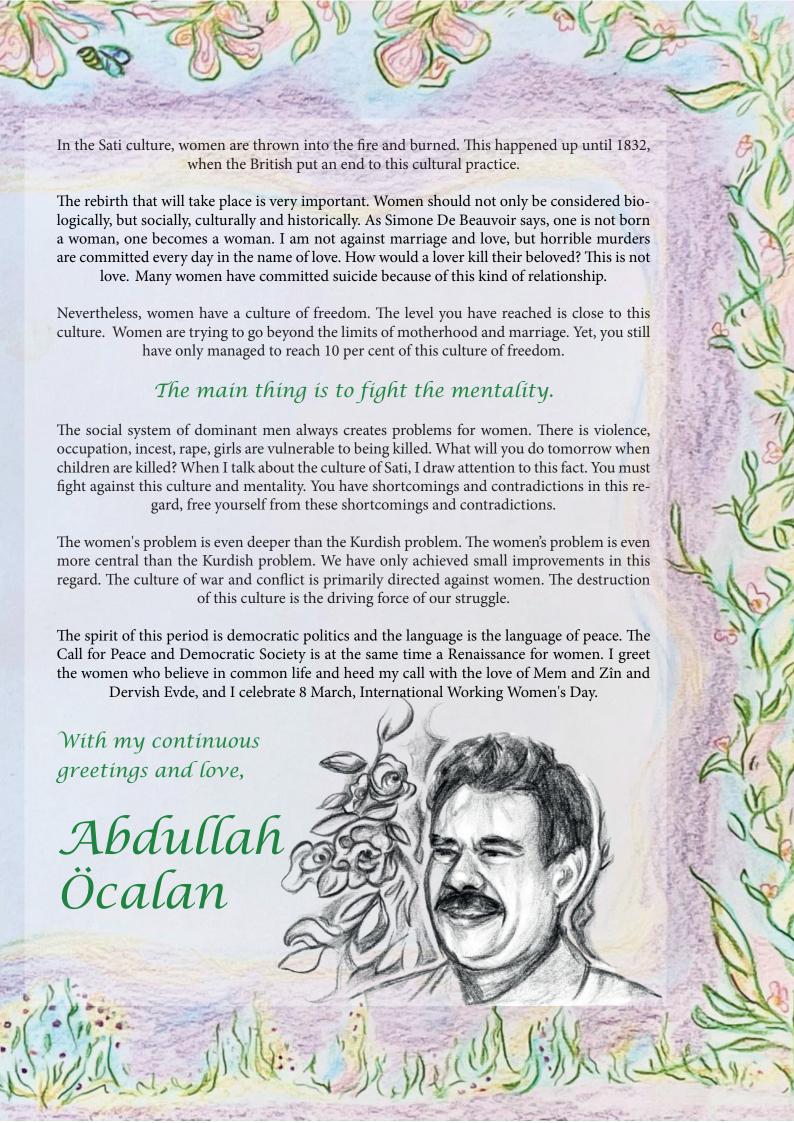
We have not yet found the perfect way to organize ourselves when we can no longer afford to live without dedicating our time to work. We know that to change the context in which we live it is necessary for the struggle to acquire a mass dimension. But already facing together, time by time, case by case, the material and relational impediments to the conquest of a free and shared life means for us to building an alternative.

This is a fundamental purpose of our practice and of the thought that we wanted to give with this contribution to this issue of Lêgerîn O

Lêgerîn \_\_\_\_







### THE YOUTH AND THE REVO

### Interview with Nadiya Yusif, Spokesperson of the young Womens Movement in the office of the Syrian Democratic Council of the Youth

Nadiya Yousif is a member of the Council of the Syrian Democratic Youth (MCSD -Meclisa Ciwanên Suriya Demokratîk) which is a youth Council that is autonomously organized by Young Women from Syria. The Youth council is organizing as an umbrella of all Syrian Democratic councils in the Syrian geography. Inside the council young people from all the different ethnicities, cultures and beliefs across Syria, but primarily from North-East Syria, are taking part and are working together to build up a Democratic and free Syria with the vanguard of the Youth. The MCSD is also part of the Middle-East Youth Initiative and is taking part in diplomatic works all over Syria as well as outside as representatives of Syrias Democratic Youth. As Lêgerîn Magazine, we made this exclusive interview with Nadiya Yusif specifically for the Lêgerîn #17.

Lêgerîn: As a young woman from Efrîn, you are taking part in political works. Can you introduce yourself and tell us why you started these works? What kind of work are you taking part in now?

My name is Nadiya Yusif, I work as the Young Women's Spokesperson at the Young Women's office in the Syrian Democratic Youth Council. I am a young woman from Efrîn. This council where I work is a political umbrella for all movements, organizations and independent individuals on the Syrian level. So, why did I take my place in this particular work as a young woman, in other words, in what way is it important?

Especially as a young woman I actually give great importance to playing a role in politics, because we know that as young generations we were defined as Generation Z, the last generations. The works that we could take part in were limited by the male-state mentality, the patriarchal mentality. Every woman was excluded politically, economically. As a response to this mentality, as a response to this current government, I wanted to take a special place in this work with our identity and our will. On this basis, I took part in this work and we are also running our organizations on the level of the whole of Syria.

Lêgerîn: As a young person from the Middle East, with your multifaceted identity and also as a young Kurdish person, what are the pressures on young people, as well as the problems you face? What attacks do young women face in particular, from social pressure and marriage, family to the male-dominated system, what are the difficulties you see?

Now if we want to talk about the state-man mentality, which has been cultivated, instilled especially in the Middle East, we can say that we see this mentality not only within the states or inside the castles, but also inside the personality of every person who lives in the Middle East today. That is, in the families in which we live, in the society in which we live, this mentality has been cultivated in the brain, in the personality of every individual in the Middle East. We can talk about the mentality of the Baath regime. But in terms of this mentality, we can actually put all the countries of the Middle East inside because all the states that we see today, unilaterally, called for "one flag, one language, one culture, one faith, one identity". Today, all the states of the Middle East lean on this and are exercising their authority.

### **LUTION IN THE NEW SYRIA**

As a young woman who lived in Syria, my Kurdish identity was not considered legitimate for me. Speaking my own language within my family, within my community, was also not considered legitimate for me, it was forbidden. For this reason, in order for us to truly understand the current crises that we are experiencing in the Middle East today we need to realize that the Middle East is a region in which humanity, identity, and civilization have developed, and the Middle East is known for its richness, its religions, its components today. In other words, not only Kurds and Arabs live here, there are many nations, components, that take their place in this region. Today, if a mentality comes in such a way where all other components are not given legitimate rights and only one component remains in power, where all other peoples are considered to be non-existent, this will only prevent the crises that we are experiencing in the Middle East today from ending.



On this basis, as young women in particular, I would like to mention that today in the Middle East, young women are the deepest victims of the agreements made by the state, the agreements made at the family level, at the tribal level. Why? In particular, they target the young generation with their mentality because they know that the society in which we were raised is the one that will create changes and transformations in society, and under the name of the tradition that our grandparents were raised on, "we should not cross them", they suppress every identity and will of the youth.

In the Baath regime we can see this. After exerting so much power over the Syrian government, it ended up being destroyed after what we can say was 50 years rule. Why? Because we know that if changes and transformations are not made in the state, in the society, in the family, then with the passage of time, it will be the end of every mentality, the end of every state will be its destruction. Because today this era is in the midst of changes and transformations. If people do not organize their society accordingly, every society will remain at the lowest level. The primary reason that allows the Middle-East states to go through crises and wars today is the mentality of the man-state, the mentality of the nation-state.

Lêgerîn: In Syria, especially in North-East Syria, it has been 13 years since the revolution began. What changes have been made and what is your view on the struggle that has been waged, especially for women's freedom? How do you see the achievements of the women's revolution for the future of young women like you?

If Syria wants to govern today, it must have a true ideology, a true idea, a democratic idea that embraces all nations, all communities, all religions that live on the Syrian geography today. For this reason, as young people today in the new Syria after the fall of the Baath Regime, a hope was built in us that we could really live in a new, democratic and diverse Syria. But this has not been realized because a regime that we can say is more dangerous is imposing its rule on the Syrian people and especially on the Syrian youth.

On this basis, we say that North and East Syria is the salvation of Syria. Today the youth who live inside Syria see us as salvation because of the system that was established here, especially the institutions of young women and youth that were established here. No state has any institution or desire to empower young people and young women.

The revolution of 19th July, the North-East Syria Revolution, if we can make it the revolution of all the Syrian peoples and the Syrian youth, then we will be able to say that we are truly moving towards a democratic Syria. We are moving towards a multi-ethnic Syria, and this current system embraces all the peoples living in Syria today. Because we see that not only Kurds and Arabs live in North and East Syria. I repeat, there are Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens, Circassians, and many other groups living here. All of whom who are under the umbrella of the Autonomous Administration and have established their own institutions, and speak their own language in schools. These groups live in societies based on their own culture and language. For this, the constitution that has been issued by the new Syrian Government, we as young people and young women will never see it as a representation for ourselves.

Because today, if we take into account age, we have not seen any young people in the activities that have taken place since the beginning of the new state. Where is the will of the youth? Where is the will of the young women? As the Youth Council of Democratic Syria, we are in contact with youth 24 hours a day. We carry out our work inside Syria 24 hours a day. We are traveling in the whole region. And we see it clearly that today all the Syrian youth, all the young Syrian women are calling for us. During the time of the Baath regime, maybe there was some fear, we were afraid, but now the young Syrians are saying this clearly. They say that the North-East Syria today can be a response to this current mentality, it can be a response to the current government. It can actually build a Syria in its own way.

On this basis, if we want to build an identity and a will for young women, we first turn to the young women who live inside North-East Syria. Because the truth is that the achievements that were made in this revolution were led by Young Women, at the beginning of the revolution, in the military, social, political, and economic aspects, the greatest leadership was on the shoulders of Young Women. Today, young women can respond to all the attacks on this region. Against an extremist Islamic army like ISIS, young women took place in the forefront of the battle.

Today, in North-East Syria, young women play the biggest role in politics. In the economic aspect again. The economy of this region is organized and run with the vanguard-ship of young people and young women. On this basis, young people from outside see that so much will has been given to young people. That young people can truly lead communities. That is why we can say that today's young women have truly become the answer to this current mentality through the project of the Democratic Nation, the project that has been implemented in North-East Syria and in its communities.

Lêgerîn: In your opinion, what are the solutions to the problems facing young people in the Middle East? If you had a message for young people around the world, what would you say to them?

If we have a call for the young men and women living inside Syria today, it would be this: never, in any way, should we be afraid of any existing system, any existing state, any state that was built with a dominant-male mentality.

The end of this mentality was seen in the example of the Baath system, which today, after 50 years of exercising its power in Syria, exercised all forms of power and its end was its collapse. For a state that is built on this basis of power, its end will be its collapse. Based on this, our call for the young women living inside Syria is that they will not bow down to this existing mentality until the end and we will support them spiritually. We will support all young men and women who believe in democracy, believe in equality and freedom until the end.

We say that we will never accept another Syria outside of a democratic, non-centralized and diverse Syria, and that believe in the energy of young people and their ideology of free youth. We say that on this basis, it is time to oppose this extremist Islam that has come and is imposing its rule on us, the Islam that the state has made a religion for itself, and that today wants to violate the identity of women, the color of women in every way. We will never give in to this, and we will not accept it.

Today, we have lived a revolution for 13 years. Even though we could not introduce our organization and ideas to all young women inside Syria, still this system has been recognized at the highest level. This system has now resonated throughout the world and this has become a threat to all the states that are attacking northern and eastern Syria today. The Turkish state as well as other states, do not stop their attacks on North-East Syria. This also allows one to understand that the system that was built here is not in accordance with the mentality of the state. At some point, this system that was built here will be the salvation of societies. When a system is not in accordance with states, it will be understood that at some point this system is in accordance with the societies that live in this region. On this basis our call will always be that all the women who live in North-East Syria will support all women inside Syria who we can call our sisters. We will support them until the end so that we can together build a democratic, non-centralized Syria that embraces us all and from this we can save ourselves from the state mentality



# PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS FOR YOUNG WOMEN

### A PATH OUT OF ISOLATION AND OPPRESSION

### Mizgîn Avzem

he society of capitalist modernity is soaked in a deeply rooted individualism. This individualism is no accident but a systemic tool of exploitation and oppression which is used consciously by the system and aims to isolate people's development and their efforts at resistance. Above all, young women are touched by this kind of division, as their struggles are shaped not only by societal norms but also through gender specific oppression and violent hierarchies. The system's narrative is:

"You are alone – nobody understands you, nobody helps you, you have to fight against the whole world by yourself."

This isolation is not only maintained by accident or through misunderstanding – it is a structural tool of a system which is fundamentally against women organizing collectively. The system forces women to become weaker and weaker in their loneliness and for their resistance to fade out.

We as young women are confronted with the reality of sexism, sexual violence and patriarchal oppression on a daily basis and often feel failed by the society. The multiple micro aggressions we are living in – be it casual comments, talking ourselves down in our role as women or violent verbal or physical attacks – are normalized and portrayed as harmless. In many cases, acts of violence and discrimination are either ignored or played down and women are pushed to keep silent. This is where the danger of isolation stems from; we start to see our experiences as personal, individual weaknesses instead of seeing the structural reasons for the oppression. We are struggling with enormous inner rifts – feeling like we are alone with our experiences and not realizing that these experiences are part of a much bigger societal problem.

This state of isolation divides the forces of resistance. The system supporting capitalism rests on the dispersion of the resistance forces of oppressed groups so they will not to stand up united against the system. The capitalist individualism is no personal condition of alienation but a political instrument which is dissolving potential revolutionary force in society. It fosters the idea that everybody is responsible for their own well-being and that societal problems can only be overcome through individual effort. This idea is a trap – it hides the fact that young woman's problems are no individual deficiencies but an expression of a holistic societal and political system with the aim to oppress us and keep us down.

### THE IDEOLOGY OF COLLECTIVE LIBERATION

The answer to this isolation and division is proposed by Abdullah Öcalan, the Kurdish Freedom Movement's ideological thinker, whose thoughts and theories highlight the necessity of collective liberation and a broad solidarity movement. In Öcalan's theory, the question of women's freedom and overcoming patriarchal oppression are a core matter.

Öcalan sees women as the "key to revolution" because at the same time we have experienced the deepest and most radical forms of oppression and also we have the biggest potential to transform the existing order.

His philosophy is rooted in the liberation of woman

not only as a part of a political process, but as the core question of a holistic societal revolution. For Öcalan, the question of woman's freedom cannot be separated of the question of the liberation of all oppressed peoples and classes. Abdullah Öcalan talks about "Democratic Confederalism" based on solidarity, cooperation and self-administration. This political theory is opposed directly to capitalist and nation state structures which are based on hierarchy, exploitation and violence. With the suggestion of Democratic Confederalism, he is advocating for a society which has overcome capitalism and organizes in a decentralized system not centered around power.

Öcalan's political philosophy is a radical new evaluation of societal norms to date. It asks for the recognition of us women as society's leading actors and as the basis of a new social order. For Öcalan, women's organization is not only a political necessity, but the most important step towards a more just and free world.

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ALIENATION: THE WAY THE SYSTEM IS ISOLATING YOUNG WOMEN

The psychological dimension of the isolation of the young woman is of decisive importance as it brings to light not only the external, palpable forms of oppression but also the ones working deeply on the inside.

Sexist comments, reducing women to their looks, constant objectification of the our bodies and understating sexual violence are only some mechanisms causing isolation. Many of us young women believe we have to comply to be recognized and respected. We see our problems as personal challenges rather than collective struggles. Media, advertisements and public discourses continuously repeat: "You have to be perfect to achieve something", "You have to heal yourself to survive", "Your problems are only yours and you have to overcome them alone."

Those thinking patterns lead to a deep psychological burden and a feeling of alienation. We start to isolate ourselves

in our experiences and to deny the collective aspects of our oppression. This psychological isolation is maintained by the system which refuses to create platforms for the voices of women and disguises our experiences of violence, discrimination and unequal treatment systematically.

# THE COLLECTIVE ANSWER: SOLIDARITY AS THE WEAPON OF RESISTANCE

The answer to this isolation is not escaping into individualism but lies in

collective organization. Us women need a conscience for the collective nature of our experience and solidarity structures to unite our forces. The path to liberation cannot be found in individual struggle but in collective action. This collective movement cannot only encourage resistance against patriarchal structures, but must lead to a fundamental restructuring of societal conditions.

Abdullah Öcalan stressed repeatedly that woman's collective organization is not only a precondition of woman's freedom but also that of any revolutionary movement's success. Solidarity between women, their collaboration and mutual support are the basis of any transformational social movement. The force enabling us women to overcome patriarchal violence and to transform society stems from organization.

34

### RESISTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE, FROM ISOLATION TO SOLIDARITY

Resistance against sexual violence is a core example for the necessity of collective organization. Sexual violence against women is either ignored or trivialized in many parts of the world, especially in patriarchal societies. This violence becomes an invisible part of the social tissue pushing women into deep isolation. Violence can be uncovered and fought against through the creation of networks, victim support organization and collective reworking of experiences. Ideological and political education should always lead these networks, as they build up our ideological resistance against these attacks.

If we find an active way to work against the destructive system together with other women, we feel our agency and willpower rise, which will also strengthen us mentally to focus on our common goal.

Sexual violence must not be seen as an isolated issue – it is a structural, societal problem which is deeply rooted in patriarchal structures and social norms. The fight against this violence needs a broad transformation of society based not only on individual approaches but on a collective answer

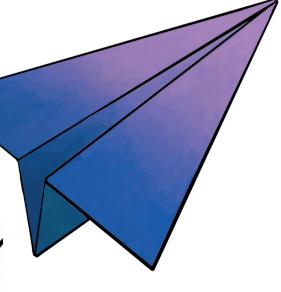
which gives strength to women in all parts of life. This way, we can empower ourselves to organize resistance and fight it effectively rather than only calling out violence.

The path out of the isolation leads through the creation of solidarity networks and political movements which stand up against patriarchal violence collectively. Feminist movements and autonomous young women's organizations uniting women from all social groups and geographic regions are able to create spaces of support and resistance. Here, young women can live in their collective strength, share their stories and develop a collective strategy for resistance. This is the key to break the seemingly unbreakable power of the patriarchal system – through solidarity and community.

# POLITICAL LIBERATION: ORGANIZED STRUGGLE AS THE FOUNDATION FOR A NEW SOCIETY

The political implications of collective organization are profound. Not only Abdullah Öcalan but many global feminist movements see the central role of women's liberation in the transformation of society as a core matter. For Öcalan, the liberation of women from patriarchal norms and capitalist exploitation is a precondition to any revolution. A revolutionary movement struggling for freedom and the well-being of all humans has to understand the well-being of women as the center of its theory and practice. Only a society recognizing women in their full freedom and enabling them to equal participation in societal processes can be considered as just.

This thought is no bare utopia but a practical political goal which can be reached through the organized



force of women. In many regions of the world, we already see examples of organized women's movements and political parties fighting successfully against patriarchal violence and social injustice. Those movements not only resist against the existing system but propose an alternative to the patriarchal authoritarian structures of the past.

The political and societal transformation that has been created by the struggles of the Kurdish women's movement contains both the question of political participation and cultural and social emancipation. We have to question and overcome traditional norms restraining women in a close, oppressed frame. This path needs a political and a cultural revolution in order to recognize women as equal actors in all areas of society.

### THE PATH TO THE FRONT: A SOCIETY OF RESISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY

The resistance against sexism and patriarchal violence needs a revolutionary posture surpassing individual protest and aiming for collective organization. This means standing up to daily discrimination and violence and attacking the deepest structures of the system at the same time.

Abdullah Öcalan's political vision offers a clear orientation for this resistance. His theory of Democratic Confederalism aims for a society based on solidarity, equality and direct democracy. This society will consider women as equal actors shaping the future of society, not as subordinate creatures. Young women have to organize globally as a part of global resistance against exploitation, oppression and patriarchal violence to realize this vision. Women's movements arising in many parts of the world are important steps on this path. These movements not only struggle for the rights of women, but also for a profound and total transformation of the social, economical and political conditions. They oppose capitalism, nation state and patriarchy in a united struggle.

Women's freedom is a question of equality within the existing system and also a profound political movement aiming for the change of society's structures in their entirety.

### COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE AS THE KEY TO FREEDOM

The freedom of the young woman is closely interconnected with the liberation of society as a whole. Struggling young women in the whole world prove every day that this resistance is possible. From the streets of Kurdistan to India young women put their lives on stake to shout "Jin, Jiyan, Azadî". In Chile, women transform the song "Un violador en tu camino" into an international outcry. In Europe, students and workers revolt against patriarchal structures in education and daily life. In Rojava, women struggle and are the leadership of the construction of a democratic society.

These examples are no exceptions – they are the expression of a global awakening. Wherever us young women struggle together, something new is created: conscience, courage, empowerment – but most of all a collective process that smashes the frame of personal powerlessness. Abdullah Öcalan's latest message to the youth said for this reason:



# FIGHT LIBERALISM! LET'S WIN BACK OUR LIVES!

#### By Paolo Barontini

hen we think about Liberalism, we can see many different attempts to define it: some call it an economic system, some define it as a philosophical understanding of the state and its relation with the individual, and others define it as an answer against conservatism and reactionary politics. The ideologues of the system are trying to define it in many different ways with the objective of legitimising it. On the other hand, when we try to define and understand it, we shouldn't fall into these traps. Indeed, we should not understand it only in its economic meaning, as the rule of free market. Rather, we need to describe and analyse liberalism as a system of thoughts, rules, emotions and concepts that is the main ideological weapon of Capitalist Modernity. From top to bottom, it is the way that the system is enforced within and upon society with the aim of weakening society's capacity of resistance and organization. But to understand it better, we need to look back at history and understand why the system of domination seen it as necessary to tear societal resistance apart.

### WHAT DID HISTORY LOOK LIKE BEFORE LIBERALISM?

Since the beginning of humanity, we can say that society has played a fundamental role in our development as humans. If we look at the way that we are, starting from our biological aspects, we can better understand why society has always been key for us. Humans don't have natural defence mechanisms, unlike birds have wings to fly away in case of dangers. Nor can we spot dangers and opportunity from hundreds of meters away like certain animals. For this, from humanity's emergence in the African Con-

tinent to their spread into Mesopotamia at the edge of Neolithic Revolution, we have developed society and the organization of it as our mechanism of defence against dangers and insecurity. The collective organisation of basic tasks like gathering food and protecting against external dangers has been both the purpose for the continuation of society and the central means by which it has continued. From this point, a more meaningful understanding of society developed through language, culture, specific ways of living and organising life, and religious beliefs connected with the sacredness of these societies.

In short, when we take a look at the history of humanity we can see that being-a-society has played the condition of "to be or not to be" for us as human species.

This is important to know because when we then move forward to today, we can see that this deep meaning and the value of being connected with society is under heavy attack. The attempt made by the system of domination is to tear apart society, attempting to cement the triumph of individualism by creating a contradiction between the individual and society. This is what we call the ideology of liberalism. It is this most vicious attack against society that we can evaluate as the attempt to achieve a final victory over democracy, destroy fair and free life, and complete the killing of society.

BUT WHAT DOES
LIBERALISM MEAN?
WHAT IS IT EXPRESSING?

As mentioned above, we can define it as one of the main weapons of Capitalist Modernity: at its core, it has an understanding of freedom which demands that individual freedom is prioritised and placed in contradiction with communal life. It is the idea that outside the freedom of the formula of "Me, Myself and I", nothing else is there to be achieved. Liberalism emerged as an ideology during the time of the French Revolution, in which the middle class under the motto "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité (Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood)" managed to transform a radical social transformation period and a revolution of the whole people into the beginning of the most individualistic and dangerous times of society and humanity.

Especially as Youth we need to study, understand and discuss further the way that liberalism is trying to reproduce its existence through our lives, bodies and minds. In this way, we can fight it back and play the vanguard role that young women and youth has always had inside revolutions, resistance and in the general defence of society. How do liberal characteristics and attitudes look inside our lives? Which feelings are liberalism creating? Which type of individual are they trying to achieve? To start to answer these questions the point of our lifestyle comes to the front: from the way that we stand up in the morning until the moment we go back to sleep, which system is our lifestyle serving? When we say that we as Youth want to produce a change inside of our societies and communities, we need first and foremost to produce this change inside of ourselves. In this sense, the basic question of "How to live?" becomes for us a compass: for as long as we don't manage to live daily according to the principles and values that we want to see inside our societies and world, we also won't be able to play our role as revolutionary vanguards.

#### In this sense, the development of a lifestyle according to what is beautiful, right and fair needs to sustain us.

On the other side, liberalism wants to push forward a way of life in which we are not in charge of our lives anymore. Starting from the job we do, which university we study in, which desires and ambitions we have in the everyday life choices that we make, we are forced to live a life that is not truly ours.

## HOW ARE WE LIVING A LIFE THAT IS NOT OURS?

#### **RELATIONSHIPS**

From our childhoods up until the the present time, we are influenced by the movies that we watch, the TV series that we like, and even more today in the roles that digital media and technologies such as Artificial Intelligence fill in contemporary life. We can easily observe how through media and technology the dominant system is trying to shape the way that we see the world. We can begin from the idea of love, friendships and relationships. Today the system is trying to liberalize it, make it more diverse on the surface by calling it alternative, yet in the end at its essence there is only one colour, one possible only form through which humans can relate to each other. That is to say, we are offered the idea of a hyper-sexualized classical romantic relationship in which our emotions, reflexes, and deep subconscious desires are hidden behind this idea. It feeds us an idea of love - which has one of the most sacred emotions throughout human history - that is corrupted to its core. In a fake, simulated way liberalism is today trying to impose on us the notion that we can only love ourselves and one person at the most and that this is the only way that we can think, feel and express love today. In this way, we are brought to think that this is the "natural" way in which humans have always lived. The patriarchal oppression in the system in this way finds in liberalism its most precious ally.



## A "CULTURE" OF ENDLESS IMITATION

At the same time through digital media, TV and so on, liberalism tries to impose a culture of endless imitation. From the way we want to look to the products we desire in advertisements through to the dreams we have, liberalism with the usage of mass media is creating a culture of imitation. A culture in which there is no longer any difference between peoples. Liberalism, by selling itself as the freer and more diverse and colorful option that fought and defeated the "one colour way" of Real Socialism, has now created the most repetitive, simulated, unoriginal lifestyle that humanity has ever seen.

#### SCHOOL AND WORK

While we grow up and get educated inside of the schools and universities of the system, we can easily see which idea and concepts they are trying to shape our personalities according to. This starts from the idea of success work, which is understood not as something that is benefiting and serving society, but only of finding a way for you as a lone individual to survive and defeat the others. Values like cooperation, empathy, and sacrifice that have always been basic characteristics of any society don't matter anymore. Instead, they are completely erased from liberalism and the ways of living it offers us.

#### "LEFT CULTURE"

Another core aspect of liberalism's ability to manipulate Youth is through selling them simulations of alternative life. For example, many people might have grown up in more rural areas, in which patriarchal mentalities are more evident and oppressive. When these youths start to study or work in a big city, they might experience contradictions with the environment they come from. Inside of the city, now selling itself as "left culture", liberalism will try to propose an alternative to the village way of life that looks more modern and progressive. This life is based primarily on the spread of parties, drugs, and so called "alternative relationships". But in this way, they want to catch and close the potential to search for truly free relationships and life that the more oppressive background of the village wasn't allowing. But this is no

alternative: it's the same product sold, but only with a new package and more "progressive" colors that will bring no solutions. Like this, liberalism also tries to influence the way that we can think about political organizing and about struggling.

When we take a look carefully at how we feel, speak and think, we can see that as much as we might have changed some superficial aspect, we still realize how deep these concepts are inside of us. We might say that we are socialists or revolutionaries, but we can't really share our things with others. We might talk about a collective or political organization, but we live alone inside our big apartments so that we can have our "Me-Time" and let off steam in isolation. Or maybe we are still attached to our private money that we don't want to share with anyone else. And as much as we call many friends "our comrades", we still have one or two people that we put above all the others. What we want to say here, is that in order to radically change our mentality and to develop a democratic, socialist or revolutionary personality, we need to radically struggle within the most hidden and deep aspects of liberalism inside of us, like the ideas of property, exclusivity and individualism.

## So, comrades, what should we do with such a system?

#### + ORGANIZATION

Of course as youth, we need to fight back and we need to find solutions against all these attacks that liberalism is waging on us. For sure, the question of organizing is one of the most important one. If we fight against a system that is trying to make us "one-by-one-by-one", then our answer needs to be a collective one. But this alone will not be enough, since liberalism plays with our words, emotions, and principles to make them unclear. We need to build our organization with clear principles, clear values and a clear way of struggling together that we organize around. And of course we need to push forward a radical and different lifestyle, outside of the one of the system.

We need to recover the unity inside of our life. We cannot separate the place where we organize and our normal life. There can be no empty moment, no empty space in our lives. Understanding everything inside our lives as a struggle will make us go forward.

#### + EDUCATION

Education and self education are among the most important tools in our struggle against the system and liberalism. This is not only to study and know better our histories, but also because when we understand education as place of struggle, a place of transforming the wrong, individual and oppressive mindsets into democratic, communal and socialist ones, then the solutions that we will find against the isolation of the system will multiply greatly. Education in this sense is the fundamental of many things. When we are child as much as we learn to count and speak, we also learn a way to feel, see and interpret the world. For this, an education that is capable of transforming the mentalities that the system has imposed inside of us will play a key role. With this, we will build our truthful and original understanding of our lives and the world we want to build.

## + DEFENSE OF THE CULTURE AND LAND

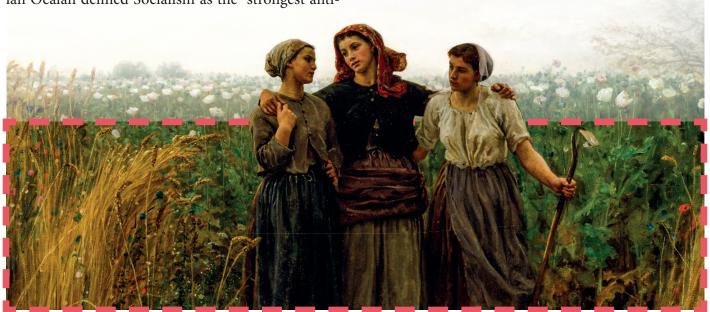
Again a very important element to push forward in our struggles is the idea of connecting back once again with the land that we are from, with the societal values that were cultivated there. We must try to live the culture of this place in a way that is socialist rather than reactionary, meaning a way that is insisting on the humans and society. Leader Apo, Abdullah Öcalan defined Socialism as the strongest anti-

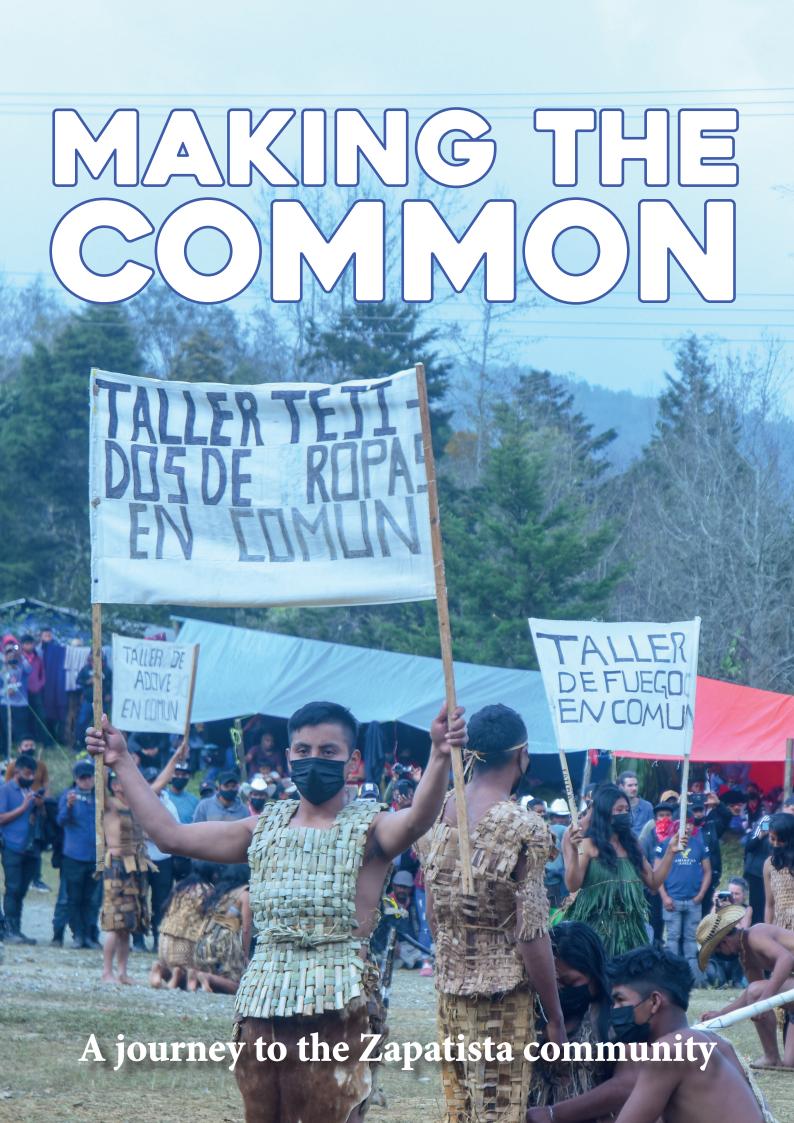
dote against liberalism. Of course when we do this, we should not fall into easy traps like romanticising or idealising everything that is coming from the place we are from. We need to analyse and discuss with our people to understand which values, principles, cultural and societal aspects are democratic and socialist ones and which ones are not. In Europe even, there is a lot to discover back in history that liberalism has erased in order to make it look like the present way of life has triumphed. But it is not like this. The present is the result of what came before, yet it is absolutely open to be changed now.

#### = FREE THE LIFE!

As a conclusion we want to add this: to fight against liberalism means to put forward and struggle the most to achieve a personality that is the most connected with Youth characteristics. Struggling against the imposed scheme of feelings, work, success that the system is imposing us, means to refuse them and create new ones. Against the emptiness and the endless repetition of liberalism, Youth means to always renew oneself, never staying the same, refusing the schematism and dogmatism that are nevertheless the same faces of liberalism. We need to find our energy and give strength to each other. In this way we believe we will be capable of moving forward toward a more original way of living that liberalism has taken away from us.







Part 1 of a reportage produced in December 2024 and January 2025 by the collective "caracteresnoexistentes" for the Lêgerîn Magazine.

## CAPITALISM DOESN'T BELIEVE IT WILL DISAPPEAR

t a school on the edge of the city, nestled in the middle of a pine forest, large wooden rooms are used to teach work skills to indigenous students. The walls are adorned with colorful murals that reflect themes of autonomy, nature, snails, and other Zapatista art. Various areas offer a range of items for sale, including T-shirts, stickers, books, calendars, popcorn, ham and chicken sandwiches, corn on the cob, and mangoes with chili. This is the welcoming atmosphere of CIDECI Uni-Tierra, the site of the Encounters of Resistance and Rebellion. It is here that around 900 Zapatista Compas gathered people from across the globe. An estimated 1,079 attendees from 46 countries and throughout Mexico who signed the Declaration for Life.

In two long rooms, different round tables were held where defenders of life explained the consequences of La Tormenta (the storm) — the crime, the perpetrator and the victims of capitalism, each one talking about the local and the global situation. They discussed topics ranging from the context in Palestine, revisiting the "Tour for Life" in Europe, to Chiapas, where a low-intensity war is being waged due to the conflict between paramilitary groups, drug cartels, the national guard, and the Mexican State's failure to protect the people who live there. With all of this, we had time to catch a glimpse of the great storm that is upon us. Issues such as the destruction of the earth, missing people, searching mothers, wars, death, greed and the voracity of capitalism were presented. A central part of the encounter was to gain an understanding of the process of restructuring that their organization is undergoing. Zapatista comrades recalled through self-criticism what had happened in their 31 years of struggle, their martyrs, their achievements and what they now recognize as their mistakes.

They delved into the changes they have undergone in their autonomy, identifying the role of women in the struggle since the creation of the Revolutionary Law of Women in 1993 and their autonomous process within the movement. Subcomandante Moisés explained the new form of government that has been in place since last year on their 30th anniversary. Where they seek to turn the pyramid upside down—changing the forms of organization, facilitating the participation of all people and having more people in charge.

One of the biggest and most important changes is that of No Property, which means that the Zapatista lands and the autonomous services they provide (school, health, veterinary services and more) will be for all the people who live in those areas. The lands will belong to everyone and to no one, to the Zapatistas, to the supporters of different government parties and to the people. "The Common" is the new paradigm, two words so often repeated at this meeting and since last year.

#### **BETWEEN CUMBIAS AND HOPE**

After three days of meetings at CIDECI, the Zapatistas invited us to celebrate the 31st anniversary of the armed uprising. It was difficult to find transport because there is so little of it, it doesn't go directly to the Caracoles and the road is full of the dangers that the Zapas continually denounce. All the participants in the encounter organized to travel together. We took a minibus with several internationalists and set off through the mountains of south-eastern Mexico. Green, leafy and with the ever-present fog, we arrived at the Caracol Oventic where the Zapatista Cultural Festival-Encounter and their anniversary would take place.

The entrance was a long descent surrounded by colorful structures with different functions —a little shop with articles made by the community, the Lo Común canteen, the Tercios Compas space (free and autonomous media), the health promoters' clinic, sleeping areas, the Zapatista school and more. The path lead to a large esplanade in the middle of everything. During those days, songs were shared by artists who felt called upon to share words of struggle, raps, poetry, dances, rituals and food, while the nights were reserved for participating in the people's dance.

The first play that the young Zapatistas did for us revolved around "The Storm" where they described how violent capitalism is, cruel, inhuman and criminal; the inevitable collapse of the world in the face of this voracious system.

They finished with the play "The Day After", in which they imagine a world without capitalism —the people who are able to survive organized themselves for "The Common". They described a world without big corporations, pharmaceutical companies or agrochemicals. There would be no property, nobody could gate-keep knowledge and profit off of it, the use of medicinal plants, making fire, making clothes, working the land, pottery, politics, etc. Everything must be in common and money would no longer exists. For this, representatives are appointed to help organize the process, as it is the people who will be responsible for making decisions in each space.

On January 1st, the 31 years since the beginning of the war against oblivion were commemorated. Two hours before midnight, between the silence and the fog, a rumble of footsteps broke out, the earth trembled. Hundreds of uniformed Zapatista militiamen marched down the mountain from the top of

the Caracol to celebrate the moment with us. They lined up in an orderly fashion in front of Subcomandante Moisés, who spoke of the years of resistance and rebellion and of the martyrs who did not give up, did not sell out and did not yield. The speech was translated into Tzotzil and Tzeltal, the most widely spoken languages in the area.

What this encounter, along with other experiences with the Zapatistas, leaves us with is, on one hand, the need to share the hopes of the other worlds that already exist and recognize how much we already have in common. On the other hand, it gives us the opportunity to ask ourselves not only if we are ready for the storm—a storm that is certain to come and will change the world as we know it—but also what the storm looks like in the place where we live? How do we face the storm, and who are our companions? It invites us to imagine the day after. What does a world without capitalism look like?

How do we organize ourselves? How can we create The Common? And who is willing to take part in this effort?





# Sehîd Ronahî Yekta

Martyr of Light



#### By Pelîn Zozan

Memoir of a revolutionary young woman that fought everyday with the spirit of vanguard-ship and love for her comrades!

Ronahî in Kurdish means light. Light in darkness, light as hope, like the rays that reach out from the sun that make us see and keep us warm, that give color and create life. For us light has a special meaning as it also is enlightenment. Light is the smile on a shining face and it is a reminder to us of the sun that spreads it's light everywhere and gives birth to a new day.

Şehîd Ronahî, Arşîn Hisên, took this name and with her personality and way of living she made us understand even more what Ronahî means, to be the light, to be Ronahî.

Ronahî Yekta was a revolutionary young

hining face and it is a reminder to us of the sun at spreads it's light everywhere and gives birth to new day.

I had the chance to get to know Şehîd Ronahî for the first time in the mountains. She would braid her very long hair. Her braid would lie across her shoulders, becoming one with the beautiful Guerrilla clothes.

When she moved I looked at her long hair, swinging with her light movements, and I always felt as if she was not walking like other people. Her movement was so light and fast, that it would make all of us around her feel this lightness, joy and beauty of life. I can still remember very well her smile and the

friends with her and joined the struggle. For many

young women Şehîd Ronahî became the inspiration for them to take their own steps into the struggle for

freedom. What caught all these young people was the love with which she approached every friend.

Her way of giving value to people, her kindness and

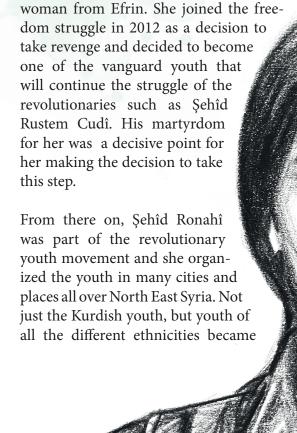
the hevaltî (deep comradeship) that she would build

with the friends around her, all would foster beauty

in every person that she met with.

sound of her laughing and joking and how she would make the friends around her feel so happy every minute they spent together.

I also learned at that time that she had been injured during the attacks of the Turkish state at the time of the occupation of Efrin. A bullet went through her leg but this did not stop her from walking, dancing and spreading joy everywhere. It made me see and feel how strong Şehîd Ronahî was and made me understand once more the spirit and character of revolutionary vanguard-ship inside the PKK and its Guerrilla.



In the years after, at the time of the occupation of Serê Kaniyê and Girê Spî, Şehîd Ronahî decided to join the YPJ. Once again she decided to take revenge and to fight. Her fight for freedom and liberation of the occupied areas would continue until the resistance of the Tishreen Dam where, as a young woman, she became one of the vanguard commanders of the resistance and the struggle waged there. Şehîd Ronahî was playing an important role in the Tishreen Dam. She was fighting with strong insistence. Her smile was seen in all the footage taken, always spreading joy even in the most difficult moments. Her character was the leading spirit that led the resistance at the Tishreen Dam to success. Once again she was one of the YPI commanders that created the belief in victory and spread this belief like sun rays of light everywhere from Tishreen to the Qereqozaq bridge.

The Turkish baked-up SNA was repelled in the battle at Tishreen. The vanguard-ship of YPJ once again shone in the person of Şehîd Ronahî at Tishreen and her resistance set the standard for this phase of struggle and the continuing battles waged. The message was clear to all of us. It was her spirit that led this battle to success. It was with Ronahî that Tishreen became the symbol of resistance and the peoples success. In her courage and strength to fight she was a symbol of women's vanguard-ship.

It showed to us that this would be the fall of the darkness that carries the name of the state, power and death. This is why Şehîd Ronahî was feared so much by the Turkish state and became a target. Şehîd Ronahî reached Martyrdom at the Tishreen Dam on the 25.12.2024. But she will never be forgotten by anyone that was fighting and taking part in this resistance. The resistance of the Tishreen Dam and its success will go into history with the name of the vanguard-ship of the YPJ embodied by Şehîd Ronahî Yekta.

"Her character was the leading spirit that led the resistance at the Tishreen Dam to success. She was one of the YPJ commanders that created the belief in victory and spread this belief like sun rays of light..."

'Its is my biggest dream to meet with Rêber Apo together in Amed!'

This was the biggest aim of Şehîd Ronahî and for this she was working, struggling, organizing and fighting until the day she reached martyrdom. For us as the internationalist youth of this century it is a message and a call to take up this responsibility and to fulfill these dreams and to continue the aims in which Şehîd Ronahî believed in and worked for.

Just like Şehîd Ronahî, many young women became symbols of resistance and what these young women have created is a culture of Goddesses. Şehîd Ronahî felt deeply in her heart her responsibility as a young woman towards the Şehîds and the Revolution and this was the path she chose. A lot of internationalist friends that came to Rojava also had the chance to meet her and to be part of the hevaltî that she built up. Now, we will continue this hevaltî and we once again promise to continue on her path, to tell everybody about her stories, character, her struggle, her beauty and her passions. Just like Şehîd Zîlan, Sema and Delal, Şehîd Ronahî is one of the Young Women in history that will never be forgotten.

Vanguards like her are the ones that wrote history and changed destiny towards a future with freedom

### What happened in history?



#### 1st May 1886 (USA)

The first of May 1886, over 50.000 workers took the streets to impose the eight working hours on the bourgeoise's owners; such an action was seen by many anarchists and socialists as the first step to build an internationalist working class force, capable of standing against the oppressive demands of capitalist society. The government answered the workers' demands with bullets and violence. Two days later, during a worker's demonstration in Haymarket square, law officers started to charge and shoot at the protesters; the end result was four martyrs and over a hundred wounded. Form this point on the US government began a "red-hunt" against trade unionists, socialists and anarchists, executing many of them both inside and outside courthouses. Every 1st of May is celebrated worldwide as a recognition of the peoples struggle towards a fairer society.



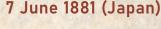
#### 8 May 1993 (Indonesia)

Marsinah was an independent trade unionist and employee at a watch factory in East Java, Indonesia. She was playing her role as the negotiator on behalf of the 500 workers, on strike for the failure to implement minimum wage and union autonomy by their employers, when, on the 5th of May, she was kidnapped by members of the Sidoarjo district military commando, in retaliation for a demonstration against State brutality towards workers. Her body was found 3 days later, near the factory where she worked. The subsequent autopsy found evidence of torture and rape. The murderers were never put on trial, but in response to the state's sabotage of investigations, the Committee of Solidarity for Marsinah (KSUM) was formed shortly after her death. KSUM is a committee founded by 10 NGOs specifically to support and investigate the murder of trade union activist Marsinah, as well as to carry on the battles for workers' rights.



#### 25 May 2020 (USA)

The murder of George Floyd, a black man by a white police officer, happened this day in Minneapolis and was a stark reminder of the systemic racism and state violence that oppress marginalized communities all over the world. This murder ignited global protests, such as the revival of the 'Black Live Matter' movement.





Kanno Sugako was born today. She was an actress, activist and anarcho-feminist. After a forced marriage at the age of 17, she became active in the feminist and socialist movements, participating in the Christian-Socialist Peace Movement. After founding an anarchist newspaper, in which she wrote her own remarks on gender violence and inequality, she was arrested by the police and the journal was closed. In 1911, she was arrested a final time for being part of a plot to kill the Emperor Meiji; she was then hanged on 11 January 1911, becoming the first woman to be executed in modern Japan.

#### 10 June 1924 (Italy)

"I gave my speech, now you prepare the funeral speech for me". These were the words that Giacomo Matteotti, Italian socialist and anti-fascist, said to his party comrades after his speech in the Italian Parliament, when he courageously denounced the fascist electoral fraud and its violence against political opponents. He knew the risks he was taking and what Mussolini and his henchmen were capable of, having been a victim of their beatings, yet he continued to fight against fascism in spite of the risks. His last speech made Mussolini realize that only death would have made him stop. He was kidnapped and killed by the fascists on June 10, 1924. His body was found only two months later.

#### 25 June 1878 (Kanaki)

After being forcedly moved by French settlers on reserves and having lost their ancestral land, the kanaki decided to counterattack. The Kanak rebellion in New Caledonia began on this day, when indigenous warriors from Melanesia killed four colonial policemen. Soon the resistance movement spread throughout the entire region of La Foa, in an attempt to regain possession of their home after 10 years of French colonization and over a century of European oppression. The French army responded brutally to suppress the revolt, killing 5% of the Kanaki population and deporting thousands of people to nearby islands. The Kanak Resistance continues to this day, with a big uprising taking place in spring 2024.



#### 20 July 2015 (Kurdistan)

On this day a suicide attack was carried out by the Islamic State in Suruç, North Kurdistan. The objective of the attack was the Amara Culture Centre, where hundreds of members of the Socialist Party of the Oppressed (ESP) Youth Wing and the Socialist Youth Associations Federation (SGDF) were preparing to cross the Syrian border to help in the reconstruction of Kobane amid the state of siege. The result of the bombing was of 34 deaths and 104 wounded. Both the Turkish government and police were accused of contributing to the attack as part of their collaboration with ISIS. Soon after, the Turkish State conducted a series of large-scale operations against the PKK, including a bombing campaign in South Kurdistan. Turkish's breach of ceasefire led to the restart of the ongoing hostilities.



#### 29 July 1987 (Ethiopia)

Thomas Sankara, Burkina Faso's President and revolutionary, made a speech in Addis Ababa in 29 July 1987, where he promoted his vision of a Popular and Democratic Revolution, not only for his country, but for the whole of Africa. In this speech, he proposed the creation of an African economic bloc against European and US influence and tried to convince the other African governments not to pay the monstrous Western debts and instead invest those money in public health and education. A few months later, in October, he was assassinated by Blaise Compaoré, dictator of Burkina Faso until 2014, during a coup d'état supported by the United States and France governments.



## 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 February to April 2025.



#### **GALIZIA**

In April Lêgerîn Magazine made a tour through Galician cities, meeting young people to talk with them about revolutionary movements; the Galician reality; and to introduce the paradigm of democratic modernity. The youth present stressed the importance of organizing as young people and fighting fascism.



#### **ABYA YALA**

On 17th March 2025, the day Alina Sanchez, S. Lêgerîn fell martyr in a car accident in Heseke in 2017, young women from Abya Yala opened an Academy in her name. "For the defence of the life, the mother, the nature, the earth and the territory."







#### **INDONESIA**

In April 2025, youth from ABC+ worker and other organizations gathered in Jakarta during the Öcalan Book Day to read Abdullah Ocalan's writings from his book Sociology of Freedom.



#### Mali

Many young people and women gathered in Bamako for the World Öcalan Book Day on April 04, 2025. There was a presentation on Abdullah Öcalan, his struggles for women's liberation in Kurdistan, the Rojava revolution and the battle of Kobanê. At the end, the presenter stated: "Let the Turkish state know that as long as Öcalan is not free there will be no peace in this world."

#### **WEST PAPUA**

Young people from West Papua started a project to build a learning house, stating they want to "build the first foundation to make this one of the learning points to find the roots of our tribal history – our culture, with the leader Öcalan paradigm and Jineolojî developed with our local context."

#### **AUSTRIA**

At the internationalist People's Platform in Austria, hundreds came together to discuss how to find a common way towards the future. As Lêgerîn Magazine we presented the last issues, took part in the workshops and came in contact with youth across many countries.



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



Available in Arabic or with subtitles.- 2018

apernaum means chaos. It describes a reality in which young children find themselves lost and alone in a big, messy, and dirty city. They live from one day to the next to survive a war that is being fought against them. This story teaches us how to have a strong will and keep alive visions and hope in the face of chaos.

The movie follows a young boy named Zain, living in terrible circumstances in one of the poorest neighbourhoods of Beirut. His parents are not able to support their family financially, which is why they sell Zain's sister, Sahar, who is still a child, to marry an older man. Zain tries to stop and intervene but can't and decides to run away from his family. Throughout the film it flashes forward and back, seeing Zain sitting in Court suing his parents for giving birth to him. How does a young boy, about 12 years of age, come to this conclusion? Zain realizes that his parents should have taken the responsibility to make sure that the children they give birth to have a chance to live. He accuses them of bringing so many children without being able to take care of them or to build them up a future. Therefore he wants them to take a stance for their decisions in front of the court.

In Zain, we see the uprising of the spirit of a searching child, the heart of a community, that is not yet tamed and made to function in a broken society. He develops a political consciousness, having a vision for the possibility of a better life that is less neglected, neither split from values nor ruled by money. Being a curious, but serious child, Zain is loyal and moral everywhere he goes. Carefully, he works his way through the city on his own, still keeping

his values and hopes alive. Zain is always striving for a way to raise his voice against the injustice and heartlessness of the world he knows. He quickly finds a new family with an Ethiopian illegally immigrated woman and her baby son, which he starts taking care of just as he did before with his little siblings. He always protects the light of hope inside himself in his search for a better life.

In front of the court, he is allowed to tell his whole story. In his accusations, he is not attacking his parents personally, but rather the whole crisis of the system. It is visible that the court laws cannot be met in most of the society it is supposed to speak for. The questions raised by Zain are essential to each society, addressing the problem of illegality within nation-states, child marriage, poverty and immoral children's work.

The regisseur Nadina Labaki gives an authentic portrait of the hopelessness of lower class society and immigrants suffering from the capitalist world order. With this movie, she questions the system in which the largest amount of people are globally oppressed and exploited. Continuously, she opens up the antagonism that a young child must feel towards his own life, not knowing his age, not being able to visit school, having to let go of his sister and meeting other young children left alone on the street. He is tactical in relation to adults and warm towards his new baby brother. His morals are clear and he is determined to protect his rights. Being strongly convinced and without fear of any struggles that might lay on his way, Zain is an example for a revolutionary, natural search that each of us has been on once. This movie reminds us to get back to this feeling and dedicate our lives, just like him, to fight for justice and to get closer to the truth

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, developped 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.

How to participate? 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!



#### **Internal Work:**

-Editorial Team
-Translation / Proofreading.
-Use of programs such as:
Photoshop, InDesign, After Effects,
Premiere Pro, etc.

- -Management on social networks such as: Twitter, Instagram and web design
  - Poems, paitings, fiction writing, research, video making



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

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!



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

