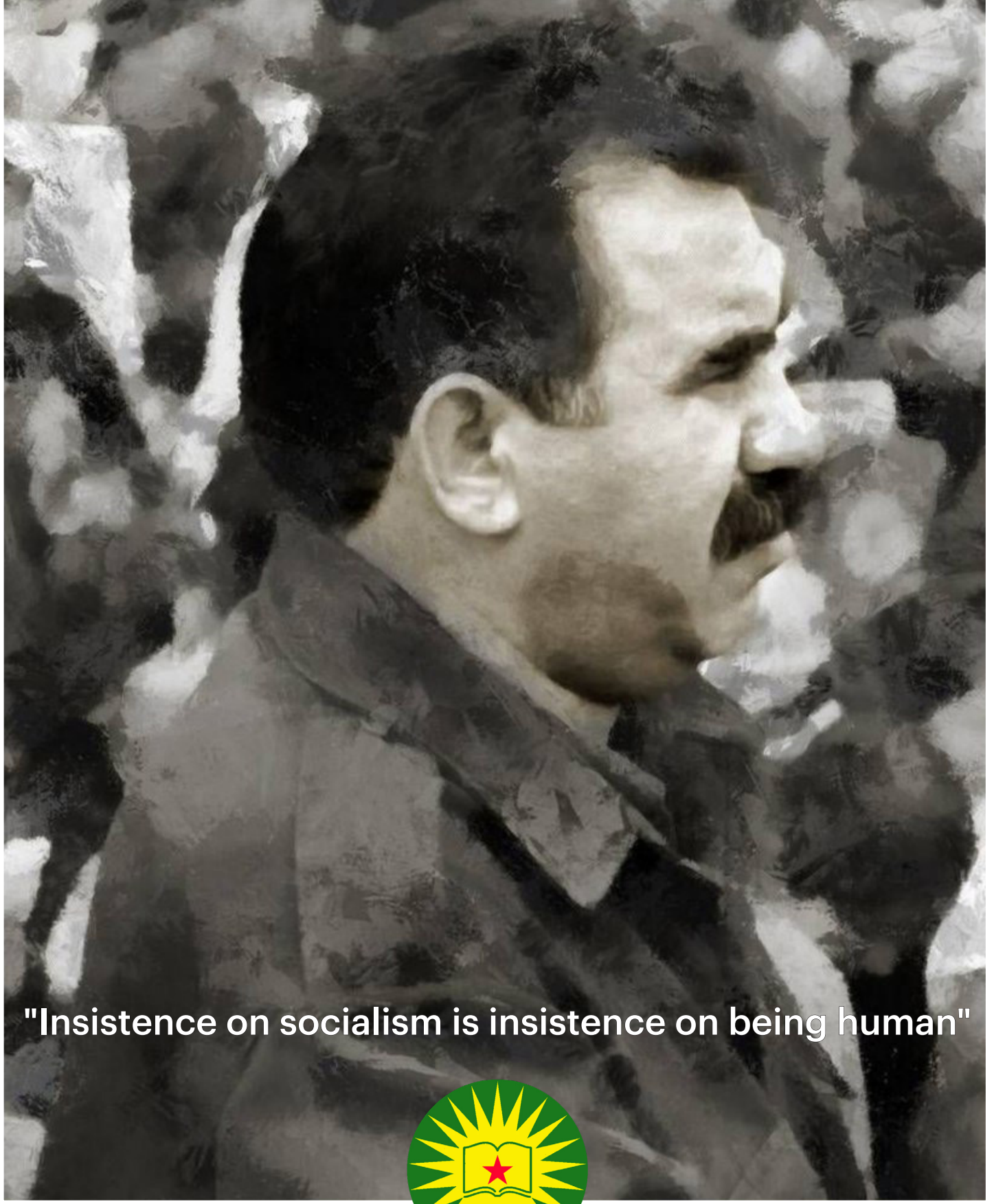


LÉGERIN

No. 6



"Insistence on socialism is insistence on being human"



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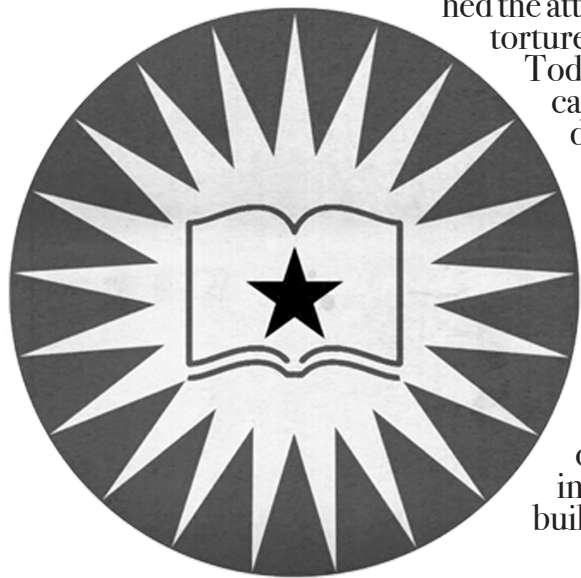
With many important events, we have left the year 2021 behind us. Great resistance and continuous struggle have accompanied us. The heroic struggle of the guerrillas in the mountains of Kurdistan, along with valuable friends who gave their lives for a better world, have been the light of our struggle. We have once again made clear to the states the will and strength of the youth, the resoluteness of the revolution and the conviction and hope of democratic forces. In order to achieve revolutionary success in the new year, we have to evaluate the last year correctly, thoroughly analyze the possibilities for the new year and thus create a perspective together. How to continue the revolutionary struggle? What to do? Where to start? All these questions we have discussed as the editorial board and our answer is the 6th issue of Lêgerîn! We hope that with this new issue we can be a foundation and perspective for your discussions.

While we are starting the new year with the greatest passion, the enemy is also making preparations.

The youth movement, in particular, is under attack and being targeted. Drone attacks on youth activists in Rojava, special warfare against the youth movement in Kurdistan, and targeted attacks on youth and young women in northern Kurdistan are commonplace. The youth movement is the motor of the revolution in Kurdistan and the expression of the alternative system. For this reason, the youth movement is a thorn in the side of the nation-states.

In the midst of war, the revolution in Kurdistan is a living utopia and the hope for a better world. While the interstate conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan and the Freedom Movement on February 15, 1999 aimed to wipe out socialism forever, our ideas and thoughts, as the new paradigm, have reached millions of people worldwide and crushed the attempt of the enemy. They try to isolate socialism, through isolation torture, on the Imrali island prison. But socialism lives internationally!

Today, let's let our utopias bloom together in Kurdistan and try to carry the colors of the revolution together to the gray world. Let's defend the revolution together in Kurdistan and build the alternative worldwide!



In our magazine, we share experiences and analysis from the revolution to build bridges between struggling peoples around the world. We want to be an inspiration for discussions and revolutionary processes, the fire for a new internationalism.

Our presence spreads like wildfire, we are the nightmare of Turkish fascism and Western liberalism. Every day comrades from all over the world join the ranks of the revolution and become part of the revolutionary life. Every day, revolutionary internationalism increases the potential of our organizations and resistance. We are building the world of tomorrow. A true, just and democratic world.

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The International Conspiracy

| Abdullah Öcalan



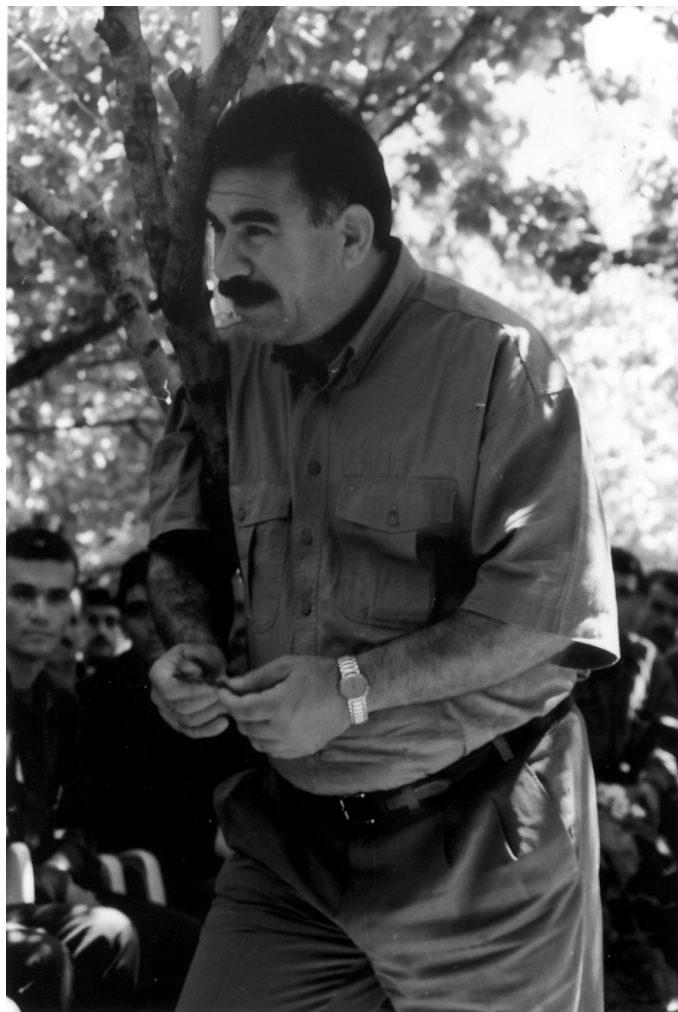
It has been exactly 20 years since Rêber APO was taken captive by the interstate conspiracy of the capitalist modernity. During these 20 excruciating years, the history of humanity has witnessed a uniquely magnificent resistance. From his prison cell, Rêber APO recreated the PKK with his Prison Writings and made it ideologically, socially and militarily even stronger than before. The following is an excerpt from his “Manifesto for a Democratic Civilization – Volume 1.” In this brief text Rêber APO analyzes the interstate conspiracy from a very broad perspective and concludes that “The real power of capitalist modernity is not its money or its weapons; its real power lies in its ability to suffocate all utopias—including the socialist utopia which is the last and the most powerful of all—with its liberalism.”

After the betrayal of friendship by the Greek nation-state and her relationship with the Republic of Turkey being added to the equation of interests, I was handed over to the USA (thus, the CIA). When I was first taken to the Imrali Prison, I was met by the then president of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT), Silvia

Casale. She said, “You will stay in this prison and we shall try to find some kind of solution under the supervision of the Council of Europe.” I was thus chained to the rocks of Imrali; doomed to live a destiny more severe than that of the mythological Prometheus.

The dynamics of the interstate conspiracy

It is important to discuss how and why I left Syria, as this started the chain of events that eventually led to my abduction. My departure from Syria resulted from the contradiction that arose yet again from the value I put on friendship and Israel’s Kurdish policies. After its founding, shortly after World War II, Israel tried to patronage the Kurdish issue but was so sensitive that she had no tolerance for the alternative solution to the Kurdish issue proposed by our movement that became more influential. Our proposed alternative did not serve the interest of Israel. I should not, however, deny their efforts; MOSSAD did indirectly invite me to work with them on their own solution. But I was not open to, nor desired, this—neither politically nor morally. On the other hand, the Syrian-Arab government never wished to surpass their tactical alliance with the PKK leader-



ship. An alliance with the PKK had been part of Syria's answer to the threats that had been coming from Turkey since 1958 and Turkey's extreme pro-Israel tendencies. The PKK did not object to such a tactical relationship. (No one wanted to see that this relationship could lead to an alternative Kurdish policy; thus, the efforts of the Turkish administrations were ineffective.) But, seeing that Hafez al-Assad obtained the Syrian leadership due to the power struggle between the USA and the USSR, Syria was in no position to maintain any of its tactical alliances after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Even this short reminder shows that, although political pressure by the USA and military pressure by Turkey undoubtedly played a role, the real power that forced me out of Syria was Israel. It should not be forgotten that Israel and Turkey already had clandestine agreements in the 1950s, and with the second "anti-terror" agreement of 1996 the anti-PKK alliance between the USA, Israel and the Turkish Republic was complete.

Another critical factor was the anti-PKK coalition which the Turkish Republic had entered into with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), both of whom already had relations with the USA and Israel; in other words, with the Kurdish Federal Assembly and its administration established in 1992. The combination of all these adverse factors led me to leave Syria in 1998. Besides, I knew that it was time to leave. I had already been in Syria too long, lured by the political developments around Kurdistan and the friendship that I had hoped would result in strategic cooperation. I have to

admit that high-ranking officials in the Syrian government had warned me about its disadvantages. Yet, I did not want to give up my belief in the power of friendship and cooperation between peoples. For the same reason I left Syria for Greece. I wanted to develop ties of friendship with the Greek people, to learn from its classical culture and its tragic history. My only alternative was to go off into the mountains of Kurdistan. Two factors made me decide to not do this. First, my presence would attract massive military force. This would lead to serious damage to the civilians in the area and my comrades; it could also lead to the armed struggle becoming the exclusive means of obtaining a solution for the Kurdish question. Second, it was a pressing need to educate the youth joining our organization. In short, the official and unofficial claims in Turkey of "we have him cornered" and "see the results we have obtained" do not altogether reflect reality. Notwithstanding this, Turkey is still trying to ensnare Iran and Iraq in the same way it did Syria. The outcome of Turkey's alliance with Syria and Iran can also not be predicted. If the antagonisms between the USA, EU, Israel, Iran, Russia and China intensify, will the Turkish Republic be ready for the consequences?

Capitalist modernity attacks our utopias

My three-month peregrination between Athens, Moscow and Rome was not without value, though. This adventure led me to understand the essence of capitalist modernity—the basis on which this defense is built—despite its many masks and disguises. If not for this insight, I would either have been a primitive nationalist aspiring for a nation-state, or I would have ended up in a classical left-wing movement. Thus, my change in thought and policy can be ascribed to this forced adventure. It has now become clear to me: The real power of capitalist modernity is not its money or its weapons; its real power lies in its ability to suffocate all utopias—including the socialist utopia which is the last and the most powerful of all—with its liberalism. Unless this power of liberalism is analyzed thoroughly, no ideology will escape being the humble servant of capitalism. There is hardly anyone who analyzed capitalism as comprehensively as Marx did, or focused on the state and revolution as much as Lenin did. However, it has become much clearer today that, despite claiming to be its negation, the Marxist-Leninist tradition's contribution to capitalism in terms of material and meaning was significant. To help channel humanity into its natural stream, we need to understand the individual and the society brought about by liberalism. More-over, for me to understand my own fate, I need to understand the capitalist modernity behind the representative of the Council of Europe who welcomed me to the Imrali Prison. The whole odyssey was planned by Israel, the USA, EU, and a disintegrated Soviet Russia. The Syrian, Greek and Turkish governments had a secondary role; they only lent a helping, bureaucratic hand. As I said during my interrogation to the representatives of the four main institutions of Turkey (the Intelligence Service of the Chief of Staff, the National Intelligence Service, the Security General Directorate, and the Intelligence of the gendarmerie) they had no reason to celebrate my capture. I told them they did not take part in a brave fight but in a conspiracy. The way I was captured demonstrated that the capitalist modernity, of which the USA is the world leader, is a system with no inhibition to oppress and abuse.

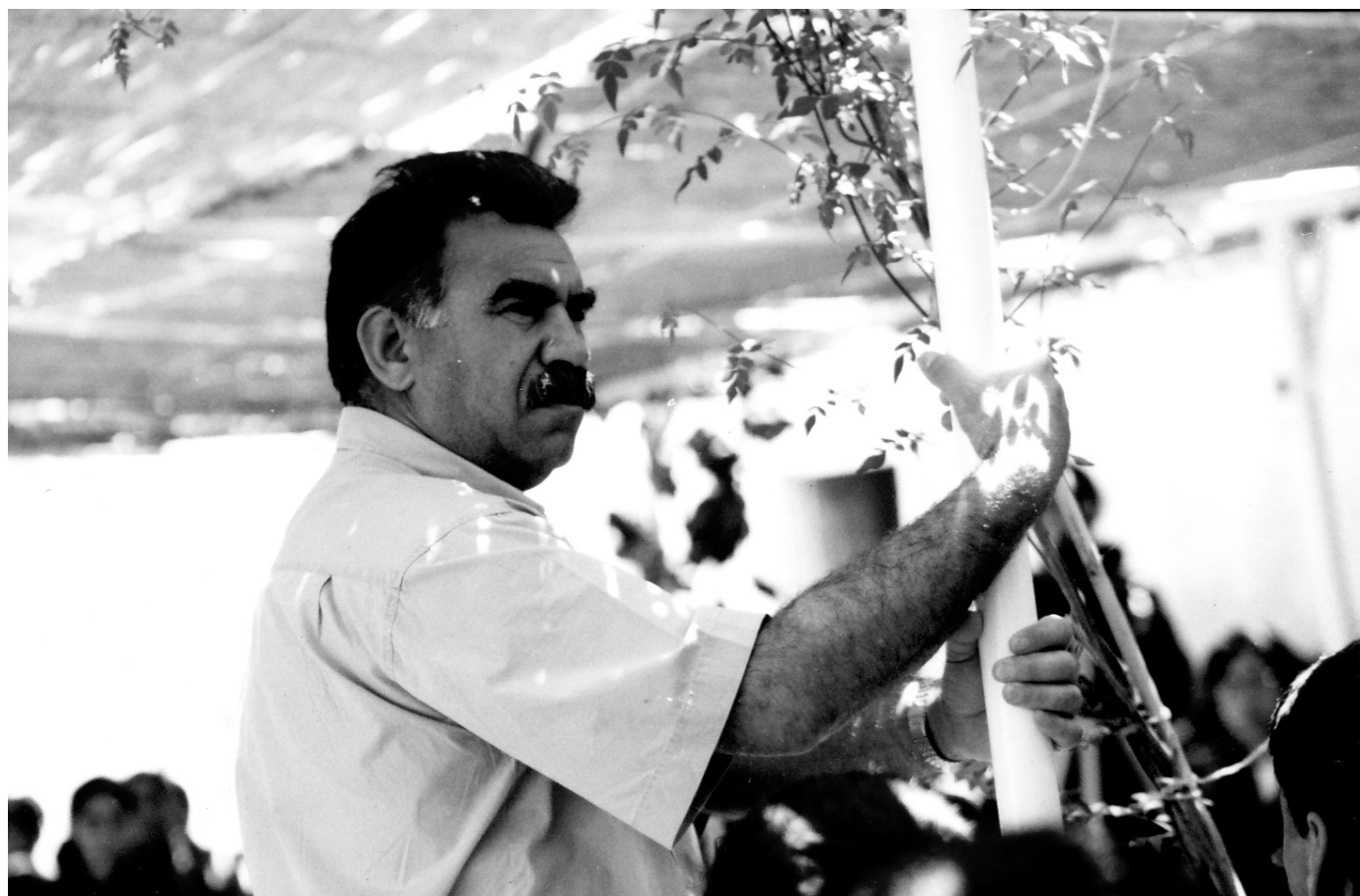
The conspiracy was aimed at the free Kurd

It is not as if I did not understand the way the Turkish state operated. On the contrary. At the time, there existed a death decree for Kurdishness. I had a choice: I was either going to resist—to not give up my honor, my humanness, my Kurdishness—or I was going to deny who I am and vanish into obscure captivity. In the beginning I was alone and very weak, but I resisted. I am not about to enter into a discourse on this; those who have witnessed it will attest that I have struggled well. I do not feel any anger either. But I am angry that I could not transcend the concepts and the ideology underlying the Western capitalist system. The system we are confronted with is supposedly based on human rights. In reality though, it is an elite group manipulating and exploiting the rest of humanity and nature, unleashing war whenever that is in their interest. They are the ones dictating the roles the rest of humanity must play.

Although the society I was born into has not really progressed beyond Neolithic culture, it has readily integrated the negative effects of the different stages of civilization. Capitalist modernity combined with the strictest and most conservative traditions of the Middle East resulted in our society being besieged by the ideal of ethnic nationalism and nation-statehood. This is in fact the dominant ideology in our society and the most difficult to disentangle ourselves from. Combined with the ever-present possibility for violence, this ideal enslaves us all in an opportunity-less life before even being born. Nevertheless, I did not leave Turkey in the cause of “glorious resistance.” I was in fact looking for some breathing space for the resolution of the national question to which we were devoted through some dogmatic left-wing analysis. The PKK stood no chance of surviving in the Middle East if it

did not take advantage of the vacuums in the system. Still, the fact that the PKK has been able to wage an armed struggle was important because of the implications thereof. For the Kurds it has meant an increased politicization. The fact that the Kurds were able to progressively free themselves from the classic collaborators meant that, for the first time, the alternative of freedom had been felt and understood. This is exactly why this movement has never been embraced by the so-called “modern” nation-states (states that in reality resemble the despotic regimes of medieval times); why the Kurdish collaborators, the nation-states of the region, and the imperialist world leaders colluded in branding the PKK a “terrorist organization.” The fallacy that the conquering ideology of Islam and the nationalist ideology of liberalism had wiped out and excluded the Kurds from history was destroyed by the free Kurd—a free Kurdish individual and a free Kurdish society. In fact, it is not me but this free Kurdishness that serves the sentence of solitary confinement in this single inmate island prison. That this sentence is not about the individual Abdullah Öcalan is clear from the imprisonment policies implemented daily during the nine years I have been in isolation on Imralı—they are not the policies that are applied in the average Turkish prison.

I came to understand that Turkey cannot decide to either fight or to make peace in its own name. The role that has been assigned to Turkey is to be the vulgar gendarme, the watchdog and the prison guard of all Middle Eastern peoples in order to make them more susceptible to the oppression and exploitation of the capitalist system. Hence, stable Turkish and Anatolian societies—both in and outside Europe—are of critical importance to the system. Turkey’s relations with NATO and the EU should be understood in terms of these policies.





Internationalist Perspective

| The Internationalist Commune

Dear comrades
We left a revolutionary year behind us. There have been many events that have accompanied us this year, influenced our lives and supported our struggle. In order to enter the new year successfully, it is important to review the last year and formulate clear perspectives for the coming year. In this context, we want to salute the incredible resistance on Imrali and remember the friends who have fallen in the struggle for a better world in the last year.

Dear comrades,
The plot against Reber APO, which started on February 15, 1999, is a black day for the Kurdish society. It was first and foremost an attack against the peoples of the Middle East. It was an attack against internationalism, socialism and liberation. When Reber APO started to criticize Real Socialism in the 90s, a new socialist perspective was formed from the Kurdish freedom movement, which gained new strength with the criticism of the existing one and raised the flag of falling socialism again. Since then, the development of the revolution in Kurdistan has been a direct threat to capitalist modernity. The conspiracy that followed is the answer to a successful analysis and a successful practice of the Kurdish freedom movement. Also the massacre in Paris on January 9, 2013, of the three friends Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan, Leyla Saylemez, was an attempt to expand the plot and eliminate the women's movement, with its leaders. The murders were never properly clarified; and similar to the kidnapping and interstate cooperation against the freedom movement

in the plot against Reber APO, the role of interstate cooperation in the murders in Paris was also covered up. The plot against the Kurdish freedom movement, which started in 1999, could not achieve success. For this reason, the capitalist modernity, every year anew, tries to stagnate the struggle for freedom with new attempts. The crazy games of the states show us that the philosophy of Reber APO is gaining more and more ground internationally and can be a real alternative. But above all it expresses one thing, that the capitalist modernity fears the ideas, the philosophy, the sociology of freedom! Millions of people worldwide are connected with the ideas and philosophy of Reber APO. Thousands of people responded this year with thousands of actions all over the world to the existing inhumane solitary confinement of Reber APO. Thousands of people have expressed their solidarity with the revolution in Kurdistan and Reber APO through creative actions. The backward states and their puppet Erdogan, which try to attack the revolution again and again and to silence the voice of Reber APO, witnessed this year that the renewed plot attempt against Reber APO and the freedom movement failed! There was a deliberate attempt to strike a blow to the struggle by attacking the leadership of the freedom movement, to detach the party from its ideology and finally to get the areas of Maxmur, Rojava and Sengal under the control of the regional states. But the resistance of the guerilla put a stop to the attempt. The states tried to lock away the philosophy of socialism on the torture island of Imrali as early as 1999, but the thoughts and ideas of the freedom movement are flourishing today not only in the revolution in Rojava, but are inspiring people from all

over the world. The defense of this idea, the defense for the construction of democratic confederalism, is carried by the guerilla in the mountains of Kurdistan.

Dear comrades,

It is and was not a coincidence that the Turkish state, with all its means, first attacked the mountains, the center of the movement. Great successes of the guerilla in the Medya defense areas, which have already started at the beginning of the year with a heroic struggle, and until today in Avasin, Zap, Haftanin and many other areas, do not give a footstep to the enemy and repel the enemy; uprisings in all parts of the world, against the existing international state system, have been achieved as well.

With the resistance of the guerilla in the mountains of Kurdistan and with the victory at the beginning of the year in Garê, the Kurdish movement has once again proven that the human being, with his will, hope, commitment and love, is able to change the course of history. The struggle that the guerilla is waging in the mountains of Kurdistan is fundamental. In spite of chemical weapons and NATO technology, the Turkish state does not manage to make progress and to implement its misanthropic policy for the region. The dreams promised to the AKP-MHP and the illusions of expansion were buried in the mountains of Kurdistan before they were expressed. But the game of capitalist modernity is not over. The plans of the international capital is to nip all remaining socialist utopias and struggles in the bud. The AKP-MHP government was given this task, but failed when it faced the resistance of the Kurdish people and movement. The Turkish government is now on very thin ice. The AKP-MHP government, with its obsessive war and expansionist policies, drove the country into an economic, political and social collapse. The Turkish lira has sunk to record lows. The Middle East Plan, which was supposed to ensure that the people of the Middle East would be integrated into capi-

talist modernity, was doomed to failure even in theory. The climax of the crisis is shown by the situation in Afghanistan and Turkey. The Taliban, which took Afghanistan in a few days, is only another example. Also the situation worldwide: fascism, sexism, racism, poverty, pandemics and natural catastrophes are deep scars that bleed into history until today.

On the other hand, we see more and more unhappiness and the search for freedom and a better life. Democratic and socialist forces, uprisings of women and youth blessed the words of resistance also this year! From year to year, the horror regime of capitalist modernity is less and less bearable for people and society. For this reason, the struggle that guerilla is waging in the mountains of Kurdistan is the defense of our human values, the defense of socialism and hope. The incredible struggle of the Gerilla against Turkish state fascism shows not only that man is the strongest weapon but also that another world is possible.

Dear comrades,

Capitalism is not and has never been a solution for societies and humanity. Rather, it is a social disease that is causing more and more mischief. Capitalist modernity is at the peak of its crisis. The world needs to be redesigned. Capitalism will need to reform itself. All states are pathologically trying to secure their existence and get a big part of the cake. But the masks of capitalist modernity have fallen. The evil of the nation-state construct has deciphered itself. Societies around the world are recognizing the truths. The reality of nation-states and their backward ideology of liberalism show us day by day that the actions of nation-states are based only on their own profit and power. Neither society nor nature interests the international capital. Through individualization, fragmentation of society and massive centralization of state apparatuses, through strengthening of borders, the true face of the nation-state becomes clear. The increase of conflicts on the borders of Russia/Ukraine and the military coup in Myanmar are just other examples. The nation-state is, in its



essence, the epitome of fascism and nationalism. Instead of preventing wars, stopping regional conflicts and protecting human lives, wars are consciously promoted, whether actively or indirectly, through arms supplies or targeted economic interests. Nature, our living space, is sold for market interests. The current natural disasters and climate change showed alarming effects: wildfires from Europe to Australia and Turkey; volcanic explosions, hurricanes, floods from Germany to China; droughts, ever melting pool caps, rising sea levels and on the other side the world climate summit of the states that respond to us with empty words. Nature is crying out for change. The fight against the pandemic, which can also be understood as an expression of capitalism, served only as another instrument to massively attack sociality and individualize people.

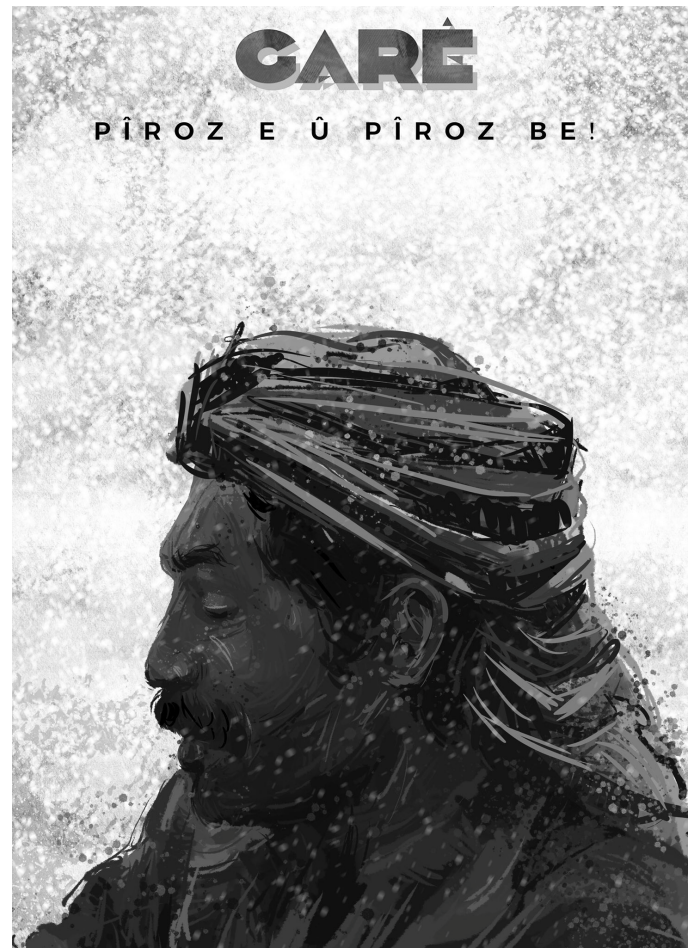
Femicide, suicide and other social psychological problems became commonplace. On the other hand, we see the worldwide protests of the youth and ecology movements that took their concern and anger to the streets throughout the year; the resistance of the Zapatistas and the internationalist journey for a common perspective; the Catalan parliament becoming the first parliament in the world to recognize the AANES; women worldwide fighting against patriarchy and the nation-state; and the increasingly strong search for alternatives in Latin America- just to name a few examples in the construction of democratic modernity.

Defend and build the alternative!

Dear comrades,

The coming year is an important one for our revolution. The war continues- whether in the mountains of Kurdistan, in other parts of Kurdistan, or in Rojava. Although the threat of the large-scale invasion to Rojava was present throughout the last year, the war has never stopped. The attacks on civilians in Rojava, on the hospital in Sengal, the attacks on the villages in Til Temir and political representatives, is the everyday life in Kurdistan. Thousands of arrests in Bakur and Turkey, attacks on Kurds, persecution and targeted murder of activists, murder plans even in Europe, show the extent of fascism. The fascism of Turkey is the face of capitalist modernity in the Middle East. The fall of fascism in Turkey is the beginning of a more democratic Middle East, and furthermore democratization of the Middle East means that we are one step closer to the liberation of humanity. The AKP-MHP government, which can only stand on its feet with the support of NATO, must be fought with all forces and resources. Fighting together against Turkish state fascism means defending the revolution in Kurdistan, defending socialism, coming closer to our utopias. The time has come to give the final blow to the weakened state fascism. Let us build communes, academies and cooperatives in defense of the revolution. Let us carry the revolution to our countries. Let us live the fire and resistance of Kurdistan in our places. Let us liberate the ideas of Reber APO from the torture island of Imrali and spread them to the world. Let us liberate Reber APO physically together!

Once again we want to renew our word for the struggle for a better world. We will become the revenge of the fallen and the love of the seekers. Together, we will make a more beautiful world possible internationally. In this sense, let us live our utopias, let us defend the revolution!





Last words of Şehîd Sara

| Young Internationalist Women

Sakine Cansiz, code-named Sara, is one of the most important figures in the Kurdish women's movement and in the Kurdish liberation struggle in general. With her special life and the impact it has on millions of people, she joins the ranks of historical female revolutionaries.

Şehîd Sara was one of the first women in the PKK and a founding member of the party. In particular, her 13 years of resistance in the Turkish prison of Amed and the pioneering role she played there made her one of the strongest personalities the history of women's liberation has ever seen.

Throughout her time in the party, she showed the strength required of a revolutionary in the struggle against the state and patriarchy, even in the face of her own comrades. At the most difficult times, she always uncompromisingly defended the Apoist line. Her deep connection with the party and Reber APO (Abdullah Ocalan) is the reason why she could always withstand the worst torture, the worst betrayal.

Because of her strength and charisma, she was targeted early on by the enemy, the Turkish state, and has always been a thorn in its side. On 9 January 2013, she and two other female comrades were murdered in Paris by the Turkish secret service. To this day, the murder of the three friends and the sudden death of the murderer in a French prison have not been solved by the French state. Therefore, every year thousands of people take to the streets of Paris to remember the freedom fighters and demand that the murder be solved.

With great admiration and respect we want to remember a comrade who lives on in our hearts, in our struggle and in our thoughts. Through her diaries we are able to get closer to her and learn from a great, passionate fighter. We have given a lot of thought to how to put Heval Sara into words and have come to the conclusion that her own penmanship, her own words, her own portrayal, describes her best.

With great honesty and modesty, she describes in her books (in three volumes) the struggles in her life that have made her who she is today.

The following excerpt is Şehîd Sara's final words from the third volume of her autobiography, in which she revisits her writing process.

"I have come to the end of a piece of writing that was created for various reasons, over a long period of time and under very different conditions. However, this end does not mean drawing a line under what I have experienced. Yes, if life is a struggle, it means that this struggle continues. The leader spoke of my "struggling" books and said that I should

now write a "victory novel." Perhaps I will not find the opportunity to do so, but I am determined to be victorious in my struggles. Looking again at the disasters my struggles have caused so far, I am painfully aware of the necessity.

In my books I have given a very general overview of my struggles. I have tried to describe how I lived with my struggles, what I did and lost, and what I wanted to achieve. In writing, I went back to the past. I wanted to portray everything as it happened in its time.

The first book is about my search and my incessant struggles. I went against the family, the system, the social environment and everything I thought was outdated or wrong. Along the way, I didn't care where I was going or with what.

I lacked the necessary equipment and was not able to give my contentiousness a stable foundation. I was a breathless, impatient, inexperienced, over-hasty, emotional and rebellious fighter. My path followed no calculation and I bumped into corners. But I did not stop.

In the second book, I continue my struggle against the enemy as a sheer insurrection. In order not to capitulate to the enemy, I fought back blindly. However, I was not organized enough and I lacked the awareness of when to strike, with what objective and with what weapons. I did not have the foresight to distinguish between senseless wastes of strength and moments when organizing could be expanded.

In the last book, I described how my immature way of fighting brought me into conflict with the party, even though the PKK was the meaning of my life. I was in conflict with everyone.

A state of constant rebellion. I misjudged the actual reality, let myself be guided by reflexes I had been used to for many years and judged only according to my own values. This was as difficult for me as it was for others.

I must add that I have not dealt with all the incidents and attacks of the enemy in my books. They are material for novels, literature or art and should be written by masters of the art of writing.

I therefore do not claim to do justice to the events with my texts. I was constantly worried about doing wrong by omitting something for which I could not find an expression. Often I wished someone else would write in my place. Writing about Diyarbakır in particular is not easy. However, I believe that it is necessary to record the events in writing. Of course, some anxiety is unavoidable at this point. When writing, it is important to feel the spirit of Diyarbakır to the core.

Yes, the reality of all of us is shaped by countless, complex incidents. Everything that has happened to me, to all of us, represents a version of the totality of our reality. The apocu reality has with all these versions together and at the same time, in the intense struggle with them, brought forth a great development. This gives meaning to the specificity of the apocu struggle. No other struggle contains such richness. In no other revolution have such long, painful but successful revolutions taken place in individuals. This is precisely the guarantee of victory. It is in this struggle that the zeal, commitment and patience to humanize socialism and concretize it in every single cell, gets crystallized.

For this reason, our struggle is wonderful, attractive and unifying. I am in love with it.

I dedicate my heart, my consciousness and all my strength to the victorious struggle..."





Democratic Socialism

| Rotinda Canan

The human being realized their own existence with the process of socialization at the point in history when communal life first arose. The reality is that our struggle is also present in this era, in which the hegemony of statehood, hierarchies, and sexism first developed.

The search for a democratic, free communal life became the eternal companion of humanity and, above all, the reality of the oppressed. Along the way, struggles were fought and sacrifices were made.

Socialism is therefore an important period that has its place in our history. We encountered this quest for freedom in different places and at different times; in the French Revolution, in the Paris Commune and in many other emerging revolutions. This struggle to build a better life is a widespread vivid event that has appeared again and again at all points in history.

Although socialism has been discussed in all periods of history, the focus is usually put on Real Socialism and its collapse after 70 years of existence. Without question, this attempt is not a true manifestation of socialism, but was an important stage nonetheless.

It is neither tactically nor politically productive to demonize Leninism from the outset nor to accept without questioning, but we must recognize the reaching impact of this attempt at changing society.

With the end of two bloody world wars, the capitalist-imperialist system entered into the phase of its strongest contradictions. In this period, when the world was divided by the repugnant capitalist system, the working class lived under harsh exploitative conditions and the peoples and workers of the world began to resist- in this phase Leninism became the name of a great freedom movement.

Although the existing system tries by all means to delegitimize the many resistances of the 20th century, the 20th

century is nevertheless a significant phase in the struggle against the dominant exploitative system. During this phase, the ideas of changing the world through revolution and building socialist societies were the topics that oppressed people discussed.

The first stage of Leninism was to overcome the cycle of crude colonialism and oppression, to create a better future in the name of the workers and the people.

Even if many victories in the name of freedom were achieved, the insufficiency in the ideological foundation - that is incompatible with socialism - ensured that this attempt tragically came to an end.

If we ask ourselves what emerged from Real Socialism, it is not wrong to conclude the following:

What developed from the Leninist foundation was the paradigm of state socialism.

The fact that such importance was attributed to the state spoke against true socialist ideals. The concepts of a "socialist state" and "proletarian dictatorship" were seen to be problematic. They were not designed to create a socialist society and free individual. Socialism was the term that most radically criticized nationalization and most strongly questioned its necessity; the Real Socialists defended their approach with the thesis that in time a dissolution of the state would take place. The Real Socialist experiments have shown that these principles have not been fulfilled.

The Kurdish freedom movement and Reberîti approached Real Socialism, which with time emerged as insufficient, with doubts and tried to avoid these mistakes.

The leadership of the PKK, with deep analyses of the current situation of humanity and deep discussion on the state socialist paradigm, created the theory of the parameters of democratic socialism.

With the epochal concerted renewal of the ideological,

political and philosophical perspective, they created the renewal of the socialist party program and its strategies with the democratic, ecological and women's liberation paradigm.

The problems that the people of the world are faced with in the capitalist-imperialist system exceeds all problems of the previous eras of history; to the point that the liberal policies of the system plunge the economy, the environment and nature into a fatal crisis. Threats to society continue through the bursting population of humanity, which no longer fits on our planet; through the moral crises of people, who no longer have ethics on which to base their lives; and through the social crises that cause wars, which expose the limits of the hegemonic forces. The only ideology that nourishes moral values and ideals against the hopelessness and aimlessness of capitalism is socialism.

We have witnessed that socialism, which is destined to be the future of humanity, has the power to solve the political, ideological, sociological and economic problems of the people. From our experience, we also witnessed how socialism is forming anew. Capitalism has nothing to offer societies, humanity and oppressed societies except pain, colonialism and tears.

The reason for the attacks against our movement come from the capitalist-colonialist system's fear of our ideology, which is an alternative demonstrating that a new world is possible.

Today, the PKK has proved that it is a humanist movement. This fact has been proved by its development, attachment to socialist ideals and to democratic values.

After 70 years of Real Socialism, Rebertî criticized its inability to develop socialism and furthermore he deve-

loped our own alternative thoughts and explanations. The fact that our movement is the vanguard of socialism and people's democracy in the Near and Middle East has made our movement a target, a hope and a true alternative for the regional peoples, oppressed women and humanity. In this way, it made the movement more difficult for the current system which demoralized the people.

Our movement, as a bearer of hope, is getting stronger day by day; because where hope falls short, there are defeats. With loss of hope, there is the threat of dissolution and incorporation into the system. In very difficult conditions, keeping our goals clear, morale high and hope alive is the foundation of success.

Success exists where there is revolutionary vanguard and organized society. What keeps the society and the revolutionary movement alive is the constant and deep struggle. What distinguishes us from other movements and attempts at socialism is that we keep our ideology strong and morale high; the depth and richness of our struggle makes the attacks from the enemy come to nothing. To achieve success in the struggle, it is necessary to raise the morale of the revolutionary vanguard, to carry the hope of the society to the highest level, to develop theory of organizing society, and to spread consciousness of self-defense and organizing. Bringing the self-defense strategy into life against the unpredictable violence of the system is the fundamental point of our struggle.

The difference between our execution of democratic socialism versus that of Real Socialism is that, after having seen the fall and erosion of the latter, we do not repeat their mistakes; we replace these mistakes with thoughtfully chosen solutions. Without falling into dogmatism, we create creative applications of our theory and keep the re-





sistance alive in the mountains, the cities, and the prisons—this makes us the most visible revolutionary movement of our time. The fascist Turkish state and their oppressive policies, lasting over 40 years with the support of the backward international nation-state system, with their paramilitary jihadist proxy forces, that have come to life over the past 10 years, are the expression of their fear of the democratic socialism that is flourishing due to the vanguard role of our movement.

In spite of all these attacks, great successes have been achieved; the real reason for this is hidden in our hope, in our goals, in our morale and in the continuous struggle.

And, of course, the most important thing that makes us is our internal struggle, our personality development, and the struggle for it continuously.

The most important components of socialism is to overcome the type of human created by capitalist modernity; to purge the influences on our personality from the ruling class, state ideologies, individualism, familism (relating to traditional family structure), and social sexism.

If we do not challenge bureaucracy, elitism, dogmatism, liberalism, nationalism and classical masculinity, they will consume the revolution, the revolutionary moment and oppose our goals.

Today we are witnessing how in our revolution, in ROJAVÁ, the social forces with their own strength, culture, willpower and consciousness develop and execute their own solutions.

Great strength and effort is invested in the fight for the construction of society through democratic socialism, which manifests in the regional boards with a political system of alternative methods of building communities from the cities to the villages through district and commune councils; working with and for the people, inclu-

ding the children and elderly, and spreading women's rights, women's organizing, animal rights, ecological organizing to all social areas.

Even against the strongest and most poisonous weapon of the nation-state, the weapon of nationalism, different social identities, religions, cultures gather around the thesis of the democratic nation. Through the protection of plurality and autonomy, the search for freedom in unity is created.

The parties based on democratic politics have made it their goal to ensure the coexistence of all voices, colors, and identities in harmony. To be a democratic society means to bring the democratic executions to life in the people's congresses.

The reality of Rojava shows that it is possible to live without the state; for an organized society to create its own policies and produce its own solutions to the problems of population, nutrition, health, education, security, and many other vital issues.

The achievements have been made through radical struggle, against all the attacks from the capitalist-imperialist system and the 5000 year hegemony of the state and classist/sexist ideologies, and have been created with great sacrifices.

The color of the struggle, with its quality, character and radicalism, makes it difficult for the system.

For the construction of the alternative—of the democratic socialism that is closer than ever—we want to give again our word for the diversity of voice and color, for the solution for society and humanity, for the workers and the oppressed.

Atakan Mahir

Revolutionary, Philosopher, Guerillero of the 21st Century

| Nuda Dersim



The PKK and its struggle of over 43 years has created many revolutionary values, heroic commanders and beautiful personalities. One of them was Şehîd Atakan Mahir.

When you ask any comrade in the Kurdish movement about Şehîd Atakan Mahir, one of the first things they will tell you about is his philosophical streak; reading his writings will quickly convince you. Especially as women, reading and understanding his thoughts about love is very inspiring. His deep thoughts about those topics made him a very reflective and humble person, who made his way into everyone's heart. Whether you knew him personally or not, you will be influenced by his mature personality.

Şehîd Atakan, alias of Ibrahim Çoban, was born a village in Elbistan (Maras) in northern Kurdistan. Since his family as well as his village's people were all Kurdish Alewites, he grew up with the culture and philosophy of Alewism, which formed an integral part of his personality.

The philosophy of Alewism is to reach the truth of life. It is a religion of nature that believes in the deep interconnection of the human, society and the universe. It is the philosophy of "the good life," to become a better person through the way to truth. Its principles are to do good, talk well and live accordingly. The equality between women and men also takes an important part in Alewism. Furthermore it is important for Alewi people to stand up for justice.

Ş. Atakan's family was a poor family which, like most of the villagers in this region, later moved to the metropolises of Turkey due to politics of assimilation and displacement by

the Turkish state. When Ş. Atakan was five years old, his family moved to Izmir, where he went to school and later on to university.

His contradictions with the society and with the existing system started in his early childhood. Experiencing the contradictions between Turkish and Kurdish children, children from different economic classes and children with different beliefs made him realize quickly that there was, and still is, a systematic problem of injustice.

Due to this, Ş. Atakan during his youth read and researched a lot on Alewism, psychology, the history of different revolutions and Marxism. The killing of the Turkish revolutionary Deniz Gezmiş and the following pacification of society had a big influence on Ş. Atakan and deepened his contradictions even more.

During his time at university, Ş. Atakan got to know the Kurdish freedom movement. Since his family was not wela-tparez (patriotic), he didn't know PKK before this time. As a student his search for truth continued in his works with the Kurdish youth movement. In the Kurdish movement he finally found answers to his questions, got a deeper understanding of the problems of capitalist modernity and saw the necessity of revolution under the paradigm of Abdullah Öcalan. Based on this, he made the decision to become an active part of the solution himself and joined the party in 1993 in the region of Dersim. It was in this time that he said "the mountains give you strength and faith." For him, coming to the mountains was a natural consequence of his search and of his personality.

The mountains that he joined the PKK in, the mountains of Dersim, were a long time home to Ş. Atakan. For years he was a guerilla in this region, later on becoming a commander there as well. With his warm heart and open character he became an influencing figure for the people and the guerillas of Dersim. With his way of life and his constant struggle Ş. Atakan was able to create hope and strengthened the people in their belief for revolution. Through his personality he spread the essence of the PKK among his comrades.

Being a guerilla in the 21st century requires much more than military professionalism. Since this war is a war of ideologies, it first of all requires a deep understanding of the paradigm for which you are living and fighting. It requires strong belief and will power. Living in the mountains and living the guerilla life has a very metaphysical and philosophic side. This is what we can learn from Ş. Atakan. He was always striving to understand life and its truth in its deepness.

As a commander in the guerilla, Ş. Atakan rejected the classical idea of just giving orders. Instead, he developed a strong attitude against wrong approaches inside the party. As a commander in the armed struggle he put focus on sharing knowledge and being creative. His simple way of living and his humbleness showed the people what a good commander should be like. Furthermore, he is often described as a person who gave a lot of effort wherever he would go. Wherever Ş. Atakan left his traces, something was built up there, something new was being created.

He was able to understand the necessity of every place and person immediately. He had an excellent feeling for people and understood very well how to motivate people and help them to become their best selves. He himself always had a great motivation; he would never complain or be in a bad mood. In the PKK it is understood that being without motivation, having negative thoughts or spreading negative energy is something unethical. We don't have a reason to be without motivation. All the effort and blood that has been given by so many friends and all the achievements that come from this is a source of inspiration. Acknowledging this and continuing the path of the fallen means to participate in the revolutionary works with the highest motivation to fulfill the dreams of the martyrs.

In 1996 Ş. Atakan went to see education from Reber APO personally. During this period, which was a formative time for Ş. Atakan, friends recall that it was visible that S. Atakan had a particular seriousness and a deepness which showed itself in the way he approached responsibilities. Seeing oneself naturally responsible for anything that happens in one's surrounding is an important characteristic of a revolutionary.

Also striking is the ease with which he understood Reber APO. He followed the speeches, thoughts and methods of Reber APO very carefully, which is how Ş. Atakan built up a strong connection to the leader, both in thought as well as emotionally. This is why Ş. Atakan was one of the comrades who most understood and deepened himself in the new paradigm.

Especially in the topic of women's liberation he took a pioneering role among the male friends. In an education in 2016, Ş. Atakan gave a long speech about his thoughts on Jineoloji and the problems between women and male comrades. He genuinely wanted to understand the deepness of the conflicts. Due to this, in the educations he was the one researching, reading and discussing the most.

Among the comrades he was called a philosopher. His participation in education in terms of knowledge and spirit were

described as exemplary. Despite his intellectual strength, he did not accept a life without effort. He managed to combine theory and practice, something that revolutionaries in history have struggled with a lot. Bringing one's thoughts, words and actions together is a great characteristic of a revolutionary.

Around the year 2003 there was chaos created by a group of traitors inside the PKK. With their provocations they tried to liquidate the party. It was a very hard time that tested each comrade's convictions. The strength or weakness in every comrade's personality was coming to light at this time. But Ş. Atakan kept very calm during this difficult period. He made his attitude clear by not compromising anything. For this reason he was later elected as a member of the council of KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union).

Ş. Atakan was an exemplary revolutionary of our time. By overcoming himself and becoming a collective spirit, he not only influenced the people around him, but he created and constructed. Never working for himself, but for the revolution. His personality is the outcome of the effort of Reber APO and an indicator to the strength of the party.

On August 11 in 2018 the comrade became a martyr in Dersim due to bombardments of the Turkish state.

If we want to live up to the fallen and build up a free life, then the first and most important step is to build up ourselves, like Ş. Atakan did. A socialist personality is the biggest threat to fascism, capitalism and patriarchy.





The Search for Freedom

| Ş. Siyar Gabar

Excerpt from an interview with Şehid Şiyar Gabar, a German friend, explaining his reasons for joining the Kurdish freedom movement.

My Name is Şiyar Gabar. I was born on October 10 in 1994 in Hamburg, Germany. My family are democrats and Germans. Before I was in the German left. I was always on the search, I was searching for socialist movements and where revolution would happen: in this way, through the internet, I heard about the revolution of Rojava. Through this I was influenced a lot and at the same time I got to know the PKK. In the beginning, since I was 13/14 years old, I always had this contradiction in my head. I asked myself: How am I going to live? I looked around myself and I saw the people were living an empty life, without meaning. They are living like robots. Only putting some content to it and selling it. I always said to myself: I cannot accept a life like this. I said I cannot accept injustice in this world and I have to struggle in some way. Thus I joined the German leftists, but after some time I understood that the German leftists are opportunists. In theory they are socialists, and we can say some of them are doing some good things, but not in the way that they could make revolution actually happen or give an answer to capitalism, to injustice, to oppression. It's not on this level. I was always in this search how I could bring theory and my life together. If I say that I want to fight for socialism, a different world, for freedom... I was

always in the search of how I could actually achieve this. In this search I got to know the PKK. What influenced me from the movement is the unity of theory and practice. If you want to build up a free life, a life of equality, if you want to build up an alternative system, first of all you have to practice these things in your own life. You have to build up freedom and equality in your own personality. This is what always influenced me; the sacrifice in this. Every militant of the PKK, every guerilla, is sacrificing their life, giving everything they have for freedom. They sacrifice their lives for the people. Like I said, this always had a big impact on me. How can these people be so courageous?

That was attracted my attention the most. I also started to read Serok's (Abdullah Öcalan's) books, which opened up a lot of contradictions, a lot of questions that I couldn't answer myself. But now I found the answer. The answer was given to me. In this way it influenced me a lot. The more I got to know the ideology, the more I could analyze my life from before, my family, and the society that I grew up in. The more I was reading, the more I understood. It's a bit like one is being born anew or like one's eyes open anew. Because inside the system I couldn't understand a lot of things. For example, how the state's system is working; in the relationship between women and men, on which



basis the system is enslaving us; on which basis it is enslaving women, enslaving men, enslaving the consciousness of humans. So before I was very much in search for these things, but until I joined I couldn't give an answer. With the difficulties of the life in the mountains, I feel like I got the closest to the meaning of freedom. Before, in the system, I had an opinion of freedom just like liberalism is portraying it to humanity. It is an individual approach to freedom. It tells you that you can just live pleasure, live a physically easy life, accumulate material value. In this way it explains freedom. But when I came to the mountains I saw that all these things are without value, they are all empty. Though life on these mountains, we can say a life without opportunities in these difficulties, one can feel freedom.

It's true that the PKK fights for the freedom of the Kurdish people. But the freedom of the Kurdish people is the freedom of all the people in the world. One has to say it like this. All cadres of the PKK know this and act and fight according to it. When we are fighting for the Kurdish people today, when we are fighting for their freedom today, it opens the door of freedom to the world. The comrades are first and foremost comrades. Whatever nationality we belong to or where we come from is not so important. One can say, there's a lot of different people among us. From every class background, every country, every profession, with every education level, a lot of different people. But at the same time we are all one, our comradeship connects

us. We are revolutionaries, we are friends. There is no big differences between us. We are friends, we are comrades.

What caught my interest the most was the life inside the PKK. In the system really everybody is lying. Everyone is lying and working for their own interests. When I joined [the party] I still had doubts. I thought, okay, it may be that the PKK is fighting for freedom in theory, but I thought it may not be true in practice. I thought, "Everyone works for their own interests, why not them?" But after joining and seeing life in the PKK, after living on the free mountains, working, fighting, only then did I feel the truth, understand the truth that the foundations of the PKK is freedom, that life in the PKK is freedom.

After I joined, there were big changes. I know that I was very weak in society. Morally I was weak, I was an insensitive person. I knew my conscience was asking me every day, every day I was thinking: how am I living? I thought to myself, there is a crisis in the world. Billions of people have no food, no water. They are dying of hunger. Billions of people are being murdered. Peoples are oppressed. Our environment is being destroyed for the interests of a few. Everyday I saw this, and I thought: how can you go on living like this, how can you accept it? I knew I could not accept it, but I did not see my strength. I thought that I was weak, that I couldn't fight against the state, that I couldn't fight. I thought that I could not. But after joining the PKK and living in the free mountains of Kurdistan, I found the strength within myself. I know that before I was afraid of death. I thought, what if I die? But with the strength I found in the PKK, I now know that I will fight with all my might until I die or fall as a martyr. I will fight with all my strength for the revolution. So, I have seen this strength in myself. Now I know that on a hill, against thousands of soldiers with tanks, guns and fighter planes, I will resist. To the last drop of blood I will resist. This is the strength that the PKK has built up in me, the strength that the leader APO's ideology has given me. This is not strange at all. I have found my own nature again. So I have become a human being who develops his own power, has a will, has conscience. I have rediscovered human nature, you could say.

In Germany I didn't know Kurdish. I learned it when I came to the mountains, when I got my basic education; and Kurdish is really a beautiful language.

I had a pocket dictionary. When the friends were saying something, I would write it down and later I would look it up. So I learned it on my own. If you really want something, you can learn anything. There is no borders.

My call for all the youth in the world is for them to finally take sides, to join the revolution. A lot of people, young people, in Europe know by now that they cannot live in the system, but they are not seeing an alternative. The system is lying. It says that the time of revolution is over, that socialism failed, that it was proven. That is all a lie, it's not true. And the proof is the revolution of Rojava, the PKK movement and the ideology of Serokatî (Abdullah Öcalan). I call up on all the youth to join the ranks of the guerilla, to take up arms, to fight for freedom, equality and socialism!

Status Quo

| Cihan Kendal

It was a scene that couldn't have been more cliché. One of those autumn nights so typical for this metropolis, cold and windy, in one of the dirtiest districts of the city. I still remember the occasional rain, a fine drizzle, and the dark, shabby alley in which we walked up and down. Nervously I smoked cigarette after cigarette, as I let the monologue of the stranger drip down on me like the rain. I was ready to go, I had said goodbye to everyone who was important to me. I wanted to go to the mountains, we had discussed that, and everything seemed to be clear - until the stranger held out his hand and this one word came up: join.

I had no idea what joining was, what it really meant and where it would take me. The details were uncertain, but the essentials were clear, undeniable. I lived in a world that was necessary to be radically changed, and Kurdistan was the best place to actually do so. Here, in the beast's heart, things were not getting better, they were getting worse, and we had no realistic perspective of changing that. We were trapped in the status quo.

I already had a problem with the status quo for a long time. The status quo has always been a rotten compromise everywhere. An imposed compromise, a forced relationship, and I struggled to adjust, to fit in. Whether family, school or other institutions, they never had it easy with me. Always insolent, always cheeky, always wanting to have the last word - that was me.

It was only much later that I realized that behind many of these early conflicts was more than just the tendency to con-

tradict. In retrospect, even at that time it was about the fundamental questions of social life, especially about justice. As children we had a natural relationship to each other and to the world, we were closer to its truth and universal values. Without the consciousness of the cruel power relations and the norms and rules they impose, without the fear of the consequences of our actions, we were honest, innocent and free. It was passing through the institutions of this system that shaped and changed us and of course also me, forever. The dimension of these largely negative changes became clear to me only much later, in the mountains of Kurdistan

The process of realizing this started a few months before I found myself in a dark back alley when I promised a stranger to dedicate my life to the revolutionary struggle. As honorable as this may sound, it was a deep internal crisis and the unvarnished view of my own reality that brought me to that decision. The emergence of this crisis is inextricably linked with the search for alternatives. The small uprisings of my childhood have turned over the years into full-grown rebellions. Out of individual signs of protest grew the search for like-minded people, discussions and shared experiences that became the first steps into politics.

The initially moderate contradictions with the system intensified quickly, both in theory and practice. The first time in handcuffs, the first stone thrown, the first tangible consequences - all these experiences only solidified the realization that the status quo was simply not an option. At the same time the search for the right way to overcome the prevailing





conditions in my surroundings quickly reached its limits. I wanted more than just protest, more than to merely denounce the injustice. I wanted to change them, to abolish them.

In this spirit, I was drawn to the metropolis, to one of the alleged centers of resistance. I quickly came in touch with the right people, took part in actions and soon organized myself. We were young, willing to take risks and shared common experiences in the streets. We radicalized ourselves in words and practice, widened our fields of work and horizons. We did the right thing and had fun doing it, we lived our lives the way we wanted to live them, but the circumstances remained the same. More than that, as time went on, the reality of the system slowly but inexorable caught up with us. Our struggle has never been more than just a small part in our everyday life, it was a hobby. The compromises grew and with every step inside the institutions also the willingness to compromise increased. Especially the first international experiences made us realize that we had to find more serious solutions to the urgent questions of that time – we needed a line, a plan, an organization. That was the conviction of at least a few, without much experience and knowledge, but with a lot of motivation. It was precisely at this time that we got to know the Kurdish liberation movement. We were impressed, we were fascinated by the radicalism and the efficiency of this movement. But even more than that we were looking for perspectives – we hoped to find answers to our questions, solutions to our problems. We approached accordingly, with good intentions but a superficial understanding; we tried to implement in our own practice what we allegedly had learned from the movement. It didn't take long until our own standards caught up with us.

While we focused in our political struggle, mainly on our outcome, the internal contradictions started to intensify as we got deeper into theory, organization and practice. The lack of substantiated common values and beliefs became more and more obvious, but our ability to provide the correct answers did not exist. Not that we couldn't find the right words or

analyze the problems – the problem was our life itself, how we lived and who we were. The better we understood the system, the more our own involvement became clearer – we were no longer children, no longer honest, free and innocent. Although we had written the slogans of the struggle on our flags, tattooed them on our skin and screamed them out on the streets, we had to recognize early how deep the supposed enemy lived in our heads and hearts. Our existence was deeply schizophrenic, our personalities divided – being radical in the meetings, thoughts and papers but in our daily life, in the institutions, in our feelings and our private life at best reformist, often enough apolitical and opportunistic, far too often even reactionary. Even in our supposed community of beliefs we only got into one of the many roles we had to play in our lives. The scene, the group, most of our social contacts were at best communities of purpose, our relationships with each other pragmatic, calculated and focused on our own individual benefit. Because we were unable to show our true selves even in our closest surrounding without fear of rejection, disregard or exclusion; the only hope to escape the eternal loneliness and coldness was the search for the one, perfect person. The one person who could give us everything that society denied in us: affection, closeness, sympathy, tenderness, strength, trust, safety and appreciation, in other words: Love.

It was precisely in these, our closest relationships, that revealed the ugliest parts of our personalities: Envy, jealousy, claims of domination and possession were the rule, not the exception. Just as we defacto accepted and continued our role as exploited and exploiters in relation to the state and capital, we willingly reproduced these relations again and again in our own relationships. Our affection to each other often consisted of mutual objectification and what we called love was usually nothing more than the ultimate promise of satisfaction of one's own needs. We didn't love others, we loved ourselves first and abused others as a means to an end. We gave to get. On this basis we weren't able to live true friendship, true comradeship or even true love, quite



the opposite: in the slander of our own realities we sow the seeds for humiliation, disappointment and mutual harming.

To find a revolutionary way of dealing with all these problems would have meant to change our personalities and ourselves as a collective, our relationships and our life without compromises: to free ourselves from all the supposed constraints of the system, to resist its temptations and seductions, to no longer numb ourselves, deny ourselves, prove ourselves. The truth is, most of us weren't ready for that.

I had to painfully realize that I became a part of this whole oppressive thing by myself, that I fed and lived it, accepted, approved and actually even enjoyed it. This realization was at first even more a vague feeling, a side effect of shame about my own mistakes, pain and disappointment in view of the absence of a revolutionary way of dealing with this reality of all of us, but also my reality. That led me into a deep crisis. A crisis of meaning, literally. In this situation it was the thoughts and analyses of Serok APO, that turned the feelings into understanding, which cleared up doubts and ambiguities. It was the philosophy of the Kurdish liberation movement that made me understand my own reality, held up a mirror and called me to take responsibility, but without moralizing, without condemning. It was the PKK that showed a viable alternative to the eternal circle of oppressing and being oppressed.

While we became drowned personally and politically in a lack of perspective, senselessness and complicity with the system and only strengthened the prevailing conditions through our way of life, the friends of the PKK were in a merciless struggle for survival, but despite their sacrifices they kept going forward, towards victory. The heroic resistance of these people against a hostile world and the cruelest fascism was already enough to appeal to conscience and revolutionary responsibility. But not only morally, also politically and strategically, the assessment was clear: although we desperately tried not to lose confidence and hope for a better

world completely, there was no real chance of success in the metropolises, not as long as we all benefit from the imperial exploitation. The revolutionary potential of this world is in the Global South, and there was a movement that had proven in theory and practice to be able to mobilize this potential. They had managed to show the whole world an alternative to barbarism, to give hope. PKK was and still is for me the opportunity of our time - the ray of hope on the horizon, the hope to pool the fragmented, revolutionary forces of this world and a realistic possibility to create a real chance for the realization of our dreams of a liberated society. From a revolutionary view, that necessarily means that a global perspective, internationalism, conviction and strategic necessity in the struggle against a hegemonic system, is not a matter of personal preferences, but an basic requirement for any serious endeavor for change. Those who claim to be committed to the global revolution but are practically unwilling to move out of their own comfort zone should better keep silent about overcoming nationalism and individualism.

Back then, in that dark alley, it was not a question of choice as it is now. No decision between real options. When the true nature of the system and your own involvement in it is recognized for the first time, then there can be no more excuses. There is no alternative to resistance, struggle and liberation. To accept the oppression and exploitation, and to legitimize one's own participation in it despite existing alternatives, means nothing different than a compromise and practical solidarity with the prevailing conditions.

I wasn't ready for it. I wasn't ready to deny myself, to accept and integrate neither to my own status quo, nor to that of this world. I was also not ready to just stand on the safe edge and applaud, to leave the filthy job only for those who have always done it for us.

On that autumn night there would have been many arguments, but especially excuses, to reject the stranger's outstretched hand. But I've had enough of this.

Monika Ertl

An Internationalist Revolutionary

*And if i have to fall one day,
then I've simply fallen for a great cause
-with roots in germany, she grew wings in bolivia*

Tirej Swiss |

Family Situation and Early Marriage

The name of Monika's mother was Aurelia. As so often with women in history there is not any accessible knowledge about her. Her father's name was Hans Ertl. At the age of 31 he was conscripted to be a war correspondent for Nazi Germany. Later he was the personal cameraman for field marshal Erwin Rommel. Due to the general situation after the defeat of German Fascism, he wanted to take the opportunity, as many other Nazis did, to go to South America. The Ertl family, including Hans, Aurelia, Monika and her two sisters, left Germany in 1952. They settled on a small farm in Bolivia called "La Dolorida." Monika was 16 Years old at the time. While the Bolivian culture was new to her, there was also a large community of rich Germans around her including the friend of her father and war criminal Klaus Barbie. She was the favorite daughter of her father, accompanying him on various filming expeditions. In this way, she got experience moving through rural areas and handling firearms. Monika married a Bolivian-German mining engineer. This resulted in a daily life which consisted of keeping up the household, drinking tea, playing golf and organizing charity events. Being ordered around by her sexist and racist husband, which "(...) could not stop comparing her to his mother," she was of course not at all satisfied with this kind of lifestyle.

In 1969 she finally made the major, radical turn in her life after being married for 11 years. She got divorced from her husband, made a cut to all of her relations in upper-class society and joined the National Liberation Army of Bolivia (ELN), now calling herself "Imilla".

Becoming a Revolutionary

What influenced her make such a radical decision? What experiences and situations did she go through to make a 180-degree turn in her life? Certainly, once realizing society's dimensions, how deep society needs to change, and how deep therefore you yourself need to change, you need to be able to fully commit to the cause. A revolution is not made with one foot in and one foot out. We can learn a lot from Monika's radical personality through her decisions and actions.



Alongside Imilla/Monika's strong character there were several factors which brought her to her decision. Lets have a look:

The Perspective as a Woman

Monika had reached the position society raised and pressured her to be in. She was young, attentive, well mannered, and looked beautiful. She married into a rich family. Her husband owned a copper mine and had influence and economic power. The role of supporting him in his daily needs and running the household were her responsibilities. She was heavily affected by patriarchal norms during this phase of her life, especially within her marriage. One example of how patriarchy affected her was when her husband discovered that he was not able to have kids due to biological reasons. When people started to question the married couple on why they do not have kids, the blame on being infertile was wrongfully put on Monika. In this deeply patriarchal society, in which the worth of a woman is strongly measured by the amount of children, specifically males, that she gives birth to and raises, the burden carried by Monika due to her husband's infertility was heavy. Her marriage was not under equal conditions. Reaching this place, fulfilling this role by doing everything that was expected of her as a woman, was certainly one reason why she started to question her society and class. She realized that this could simply not be the life and freedom that she dreamed of.

Class Perspective and Historical Background

The fact that she lived close to her husband's copper mine had an impact on her rising awareness of class struggle; directly seeing the difference between the normal workingmen and the conditions they lived in, while on the other hand living herself like a European lady in a



well protected, wealthy home. Certainly it was not easy for her to realize what's wrong with this colonial reality and to learn about the own racist thoughts and behaviors.

The need to confront herself with politics, with the affairs of common people and understanding what concerns they have, is also related to the history of her father. Monika felt guilt regarding her German background, especially due to her father actively participating and working for the Nazi regime. She felt responsible to give something beautiful, something revolutionary back to the world.

The World Moving

Not only was Monika changing and evolving during that time, Movements towards democratic socialism around the whole globe grew in strength and hope. Anti-imperialistic efforts and successes were made in Africa, South America and Asia. The peoples resistance in Vietnam was on its peak, the revolution in the Republic of Congo took place, the civil rights movement in the United States was finding new strength, huge demonstrations of students and workers happened in Central Europe and even bigger uprisings in Eastern Europe. It seemed that the anti-systemic movements of the global north and south united, which created a unique situation in history. The hegemony of global capitalism and colonialism was shaken. We can see Monika as a example of the spirit of her time.

Monika Ertel's Revenge

In October 1967, Che Guevara was ambushed and killed. His hands were cut off, by order of Roberto Quintanilla Pereira, and his body was secretly buried; due to Pereira many comrades fell martyr. Just like in other South American states, Bolivia's counter insurgency program was heavily built up through the experiences of former SS members in exile, according to how the SS was organized in Nazi Germany - among them Klaus Barbie who was also in the service of the CIA. Roberto Pereira was the main counter-guerrilla officer. He was know as "Guerilla Hunter" and responsible for torturing and killing of many comrades.

In 1969, Monika joined the National Liberation Army of Bolivia. The guerrilla was in a critical phase, but even

with very few numbers, facing heavy repression and lacking support in society, they kept building up.

Monika began a relationship with Inti Peredo, the leader of the guerilla and successor of Guevara, who also fell martyr later that year by the hands of Pereira. She wrote a Ppem after the death of Peredo. A poem can convey and explain feelings but it is not enough to change situations and moments. For change and justice, more than feelings are needed.

"Quintanilla, Quintanilla....,
You will not find peace anymore in your nights...
You robbed the life of Inti
And you meant the whole people."

Pereira took the job as Bolivian consul in Germany to flee the risk of revenge being taken out on him. This could not protect him at all. Monika Imilla traveled back to her home country with a clear mission. In 1971 she went directly to him and shot three bullets in his chest. This action is something special in history.

While many talked about revenge and radical decisions, Monika had the determination and ideological strength to follow thought with action.

She was able to flee and went to Cuba, where she stayed with French philosopher and journalist Régis Debray. Together they thought through different possible operations in order to gain international solidarity and had the idea to abduct former Gestapo chief of Lyon, Klaus Barbie, and to deliver him to France for his final judgment.

Monika returned to Bolivia where the ELN was working on getting the cadres out of the country, but not before scattering seeds in society for a later return. In a small house in La Paz, Monika worked on printing and distributing leaflets. She insisted on staying there and continuing her work.

On May 12, in the streets of La Paz, Bolivia, Monika "Imilla" Ertel was ambushed, captured, tortured and later killed by the Bolivian government. With her was Ukaski, a young Argentinian internationalist who shared the same fate.

She was spied on by Klaus Barbie himself, who could therefore recognize her in a public space.

Internationalism and what we can learn from Monika "Imilla" Ertel

This story is about a German woman joining armed struggle, being influenced by a Cuban Argentinian revolutionary in Bolivia, assassinating a Bolivian in Germany and finally being murdered together with an Argentinian in Bolivia with the involvement of a German Nazi working for the CIA.

The story of Monika Ertel is an example on what internationalism is about. It is about seeing each fight in its place inside a bigger struggle throughout history, overcoming the borders created by states, and realizing one's own possibilities to join wherever is needed; to strategically strengthen significant struggles in moments wherever in the world. It is about connecting movements and supporting each other, about learning from different perspectives and tactics and applying them under other circumstances.

So what can we learn from Monika "Imilla" Ertel? One thing is, as written before, the radicalism in her decision. Her ability to put analysis and conclusions into practice with unbreakable commitment is really inspiring. She was able to break through her class socialization and sacrifice the comforts of life. We can also learn from her to not give up in the face of heavy repression and even defeat.



Health Works in the Revolution

Interview with Xweza

We are now entering the 10th year of this revolution. This is a big achievement that we might have never thought could be possible to achieve. Since the early days we have faced ISIS, along with many other jihadist forces, and have pushed them to their defeat. After ISIS we now face their main supporter, the Turkish state. Even with its technological and military superiority, we have resisted in an enormous way, creating a barricade to the imperialist and neo-Ottoman aspirations of Erdogan. Nevertheless we can not fall to the mistake of believing that this revolution could have been victorious without sacrifice. When we now think about the history of resistance of the people of North and East Syria, we must immediately think about the blood spilled by so many comrades. But we must also remember the lives of so many comrades that could have been saved if medical knowledge and a better health situation could have been established at the time.

Since the early years of the revolution, many internationalists and comrades from the region have given enormous efforts to improve this situation. For this reason, today we will talk with Xweza about the importance of medical work in the revolution.

All areas of society must be affected and challenged by the revolution and its ideas. So what is the approach to medicine by the revolutionary movement? What are the revolutionary goals to this area, and of course what have been the main obstacles and contradictions that have been faced?

The understanding of health goes hand in hand with society and the processes it has lived through. Here you can see everywhere how nature has been destroyed

by war, how the culture and identity of the people has been under attack for a very long time. Here you can see the effects of a special warfare which targets the ideas, strength and livelihood of the people everyday. In this context the health of society has been affected greatly, including in the way of organising itself. There is a fierce ongoing war at all levels. The core of the revolution is to recover society's health. For this, practice and ideology must go hand in hand. Since the start of the revolution, there have been huge efforts to regain our health; inside

the healthcare structures there is a lot of work put into changing the mentality of the people to see that health is also about prevention. When you live in a war zone it is very difficult to think about the future, and this is a great challenge in the approach to health.

There are a lot of health problems derived by the living conditions, the quality of the water, food, diseases and stress. There are also people becoming injured due to the living/working conditions and, of course, due to the attacks during military offensives. So it is really about changing lifestyle and empowering people to regain an understanding of health. There is a huge need of spreading the knowledge and practice within the population so the people don't rely so much on the expertise of doctors, which are usually male and often have studied abroad.

This year the first doctors from the health academy of Rojava will finish their degree. During the last years the newly trained nurses also started working. The health academy also gives ideological education to follow the ethics of revolutionary practice. During the war of Serekaniye, many of the doctors fled. There needs to be a strong commitment to work in a place like Rojava. It needs a revolutionary approach.

In terms of natural health, there are also ongoing works by the woman's movement to recover ancient practices and collect the knowledge women had in the past. In many villages, older women still carry out these practices and act as midwives. But it is also something which has been eclipsed by modern medicine. Women from Rojava have written books and carry out workshops to recover this knowledge. There is also a women's health project in the woman's village JINWAR which gives educations on natural health and also acts as a clinic for women, as well as a research centre. This project, called Sifa Jin, is in its early stages and is facing difficulties such as finding local women doctors and health professionals. Due to the exclusion of women from school and education before the revolution, this is a big challenge. But works are ongoing!

In terms of military first aid, knowledge is not widespread. A lot of friends fell martyr due to lack of knowledge on treating survivable injuries. Now, there are educations on first aid for the military forces but there is still a need to spread knowledge on self-treatment and acquiring medical materials. The use of tourniquets, for example, was usually unknown to the military forces. A lot of friends died on the way to the hospital because of blood loss, something which could have been avoided by the use of tourniquets. But educations are ongoing.

The women's movement is central in this revolution. So how is the approach of the medical works to the question of gender?

Women face big challenges when it comes to health. Access to education is a huge topic, there needs to be more women involved in the health works in order to promote change. There are also efforts in the direction of giving women access to school education and to further studies. This also involves dealing with patriarchal and religious family values which keep women at home and promote marriage at a very young age. At the same time women need to strengthen themselves and struggle to change their own mentality. Here the role of jineolojî, the women's science, is very important in helping to create a strong and revolutionary identity of women. Children already learn about jineolojî at school and there is a university degree in jineolojî which includes the subject of natural health studies.

The women's movement is also centred on a holistic approach and the connection to nature. Many older women have knowledge of medicinal plants and natural remedies for many daily diseases. The challenge now is to spread this knowledge and collect it to be implemented and recognised inside the health system.

There is also a strong shame of the human body due to patriarchal norms and morality; therefore sometimes it is hard to find female gynaecologists. Women defend their right to their own reproductive health but it is still



in the hands of male doctors. There are still midwives in some villages, but generally women go to the hospital; here male doctors always recommend them to give birth by caesarean, which is quite expensive. Women are also under pressure from their husbands to carry out such operations for sexual reasons. They have many children, sometimes as many as 15, starting from a very young age. For this reason it also becomes an issue of women's freedom and demography, control over their own sexuality and the organisation of life. But this is also changing with the new generations.

When a comrade or civilian is injured, the problem doesn't stop as soon the friend leaves the hospital. There are mental and continuous problems that come after these injuries and traumatic experiences can occur. It's truly a big topic to address considering the environment and situation of the region, but how it has been addressed?

The communal culture here is one of the most valuable and impressive aspects of the society and the revolution itself. People are rarely alone, but of course there is a lot of trauma resulting from the war. Many people who lived through the war have developed post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which many times manifests itself in the form of seizures. I have seen a lot of young women affected by this. When seizures occur in a female comrade, other young women gather around and massage the limbs, which become stiff, and protect her head until the crisis has passed.

Collective life helps but there is also the need of more support. There are also "houses of the wounded," where wounded friends live together communally and carry out different activities inside the revolution, and later on take part in different works. There are many injured friends who stay active and are widely respected and loved. It is about giving meaning to life, but the physiological aspects are very difficult to manage. There is some professional help provided but it is a field which is difficult to address. How we can deal with mental health using a revolutionary perspective is one of our big challenges and it is a long-term ongoing work.

We can definitely understand the importance of the medical works in the revolution; it's a huge topic that certainly needs more attention and discussion. So in terms of military health, what has been the approach and/or the developments on this field? How is this received?

Military health is a very broad topic. Right now there are rehabilitation centres with physiotherapy and hospitals in all major cities which can provide good care. In the last years there have been huge renovation plans, new surgery rooms, machines brought in for different tests and new infrastructures. In the long term, the houses for the wounded provide a lot of support, but of course there are a lot of injured people in Rojava and there is still a lot that needs to be done.

Front line first aid is also very challenging. People went to the front lines willing to give their lives and followed this idea of fate. But slowly, through education, the idea is to change mentalities and give value to being able to provide help on front line positions; also to show that everybody can learn and provide help for themselves. Many friends refused to be rescued so that others wouldn't risk their lives in doing so. There was the idea that nothing could be done, but now this is changing. When the armed forces learn about what they can do and, more importantly, what they could have done, there is a change inside of them.

Our comrades learn very quickly; many show a huge potential to carry on further studies and to teach themselves. This is the main idea: that they can teach each other and see how this knowledge can give them a stronger influence and a stronger role in the revolution. It's an added skill that in the following attacks will make a huge difference, also in terms of affecting the psychology of the enemy. In war every wound is treated- even ISIS fighters are treated by our comrades. It is an ethical decision made inside a brutal war, which serves as an example for all of humanity. If every soldier is able to treat his/herself and the first aid projects can develop with strength, it will make this struggle stronger. It raises moral to take care to this level.

It is with this change that developments can happen, with the people themselves putting it into practice and seeing themselves in this role; for this, all structures and fields of life have to move forward at the same time. Without the woman's revolution, there would be no women first responders on the front line and approaches could not change; without work in ecology, there would be no value to nature and meaning to ones own life; without organisation, one could not build up the teams; without diplomacy work, one could not get access to medical material which comes from abroad; without military structures, the land would not be in our hands...and so on. Every work is part of all the works.





What Happened in History?

November:

November 1

1954: First shots were fired by the Algerian National Liberation Army in the war for Algerian Independence.

November 2

1965: Norman Morrison, a Christian peace activist against the Vietnam War, burned himself to death in front of the office of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara outside the Pentagon.

November 3

1793: Olympe de Gaughe, early French feminist and revolutionary, was executed in Paris during the Reign of Terror. She was an advocate for women rights and wrote the 'Declaration of Rights of Woman'.

November 4

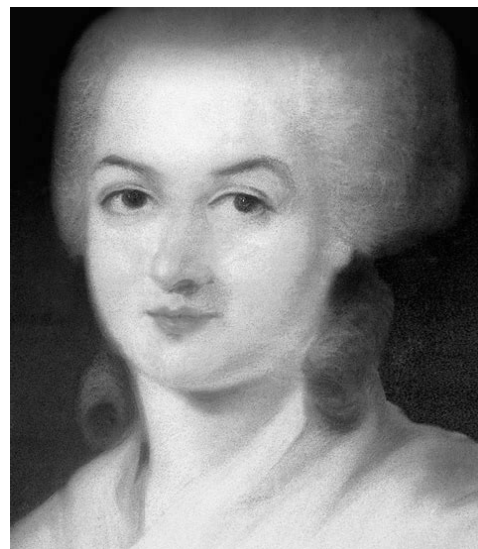
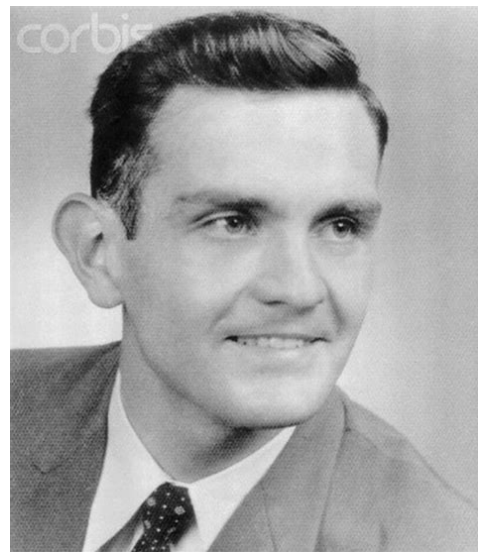
1780: Quechua and Aymara rebels started an uprising against the Spanish Empire in Peru.

The goal was not only to free their people from Spanish exploitation, but also to reestablish the role of indigenous women with their participation in social life and politics- a tradition that the colonial system tried to abolish by making them victims of all kinds of abuses.

1918: The sailors and workers of Kiel took over the German fleet and established the first workers and soldiers council. This started the German November Revolution.

November 8

1939: Adolf Hitler narrowly escaped an assassination attempt by Georg Elser, a member of the left-leaning Federation of Woodworkers Union and the Red Front Fighters' Association. Elser was imprisoned for 5 years and executed at Dachau concentration camp in April 1945.



November 14-17

1973: In Athens, the population, led by students and workers, revolted against the military dictator and occupied the Polytechnic University of Athens. The protest movement demanded the end of the military junta and considered itself anti-imperialist and anti-Nato. On November 17, the Polytechnic University was stormed and the occupation was ended by military force. The movement around the Polytechnion became the symbol of leftist resistance in Greece and the 1973 struggle became the crystallization point of various radical leftist urban guerrilla groups, such as the November 17 Group.



November 17

1983: The EZLN, Zapatista Army of National Liberation, was founded in Chiapas. It is the military organization of the indigenous population in Chiapas, southeastern Mexico. The EZLN organized itself along with the population in the following years, and in 1994 launched its Uprising of Dignity which has resulted in large parts of Chiapas being liberated territory and governed by the people in people's councils.



November 18

1803: In Haiti's War of Independence against France, the Battle of Vertières takes place. The independence fighters were victorious against the French. The revolution began in 1791 as an uprising against slavery and lasted until 1804 with the proclamation of the Haitian Republic. Haiti was the first nation in Latin America to free itself from colonialism and establish a black-led government. It was the only nation to emerge from a successful slave revolt.



November 25

1960: Patria, Minerva and María Teresa Mirabal, three sisters who led militant resistance against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, were murdered by the Dominican intelligence service. Later, November 25 becomes the Day Against Violence Against Women in their memory.



November 27

1978: The first party congress of the PKK is held in Fis in the Lice region in North Kurdistan. The PKK was founded and entered the phase of becoming a party. The fight for freedom of Kurdistan started in an organized way.

November 28

1919: Faye Schulman, anti-fascist and Jewish partisan was born in 1919 in Sosnkowicze in what was then Poland. After her family was murdered by the Nazis, she joined Soviet partisans and fought against the Germans in Poland and Belarus.



November 29

1803: The first declaration of independence for Haiti was read in Fort Dauphin and signed by Haitian revolutionaries. It was the only anti-colonial struggle which was successful after a slave uprising.

1966: Barbados declared independence from Britain, after years of anti-colonial agitation.

November 30

1964: Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth), a Filipino socialist youth organization was founded. Today they are part of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

Ideologically, it combines elements from Maoism and Marxism Leninism with communal council organization and self-administration.



Events which took place in November but cannot be attributed to a specific date:

November:

843: Second uprising of the Stellinga, the people belonging to the natural religions in Old Saxony against the Saxon nobility. After the Christianization by the Franks 50 years earlier, the religious practice and the democratic principles of the Saxons were forbidden. The first uprising of the Stellinga took place in 841 and 842 and was put down by the Saxon nobility after one year of federalist basic democracy.



December:

December 1

1919: Dock workers held a strike in Trinidad against exploitation, racism and British colonial rule. Other workers joined in and a general strike ensued that lasted, with minor interruptions, for almost 2 years.

December 3

1944: In Athens, 200,000 people demonstrate against the Greek government, the British occupation and against the disarmament of the ELAS guerilla. Royalist and fascist militias cooperating with the British fired on the crowd, killing 28 people and injuring at least 140. In response, the ELAS forces prepared themselves to take back the city from the reactionary forces.

December 4

1868: The anti-militarist postal worker Clara Gilbert was born in the United Kingdom. She was active in opposing World War I, founded the League Against War and Conscription and was associated with Sylvia Pankhurst's Workers Socialist Federation which was active in the suffragettes movement.

December 5

1955: After Rosa Parks refused to make room for a white man on a bus in the US state of Alabama, she was arrested. The black community of Alabama decided to boycott the buses and walk in the streets in large demonstrations. The bus boycott ultimately led to the desegregation of buses in Alabama and becomes one of the starting points of the black civil rights movement.

December 6

2008: 15-year-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos was shot dead by a special officer of the Athens police during a police control in Exarchia in Athens.

The incident led to a nationwide rebellion that lasted for weeks, demanding social improvement and an end to police violence. Dozens of banks, government buildings, police stations and vehicles were destroyed or attacked.

December 7

1949: The leaders of the Kuomintang, the reactionary forces of the Chinese Republic, were forced to withdraw their troops to Taiwan after the Chinese Red Army seized further parts of the country and Mao Zedong proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic. This ended the Chinese civil war that lasted since 1927.

December 10

1861: Nguyen Trung Tr c, an early Vietnamese resistance fighter against French rule, burned the French ship L'Esperance on Nhat Tao canal. Nguyen Trung Tr c fought against the French invasion until his capture in 1868. With his actions he became a role model and inspiration for the future liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

1949: The last Kuomintang-held city in China, Chengdu, was besieged by the Chinese Red Army. It was the last great battle fought between the Red Army and Kuomintang.

2015: The Syrian Democratic Council was founded in Dêrik. It continued to be the political and social organization of the Rojava Revolution.



December 12

1974: The North Vietnamese Army launched its spring offensive that eventually led to victory over South Vietnam and the liberation of Vietnam in 1975.

December 17

2016: In the Kayseri province in Turkey, a bus from the 1st commando brigade was attacked by the Freedom Falcons of Kurdistan. 15 soldiers were killed. The first commando brigade was active in the siege of Sûr against the Kurdish youth which resisted them over 100 days.

December 18

1914: A wall of Holloway Women's Prison was bombed and burned over the course of a campaign carried out by the Suffragette movement. Several Suffragettes were imprisoned in the prison, force fed and placed in isolation.

December 21

1598: The Mapuche rebels defeated an army of the Spanish occupiers at the Battle of Curalaba in southern Chile. The battle was part of the Mapuche uprising in present-day Chile around 1600.

December 23

1974: The November 19 Group, a revolutionary urban guerrilla in Greece executed the head of the local CIA office in Athens, Greece because of the support from the US and their intelligence services for the military dictatorship.

December 26

1969: The Communist Party of the Philippines was founded. Ideologically, it combined elements from Maoism and Marxism Leninism with communal council organization and self-administration. Since its founding, it has fought against fascism, oligarchy and U.S. imperialism on the Philippines. Its armed wing, the New Peoples Army (NPA), its youth organization, trade unions, indigenous organizations and other revolutionary parties united in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and are today fighting against Duterte fascism and for revolution in the Philippines.

December 28

1942: The "Operation Antropoid" was an operation against the Nazis by the Czech resistance and the British intelligence service during the second World War which led to the killing of Reinhardt Heydrich



Know thy Enemy

| Christopher Logue

Know thy enemy:

**he does not care what colour you are
provided you work for him
and yet you do!**

**he does not care how much you earn
provided you earn more for him
and yet you do!**

**he does not care who lives in the room at the top
provided he owns the building
and yet you strive!**

**he will let you write against him
provided you do not act against him
and yet you write!**

**he sings the praises of humanity
but knows machines cost more than men.
Bargain with him, he laughs, and beats you at it;
challenge him, and he kills.**

**Sooner than lose the things he owns
he will destroy the world.**

SMASH CAPITAL NOW!

**But as you hasten to be free
And build your commonwealth
Do not forget the enemy
Who lies within yourself.**



BAZÊN ZAGROSÊ

