

# *From the alps to Qandil*

I have reached  
the mountains



or rather  
the reached me





## ***On the free mountains of Kurdistan***

On the mountains you become human again. You start again to feel, to sense being one with nature. You realize how slowly your spirit opens and the fog banks, the clouds of fog, the dust, smoke and filth of the fast rushing, noisy metropolises are clearing. You realize, what it really means, to think freely, because on the mountains there is nothing which can influence you negatively. There is a verse from a song, which says that thoughts are always free, they pass by freely and unbending and no hunter can shoot them. In this moment, there I am sitting on a summit and looking on Mesopotamia before me, the

sound of a mountain river in the distant green wooded valley is reaching me and a light breeze is blowing around, you really understand the meaning of this one little verse. Because of this the mountains make a human, who knows their truth, free. For here you recognize the truth about the hustle of the everyday stress, of wage slavery. The truth of a system, which never stands still and never gives you one moment of rest. The stress of always being online, informed and on the newest trend. The truth of a system, which tells you how you should live, love and think and suffocates you in total dependency. Against these attacks of capitalism, the mountains form a wall. A natural wall who, with its rocky slopes, abysses and rugged valleys, does not offer one way for the system. They protect everyone, who hide in valley mouths and seek refuge. At the same time we are protecting and defending the mountains, who give us refuge, against a devastating wave of destructive, exploitative and filthy capitalist system is coming towards us to crush all who love freedom. This is why those, which have chosen the way of truth for themselves, are ready to fight for the defense of their freedom. To fight for this, that not liberalism and egoism is ruling the minds of the people, but a communal, with human and nature connected life. Our revolution is nurtured by this dialectic of struggle and the connection of Mountain and human. A dialectic of struggle that ceaselessly resists and ultimately brings the enemy of humanity, the enemy of history, to its knees. Simultaneously on the free mountains of Kurdistan this dialectic of struggle becomes the love of life. The Source of big emotions, comradeship, hate of the capitalist/fascist leviathan and the source of infinite energy. An energy which makes a human, who knows the truth, ready to give everything until his last breath in the moment of fight. This is why the mountains of revolutionaries, the Guerilla makes you human again. These are the free mountains of Kurdistan. This is the socialist revolution.

Revolutionary greetings

15. May 2022

Azad Şerğes

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# Introduction



## **Dear readers, comrades and friends,**

When holding this brochure in your hands, you are holding a small part of the great legacy of our friend, loyal comrade, beloved brother and missed son, Thomas Johann Spies, also known as Şehîd Azad Şergeş. We would like to invite you to join Thomas on his path from the Alps to Qandil, from Bavaria to Kurdistan, on the following pages.

After the death of Şehîd Azad Şergeş, we came together as revolutionaries and internationalists of various movements from Germany to collect his diary entries, letters and memories, to read and discuss them together and to publish selected pieces in the form of this brochure. With this brochure, we want to commemorate his life, his political development and his revolutionary struggle. This brochure is also a promise to Azad and all other people who have fallen in the struggle for a liberated world not to forget their tireless struggle, but continue it in their memory with determination. Azad's legacy to us is a mission! A mission coming from his decision to put his life on the line for the success of the revolution — to draw lessons, criticism and motivation.

This brochure describes his journey from a bavarian town to the mountains of Kurdistan. From his politicisation in the anti-capitalist left in Germany, to his introduction to the Kurdish freedom movement and to what has reached us about his time in the revolution. In the resistant mountains of Kurdistan, Thomas Johann Spies became Azad Şergeş. He became an embodiment of an internationalism that doesn't know any borders and whose anger at the murderous and exploitative world is insatiable and whose love to life is never ending. Thomas did not go to the mountains solely to help the Kurdish people in their struggle for liberation. He recognized that the struggle in the free mountains

of Kurdistan was also his struggle. The struggle of a colonized people, who inspired and welcomed people from all over the world. His long and tireless search, that began in the heart of the imperial beast, with a relentless pursuit of more; more seriousness, more determination and more freedom, was transformed into an unstoppable power. He fought side by side with his hevals (comrades) against the Turkish occupying state, against the imperialist NATO and other alliances of the most powerful of this world. Thomas never forgot his roots and stood in deep connection in the mountains of Kurdistan, side by side with his friends and brothers in the cities of Europe. He fought a devoted battle, convinced that no one of this world is free unless all are free. He was not satisfied by the promise of freedom liberalism offered in the cities of Europe, which claimed that you would be free if you could just do whatever you wanted. He recognized that freedom is more than the freedom of being able to consume anything, anytime, anywhere. Freedom became a constant quest within the collective.

Thomas fell in the southern Kurdish region of Xakurke on the 15th of June 2023, together with with Şehîd Asya Kanîreş (Kadriye Tetik) and Şehîd Koçer Medya (Diyako Saîdî). They were killed by Turkish air strikes while retreating from a successful action against the Turkish army.

With this brochure, we want to trace Thomas' journey. For us, commemorating a fallen brother, friend and companion is part of revolutionary practice. We want to continue Thomas' struggle, with determination and burning hearts. We take on his goals and values, for which he gave his life, and let them become our own, no matter where in the world we fight for them. This is what we mean when we shout:

*Şehîd namirin! The martyrs never die!*

# *An unusual path of life*



Thomas grew up with his two brothers in a rural town near Ingolstadt in Bavaria, southern Germany. Back then, his parents' house was not yet political and leftist ideas hardly played any role in the entire area. Instead, village and associational life, Bavarian traditions and conservative values were more relevant.

He often went hiking with his family in the Alps during the holidays and spent family holidays on a mountain farm. The mountains with their beautiful landscapes have always been a magnet for the family. His parents raised their three sons with a passion for hiking and mountaineering. Camping and fishing trips with his dad and his siblings were always part of his summer holidays. From an early age on he was very close to nature. He loved music and played the drums with his eldest brother. For some time, he met up with two of his friends to jam in a bar in Ingolstadt every Sunday. He made a name for himself several times as youth shooting "king" at the local shooting club. Later, he combined his love to mother nature and his shooting skills in a very different form, which no one could have foreseen at that time.

After finishing school, neither Thomas nor anyone else he grew up with knew what they wanted to do in their lives. To get his life in order, he started a training as a technical draughtsman for a large industrial company, which is not unusual in this Bavarian industrial town.

At the same time, an alternative lifestyle started to emerge in the small town. Around autumn of 2010, a handful of young people formed a political friend group and founded the group "La Resistance", which

was influenced by the autonomous movement. Both his older brothers quickly became a part of it. It was only a matter of time before Thomas also became enthusiastic about the "Antifa" und started to engage with leftist ideas. Many years later, sitting in the free mountains of Kurdistan, he said in an interview: "My brothers made me a socialist."

It was a very diverse group. Young people from different backgrounds and subcultures, who were very eager to change the world in a city that didn't have any political tradition until then.

The struggle against Nazis was a rather minor part of it. Ingolstadt and its surrounding areas have always been major sites for military and armament. Opposing against the Bundeswehr (the Armed Forces of Germany), armament factories and the militarisation of society had the greatest influence on the group's politics. Information stands against Bundeswehr Days, disruptive actions at public oath-taking ceremonies, the occasional night-time action against Bundeswehr facilities were part of their first political practice. And a lot of utopia: occupying spaces, creating free spaces, establishing alternative culture.

He was involved with the group from the beginning of 2014 until he joined the Kurdish liberation movement in May of 2016.

At that time, the political discourse in Germany was dominated by the civil wars in the Middle East as well as the onset of the refugee movement and the accompanying shift to the political right in Germany. The young comrade quickly became friends with the different people in the group und engaged in all actions with great enthusiasm and drive. He was exceptionally eager to learn and quickly distinguished himself with his consequent stance and his leadership in actions. Thomas was most enthusiastic about people who made direct action their cause. Even though he enjoyed reading a lot, politics was more than fighting with words and pens for him, so one day he spontaneously moved to "Hambi" for a week, the occupied Hambacher Forst, which was militantly defended by activists against the coal stealing energy giant RWE. A militant struggle was what he strove for.

With the onset of the refugee movement, Thomas and his comrades

tried to establish contact with refugees. In the beginning, this was rather difficult because the Bavarian state government's concept of so-called anchor centres made exchanges between the local population and refugees difficult. The refugees in the camps were living in very poor conditions, with the aim of preventing their integration. After a while, the group managed to establish contact to a handful of people from the camps. They made trips together, played soccer, did barbecues and visited folk festivals with families. Young people in particular were invited to the room of the group, to play table soccer and to get to know each other. However, this was not enough for Thomas. He wanted to change the conditions and, if possible, abolish the anchor centres right away and single-handedly. Of course, this was not possible, but he was still fully committed to counter right-wing hate speech in form of graffiti and leaflets with his own pro-asylum slogans and in distributing flyers to local residents.

Gradually, Thomas began to break down and question old structures, behaviours and unquestioned traditions by more and more developing a political and revolutionary personality. With this new leftist and progressive consciousness, he no longer wanted to settle into this society. The search for a new meaning to his life had begun. He became increasingly interested in struggling movements outside of Europe. At first, it was especially the Zapatista movement in Mexico, about which he also read a book. Out of this, the idea of travelling to the Zapatista territories to get to know the movement emerged. He had even started to learn Spanish for it. But this journey never happened because so many other things were going on.

When the so-called "IS" and his cruelties against everything human appeared, and especially when the heroic defence of Kobanê made headlines worldwide, also many German leftists in Ingolstadt took the streets together with Kurds to draw attention to the crimes of the Islamists and the open support of NATO partner Turkey. This marked the beginning of the solidarity of anti-fascists in Ingolstadt with the Kurdish liberation struggle, which continues to this day. Thomas and his comrades engaged intensively with the theories of democratic con-



*Graffiti in Azads home town Ingolstadt*

federalism and the project of Rojava. In spring of 2016, he set off for Northern Kurdistan together with other bavarian and german people to celebrate Newroz (Kurdish New Year) and to get to know the movement. The events of this journey had such a big influence on him that he decided during his stay to fight for this cause in the future. Here in Kurdistan, Thomas experienced for the first time what it means to oppose against such terrible oppression and what socialism feels like in practice. In the Kurdish liberation movement, he finally found what he was searching for to develop as a political person.

The experiences on this trip had such a profound effect on him that he decided during his stay to fight for this cause in the future. Here in Kurdistan, Thomas experienced first-hand for the first time what it means to resist such terrible oppression and what socialism feels like in practice. In the Kurdish liberation movement, he finally found what he was looking for to develop as a political person.

It was only later, after he had left Germany, that his old companions and brothers realised that he would probably never have stayed in his home town or Bavaria for long.

# *Interview with former comrades of the group La résistance*



## ***What were some particularly memorable and/or meaningful moments you experienced together with Thomas?***

I think what impressed me most was his attempt to start a blog so that the refugees at the reception center near Ingolstadt could share their stories. I vaguely remember that there was at least one post on the blog. At least I can recall a text published by our group where at least one refugee described the poor conditions in the camp. I thought it was really great that Thomas had thought this far ahead and didn't wait for others to take the initiative. His attitude toward many actions and situations was: "I want to do this now and take matters into my own hands."

## ***What was your impression of Thomas during his active years as a political figure?***

I was always impressed by his consistency. He never did things half-way, but instead tackled problems and projects head-on and saw them through. His wide-ranging interests were always evident as well. It wasn't a matter of "Let someone else handle that; it's none of our business," but rather a constant, practical understanding of what needed to be done. He was sometimes like a leader, even though there had never been any leaders in our group. A role model for others—serious, disciplined, consistent in action, educated and eager to learn, resilient—but without the arrogance, conceit, and secrecy that people who see themselves as "leaders" sometimes display. Always maintaining a contagious

smile about the cause. I will never forget his laughter or his grin when planning actions.

***How did Thomas's joining the party in 2016 and his death in 2023 affect you and the group?***

His joining naturally left a void. We didn't know if or how we could or should talk about it. At first, everyone felt left alone with their questions and feelings. Eventually, though, more information gradually came together—for example, how he was doing in Kurdistan, what he was up to, and how highly his friends in the mountains spoke of him. This further strengthened our already existing solidarity and interest in the Kurdish liberation movement. His death naturally triggered deep shock and grief at first, but it also led to the silence surrounding him finally being broken. And we proudly named our new social center, which opened in the summer of 2023, after him (his nom de guerre).

*Extract from a video on the anti-war day 2014, on the left Thomas*



# *Farewell letter by Thomas to his old comrades*



Dear comrades,

the day has come that you too have to face the reality of the fight for liberation. I was one of you and I now joined the movement in order to carry on the spirit of the revolution. This revolution doesn't stop at the existing state borders, it will further spread from Kurdistan to the world and initiate a societal change.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all, because it was all of you who strengthened me over the past years and who had a valuable influence on my political development. At the end of the day, you were part of those who shaped who I am today.

Keep up the memory of me and see the decision I have made

as a sign of my protest, which I hope you will join in order to actively continue the fight and the resistance at your place.

I hope to one day see you again and until then, I wish you all the best.

Revolutionary greetings.

Tom

PS: I would like to pose a few questions that everyone who wants to or will be a craftsperson/artisan of the world revolution should ask themselves:

„What do you want from life? Self-realisation? Your own happiness? The happiness of others? How far away are those others allowed to be? Solidarity up to the family boundary? Your circle of friends? Or country or continent border? Are revolutionary, resistant aspirations your life's perspective or only a temporary working group?“ Foreword by Klaus Viehmann in the book „Bank robbery for liberation movements: the history of the group Blekingegade“ (original title in German: „Bankraub für Befreiungsbewegungen: Die Geschichte der Blekingegade-Gruppe“)

The core of a functioning movement lies in their solid convictions instead of towering discourse formations. Selflessness instead of identity politics. Leaving the bubble of leftist subculture that floats above the rest of society.

# Interview with Thomas parents



***What memories do you have of Thomas during his years of childhood and adolescence?***

**Response:** Thomas was a joyful, bright and open child with a good sense for his environment. As an adolescent he was very interested in other countries, far travels and nature. He also loved books, especially those about globetrotters on voyages of discovery. Inspired by such stories, he was overcome by the desire to go on an adventure and together with a friend and nothing more but a tent, he simply cycled towards the Alps by bike. Another interest of his was exploring his own family history. He loved going through old photos of ours or listening to old music cassettes of his dad, for example. What we also want to mention is his strong sense of justice. As an adolescent, Thomas regularly engaged in dumpster diving – either alone or together with his brothers. During this he also helped a pensioner and gave her the food from the containers. On weekends, he often brought a tossed away bouquet of flowers from his food salvaging actions. The older he got, the more he developed/grew into a thoughtful/contemplative, and for us as parents, introverted person. His carefree nature faded and he saw his childhood friends less often. It wasn't by chance [I am not quite sure how well "chance" really fits here, as I initially thought about using the phrase "It was no coincidence that..." but it felt kind of weird to say that it was no coincidence only to then mention later that it coincided with something] that this coincided with him starting to learn about all of the political happenings worldwide. One could literally feel how the injustices of the world upset him.

***What was your relation to him as a political person?***


**Response:** *All of our sons sooner or later started getting politically active.* His brothers took Thomas with them as he was the youngest of the three. Since then, there had been many discussions at the dinner table. Everyone had a different opinion and us parents often had difficulties

following them. That, however, didn't impair our good familial relations. Thomas's consistency and determination became apparent when he, for example, resigned from a local club because he could no longer put up with the racist remarks of some long-standing members. For us as parents, our children's political engagement was something new at first and their radical way of doing it was unfamiliar. Therefore, our views on our own possibilities of changing the social and political situation often differed a lot. We appealed to them to make use of their possibilities to change stuff in their immediate influence. But at that point in time, he himself already knew that he didn't see any future for his work here in Germany/Europe. Because after he came back from a delegation to Newroz in Amed that he had been on with one of his brothers, he seemed to have been visibly shaken and deeply moved. He had probably already made the decision to go to Kurdistan and to stay there as well. But we didn't suspect anything like this.

***How did you feel after his joining?***

***Response:*** Thomas didn't tell us about his decision to go and in the beginning, we also didn't know much about the organisation that he joined. Because of that, it initially was a traumatising situation for us. It was a hard time for all members of the family since we hadn't had received any letters or messages from Thomas for years. Through both of our other sons we learned to process all of that and to understand the political context bit by bit. Through that, we got to know the Kurdish liberation movement and also took part in Kurdish demonstrations ourselves. In March of 2023, we finally travelled to Qandil ourselves after being invited to the Newroz celebrations. By experiencing the country, the people and the political movement for ourselves, we gained a better understanding of our son Thomas's reasons for his decision. Despite all of the pain that we experienced, we continue to hold together as a family. Since then, we have been experiencing our time together more consciously. More than ever before, we have been there for and have supported one another. Not only in the grief and pain that Thomas's death has brought but also in all the other difficulties that life throws at us.

# Interview with "Perspektive Kommunismus"



For this brochure we interviewed three comrades who were active with Thomas in Germany and these days are organised with the group „Perspektive Kommunismus“ (which roughly translates to „the perspective of communism“). In this article, the friends remember Azad Şergeş, the beginnings of his politicisation as well as the phase of social conditions and of the revolutionary left in Germany at that time. They also describe what Azad’s decision to go to the mountains and to join the Kurdish liberation struggle means for them.

## ***What relationship did you have with Thomas?***

For a few years, before he departed for the mountains of Kurdistan, Thomas had been politically active in Germany. Thomas wasn’t active in our structures but we occasionally crossed paths here and there. He was part of a group called „La Résistance“ from Ingolstadt, together with which our organisation worked on several mobilisations and actions. Nowadays, La Resistance as an organised collective doesn’t exist anymore, which is why we made it our task to keep the memory of Thomas and his struggles alive and open to discussion here. We fought for the same cause. It is our mission to continue this struggle.

Some of us grew up in rural areas or in small towns, just as Thomas did. Many of us know ourselves how cumbersome it can be to establish progressive structures or organise leftist politics in rural areas. Migration into cities is not just a silly joke among left-wing activists. We too eventually moved to a city. The comrades of La Resistance tried to be active

according to their possibilities.

Thomas and his comrades got into contact with us several times and vice versa. To fight for socialism in Bavaria, one relies on a lot of mutual support by the few active political structures and people that are there. We had a lively political practise with Thomas. He and his comrades were sitting with us at preparation meetings for the protests against the Munich security conference or against the G7 summit in Elmau.

***Can you contextualise the time during which Thomas was politically active in Germany?***

Around the year of 2014, Thomas began to get politically active in a small Bavarian town. There, some young people had joined forces and had formed a leftist group just a few years prior. Apart from that, the city was devoid of any leftist tradition. Not only in terms of left-wing youth culture but also in terms of progressive civil society. Such a thing basically didn't exist there either. That's not an uncommon occurrence for Bavarian industrial towns/cities, in which the people are comparatively rich and very conservative.

It has now been over ten years since the start of his politicisation. Many things were different back then. But several things that had started back then are still relevant to us today.

Organising politics via Signal group chats would have been an absurd idea. The comments section of „linksunten“ (an anonymous leftist site) was the place for political discussion and Facebook opened the box of Pandora for leftist movements in terms of mobilisation and visibility.

We followed the investigation of the NSU murders (NSU = national socialist underground) closely. The NSU trial began in 2013 in Munich. More and more details about the involvement of state institutions with the murderous gang were being uncovered.

During those years, the societal shift to the right began to take shape. The AfD (the so-called Alternative for Germany, a right-wing, now predominantly fascist party) was founded. Arson attacks against refugee shelters were happening daily. In a neighbouring village of Thomas's,

tool a planned refugee shelter was set ablaze. As we were organising a spontaneous demonstration in said village the next day, it first dawned on us what might be laying ahead of us.

The war in Ukraine also started in 2014 and the “Winter of peace” 2014/15 was a formative time for us all. The Kurdish revolution in Rojava had just begun two years prior and during that year, ISIS started their big attacks on Kurds and Êzîdis in Syria and Iraq. Being in solidarity with their struggles was very influential for the German Left and in almost all cities, Kurdistan solidarity committees were founded.

***In the context of which struggles did you first meet and get to know Thomas?***

Thomas filled the slogan “There’s no peaceful back country” [It is a slogan that means that in the rural areas, Nazis are also not welcome and their activities in rural areas do not go unnoticed and unchallenged] with life. We first met him at an Antifa protest against a right-wing citizen’s initiative in some village between Ingolstadt and Munich. There were quite a few such NPD (a neo-Nazi party) cover organisations at the time, which mainly campaigned against the construction of mosques. But just as us, Thomas didn’t stop at slogans against right-wingers and destroying Nazi propaganda. We all knew that we would need to do something more substantial – when the fascist party “Der III. Weg” (literally: the 3rd way) marched in Ingolstadt, we built barricades together and did not let the Nazis have any peace. It annoyed him for a long time that he could not participate in the protests against the AfD party convention in Stuttgart the same year.

In addition, he organised protection of refugee shelters against imminent attacks. Close to his home town, the Bavarian state government threw up one of three big “Ankerzentren”. These were camps for refugees, whose main purpose was to enable people to be deported as quickly as possible. Thomas was very involved in protests against this and similar camps and in solidarity with their inhabitants. Several times we came from Munich for support.

The most overlap in our political practice was in terms of anti war strug-

gles. The comrades from Ingolstadt were very active in this field since the city is an important location for the armament industry and the military. For a while they organised demonstrations around World Peace Day on the 1st of September, which we and comrades from other Bavarian cities and towns also attended. Since the 60s, the city of Munich has been hosting the annual so-called Munich Security Conference. That's where the most influential/prominent figures/the who's who of politics, the military and arms industry, especially from NATO countries, meet behind closed doors in order to conduct negotiations and make armament deals. In 2015, Thomas was part of a Bavaria-wide radical left-wing alliance against the Security Conference (German acronym for the conference: SiKo) and took on tasks in preparing the protests. It was very popular in Munich at the time to connect demonstrations to trending aspects of pop culture, which, for that year, were the Star Wars films. We still remember very vividly how Thomas and some of his comrades dragged along an oversized Darth Vader, which adorned our loudspeaker at the anti-SiKo demonstration, with them on the regional train from Ingolstadt to Munich.

In the same year, the G7 summit took place in the Bavarian Alps. The

*Thomas on first May Demonstration in Hamburg 2015*



conditions were conceivably poor for large-scale protests. Nonetheless, thousands of people from all over Germany came to Garmisch, in order to join the protest that we also helped organising and at least try to disrupt the meeting. Thomas was part of the front bloc that tried to break through to strategically important points. We couldn't make it far, not even one metre. But that didn't stop us from trying a second time. Thomas was one of those who ran into this wall of cops for a second time with full vigour. Staying true to their motto "It's better to fail once more, than having to bear the feeling of having something left untried." We have heard of several other actions for which this mindset aptly describes Thomas's attitudes towards protest and militant protest in particular.

***In what state was the German Left during the time in which Thomas was politically active here?***

What poses a challenge for many of us is that we didn't get to experience any continuity in the German Left. The revolutionary movement in Germany has had to endure a number of ruptures. Organising, political debate and revolutionary activity are things that we have to relearn with little experience. During the time that Thomas was active here, the German Left was very fragmented and it still is today. A lot revolved around scenes and peer groups. It's not easy to see a perspective as a revolutionary. It's not easy when you're full of revolutionary eagerness.

Azad Şergeş decided to go to the mountains. This wasn't an easy time for us. We respected his decision. It is understandable and consistent, if one wants to participate in the most advanced struggles of the revolutionary movement. We are far away from this level of struggle here. It is a great quality when revolutionaries take it upon themselves to go down the path of participating in liberation struggles. Thomas wanted to fight for liberation with a weapon in his hand – and we have great respect for that.

Many, although not all, of those who accompanied Thomas on his journey here, who built barricades and threw stones and bottles at Nazis

with him, have been trying tirelessly to establish/build structures and organise struggles and still do so to this day. In a phase where, historically speaking, we are on the defensive, we as communists need a lot of perseverance. The fact that, after all those years, we are now able to contribute to the brochure about our fallen friend is not something that can be taken for granted. But it shows that even in the heart of the beast of capitalism, it is possible to build political structures with revolutionary aspirations and continuity.

This year, more people than ever before participated in our anticapitalist bloc against the SiKo. There also was a banner [I haven't found a direct equivalent in English but the German term translated word by word would be „high banner“, meaning the specific kind of banner that is fastened to a pole on either end and is carried overhead by two people. Maybe you know whether such a word exists in English] for Azad Şergeş – who, if he had been here, would have walked with us/within our rows/ranks [also a bit unsure, how well „w/in our rows“ would fit, because the German original kind of has a double meaning since „in unseren Reihen laufen“ means „to walk within our ranks“ or „to walk with us“ but „Reihe“ also means row and in the context of demonstrations, you also often walks in literal rows]

***How did you deal with the time during which he was in the mountains?***

For a long time, we couldn't come to terms with the decision that Azad Şergeş made. Some had still been able to have discussions with him before he left, but we didn't openly talk about it afterwards. Generally, we tried to avoid the spreading of rumours and, as far as possible, to restrict the information to those who knew him personally. We thought that by this, we could protect him from repression, if he returned. Self-critically, we must admit, that by doing so, we mainly silenced ourselves. For long, we hadn't understood that his decision to fight and also to die for this struggle, was an absolute one.

An additional aggravating factor was that [I guess „To make matters worse, was that...“ would also work] we very rarely received any information about him, what he was actually doing and how he was doing, so there was even less of an occasion to speak about Thomas. A part of the truth also was that it is difficult to have comrades being organised for such a long time. After the 7 years that Thomas had been in Kurdistan, there weren't many comrades left who still had gotten to know him. Most of the comrades who joined us after 2016, only learnt about Thomas after his death. We had simply never told them that a comrade, with whom we had shared a lot for a time, had made his way to the mountains of Kurdistan. It also would have been our responsibility, even without news from Azad, to encourage talking about him and also to involve comrades who had not known him personally, so that he would not be forgotten over the years.

***What do you take away from this, what conclusions do you draw?***

First and foremost, the grief of having lost a wonderful comrade and one of our bravest fighters. But at the same time, also the knowledge that he was happy with the path that he had chosen, to devote his life entirely to the struggle against oppression and for the liberation of the exploited and oppressed people. To the very end.

Azad Şergeş was serious about fighting for the revolution and socialist society. He put his own life on the line for it, the greatest sacrifice that a human can make. He refused to keep a back door open, as so many do who are politically active for a few years and then retreat back into a supposedly apolitical private life within the capitalist system.

Azad Şergeş sought seriousness in the struggles, one that he hadn't found within the German Left. His decision posed the question to all of us: How serious are we about demanding revolution? If we want to fight for a better society, for socialism for humanity, then we must continuously strive to draw the necessary conclusions. So that the reign of the capitalists and imperialists will finally come to an end. We want to develop this seriousness of leading the revolutionary struggle towards victory.

The memory of Azad Şergeş will forever concretely connect us with the people of Kurdistan and with their liberation movement, the PKK. To us, internationalism means to connect our struggles here with the struggles and revolts of the exploited and dispossessed and to act in solidarity. That means for us: We will continue to fight against the alliance between Germany and Turkey, against the support of the Turkish war in Kurdistan as well as against the criminalisation of the PKK and the Turkish Left in Germany. In doing so, we remain to be aware of our main task: We have to advance the class wars by the workers here and build revolutionary counterpower from below until we can overthrow the capitalist's reign, all very concretely.

By continuing this struggle in a lively way, Azad Şergeş also continues to live as do all fallen comrades in the revolutionary struggle.

***Is there something that you want to tell the readers?***

Due to Azad's death, we had to redevelop our relationship to our own fallen comrades. Up to that point, the fact that comrades had given their lives in the revolutionary struggles has never been that close before. And Azad wasn't the first fallen German internationalist either.

But the history of the German Left is, after all, shaped by ruptures and discontinuities. Discontinuities that make it difficult for us in several, very different areas and which also lead to thousands who died for the revolution often having been forgotten. Of the thousands that fell in the years of the revolution in the 1920s, we only know very few names. We still remember the resistance fighters who fought against fascism the most, but we often have less connection to those who fell during the urban guerilla warfare era and those who became martyrs as internationalists in other parts of the world.

Learn about and engage with these people. Develop a relation to them in your actions. Their biographies contain so much bravery and confidence, especially for those moments in which we lack perspective. In their spirit: For communism!

Spring 2016

*~ On the border ...  
or the beginning of my revolution ~*

Rojava

The feeling to be very close to it. To struggle, to life and to hope. To the feelings of victory, of the comrades, of suffering and pain of death and the feeling of the new socialism. All this up close, just a few centimeters in front of the face. It felt as if I could reach out and touch it with my own hands. It overwhelmed me. I cried. I cried because I saw the truth of my comrades' struggle with my own eyes! That was the border—and not just the one drawn by capitalist states. That faint line in the dust. No! That was the border of my life under capitalism. The one I saw and crossed. The one I tore down with my own hands in my mind. That was the border of Rojava Kobanê.

The boundary between life and death.  
Victory and defeat.

# *In struggle we will win*



The sun stood high above Amed, one of the biggest cities of north Kurdistan, when the first notes of the song "Çerxa Şoreşê" started a collecting movement. Hundreds of bodies stood up as if it was one body. Hundreds of arms pushed into the air as if it as one arm and hundreds of hands – small, tender hands, hands worn out from work, hands that lines drew many years - stretching their pointing and middle finger from the closed fist into the sky. The sky flickered from the flames of the big fire of Newroz. This moment made it clear like no other, that the struggle in Kurdistan is not just the battle of a leftists fringe group, but a revolution that is carried through the whole society.

In the year of 2016 I was together with Thomas part of a delegation from Germany to Bakur – Northern Kurdistan, that lies in the territory of Turkey. The delegation had the purpose to take part in the Newroz-celebrations and to get to know better the Kurdish culture. Additionally we wanted to get to know the Kurdish structures, that were at this time even in Germany on everyone's lips, because of the heroic victory over ISIS, and we wanted to form our own opinion about the damage that had been done by the recently flared up war of Turkey against the Kurdish and leftist movement and society in Norther Kurdistan.

We were a colourful bunch of young communists and leftists from all over Germany. If I think about it again now, I remember Tom as an always kind comrade who took up information and discussions calmly and whose rare contributions always had a well thought out impression on me. I remember his comparatively quiet nature, which's mouth always had a little smile.

The time in Kurdistan was very striking. To experience how people tire-

lessly fight in spite of violence, war and a barrage of bombs, to defend their cultural identity but also a liberation struggle, that should bring peace and prosperity to all people of the region, was an impressive experience. As well as it was stunning to visit a real revolutionary building process and upheaval.

Tom, you decided to become one of those brave fighters and gave your life for the liberation of humans from fascism and inequality. It makes me unbelievably sad that you had to die. The experiences that we were able to make together in Kurdistan and your death only leave one conclusion: The fight has to go on, as in struggle we will win.

-a comrade -

## *About the cities war in Bakur*



After the IS bomb attack in Suruc on 20 July 2015 on the border to Rojava, which was aimed against socialist youths from Turkey, the Turkish state declared a supposed war on terrorism. However, this fight was by no means directed against IS, but solely against the Kurdish liberation movement. Initially, the attacks of the Turkish Air Force were directed against PKK positions in the liberated Medya Defence Zones in Kandil. In autumn of 2015, this war spread to the self-governing structures of the population in Bakur (Northern Kurdistan: occupied areas of Kurdistan in Turkey).

With Turkey's attacks on PKK positions using fighter aircrafts and mortar shells, Erdogan and his AKP introduced the end of the peace process.

Instead of a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, the Turkish state imposed curfews in Northern Kurdistan and started a cleansing operation.

Tanks and Turkish special forces besieged the cities. Snipers and soldiers occupied the streets and shot at anyone who tried to leave their houses. The aim was to destroy the self-governing structures in Bakur, which were an integral part of societal life. The AKP's autocratic rule was threatened by the HDP, which received up to 92 percent of the vote in many regions, due to the successful build of social structure in Northern Kurdistan and due to the revolution in Rojava. With the war in Bakur, the population was threatened with a massacre of unforeseeable proportions.

Broad resistance formed against these attacks. Barricades made of sandbags were put everywhere, paths were knocked into the walls between houses and the sewer system was used extensively.

Democratic autonomy was declared in the cities of Bakur, such as Sur, Silopi, Cizre and Nusaybin. For months, the population defended their cities. Armed urban guerrilla units put up heroic resistance. Turkey responded to this act of resistance with a brutal campaign of punishment.

If we look at the declaration of the self-government in Northern Kurdistan and the resistance of the population in the overall picture of Kurdistan, this has made a significant contribution to developing new experiences in urban struggle, enabling the revolution in Rojava and the movement in the liberated Medya Defence Zones to develop further.

To this day, this spirit of resistance of Bakur remains unbroken. The uprising that flared up after the local elections in spring of 2024, following the annulment of the election of DEM party mayor Abdullah Zeydan and the attempt of forced administration, brought forth the flame of resistance, showing that the Kurdish people will not allow their will to be taken away.

# Song Kolanên Amedê



|: Kolanên Amedê  
Dişkînin faşizme :|  
|: Gur nema li meydana  
li qada şer û cengê, hey :|

|: Serhildan Amedê  
Berxwedan Cizîrê  
Pîroz be li cenga we  
Berxwedan tê bejna we  
Berxwedan tê bejna we, hey :|

|: xwe nagire zilma te  
têk çûye heza te  
raperîna gela ye  
wek Diclê û Firatê hey :|

|: Serhildan Amedê  
Berxwedan Cizîrê  
Pîroz be li cenga we  
Berxwedan tê bejna we  
Berxwedan tê bejna we, hey :|

|: Kolanên çeperin me  
Kevirin çekên me  
YPS ye hêza me  
em ciwanên apoçî ne, hey :|

|: Serhildan Amedê  
Berxwedan Cizîrê  
bernadin Silopî  
Berxwedan tê bejna we  
Berxwedan tê bejna we, hey :|

### ***Kolanên Amedê „The streets of Amed“***

Amed, often called the “capital of Kurdistan”, is located in Northern Kurdistan. Due to the occupation of Turkey, resistance has always been present there in order to keep Kurdish culture alive, which was attempted to be eradicated. The rejection of occupation and fascism in society persisted until 2016, when popular uprisings emerged and spread to many cities and areas of the Turkish-occupied Kurdistan. The aim of these uprisings, in which many thousands of young people took a leading role, was to liberate the cities from Turkish occupation. They were fighting for the self-administration of many cities. Many of the young people involved in these urban struggles had never held a weapon before, but with their goal in mind and with an incredible conviction of the anti-fascist struggle, they repelled countless fascists. In Amed, too, especially in the district of Sûr, self-administration lasted three months and a week, under tireless defence of the barricades. The young people faced the NATO army of Turkey with Molotov cocktails and resisted until the end. This struggle is sung about in this song. It is about the youth defence structure called YPS. It became the song of this struggle. This event marks a major turning point in the history of the youth movement in Kurdistan and once again proved the incredible courage of the youth. We commemorate the hundreds of brave young people, who gave their life defending the self-administration.

# *In memory of our comrade Azad*



One weekend in the last days of winter, we gathered in an empty university room. The air was filled with many voices of different conversations. People were getting to know each other and were full of anticipation for the journey they would soon be taking together. It was the year of 2016. A brutal wave of attacks was waged against the population in Northern Kurdistan, who were trying to protect themselves from the attacks of tanks, soldiers and aircrafts behind self-built barricades.

As in previous years, we had once again decided to organise a delegation to Northern Kurdistan. We thought, that it was incredibly important not to leave the population alone, that was already excluded from media coverage. And even if only to a small extent, to bring their voice and the daily injustice perpetrated against them to the outside world. That is why we had gathered for a preparatory seminar. Heval Azad had also travelled from the south. During the preparatory seminar, he already stood out to us with his pleasant and determined manner, which would become even more apparent during the journey. Our preparatory seminar ended powerfully and everyone was full of energy to get going.

A few weeks later, we saw Heval Azad again at the airport in Amed, where group after group arrived. We guided them to our meeting point to organise sleeping places and everything else. Due to the fact that parts of Amed (in the historic district of Sûr) were under heavy attack and that daily massacres were taking place in many other cities in

Northern Kurdistan, it didn't take long before the police and the secret service were hot on our heels, repeatedly stopping small groups of us to check their documents etc.

Despite all the harassment and the sometimes threatening situations, our comrade Azad never showed even the slightest hint of fear or doubt. He had come to get to know the Kurdish liberation struggle, which he had been following closely for some time, and to express his practical solidarity. It also seemed as if he wanted to get full clarity on some final questions in his mind. This often became apparent in his questions and comments. We remember how he danced the Kurdish circle dance (Govend) with other internationalists on the evening before Newroz around a fire in a neighbourhood of Amed, and how we all chanted slogans together. It was an incredibly amazing atmosphere. Suddenly, armed police vehicles rushed in and fired tear gas grenades into the crowd without warning, causing everyone to run away. Many of the residents opened their doors and shops to get us safe. Not only did everyone escape unharmed, but it also once again showed the strength of an organised society.

We would like to highlight one memory in particular, because it very clearly illustrates Heval Azad's attitude, which he embodied at that time in Amed, but also later in the free mountains of Kurdistan. While we were in Amed, there were still clashes between the Turkish state's special forces and the Kurdish people's civil defence units (YPS) in the district of Bağlar. We could hear gunfire at times when we met at the well-known bookshop Aram in the morning to start our programme. In the night before Newroz, the Turkish state declared that the fighting was over and that the YPS had been destroyed. When we wanted to return to our meeting point after the Newroz celebrations, some of us walked through this district and were arrested. They were taken to the police station, were held for several hours and were questioned. They were released late at night. This was another means of harassment used by the Turkish state to spread fear and to prevent reports about the local situation.

This had an effect on some of the participants of the delegation. Some

of them proposed to contact the German embassy or to inform them that they were in Turkey and would like to leave soon. Fearing that the Turkish state could arrest them upon departure, they suggested seeking protection from the German state. A state they often regarded as an enemy, which was also one of the reasons why many of them wanted to stay anonymous during the journey. Heval Azad had a very clear and radical stance towards this. He criticised this attitude and made it clear that the (German) state is our enemy and just because some are in fear, one should not betray their principles.

Another thing that struck us very clearly about Heval Azad was his pure heart. He was very emotional in a way. You could feel how he felt the pain he saw all around him, in this case that of the Kurdish people, with every fiber of his body. He felt the pain of the oppressed and the struggling. When he heard about those who had fallen, he reacted in a way as if he had known them for years. He was very simple and direct in this regard. What he thought of as rightfull in theory, he naturally had to live out in practice. He was not dogmatic, but radical...

Shortly after returning from our journey to Kurdistan, we learned that Azad (or Thomas, as he was still called at that time) had set off for the mountains. We can still remember that, on one hand, we had a lot of respect for his decision and were very proud of him, but on the other hand, we were not too surprised. Even during the journey, we repeatedly had the feeling that he wanted to devote himself fully to the struggle.

In this regard, we can only agree with the comrades of Perspektive Kommunismus when they write the following in their memories of Heval Azad: "The fields of rubble in Amed-Sûr, where weeks earlier the Turkish army had massacred rebellious youth of the YPS, the reports of the survivors of the bomb attack in Pirsûs and the very real experience of the Turkish occupation in Kurdistan touched him deeply in his heart and when he returned from the journey, a part of him already remained in Kurdistan."


Over the years, we kept asking people here and there, whoever we met, if they had heard anything about Heval Azad or if they knew where he

was. When his video appeared a few months ago, we had to smile at how his German seemed to have gotten a bit rusty over the years, but on the other hand, it was also a great feeling to see him in guerilla clothing in the mountains and to see how well he was doing. Now, having heard a few days ago that he had lost his life in the struggle for freedom and in defence of the highest human values, we are filled with great pain. We would have wished for him to play an active role in the internationalist works in the coming years, with all his experiences from his years with the guerrilla and his clear stance and open-mindedness.

There was still so much to discuss, to laugh about, to plan and to do. Just as Heval Azad had felt the pain of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan at that time, we now feel the pain that his loss brings us and also the pain that his family and friends in Germany are going through. We hope that, with time, we can all transform this pain into strength so it doesn't paralyse us, but brings us even closer together so that, following in his footsteps, we can realise his wishes and dreams together.

Some of Heval Azad's companions

# *Interview with Azad about joining the PKK*



My name is Thomas Spies, my code name in the party is Azad Şergeş. I was born in February 1996 in Bavaria and I grew up in a village near Ingolstadt. There I went to school until secondary school. After graduating, I spent three years as an apprentice in technical product design. I dropped out to join the party. In my family we are five people. I have two older brothers and I am the youngest. The status of my family is the middle class. Economically we had it good. From the side of my father we are a worker family, from my mother's side we have agricultural roots. They engage in gardening and agriculture.

Until I joined the worker's party of Kurdistan I was a member of the Antifa movement in Germany for some years. I can say that I became a socialist because my older brothers made me socialist. I fought for many years for socialism in Germany. We wanted to build a movement. But I saw that with the old understanding of communism, leninism and marxism there is no possible struggle in Germany. I searched for something new. Anarchism is also not a solution in Germany. All this is old and for the present time it is impossible to struggle with it.

In 2014, when there were heavy fights about the city of Kobanê, this also caused quite a stir in Germany, especially in the Antifa movement. Many of us members of Antifa went to Syria, Rojava, to be part of the fight and to join the Kurds. That moved me a lot and I thought much about it.

Because I saw that with the existing socialist understanding there cannot be a revolution in Germany. I looked for something new. From 2014 to 2016, until the fights in Nisebîn, Amed, in Kurdistan, meaning the

fighters of YDG-H and YPS, the city wars, there was also a lot going on in Germany. I was arrested a couple of times during this time, the state dragged me to court and I can say, there was not a lot missing and the state would have thrown me into prison. That is also why I decided to join the Kurds.

2016 I followed my older brother to Amed, at that time the city wars raged in Amed, to see what the Kurds were doing there. How is the revolution of the Kurds, what is the conception of socialism of Abdullah Öcalan, the leader Apo, how is it, is it something new? That really evoked our interest. That is why we went to Amed in 2016.

While we were in Amed, I witnessed the struggle for socialism, for the revolution, what it means to fight for the revolution, when your comrades die for the revolution, shed blood for the revolution, sacrifice themselves like martyrs for free life, a free people, for socialism, thus for everyone, not only the Kurds, all of this I saw very clearly in Amed. That moved me a lot. There I made my decision, because I saw that it will not continue with the understanding in Germany. That is why I decided in 2016 to join the ranks of the worker's party of Kurdistan. Now it has been seven years that I joined the guerilla and that I am in the mountains of Kurdistan.

After I joined, I went into the free mountains of Kurdistan to take up arms against Turkish fascism. But not only against Turkish fascism, but against fascism in the word generally, therefore also against German fascism, US-american imperialism and against the capitalist system that prevails throughout the world today. For this I joined, for this I went into the mountains and for this I took a weapon in my hands and I fight side by side now with the comrades.

Life in the struggle is strongly different from life in the system, in Germany and Europe. Life in the mountains makes a huge difference. Why does it make such a difference? Because here you become human again. You lay down your bad traits, you are one with nature and you feel her, you defend the nature and nature protects you. You protect the

mountains and they protect you. Feelings that you suppressed before in the system and that you never allowed, the bad feelings, that make you an egoist, you lay all of them down and struggle against them. That is why you become a new human. Therefore life in the mountains makes a difference.

Especially between man and woman. How can we live together, without feeling and acting out feelings of dominance? In this case in particular, it makes a huge difference. The comradeship between us, sacrificing ourselves for each other, standing up for each other in difficult times, not leaving each other alone, fighting together, all these are characteristics of a new and free life, an understanding of socialism. That means also to become one with the people, to understand the people and to live the culture of a people. But not only one people, no only of the Kurds or of the Germans.

It is important to understand with which methods the German state wages a war against its own people. This is a special warfare. Your culture is prohibited, your dialect is prohibited. The bavarian is almost lost today aswell. Who can speak it to this day? All of this is being destroyed, and this is why life here makes a difference. Because here you become one with your culture again, you live your culture, you try to build a new life, to become one with nature, not to damage nature, to build up a new economical and societal system, this all needs the character traits of a new human and these characteristics you learn here in the mountains, in the guerilla, you learn this in the worker's party of Kurdistan. That is why life here makes a difference.

We are not like the system here. We are no egoists that play each other just for their own advantages, for money, for trivialities. All of this is indifferent to us. We have a big goal and this is to spread socialism into the world, to build up socialism in a free Kurdistan and subdue the Erdogan-fascism in Kurdistan, in Turkey and in the whole Middle East. And with his person break the fascism of the whole world down. Fascism is the same everywhere. It doesn't matter whether I'm in America, Germany, or Turkey and Kurdistan. Everywhere it's the same system. We have to understand this system and the state and look behind the

curtain. To look behind the curtain, that is what you learn here in the mountains, that is what you learn in the guerilla. That is why life makes a difference here.

You learn again to live, to feel, to love. You learn to be one with the comrades and lay down all of your bad character traits with time. Like this, you become a new human. This is why life here makes a difference. It is a nice life here. It is hard, but it is beautiful.

As a guerilla fighter in the mountains in the year of 2023 we can say that this is a final year for us. Why is this a year of the finale? It has now been 24, 25 years that the party president spends on the prison island Imrali in total isolation and torture. For us it is a finale, because it has also been a 100 years since the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. The treaty that split Kurdistan in four parts. This year the treaty fills 100 years. That is why it is the finale for us. It depends on how we fight; how much we will not give will be decisive.

The leadership that the party president takes on in this struggle is an example for us. 24, 25 years in prison, in total isolation, in the hand of the enemy, that is no small thing. That is the highest sacrifice one can give for a people. In relation to this, as a guerilla fighter in the mountains of Kurdistan playing his role in the active armed struggle, I can say that it is important for us and it is our goal to bring down the Turkish state in this year. To knock down the Turkey-fascism and to destroy the system of torture of Imrali, hence to liberate the party president and be united again with the party president Apo, to live together with him.

Therefore we set the goal for ourselves in this year to deepen our struggles even more this year and to sacrifice ourselves even more. We have nothing more to lose. The Turkish state has something to lose, but we don't. We only have a bag and a weapon on our back, but Turkey has a state to lose. That is why we will multiply our forces and fight everywhere. In this year we will free Kurdistan and banish the shadow of fascism and the US imperialism from Kurdistan. We throw the enemy out of the country.

That's how we can say this. That is our goal for the year 2023 and whatever it may cost, we will reach this goal. That's why the isolation and the torture that is used against our party president right now is a big pain for us. But we will overcome it and we will free him.

# About the resistance in Kobanê



Since 2011, democratic self-governing structures have been established in Rojava<sup>1</sup>. This region is predominantly inhabited by Kurds, but the self-governing structures do not only address the needs of the Kurdish people. All ethnic groups and religions living in Rojava are integrated into the political and social structures. Great steps have also been taken in this feudal-patriarchal region toward the liberation and emancipation of women. The self-government system includes the self-organization of women. Women are not only active on a political and social level, but are also organized in the YPJ self-defense structures. While the social and democratic development process in Rojava was progressing rapidly, the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) grew stronger in Syria and became a threat to the revolution and the entire Middle East.

In October 2014, ISIS threatened to take Kobanê. The People's Defense Units YPG and Women's Defense Units YPJ repelled ISIS attacks over several months. Meanwhile, Turkey moved its ground troops and tanks to the Turkish-Syrian border, treated wounded ISIS fighters in Turkish hospitals, and gave German-made weapons to ISIS.

The resistance of the YPG and YPJ has led to a resurgence of the internationalist movement. Countless internationalists have joined the International Freedom Battalion (IFB) to defend the revolution militarily, and tens of thousands of people around the world have taken to the streets in imperialist centers to defend the revolution in Rojava and the unbroken resistance. It was the internationalist force and revolutionary fighting moral in Rojava that helped the defense units to hold their ground and liberate themselves.

1        Rojava is the western part of Kurdistan, in the area of the Syrian state.

Kobanê thus became an international symbol of victory against IS, and the Kurdish People's and Women's Defense Units gained international recognition as key players in the fight against radical-Islamic terror. It was the People's Defense Units that won back area by area and destroyed IS.

Thanks to this will of resistance, the revolution remains relevant in the Middle East to this day, continues to pose a danger to the Turkish state, and remains a point of reference in the struggle for a liberated perspective based on solidarity, both internationally and in the region. The growing HDP, the Democratic Party of the Peoples, a party of left-wing and progressive forces, called for protests in 2014 to defend Kobanê. After three years of political show trials by Turkey, 108 politicians/activists, including members of the then HDP, were sentenced in May 2024 to prison terms ranging from eight to thirty years.

The repression has reached a new level here, which shows how indispensable the strength of a solidarity movement is for the defense of the revolution and how much it has weakened the Turkish state.

# *Letter from Qandil to his old comrades*



Dear friends, dear comrades,

it's been a long time since I wrote to you. Other than one letter, in which I tried to explain why I left, nothing came from me. Perhaps something lies in the darkness still, something that I now want to try to say again. I left the BRD (republic of Germany), because I myself could not do it anymore. Like many others, I too tried to make everything work as good as possible for me and for our goal. But nobody came really far. Here I now have time and possibilities to think about it all. Time for real political education. Time for perspectives, not narrowed down to the place where I am, but also for Germany itself. Time to strengthen the belief, energy and knowledge for the struggle, for the cause, for us all. I have tried to write a small text about this.

We must once again understand the situation we find ourselves

in and the conditions under which we live with an urgency that has become existential for us.

Yes, there are revolutionary struggles, here with us on a small scale and outside on a large scale. This seems to have disappeared from our minds. The consciousness that it needs to build more than just a solidarity relation is essential for realizing again that all our struggles, big and small, belong together, are interconnected. That nothing is for nothing. All the destruction, organized from our ground but executed by others on foreign, distant ground, we can only crush together, with each other in unity. Not just internationally united, but also as one front within us. That we must not get tangled up in meaningless wing battles and arguments anymore. Because the one who does this will only once more lose sight of the real enemy and our goal in the haze of capitalist and imperialist maximization and exploitation. He will only submit once again to capitalist rule, which suffocates and kills us, the subjects, in liberalism.

What we need in this position is to have again the feeling of connectedness with the people and practices in the revolutionary process, within and outside of us. [„Organized

revolutionary counter violence starts in us. It is our structure, our relation, our practice! ... It is the struggle for revolutionary identity. It is the struggle, in which the conquest of one's own subjectivity is inseparably connected with the political and practical overcoming of imperialist power! ... In the goal, to put objective and subjective necessity as one, for everybody and in the whole revolutionary process, unity becomes a concept of struggle.“] This should mean, everything relies only on us, everything lies entirely in our hand.

In this context we need to harmonize our feelings with the idea of the longlasting struggle. It is this one big objective that pushes us forward and which should also demand all of our love and attention! Because our cohesiveness, our comprehension of honest, sincere and sacrificial solidarity on the whole world and in every smallest corner is stronger than anything else. Yes, it is true that the state perceives violence to be its sole means and right to use. Of course, because it (psychological and physical violence) is its strongest weapon to maintain its power. To the outside this is hidden by a pseudo-democratic facade. That is why, and precisely for that reason,

we must once again confront the totalitarian character of the state and tear off its mask. To make it visible to everyone again! To quote Ulrike once more: “not to get closer to reality, but to get closer to the truth.”

Revolutionary Greetings

In love and always with you

Yours, Tom

14th September 2017 Qandil Kurdistan

„... if the peoples of the third world are the avant-garde of the antiimperialist revolution, that means: the objective, big hope of liberation, then it is our task: to create the relation between the liberation struggle of the third world and the longing for liberation, wherever it appears in the metropolises. in schools, universities, prisons, office buildings, hospitals, administrations, parties, labor unions – everywhere, against everything that negates this relation externally, suppresses, destroys it: consumption, media, participation, opportunism, dogmatism, dominance, paternalism, brutalization, isolation. ,we’ are meant, we are the revolutionary subject. whoever starts struggling and resisting is one of us ...!

-“i am a woman  
a woman  
for which there is no word in your shameless vocabulary  
that does justice to my existence  
a woman

in whose chest is a heart  
full of festering wounds of anger  
a woman  
in whose eyes the red glow of the bullets  
of freedom breaks  
a woman  
whose hands became tough enough through work  
to take up the weapon“ -

- Marzieh Ahmadi Askoaii -

# *Memory of an encounter with Heval Azad*



Heval Azad,

I had the luck to get to know Şehid Azad Şergeş already at the age of fifteen. Although I had met many friends (hevals) through the movement up to that point, heval Azad was a somewhat different experience. I still remember very well the evening when he first came to our house and we got to know each other. My family was very confused because he only spoke German and my family only spoke Kurdish.

For both of us it was a new experience. He had newly joined the movement and I met for the first time a „Heval“ with German origin. A human who had decided to put all of his life energy and youth for a cause, that I until then only understood as solely ours. Because we both were rather quiet, I thought I had to explain to him all of my knowledge and my experiences on Kurdistan and our struggle. I wanted to underline with my words, how beautiful our homeland was. But this evening, I understood that Heval Azad already knew so much about Kurdistan, the movement and our struggle. It turned out that this human from Bavaria knew my „home“ better than I did.


Through him I noticed, that the movement is much bigger and more significant than a 15 year old girl could ever have imagined. This encounter showed me that we were not a national liberation movement, the way we knew it, but so much more. All young people experienced this back then. A German who was in a crowd of 25 to 30 Kurdish youth,

who were surprised to see with how much determination a German was ready to live for the own cause. For Azad it must also have been a nice experience. Some friends of our local group still tell the story of the first time he ate and drank in their homes and shared like this a feeling of life they never experienced before.

For me, Heval Azad was the most intelligent person I ever had the privilege of meeting. He was always reading and very calm and attentive. We talked for hours about everything possible in this world. He always said, I should see and analyse the events of the world with the movement through a different lense. I should always do research, read on it and investigate. He has shown me, what role I played as a kurdish woman in this society and which duties and tasks I actually have in this society.

One day he told me: „You always have to think the following: How would a guerilla figher act?“, and when I asked why, he said: „Because a guerilla fighter plans her steps and all possible complications in advance“ Since then this sentence does not leave my thoughts and I still think about him daily. He was very brave. All of his works and ideas are still going on today with the same fire and the same hope. He brought so many people together who otherwise would not have met in this society. A german friend had brought me closer to my own culture, my own origin, my own language and reality. Therefore I am infinitely grateful to him.

# On Azad Şerğeş



When the question arose whether he was ready to leave his old life behind and join the ranks of the worker's party of Kurdistan, he did not hesitate even a moment. Not a thought, no little doubt could keep him from dedicating his life to the revolution. He was deeply convinced that the false sense of security and all of the small, paralyzing conveniences that life in the European metropolis entails had nothing to offer to him anymore, but had long ago become heavy chains around his feet. He didn't look back, because for him the decisive question was not what he would give up, but what he would win through his step into the unknown. He was tired of arguing with himself and always saying „Actually we should be doing this... or that...” The one who has recognized that there is nothing more for him to lose in this system will be able to free himself from all fear.

The organization constantly tried to protect him and keep him from danger as much as possible. However it was Azad himself who made it clear from the first day on that he will not under any circumstances stay any longer in Europe, that he joined the party to become a guerilla fighter, and it was also Azad who always insisted to not be active in the back lands of the war, but to take his place in the first row of the front of the struggle. He didn't look for the heat of the battle out of pure adventurism, but the armed struggle was for him the place where the contradiction between us and the enemy, between revolution and counterrevolution, between life and death came to light the most clear, noticeable and unmasked. When we encounter the enemy in everyday life, we oppose it very seldomly in direct confrontation. The contradiction at the basis of our encounter is veiled and distorted by countless laws and rules, forms of interaction, institutions and masks that we and also our enemy use. The necessity to fight inside of the enemy's system against this same system and to stay sometimes entirely undetected, inevitably forces us into a macabre game of hide-and-seek, to take on political mimicry and foolish politeness. Meanwhile both sides know

too well that the absurd tolerance, dictated by the rules of the political game, show nothing more than a snapshot of a moment, which would turn into a fight to the death at the slightest change in the balance of power. To survive in this game of a thousand masks you do not only need a solid political compass but also the necessary willpower and determination because in the deadly embrace of liberalism, the false compromise always awaits seductively and sneakily.

For Azad the armed struggle was more than only a tool that you take out of the box when it seems effective, but before all else it was a way of living that smashes every compromise, destroys the artificial balances and drives the contradiction with the enemy to the top. But it is totally clear: It's either you or the opponent, there is no middle path and in doubt you cannot expect mercy. This too is what pulled Azad to the front always. Not that he would have denied the necessity of the political struggle or deemed one method superior to another – in contrary he was very conscious that it is essential and more than reasonable for revolutionaries to use exactly these masks and these spaces which the political conditions in Europe offer. However, it is only possible to make proper use of these resources if one is certain of the purpose for which they are being used, and if tactics do not become strategy. Joining the kurdish freedom movement and participating in the armed struggle were a political action by Azad against the unprincipled behavior, opportunism, and lack of clarity in objectives which keep many circles known as „german left“ in a stranglehold. Through his actions, he wanted to prove that things could be done differently, and he set the bar very high for all of us who can now look back on his life and work. To take on this legacy remains the task of all of us.

20th September 2016

~ ***Qandil*** ~

I arrived in the free mountains of Qandil of Kurdistan.

I have reached the mountains, or rather, they reached me.

25th October 2016

~ ***Qandil*** ~

Today one of our fireplaces exploded, probably there were residues of munition inside. Sadly this is still war territory. And more than ever I want to join the HPG! Fighting for socialism.

„It is not the question if you have enough theoretical knowledge. You develop within the work. It is not easy to be a revolutionary. Life teaches us. First it's enough to really want it, to be determined and sincere.“

Sakine Cansız

November 2016

~ ***Qandil*** ~

The snow-covered peaks of the mountains look magnificent. Nothing is more beautiful than being part of this revolution.

# *Interview with Azad on his nom de guerre*



Why did I take the name Azad Şergeş, the party name Azad Şergeş?

Azad means „free“ and Şergeş means „blossoming war“.

2016, when I went to Kurdistan for the first time, in the city Amed, I met a young man, who was also called Azad. He told us a lot about his dreams, his wishes and his experiences in the war, what it is like to live under occupation and to live under fascism in Turkey. His wishes for a free life, his wishes to live together with comrades. This moved me deeply. After I joined the party I remembered this young person. That is why I chose my first name Azad.

My last name Şergeş, blossoming war – why did I choose the name in this manner?

We are in war now, in war for socialism, not just in an active armed struggle, but also in an ideological struggle. In this relation, you have to struggle 24 hours, the whole day, your whole life, each second, each breath that you take. These are hard times that we are going through. That is why you have to make the struggle bigger, you have to ignite the flame of the struggle again and again, because it should never die out. That is why I made the decision to use the name Şergeş, blossoming war as last name. The meaning of these two names together sounds very pretty.

Now my party name is Azad Şergeş.

December 2016

~ *Qandil* ~

My way into the mountains

My way to the revolution

My path into the mountains of the guerilla is full of hate.  
The hatred for capitalism, the injustice of the rulers, the exploitation. All of this led me to politics. It made me think, it made me act. My hatred led me here, made me raise my fist, throw the stone, and fire the Kalashnikov. My hatred is released when the stone hits the robot police officer on the head. When the shot is fired and the bullet leaves the barrel of my rifle. It is what drives me forward!

Azad Şergeş



December 2016

~ *Qandil* ~

My way into the mountains

My way to the revolution

My path into the mountains of the guerilla is full of love. The love for humanity, the love for nature, for all my comrades. For the martyrs. The love makes my heart beat faster, when comrades sing wonderful songs even in the hardest hours. Their laughter carries warmth into the coldest nights. The love of politics and socialist revolution brought me here to the mountains. It drives me forward, keeps me from despair and even if I am on the edge of the abyss, it gives me wings to fly.

Azad Şerğes



# *In memory of my battle companion Şehîd Azad Şergeş*



It is hard to find words that do justice to Heval Azad. To find words that should describe what actually can only be experienced, what everyone has to feel themselves.

Schwer ist es, Worte zu finden, die Heval Azad gerecht werden. Worte zu finden, die beschreiben sollen, was sich eigentlich nur erleben lässt, was jede/jeder selbst fühlen muss. Of the many stories surrounding Heval Azad's life, I want to choose two tiny moments that had a profound effect on me personally. How we saw each other for the first time and the last time.

It was just the hottest weeks of the summer of 2017 when I arrived newly in Qendil and after the usual back and forth and a - luckily not too long - march finally came to a guerilla base hidden behind a big rock next to a river. It was not just some base, it was the Saziya Ziman. I cannot remember to have seen such an extensive and beautiful point of the guerilla again afterwards. Wild figs and grapes everywhere, numerous walnut trees, and above all countless blackberry bushes; even a sizeable garden had been laid out.

After the general chaos of the survival had subsided, I looked at everything more closely and eventually came to the dining table which had been placed diagonally across the river and under a huge walnut tree. Two friends sat at this table. One kurdish friend who was working intently on his laptop and one other friend. A striped T-shirt, beige work pants, sturdy hiking boots, simple black glasses on his nose, short black hair, an attentive expression on his face, and his eyes resting on the book in his hand. His entire presence revealed directly that I had a german friend in front of me. I was surprised and very delighted. We introduced ourselves to each other. He was Heval Azad from Bavaria. He had been

in Qendil for quite some time, but had only come to the language school a few weeks ago to learn the language properly. Before that, he had already been in the military wing of the guerrilla. Later sometime he told me a story from his early days. He had just ended the Şervanên Nû education and sat with friends in a car. A friend asked him: "Do you see the mountain there?" "Of course." "You think you can get up?" "Of course!" "Then pack your stuff, we will be on our way!" He stayed up there for months to get through winter. It was Tepê Şex Nasir, if I am not wrong.

What immediately struck me when we first met was his obvious discipline. I don't just mean his appearance and behavior, but also the way he spoke. He was very organized and gave me my first insight into life here. At the time, he was responsible for our logistics and also generally responsible for the lives of the male friends. In that sense, Heval Azad was my first commander. From him, I learned what Tekmil is, heard the first stories about life in the guerrilla movement, learned how to organize my daily life, and what it meant to be a guerrilla.

We generally had a certain routine in our lives, with one of the most important parts being the evening. We left the camp in the dark and walked through the tobacco fields towards our sleeping places, which were beyond the fields. On the way, there was a large rock with a dent in the middle, which was perfect for lying or sitting in and watching the incredible starry sky. We often sat there—the rock was always still warm from the sun—and told each other stories. I talked about the situation in Europe, the others about developments in the mountains and the revolution in general. The rock was not only attractive to us, but also to snakes and scorpions, but we managed to coexist.

I remember that on one of those evenings, we decided to commit a sizma. We sneaked into one of the fields and took a melon from this huge field. The only problem was that when we sat back down on our rock, we realized that we had grabbed the wrong thing in the dark. Instead of a melon, we had stolen an unripe pumpkin.

Our ways parted at the end of the education, but Heval Azad and me saw each other again often. Sometimes, when they changed their places, sometimes, when we brought them the recently arrived notes. Heval Azad lived from one summit to the next. I don't know on and in how many mountains in Qendil he lived, but after all he must have known these mountains inside out. Still he always knew about each other. Even if we didn't see each other, the friends reported again and again, because Heval Azad made a strong impression on everyone he met.

Our paths eventually crossed for the last time at the end of 2019, shortly after the attacks on Girê Spî and Serêkaniye had started.

He just came from his sniper training and I also came from an education. We met at a base of Asayîş. It was a hard phase. An attack on Qendil was possible and probable. Heval Azad was on the way to the absolute south of Qendil. The friends wanted to bring him as far as possible from the places of probable combat operations. Something he did not want to accept. He always wanted to move to the front.

We talked about the situation and finally also about our shared Bavarian homeland, made some jokes and he said jokingly: "I'll only come back when the 'Lederhosen Guerilla' is set up." He grinned and said he doesn't want to go back. He had decided. He wanted to move forward. Whatever obstacles were placed in his path, one thing was always clear: even if he had to be like a drop of water on a stone, he would wear the stone away. Anyone who talked to him, looked him in the eye, realized that nothing could stop him. We said goodbye to each other. A farewell in the guerilla is always very emotional, because you never know if you see each other again, but his goodbye hug gave me courage. He beamed with determination and life.

I was able to learn from Heval Azad. Lastly, he influenced me decisively in my development. He often criticized me and helped me understand things I didn't understand, and he showed me what it meant to live hevaltî. When I look at pictures today that show him during his time in Xakurkê, I see a revolutionary who arrived precisely where he wanted to be and where he was needed.

Bavaria lost one of its most precious, sincere and beautiful sons on 15th June, whose worth it still does not appreciate today. It's our responsibility to make this worth visible and stand for Heval Azad. I am convinced of the importance of revolutionary revenge. This can be diverse and exactly this diversity is needed to do justice to Heval Azad.

June 8, 2019

~ *Summit Şehîd Nûda/Şehîd Harûn Region/Qandil* ~

My transfer for this year has arrived and I am now in the Ş. Harûn area. Qandil's paradise, so to speak. The eastern border of the Medya defense area. The summit I am on now is called Ş. Nûda, and in a semicircle around our summit and two neighboring valleys that are in our hands, there are 23 Iranian military bases. This year, Qandil is once again on alert against Turkey, which has made further advances in the Xakurkê Mountains. Of course, we are also vigilant against Iran, even though there is a non-aggression pact. So now I am here as a sniper in the unit (there are five of us comrades) in the green, wooded Şehîd Harûn area, which is neatly crisscrossed by mountain streams. Comrades: Only one thing is clouding my mood these days. The war in the border regions of our defense areas is coming to a head. There are also many military operations in the north. And I am still here. It tears me apart inside to know that my beloved comrades are fighting in difficult times. I want to be with them, I must! The fascist with the weapon in his hand has come, I want to fight alongside my sisters and brothers. So it is, knowing my homeland is far away.

Long live the socialist liberation struggle!  
For a life in freedom!



# Azad about Şehîds



6th July 2017

~ **Şehîd Dilsoz (Kevin Jochim)** ~

I do not know much about the history of Şehid Dilsoz and before I joined the PKK, i did not know Şehid Dilsoz. But i have always feeled very close to him. We were both germans.

He has joined the ranks of the PKK, the ranks of the Guerilla with a tender goal. The goal of freedom for the kurdish people. For the beauty of the world. My goal is the same and for this i have come here from Germany. The struggle of Şehid Dilsoz is an important guide for me. He has not only look at Europe, but who humanity as a whole gets destroyed. When Şehid Dilsoz fell, I was very sad. His struggle has become a light on the night sky for many of our friends in Germany. Şehid Dilsoz is for me a source of strength and his bravery is always giving me strength and hope, to continue my path. The martyrs are immortal!

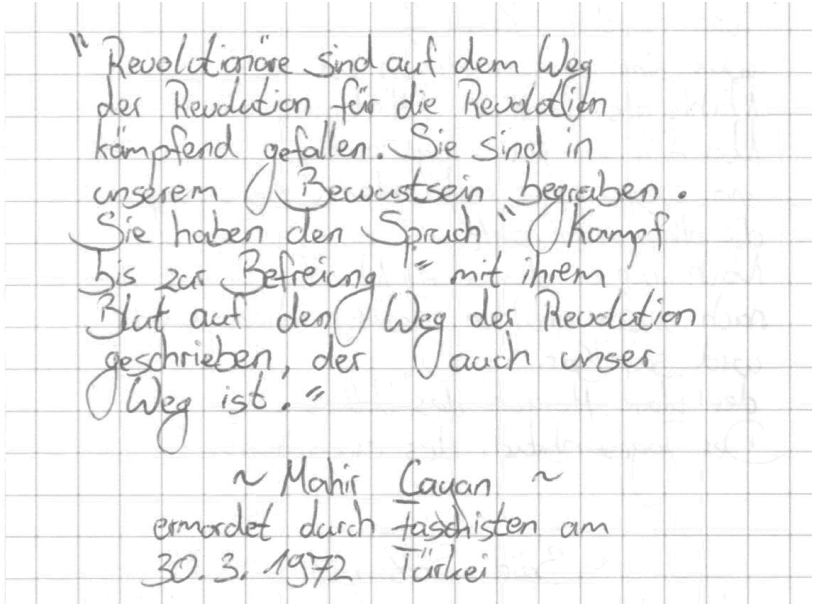
With revolutionary greetings and respect

10th August 2017

~ **Balayan Tal/Qandil** ~

We have midsommer and it is very hot. In this plan it is around 50°C and with us on the mountains 40°C. I have been send from the structures of the army to a education unit of KCK. The education is nearly over and after it i will go back to the Guerilla. 25 Days ago I have learned that 5 comrades have fell because of an air strike. Some I already knew well from Europe. Later we were together in the 'New Fighter' education. As i was learning from their death, i was very sad. I felt empty and tired. But the struggle goes on. You do not cry about martyrs. You get strength from them!

Şehîd namirin!!!



" Revolutionäre sind auf dem Weg  
der Revolution für die Revolution  
kämpfend gefallen. Sie sind in  
unserem Bewusstsein begraben.  
Sie haben den Spruch "Kampf  
bis zur Befreiung" mit ihrem  
Blut auf den Weg der Revolution  
geschrieben, der auch unser  
Weg ist."

~ Mahir Çayan ~  
ermordet durch faschisten am  
30.3.1972 Türkei

"Revolutionaries have fallen on the path of the revolution fighting for the revolution. They are buried in our consciousness. They have written the slogan "Struggle until liberation" with their blood on the path of revolution, which is also our path." Mahir Çayan, murdered by turkish fascists on the 30th march 1972.

26th October 2018

~ *Şêx Nasir Summit/Qandil* ~

I am writing this entry in retrospect. It was about one month ago. We have climbed the neighbouring summit and stayed there for some days, because a drone flew over our territory. I read the newspaper of the martyrs and saw an image of one comrade, I have spent a lot of time with. It was as if I fell in an infinitive void. I did not know that he fell and definitely not that he has gone to Bîtîs, in the northern combat zones. In this night i had thousand of memories in my head. Images, moments we have shared and lived together. Şehîd Helmet<sup>1</sup>, you always wanted to go to Dersim and so close before you fell...This dialectic of struggle, between life and death, here we will be victorious.

Long live the socialist  
liberation struggle!

Bijî Serok APO!



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1 Şehîd Helmet  
Dersim, fell on 12th July  
2018 because of a turkish  
air strike in Bîtîs.

*Şehîd Azad Şergeş and Şehîd Helmet Şahin*

# Azads thoughts about Öcalan



15th February 2018

~ **Summit Şêx Nasir/Qandil** ~

Today it is the 15th February. The black day. On this day, the imperialist complot has striked and has thrown our chairman in isolation. But nobody can make our day black, because the strength and hope, which Rêber APO and all the heroic comrades are giving us, is stronger than any attack of the capitalist system. O comrade Hakî that you cannot live through these days, it hurts. Your blood you have spilled, as you were falling on this earth. How thousand other comrades we will never forget you and will pass on your oath on humanity and freedom. The longing for the warmth and colours of life becomes inconceivable big, when I cast my eyes upon the white dress of the mountains. The love and impulse of the struggle, with nothing on this earth I would be more connected..

Extract from an interview with Azad Şergeş

“My wish, one of my biggest wishes, one of my biggest goals and dreams, is, when we have freed him, to invite the chairman of the party to the free mountains of Kurdistan, to the place, where we have fought so much, where so many comrades, women and men have fought and shed their blood, to build a free life.

The mountains symbolize free life, a new life, a new human. Rêber APO, chairman of the party, is the coronation of the new life.

Because of this it is one of my biggest wishes that we bring both together, the chairman and the free mountains. This is one of my biggest wishes, one of my biggest dreams.

When we all here are coming together, coming together in nature, hold a big celebration and dance together, sing together songs. When we are celebrating the spring celebration of Newroz and on every mountain of Kurdistan a fire is lit, we will, when the chairman is liberated, light a fire, a fire of victory, a fire of peace. This is one of my biggest dreams.

Like this we will one day welcome the chairman.“

# *About the development of the political situation in the Mountains and the Guerilla of the 21th century*



The time, which Azad Şergeş was spending since 2016 in the free mountains of South Kurdistan, was marked nearly without interruption by direct military confrontations and invasion attacks of the turkish army. This state of war is continuing until today.

Following the termination of the peace process 2015 by the turkish government, the city wars and the brutal suppression of the uprising in North Kurdistan in 2016, turkish fascism oriented itself in the direction of South Kurdistan/Northern Iraq.

Starting 2016, more so 2017, the turkish army began with cross-border operations in the mountains in the border region between Turkey and Iraq. The Medya defense areas, how the kurdish movement is calling this region, cover wide parts of the northern iraqi border zones, not only to Turkey, but also to Iran. The regions with the name Heftanin, Metina, Zap, Avaşin, Xakurke, Qandil and Asos and Gare are today the areas which are held the longest period of time by the Guerilla. Accor-

15th November 2016

~ ***Balayan Valley/Qandil*** ~

The kurdish course has stopped. The turkish army wants to start an operation in Qandil. I was asked, if I want to go to Rojava or if I want to stay. I have decided in favor of Qandil. I will fight in the mountains.

30th October 2017

~ ***Summit Şêx Nasir/Şehîd Munzur area/Qandil*** ~

One and a half month i am now on the summit. It is my relocation after the education. The summit is beautiful, nearly 3000 meter high, the comrades of my unit are the best. Comrade B., the commander of our Taxim, I already knew from before. Our summit was taken from us anew. Before it was empty, even though it is one of the strategic summits. From our positions we are holding two borders. The Iranian and KDP border. Also we protect by the height of the summit two neighbouring mountains and two valleys. The time here we spend with work in the cave. It is a lot of work, but it pays out. Now when the winter is coming, it is impossible to stay outside. The conditions of the weather are too difficult. And we are preparing since nearly 5 months of being snowed in.

dingly the infrastructure and knowledge of the areas are well developed.

The region of Xakurke, where Şehid Azad fell on the 15th Juni 2023, are playing a particular strategic role because of their geography. Located in the border region between Iran, Turkey, and Iraq, it also forms the link between the eastern guerrilla areas in Qandil and Asos and Eastern Kurdistan (Rojhilat) with the remaining areas further west and north, such as Zap, Metina, and Avaşin.

As a result Xakure was the first region, in which Turkey changed their strategy on the territory of the iraqi state. Until the end of 2017 the invasions were limited to temporary operations. Xakure, which was attacked in a surprise action parallel to the attack on Afrin in Rojava in the beginning of 2018, was the first region, in which Turkey established permanent bases in the course of its invasion and did not withdraw afterwards.

Turkey continues to pursue this policy today, more than six years later, and has still not managed to gain complete control of the area, which covers approximately 30 by 200 kilometers. Even in areas where the Turkish army has been able to establish a permanent presence, it has failed to dominate the territory as such. The mountains of Kurdistan prevent thinking and working with clear front lines that shift either forward or backward, with one side holding absolute control on one side and the other side on the other. The mountain ranges, valleys, and gorges of the region are too complex and confusing to work with these categories. Certainly, there are strategic positions and summits whose control brings an important advantage, but capturing them does not mean that the enemy can no longer move there.

The revolutionary actions of the guerrillas around the turn of the year 2023/24 and into February are a good example of this. In coordinated

3rd February 2018

~ ***Summit Şêx Nasir/Qandil*** ~

Winter is nearly over but in front of the cave door there are still 5-6 meter of snow. Our summit is high, basically over the clouds and the white robe, which is lying over the mountains shivers in the sunlight. Two months we have seen education in the cave. Strategy, tactics, sociology of liberty and much more. Now that education is over we all wait for spring. For worm and sunny days. I have planned to write a report to the command for further military education. Because the snow is lying we cannot go out and the days are passing slowly. The enemy has also advanced further. In the border regions and in Xakurkê there is war.

commando operations and multi-front attacks, several large Turkish army camps in the mountains were stormed, looted, and burned down. Several dozen Turkish soldiers were killed in each attack. These attacks came as a surprise to the Turkish army and observers, but they describe the realities of war in the mountains very well.

In addition to flexible front lines, warfare has also changed fundamentally over the years that Azad Şergeş has held his position in the defense of the Kurdish mountains.

This period marks the beginning of Turkey's extensive drone warfare. It began with the development of its own drone models, which became necessary after the second-largest NATO army suffered repeated bitter defeats and losses in the mountains of Kurdistan and simply could no longer make headway with conventional warfare. Today, the drones, which were developed with the active support of German companies, have become an integral part of Turkey's warfare and foreign policy. They are used for extensive and detailed surveillance of the areas. On the other hand, they are also equipped with missiles and have themselves become killing machines. It is not only the democratic autonomous region of Rojava (northeastern Syria) that is regularly targeted by drone attacks. Turkey wants to murder all those who have played a leading role in the revolutionary construction of society.

The almost constant surveillance of the mountains and combat zones poses a particular challenge for the guerrillas, who must avoid detection by drones. The cloudless summers in the mountains are especially difficult in this regard. Thanks to the protective cover provided by clouds, rain, and snow during the autumn, winter, and spring months, the guerrillas are now able to protect themselves. They rely on simple yet inventive methods of concealment. Even simple umbrellas or parasols can outwit the dro-



17. July 2018

~ *Summit Şêx Nasir/Qandil* ~

It is a warm summer this year. Over one month we are now already on the summit splitted up in little teams. We wait all the time on the attack. Once the enemy has come close to the Karox-mountains, another part of Qandil. The comrades have shot at the helicopters, so that the army could not place their soldiers in our territory. It is said that there lies a big operation ahead of us, but we are well prepared and with high moral. The whole month predator combat drones of the air force are hovering over our heads. They want to decipher our positions and bomb them. Movement is only possible to a limited extent. Mostly we are in the tunnels or trenches. We are so close to the battle but so far away...On day like these, where the sun of Mesopotamia is lengthening the day, i remember my homeland. Sometimes i ask myself, if i am already forgotten in Germany.

I remember and i fight...

We remember and we fight...

nes' infrared detectors when used correctly. This simple yet ingenious form of camouflage can be seen repeatedly in the pictures taken by Şehîd Azad Şergeş during his time in the mountains.

But the form of combat has also changed significantly. While we are familiar with images of dozens of fighters from the guerrilla movements and wars of the past century, the reality of 21st-century guerrilla warfare is very different. Today, Kurdish guerrilla units usually operate in small groups or teams of about three fighters. But perhaps the greatest innovation is the development of tunnel and cave warfare. While the mountains of Northern Kurdistan (Turkey) in Upper Mesopotamia are dotted with a multitude of cave systems of enormous proportions, these natural bunkers are few and far between in Southern Kurdistan (Iraq). Nevertheless, the guerrillas have managed to give the saying "no friends but the mountains" a whole new meaning. Today, the armed units operate almost exclusively from tunnels they have dug themselves in their fight against Turkey's occupation operations. Dug with the simplest of tools, sometimes with heavy equipment, they not only offer protection from drones with their cameras and missiles, but also cause even the heaviest bombs of the Turkish Air Force to shatter without reaching their target. Days of bombing by the Turkish army without result have thus become a constant routine. Under these conditions, fighters endure hundreds of days underground. They leave the caves only through holes in the mountain and deal heavy blows to the Turkish army through coordinated, carefully placed attacks.

However, the tunnel war has also kept the Turkish war machine on its toes. As a result, it too is resorting to ever new means in the fight against the guerrillas and their tunnels. For several years now, it has not shied away from using poison gas. The attacks with internationally banned chemical weapons are well documented; there have certainly been hundreds of them, and the number of victims is unknown. Internationally, the attacks are being ignored despite evidence, dozens of videos of operations and dying fighters, and invitations to international institutions to take samples. No foreign ministry, no international body, and virtually no international media are responding to these attacks, which violate international law. The only time the attacks have reached

24th march 2017

~ ***Campa Taxima Ş. Mervan<sup>1</sup>/Kalatukan/Qandil*** ~

Death walks around the camp. We close the door of the cave and do not let him in. While i take my position inside and lie down flat with my face to the earth and my hands over my head, our camp outside is burning. Holes are torn in the earth, smoke rises. The enemy bombardes our camp, which he has discovered. Everything happend quickly, then it was all over. Today we got hit by two rockets and one big 1T-bomb. Everyone got in safety and unharmed in time.

Bijî Serokatî Bijî Sosyalîzme

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1 Camp of the unit Şehid Mervan, Taxima: A military unit consisting of several teams.

a wider audience so far was when the president of the Turkish Medical Association was arrested after calling for an investigation into the allegations. That didn't change anything either. The attacks continue, visible to the whole world and yet unseen.

As we write this brochure and you read it, Turkey's attacks continue unabated. In the spring of 2024, Turkey announced an operation that would eclipse previous ones. For months, Turkey's diplomatic apparatus has been making great efforts in the already fragile situation in the Middle East to win further supporters for attacks on the guerrilla areas of Gare and Qandil. Iraq in particular is repeatedly being held at knife-point to get it to support the attacks. In this case, the knife is primarily water, which Turkey has been allowing to flow across the border in restricted quantities for years. The KDP (Barsani Party), which to date has mainly supported Turkey's attacks and opened the way for it into the mountains, may also play a greater role in the future, including a direct military one.

However, Turkey's attacks are not only supported by bribery and collaboration in the region. Today, geopolitical factors and interests are more apparent than ever, further fueling Turkish offensives in the region and providing an indication as to why the West, despite its vehement insistence on international law elsewhere, not only remains silent about Turkey's crimes but actively supports them.

The offensive Turkey is pursuing, with which it aims to win over militias affiliated with Iran as well as Iraq and the KDP, is no longer justified in public propaganda solely by the decades-long goal of finally crushing the PKK, but also by strengthening economic relations between Iraq and Turkey.

Specifically, this involves the so-called Development Road, which aims to create a trade route between Basra in Iraq on the Persian Gulf and Turkey. This is another trade route that could become increasingly important for the EU and Germany in the intensifying battle for resources and access to world markets. Particularly in view of the wars in Ukraine and Gaza and the associated restrictions on trade routes via Eastern Europe and the Suez Canal, the EU is trying to keep as many trade rou-

August 2021

~ *Qandil* ~

This year is very different than all the years before. For the party it is a difficult year. Victory or defeat. Life or death. And this also for me, for all of us. On 23th April, the enemy army launched one of the largest military operations ever seen. Zap, Avaşîn, Metîna and some local areas of the north the enemy has all entered. Constant shelling with mortars, artillery, F-16 bombers, and poison gas attacks. Many comrades which I knew, are now in war. Many have fallen, are vanished, injured or ended up in the hands of the fascists. Their fate is the hardest... torture. Two times groups of comrades close to our area fell into an enemy ambush. From both groups I knew most of the friends. Blood was shed when crossing the Zap River. Writing is hard. It fills me with hate, with sadness, but also with conviction for the struggle. At moments like these, I remember the words of Comrade Sara (Sakine). „There will be moments, where we fight beside the corpses of our fallen comrades. We will take their weapons and continue the fight! I just push the pain aside. For us there is only victory for freedom and socialism. For the enemy there is nothing!"

Şehîd namirin  
Şehîd namirin  
Bijî Serok APO

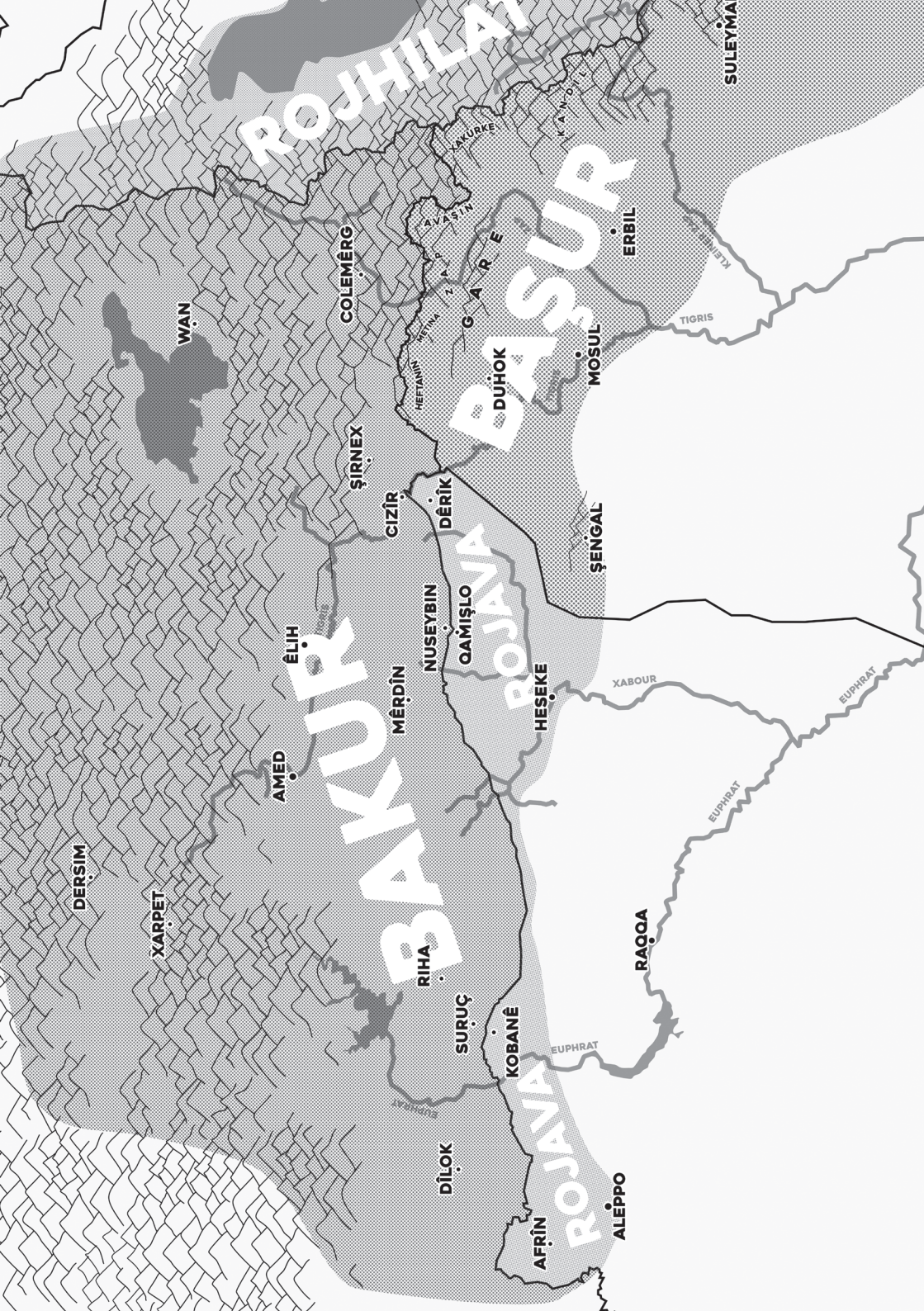
tes to Asia open as possible, or to have them opened by military force.

Whether Turkey's strategy will succeed remains to be seen. What is certain is that it continues to clearly articulate and pursue its goal of militarily crushing the Kurdish movement wherever it may be found. While it can be sure of Western backing, the same applies to guerrilla resistance. The guerrillas proved at Newroz this year that they can always be expected to use new and more sophisticated techniques when they released videos showing a previously unknown class of guerrilla missiles shooting down several Turkish army drones.

Further evidence, in addition to the revolutionary actions already mentioned, is provided by tunnel warfare, umbrellas, and gas masks, which show that the question of victory and defeat is not primarily a technical one, but one of conviction, combat capability, and adaptability

Qualities that the guerrilla embodies today like no other combat unit.





ROJHILAT

BAKUR

BASUR

ROJANA

ROJANA

DÊRSÎM

XARPET

AMED

ÊLÎH

MÊRDÎN

RIHA

SURUÇ

DÎLOK

KOBANÊ

AFRÎN

ALEPPO

COLEMÊRG

ŞÎRNEX

CIZÎR

DÊRÎK

NÛSEYBÎN

QAMÎŞLO

HESEKE

ŞENGAL

XABOUR

RAQQA

DÛHOK

MOŞUL

ERBÎL

TIGRIS

EUPHRAT

EUPHRAT

EUPHRAT

EUPHRAT

EUPHRAT

WÂN

SULEYMA

KURKE

KAVASÎN

KANÛSÛL

HEFTANÎN

ZAZA

24th december 2016

~ *Qandil* ~

We are having white christmas. The classes continue normally,

Wir haben weiße Weihnachten. Classes continue as normal, nethertheless my thoughts are with my family. I sense that the heart of my mother is not well today. Even the sight of the mountains sunk in snow cannot calm me today. But I am a revolutionary, so in that regard... Merry Christmas

January 2017

~ *Qandil* ~

I come from the coldest system on the world. And still i have a wearm heart, which can even melt the ice that held me prisoner for 20 years. And I am not alone. With me thousands of prisoners are melting the eternal ice. The warmth of liberation is approaching...

„Those who struggle become free – Those who are free, become beautiful – Those who are beautiful, become loved“

~ Şehîd Bêrîtan ~

Your standard has to be freedom.

„For freedom you have to fight.

Only a warrior can attain it.

The struggle against influences from ouside and against the enemy thoughts, this is what it means to attain freedom.“.

26th January 2017

~ **Qandil** ~

Tomorrow education is over, than I am Guerilla. Only comrade P. cannot come. He was seriously injured by a grenade during one of our field exercises. We have varried him from the valley until the street, where the doctor has helped him. I hope he gets well soon.

9th February 2017

~ **Kalatukan/Qandil** ~

Soon it is spring. I look forward to the colors and the beauty of nature as it surrenders itself to life.

~ *Serok APO* ~

„No effort aimed at actualize and realise the historical ideals of freedom and equality will be in vain. Just as nothing that exists in nature is ever completely destroyed, so too does no value that was once created for society and existed vanish.“ (Beyond State, Power and Violence)

„Şehîd Zîlan is my commander and I am her soldier.“

~ *Serok APO* ~

February 2017

~ *Kalatukan/Qandil* ~

The hardest battle, which i am facing here is not completing my daily tasks, nor is it the hard work of building caves, which we have to do. What challenges me every day is to be a true revolutionary. In thinking, in acting, in theory and in praxis. Maintaining the attitude of a revolutionary, of a party militant every second and every breath. Our life in the phase of revolutionary peoples war may be limited. Because of this it is necessary, to use this time meaningfully.

Tragedy of Life

For the freedom of the peoples I am here

For the freedom of the cultures i have came

Learned to know here the regional cultures, their  
diversity and riches

but i myself don't know my own,

have pushed it away from me and now i know

not my own history

~ *Azad Şergeş* ~

31th May 2017

~ *Kalatukan/Qandil* ~

It has been said, an operation lies ahead of us. But it has not come. It only was a big air raid. Every expectation, tensions, everything fell off me. Even if my goal, the goal of the party is peace, I am nethertheless disappointed. I have come here with a will. To become a revolutionary by any measure! Ready for everything! And now after months of preperation the fall into the void. But perhaps things will turn out differently. Revolution is open for everything. Not to divide the truth and to accept reality with all its contradictions.

11th May 2018

~ **Until the snow melts/ Şêx Nasir/Qandil** ~

*It is again the 11th may and winter is greeting us again.*

*Again half a meter of snow has fallen and covers our summit. Everything up to the turning point for the logistics vehicle and below is covered with a white dress. The villagers say „bitter summit“ to our mountain, Şêx Nasir. Higher than all other summits in this area.*

*Sometimes steep and rocky, sometimes there are endless ridges. Only the summits Şehîd Berxwedan and Şehîd Agit are higher, but there is no longer as much snow on them. It is the north-east border of the Qandil mountains, there we are. Again half a meter...half meter on 3 to 4 meter, which have not melted yet. The enemy is also advancing. How far we will still see. The comrades are giving a unique resistance. They light up a fire in our snowed in hears, which nobody, not even with a weapon in their hand, can extinguish. When with us everything becomes slowly warm, sunny and green, becomes alive, we too will descend in the valley with fire in our hears. We will descend and encounter the enemy if he comes to us. Or also not, we go to him. But not to talk. Until the snow melts, comrades: And you believe us, our longing for life is big! Until the snow melts...*

*Either a free life or no life at all!*

27th Oktober 2018

~ **Summit Şêx Nasir/Qandil** ~

*Yesterday I wrote ‚Dialectic of struggle‘ and this morning at 10:18 our camp was bombed...*

*Me and comrade M. We have worked in the night and slept when the other comrades came into the Manga. They woke us up and said, there were a drone above us and it has saw their traces in the fresh fallen snow. Shortly thereafter, F-16 bombers arrived. The bang of the explosions at the entrance reached us and our cave, which was under construction, shook.*

*Heval B. and Şehîd Agid were outside, about 15 meters from the impact site, and it was only seconds that saved their lives when they threw themselves down the slope onto the ground. Both were injured. For hours we lay under wet blankets in the manga...the cave was black, smoky, chaotic, and full of dust and smoke from burning gasoline barrels and the smell of TNT from bombs and rockets. We all had and have still smoke poisoning. Our heads and stomachs are spinning and aching as if someone were hitting them with a hammer. This dialectic between life and death: Here we will be victorious!*

*Long life the socialist struggle for liberation!*

*Down with the enemies of humanity!*

7th November 2018

~ **Summit Şêx Nasir/Qandil** ~

*My redeployment has come. I will leave the summit and go to the Karox mountains, which is also bound to Qandil. That's where the sniper training is this year, which I'll be watching. This is the Şehîd Mahîr Academy, for which I have written an extre report for the regional command. Finally, I've been waiting for this for a long time, and now I am full of joy and moral.*

1st May 2019

~ **Arasîn area/Karox/Qandil** ~

*Sniper training is over, only the preparations for the conclusion ceremony remain. Everyone is full of moral. Spring has also finally found its way. This year, there was a lot of snowfall, and it melted very late. The paths between us and the Qandil Mountains are still blocked. But anyway, it won't be long before they open. The training went well, apart from a few incidents. Our place was known to the enemy in advance. That's why we were bombed three weeks ago, but no one was injured. Unfortunately, in March, during heavy weapons training, which we also do, a comrade I know well was seriously injured. It was an accident. During practical training in the use of grenade launchers, a grenade hit him in the head and the projectile penetrated his eye. The comrades carried him down to the valley with the help of some militiamen. From there, other comrades transported him to the city. I hope he gets well soon. Comrade A., all the best to you.*

*Long live the revolutionary first may!!!*

*Down with the capitalist oppression system!*

*Down with fascism!*

*Summer 2019*

*~ Summit Şehîd Nûda/Qandil ~*

*My thoughts, feelings. I have never really written them down. Not that what I write, is wrong, No! It just does not express everything, which is in the fire of my heart. It cannot mirror everything. When I somethimes read my diary again, I even think that I write only depressed. After all, it is my connection to and joy in life and nature that fuels my fire. This is what I cannot express with pen and paper. We have become here in struggle humans again. Connected to nature and struggle. How could I mirror something so miracelous with words? Whatever I write, it's not enough.*



19th May 2020

~ **Summit Şehîd Nûda/Qandil** ~

*I know, i have not written anything for a long time. The daily routine was pretty much the same, that's why. We saw education again over the winter and now we are busy with cave expansion work. This year is completely different for me. My redeployment was supposed to take place in the spring. First to the doctor, then to the Xakurkê war zone. My proposal for active combat has been accepted. The situation in Xakurkê is really not good. That is why reinforcements should be sent. Most of the summits have fallen into enemy hands. Movement is only possible at night and is restricted. Unfortunately for me, a virus (coronavirus) has broken out and a movement ban has been imposed in our area. That's why I couldn't reach the reinforcements and didn't go to Xakurkê. Am I unhappy? What should I say...but the struggle goes on. Where there is Guerilla, there is struggle. And Qandil also is in a critical situation. The enemy tries to isolate our area. Who knows where the next operation will take place? Full of moral, full of hatred for the enemy and full of determination for a free future.*

*Without the chairman there is no life possible!  
Long live socialism!  
Down with the capitalist Leviathan!*

6th December 2020

~ **Qandil/Amory** ~

*On 18th november the order for my redeployment came. To descent from the summit and to go to the Guerilla main camp. In the coming winter I will probably go in the city for an eye operation. Then I can get rid of my glasses and go into the combat zones. But because Turkey and the traitors of KDP are constructing new military points, heavy weapons and new forces on the border to Qendil the situation is very tense. Me and one comrade will out of this reason go for one week to the women's camp of YJA-Star and make war preparations. Also I have heard that a new female comrade has come from Germany. B. is also a German. When the drones of the enemy air force would not have disturbed us, we could have met. I would love to know what's going on back home.*

*„Min li xeyalê xwe yê zarokatiyê îxanet nekir.“<sup>1</sup>*

**REBERTÎ**

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1

Translation: I never betrayed the dreams of my childhood.

25th December 2020

~ **Infirmary** ~

*Five days before was the eye operation, for which I have waited. Now I got rid of the glasses. Thanks be to the chairman Serok Apo and all the beloved martyrs, who have made this possible with the blood which they have shed. I did not come alone to the operation. With me Doctor R has come, who also was send for an eye operation. The operation was short and until now successful. A few days still, then the result will be completely clear. The commune is in this season full of wounded and sick comrades. Because most of the comrades were wounded in battle and I did not, my conscience is troubling me. Not because I want to be wounded by all means, but because they have shed their blood for the revolution and I did not. Now I am even more indebted for my party, the chairman and the martyrs. And I will fight this battle until the very end! Until my last breath, until my last drop of blood, and until the very last moment, we are ready, I am ready!*

*Bijî Serok APO!*

*Gazî, Şehîdên nemir in!*

1st February 2021

~ **Zergele Valley/Qandil** ~

*I am again on the free mountains of Qandil.*

*The treatment was successful and I can get back to work. These are difficult times we find ourselves in. Turkey is planning military operations in our area. America has already agreed to this, and the KDP traitors in our region are reinforcing their troops with heavy weapons. They are trying to cut off our routes everywhere, impose an embargo on our territory, and openly lay ambushes against us. This is why I am now as sniper in the Zergele area of Qandil. The frontline. We are now a team of three: two demolition experts and me as a sniper. We will spend the winter and spring preparing for war. Mostly, when the weather is bad and there are no drones, we will build underground ammunition depots. We will distribute and hide weapons, ammunition, supplies and water for months in the area. We will mine all the surrounding summits with remote-controlled mines. When the fascists come with their traitors in tow, we will see who fights and who retreats. This time we are prepared by the standards of the modern and professional Guerilla warfare of the PKK and the chairman. We will win! Freedom will win! In this context I have changed my weapon. Before the Dragunow-sniper rifle was with me; Now the command has given me an M16 medium-range rifle with sniper binoculars. Exactly for this area.*

*We will win! We will win!*

*Freedom will win!*

*Socialism will win!*

*Bijî Rêber APO!!!*

March 2022

~ ████████ **Mountains** ~

*I now, I did not write anything for a long time. Much has happend, there was a lot going on. Four months ago I came here, to the ████████ mountains. Not to be in Qandil anymore is very different. I came here for the education of the central party school. The Mazlum Doğan School, which was founded by Rêber APO himself. It is something very special, a diamond in this time. A opportunity which not everyone gets to see in war. Four months it were, political and ideological education. Psychological education. Preparation on the level of a party militant, to become a commander. At least to take responsibilities at this level. Now the education is over and all the comrades are distributed in the fight zones. Saying goodbye is harder than anything else.... You know a part from you is leaving. Go forth to battle in distant lands. And you know it is uncertain whether we will see each other again, who will fall in battle, who will be wounded, who will disappear or fall into the hands of the enemy. A final farewell, a hug. Long glances until the comrades in the group had climbed up the slope and disappeared behind a bend. Long glances, moments that remain burned into the heart forever. The March snow fell silently, and every breath was deep, cold and sharp. So we stood leaning against the rock, saying goodbye, until this group had also left. In my thoughts, I wish for nothing more than to become gunpowder and bullets in my comrades' weapons at the moment of war. Until I too will leave...*

*Revolutionary greetings from the mountains*

# *HPG publishes names of the fallen of Xakurkê*



The HPG has published names of three Fighters which have fallen on 15th July in the resistance against the Turkish occupation in Xakurke: Asya Kanîreş from Turkey, Azad Şergeş from Germany and Koçer Medya from Rojhilat.

23th June 2023

The Press Centre of the People's Defence Forces (HPG) has published the names of the three guerrilla fighters who fell on 15 June while resisting the Turkish occupation in the Xakurke region of South Kurdistan. These are Asya Kanîreş, Azad Şergeş and Koçer Medya. The HPG had already announced that they were killed in Turkish air and ground attacks that followed a coordinated guerrilla action. Eighteen military personnel were killed in the ambush, including a high-ranking officer. When the Turkish army realised that the entire unit had been wiped out, the area where the bodies were located was bombarded by howitzers and fighter jets.

In an afterword to the fallen, the HPG writes: "Asya, the courageous daughter of the Black Sea people, Azad, cherished socialist from Germany, and Koçer from Rojhilat, representative of the spirit of national unity, joined the struggle with great internationalist feelings and a strong belief in the PKK's ideology based on the values of democracy and socialism. At a time when nationalism was pitting peoples against

each other, they gave the most significant response by joining the ranks of the PKK and became representatives of the PKK reality through their actions. With great courage and spirit of sacrifice, they advanced against the enemy and impressively demonstrated our invincibility. The spirit of sacrifice of these brave comrades, their consciousness of a democratic nation and the great ideal of socialism in connection with the Apoist philosophy will henceforth be regarded by us as the essence of the liberation struggle. We will continue to resist for a life based on the cornerstones of freedom, democracy and socialism for all humanity. This was the ideal of our friends, for the realisation of which they did not hesitate for a single moment to show their willingness to make sacrifices. As the HPG, we promise to keep the memory of our selfless comrades alive forever in the Garden of Freedom of the Peoples and to achieve their goals in any case. We extend our condolences to the families of Asya, Azad and Koçer, as well as to the Turkish, German and Kurdish people.

The personal details of the fallen are as follows:



Code name: Asya Kanîreş  
First and last name: Kadriye Tetik  
Place of birth: Ordu, Turkey  
Mother's and father's names: Nazife – Aziz  
Date and place of death: 15 June 2023 / Xakurke



Code name: Azad Şergeş  
First and last name: Thomas Johann S.  
Place of birth: Mainburg / Germany  
Date and place of death: 15 June 2023 / Xakurke



Code name: Koçer Medya  
First and last name: Diyako Saidî  
Place of birth: Sine / Rojhilat  
Mother's and father's names: Tamina – Sidiq  
Date and place of death: 15 June 2023 / Xakurke

### **Asya Kanîreş**

Asya Kanîreş was born in a village in Ünye nearby Ordu. She grew up as youngest of five siblings in a loving home and carried the genuine social reality and the emotions nurtered by humanism of the black sea people in her heart. She was a seeker, curious and questioning who already stood out intellectually as a schoolgirl. At the same time, she distinguished herself through the responsibility she assumed within the family, knew how to stand on her own two feet, and created value through dedication and work, as in the hazelnut harvest. "Hevala Asya got to know both the oppressed and exploited humanity and the phenomenon of labour and the working class up close. She realised that regardless of language, race and gender, all people are exploited by brutal capitalist modernity and its greed for maximum profit, and that this is an inhuman system. After her encounter with the capitalist system, she searched for an alternative and came across left-wing ideas and socialist ideology. She realised that socialism was the only path to freedom and democracy for the peoples. At Samsun University, where she studied to become a teacher, Asya deepened her search and reading and became thoroughly acquainted with socialist ideology. She joined the Socialist Youth of Turkey, participated in revolutionary activities and took practical steps towards a free, socialist and revolutionary life."

Asya Kanîreş got to know the PKK in the turkish left: „She grew up in a

left wing environment influenced by socialism – the sickness of nationalism or fascist thinking has not limited her spirit. With free thoughts and humanity she glanced upon new horizons and researched the PKK without being held back by prejudices. In the process, she came across names such as Haki Karer from Ordu and Kemal Pir from Gümüşhane, two internationalist revolutionaries with roots in the Black Sea region and immortal cadres of the PKK. The fact that comrades Haki and Kemal, through their revolutionary character and avant-gardism, made the PKK the party it is today filled comrade Asya's heart with indescribable joy. She realised that the PKK is not just a Kurdish party, but a movement for the freedom of all humanity. The attempts to isolate the philosophy and paradigm of Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] from the peoples of Turkey, and the state's constant stirring up of propaganda and resentment among the Turkish population, could not prevent Hevala Asya from getting to know our leader better. She witnessed the massacres and oppression of peoples perpetrated by the Turkish state and decided that she had to oppose this with her democratic and socialist consciousness. In the brutal massacre in Pirsûs (tr. Suruç) in 2015, which was carried out in collaboration between the Turkish state and IS against young revolutionaries who were a strengthening bond for the solidarity of the Kurdish and Turkish peoples and built a bridge of brotherhood, our companion Asya lost her most precious friends. This event was decisive in her decision to join the Rojava Revolution that same year.

Hevala Asya participated in the Rojava Freedom Revolution with great love, passion and enthusiasm. She witnessed how the idea of a democratic nation was brought to life. In north-eastern Syria, Kurds, Arabs, Armenians, Suryoye and other ethnic and religious communities live together in peace and democracy. However, the transformation of the paradigm developed by Rêber Apo into a revolution for oppressed peoples and women and its realisation in Rojava became a nightmare for fascist-nationalist forces and the target of brutal attacks. Our comrade Asya saw that the Kurdish people were persecuted everywhere, that they were constantly the target of fascist-motivated attacks. As a democrat, socialist and revolutionary, she felt the pain of the peoples

in her heart. Without hesitation, she threw herself into the resistance and fought tirelessly for two years in the ranks of the Rojava defence forces. With extraordinary courage and determination, she took part in numerous actions and specialised in sniper tactics.

'It is not enough just to fight. We must fight at the highest level,' was the motto of Hevala Asya, who responded to her decision to rethink her own approach to resistance. In practice, this meant that she turned her face to the mountains and joined the ranks of the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla. She became part of the Hêzên Taybet, which requires a special willingness to make sacrifices and ideological depth in order to fight at the highest level. As a member of the Turkish people, she wanted to develop self-criticism for the peoples of Turkey in her own person. She did not consider self-criticism only at the level of words and abstract discussions. Joining the Hêzên Taybet as a demonstration of her willingness to make sacrifices and her determination to fight at the highest level was, for her, a self-critical exercise. With her big heart, her boundless horizons, her strong revolutionary consciousness and her free-spirited socialist personality, Hevala Asya made extraordinary contributions to the Hêzên Taybet. With her simple, modest and cheerful manner, she was held in deep respect and affection by all her friends. With her democratic socialist personality, she shook the understanding of the sovereign nation and realised the attitude of the free woman. Hevala Asya was characterised by a high degree of determination, angelic purity, an attitude reminiscent of the wisdom of goddesses, human virtues, combative sharpness and an unshakeable will to win. She followed the path that Zilan had laid out."

### **Azad Şergeş**

Azad Şergeş was born in Mainburg, Lower Bavaria. The HPG writes about him: "Hevalê Azad grew up in a system dominated by the boundless individualism of socially destructive capitalism, in which every person is a rival and enemy of others. However, research and reading made

him aware of the fact that a different, just and truly free world is possible. This search deepened during his time as a student. He attentively examined various left-wing views. There he met exiled Kurds who had been forcibly expelled from their homeland in the wake of attacks by the fascist Turkish state. Through this encounter, and getting to know the Kurdish people and their culture, Hevalê Azad developed an interest in the PKK. He read Rêber Apo's defence writings and was deeply impressed by the philosophy of our pioneer, which is based on the freedom of all people. Driven by his interest in becoming more familiar with the Kurdish liberation movement and its resistance, he became involved in the youth organisation. The motto "learning by doing" became his practical basis for uniting with the internationalist spirit of the PKK. He rejected life under capitalism and its constraints and decided to become a militant in Rêber Apo's freedom march. In 2016, he joined the ranks of the freedom guerrillas, whom he had been following with great interest and curiosity. Upon arriving in the mountains of Kurdistan, he proudly took up the flag of resistance."

Azad Şergeş completed his basic training with the guerrillas in the Qendil Mountains. He approached life in the PKK's revolutionary struggle 'with great curiosity and enthusiasm'. The HPG honours him as a follower of the line of great internationalist personalities such as Haki Karer, Kemal Pir, Ekin Ceren Doğruak, Andrea Wolf, Uta Schneiderbanger, Jakob Riemer, Sarah Handelman and Michael Panser, whose ideals for a free future for all peoples he made his own. "Comrade Azad had freed himself from all the negativity and ills of the system and had essentially recreated himself with the Apoist philosophy in order to live a free life. He devoted every moment of his existence in the mountains to the resistance and loved life and the friendly relationships within the ranks of the PKK. He became one with the paradigm of our movement and its essence of resistance. As a courageous fighter who distinguished himself through his depth in both military and ideological matters, he was always at the forefront, channelling all his anger against the colonial occupiers. With his meticulous and disciplined personality, he successfully completed every task he was involved in. He always maintained the joy and excitement of the first day of arrival and was a source of

morale for his friends everywhere.

Hevalê Azad was considered an expert in many respects, approached the tasks of the revolution with great determination and willpower, and accomplished them with outstanding success. He felt a deep connection to his comrades and embodied the militancy of the PKK through the spirit of common struggle. As a skilled fighter, he went to Xakurke after his basic training in Qendil and fought against the Turkish occupying army. On 15 June, Azad Şergeş led the action against the invaders in the Kolît area, which was carried out using modern guerrilla tactics. Together with his friends, he took part in a selfless march, dealing heavy blows to the invaders in a spirit of sacrifice, thus reflecting the high spirit of attack of Apoist militancy. The legacy of resistance left behind by our comrade Azad will illuminate our path forward forever."

### **Koçer Medya**

Koçer Medya was born into a patriotic family in Sine (Sanandaj) in Eastern Kurdistan. 'His language, culture and tradition served as the template for his resilient character,' wrote the HPG in their obituary for the fighter. It continues: "Due to this personality trait, Hevalê Koçer never bowed to the attacks, oppression and assimilation policies of the enemy. The fact that his family was committed to Kurdish values had a profound influence on him. He took a keen interest in the struggle for freedom in Kurdistan. The resistance of our party, the PKK, which led the fight against the self-proclaimed IS from Rojava to Başûr and which is fighting against the genocidal system of the Turkish state in Bakur, made his heart beat faster. In particular, Rêber Apo's extraordinary resistance under the conditions of imprisonment was a source of inspiration for Comrade Koçer. The PKK's approach, which emphasises national unity, its revolutionary definition of patriotism, and the fact that it is a movement that does what it promises, motivated Hevalê Koçer to join the struggle. He did so at a time when the attacks by the Turkish occupying state were at their most intense. He turned his face towards the mountains of Kurdistan, which he already knew, and became part of the guerrilla movement."

Koçer Medya completed his basic training in the Qandil Mountains. He

also attended ideological training courses in the region. This raised his awareness of the reality of Kurdistan and the question of freedom for the Kurdish people. 'He embraced his new life with all his strength and fought selflessly to play a pioneering role.' Koçer Medya was heavily involved in the restructuring process of the guerrilla movement and helped build the war tunnels. "He distinguished himself through his exceptional dedication and willingness to make sacrifices. From the moment he arrived in the mountains, he strove to be a pioneer in all areas. Comrade Koçer achieved this goal step by step. After about two years with the guerrillas, our friend expressed his desire to participate in the defence against the intensified enemy attacks. In order to develop his skills, he underwent further training in military tactics with a focus on sniper operations. He then moved to fronts where the war was particularly intense. His last area of operation was the Xakurke region. Here, our friend Koçer always strove to intensify his struggle. He focused on modern guerrilla tactics and passed on his knowledge to his friends. He led numerous actions against the enemy in Xakurke and played a key role in various blows dealt to the occupiers. With a practice characterised by courage and steadfastness, he quickly matured into an exemplary fighter and a promising young commander.

# *Letter from an old comrade*



Dear Thomas,

it was seven years ago since we have seen each other. Since you have left us. At the time I knew it already that you will never come back.

I have gone too and have left everybody. But with a different goal. And then I gave up. I did not have the strength anymore to fight. And now I feel guilty, because you were ready, to give everything and I have just resigned. It was so difficult for me to leave everyone behind. From where did you gain the strength to go? From where did you take the courage to fight? I have felt myself so cut off from everything, so blocked. No more desire to work in politics, no allies, no hope. Now that you have died, I feel so much. Preferably, I would like to do everything at once. Getting active again, having allies again, having hope again. But in hindsight I realize that it was always death which has motivated me to become politically active. 2003 it were the dead in Iraq, 2015 a dead refugee in Dresden, and now it is you. Your death is turning my whole life upside down at the moment. But it gives me strength too. Grief comes in waves.

I need the experience that others feel the same way. That they also

grieve. And that they share the same ideals that others in this system are suffering the same way and that they are ready to change it. I need something which heals me. I have so much questions to you. I tell myself that answers would help me heal. Were you afraid? I remember that I didn't go to the G20 summit in Hamburg because I was afraid. Now this appears to me so insignificant. But I know you would see this differently. Also the struggles here are important. Our minds and the life together, the shared time, the community.

In the past we were others, and yet we are the same people we were back then. I still now how we danced together in this small garage, our own place of thousand possibilities. How we have discussed, how you had doubts. How you absolutely wanted to do something which has meaning. Something which can change the world. Did you already have your path in mind back then? I do not know. As you have left quietly and secretly. You have sneaked away. And even as you have gone, we could not really talk about it. Too secret, too dangerous, too hurtful. Now we cannot stop to talk about you. You are right here among us.

I have never said to you that I value you as a friend, as someone to talk to, als political ally. Now I wish, i would have done it. I now say it to others. I tell about you. We tell each other stories about you.

We do not forget you.

I hope you have died knowing that we love you.

# Obituary for our friend Thomas



Written by *Perspektive Kommunismus* on 27th June 2023

In the early hours of June 15, 2023 our comrade Thomas fell in Kurdistan. In the region Xakurke at the frontal defense lines of the Kurdish liberation movement, his unit attacked parts of the Turkish occupation army. 15 minutes after they had brought heavy losses to the enemy, the fighters of the Kurdish people's defense units (HPG) withdrew.

When the Turkish army realized that their unit was completely worn out, they bombarded the entire area with heavy artillery and fighter jets. One of the bombs hit the fighters and killed Thomas together with his friends Asya Kanîres (Kadriye Tetik) and Kocer Medya (Diyako Saîdî).

We knew Thomas as a wonderful human, upright comrade, true friend and tireless fighter. 2014 he got involved in antifascist and revolutionary causes in Ingolstadt, near his home village. He became part of the revolutionary group „La Résistance“ and organized tirelessly struggles about different political topics. In the year 2014 and 2015 he participated in actions around the anti-war day and already then he assured that army propaganda and military vehicles were attacked with paint and batting tools at night. The manifold combat against imperialist wars, their origins and their effects be-

came a common thread throughout his political life. He was part of the attempt to keep the peace movement from drifting to the right in the „winter of peace“ 2014/2015, helped us in February 2015 with the organization of protests against the so-called „Munich Security Conference“, fought with us militantly in the front lines against the G7 summit in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and stood with us in front of refugee shelters to protect them. After the massacre in Pirsûs (tr. Suruc) he marched with 250 people through the city center of Ingolstadt and called for solidarity with the struggles in Kurdistan.

Thomas also experienced the beginning of the global shift to the right firsthand when fascists carried out an arson attack on a refugee shelter in his neighboring village, right-wing citizen movements began agitating against the construction of new mosques, and the AfD (Alternative for Germany) was founded. Thomas never hesitated to stand against this actively. Whenever he became aware of injustice and oppression, he acted. No hour was too late to remove posters by NPD (national socialist party of Germany) and AfD, no wall was too small to be decorated with slogans and stickers and no opponents were too big to get in their way. After 2016, when he joined the Kurdish movement, he participated in the resistance against the parade of the III. Way (nazi movement in Germany) together with hundreds of antifascists from all over Bavaria. He saw that slogans alone would not stop the fascists and he built with his comrades barricades to block their way. Not just his determination in the political work stayed in our memory, especially with his cheerful nature he influenced the people around him.

He was filled with a strong sense of justice and love for all oppressed people. It was these character traits that led him to Kurdistan. In the spring of 2016, he traveled to Northern Kurdistan for the Newroz celebrations. The ruins of Amed-Sûr, where weeks earlier the Turkish army had massacred young YPS rebels, the reports of survivors of the bomb attack in Pirsûs, and the very real experience of Turkey's

occupation of Kurdistan touched him deeply, and when he returned from his trip, a part of him already remained in Kurdistan.

But even more than witnessing the atrocities, it was the revolutionary project—the practical implementation of a revolutionary idea, an entire people in struggle—that deeply impressed him. In discussions about what was the right place for revolutionaries to fight in those times, he made a decision that deserves great respect. But it also meant that he no longer saw his place and his task here. He didn't see his task in further developing the revolutionary process in the heart of the imperialist beast and understanding the connection to revolutionary developments in other parts of the world as part of the struggle in his own country. This is where our approaches were different. However, we were united by the awareness that the liberation of the world must also be fought for globally, that it is the task of revolutionaries to take responsibility in the various forms of class struggle. It is necessary to find out where the contradictions of capitalism can best be deepened in order to develop real counterpower to the ruling system.

The place he wanted to take for himself was where the struggles are developed most. He was inspired by the solidarity and willingness to make sacrifices shown by the Kurdish people in the face of a brutal enemy regime. There he found people who tirelessly created structures of solidarity and a togetherness that was and is very different from the way people live together in the capitalist states of Central Europe, with their individualism and the competitive spirit instilled in children from kindergarten and school onwards. He saw in the mountains of Kurdistan the possibility to be completely absorbed in the revolutionary fight, free of the enforcements of an imperialist center like Germany. A perspective to fully dedicate his life to what had left him restless here: the practical experimenting of a different social order and the uncompromising struggle for it.

When he eventually joined the guerilla and named himself Azad Şergeş, it was not an escape from the circumstances here, but a search for the seriousness in the struggle that he couldn't find in the German left. In a letter from the mountains to his friends and comrades in the old homeland he wrote: „That all the destruction, organized from our ground but executed by others on foreign, distant ground, we can only crush together, with each other in unity. Not just internationally united, but also as one front within us. That we must not get tangled up in meaningless wing battles and arguments anymore. Because the one who does this will only once more lose sight of the real enemy and our goal in the haze of capitalist and imperialist maximization and exploitation. He will only submit once again to capitalist rule, which suffocates and kills us, the subjects, in liberalism.“

And he never failed anyone in his sincerity. His Kurdish comrades described him as someone who tirelessly sought to advance the struggle, who was eager to learn and teach others, who was a good friend to all, who never backed down from a task, and who chose to be at the forefront himself. His name „Azad“ means freedom. „Şergeş“ means blossoming war. No one else could have described him as fittingly as he described himself. Azad Şergeş performed the unimaginable for the struggle for the liberation of humanity and at the end paid the highest price for it. His death teared his family, friends and comrades into deep grief. With him, one of our bravest fighters was taken from us as a revolutionary movement.

Şehîd namirin – in our struggle the fallen are immortal – is not just a slogan of remembrance, it is also a mission. A core aspect of this mission is the connection to international uprisings and struggles of the exploited and dispossessed. And to the revolutionary process in Kurdistan especially. This orientation opens, independently of the level of the fights in Germany, a way for us to the actuality of the revolution.

The internationalism that comes from this is diverse: Learning from

different forms of struggle and approaches to counterpower, political mobilizations to draw attention to and defend rays of resistance around the world, the search for concrete opportunities for mutual aid, and, last but not least, direct participation in the struggles. The international movements against capitalism are various and differing in their development. It's our task to bring them together and to use exactly this difference as a motor to strengthen the resistance against the internationally organized capitalism on all fronts.

Our most important approach to support the struggle in Kurdistan and to build an internationalist movement in this country is the struggle against the cooperation of the rulers in Germany and Turkey. The war against the Kurdish liberation movement is not limited to a region. Even though Turkey is in charge in any respect, more forces are participating in suffocating the project of a freed society in its root, before it can pose an example for others. The economy of the AKP regime is being kept afloat with money from the West, the Turkish army is the second largest NATO force and is supported by US intelligence, the ammunition for this war is produced in factories here in our country, and the military technology, from drones to poison gas, comes from the West. If we want to be of help for the friends in Kurdistan, this means to attack the cooperation just like the EU's dirty refugee deals with Turkey and the criminalization of left-wing opposition figures from Turkey by German authorities. And if we want the struggle for liberation in Kurdistan to be won once and for all, then this is not just a question of the struggle between reactionary and revolutionary forces in the Middle East, but also a question of class struggles and revolutionary counterpower in NATO, in the EU, and for us especially in Germany. A task for us, here and today. To say it with the words of Thomas: „Now is the time to show the enemy who is in charge!“



# Die Bedeutung des revolutionären Internationalismus



*To follow an internationalist practice in Germany was not easy in the past decades. The struggles of the left in this country could only punctually be brought in relation with international resistances. Contrary to phases of worldwide revolutionary dynamics like in the 60s and 70s of the last century, concrete references to resistance and liberation struggles that could radiate beyond national borders have been missing.*

*At the latest with the siege of Kobanê by ISIS in 2014, the enormous act of resistance by the YPG/YPJ, which at the time were completely outgunned and outnumbered by ISIS, and the worldwide media coverage that this resistance triggered, something changed: Since then, there has been a resurgence of more internationalist groups, and developments in Rojava in particular are being followed more or less closely and supported in solidarity by various left-wing groups.*

*To end this brochure we want to show the meaning of internationalism for the revolutionary build-up process and give concrete impulses for a lived solidarity with liberation struggles and especially with the Kurdish liberation movement.*

As revolutionaries we follow a revolutionary internationalism. This means that we are in solidarity with the worker's movements, oppressed and progressive forces world wide and that we place our struggles here at home in the context of theirs. The basis of our international relations is an understanding of the common social interests of all exploited and suppressed that stand above national identities and cultural influences. Marx and Engels already pointed out this principle in the Communist Manifesto: "... communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political conditions." This also means that, when it comes to international issues, parts of the ruling classes (e.g., in Ukraine) cannot be our points of reference. Geostrategic considerations such as "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" are also misleading if, for example, Russia and China are taken as points of reference because they are opponents of US imperialism.

Instead, we must orient ourselves toward the social and democratic interests of the exploited in order to come as close as possible to a proletarian, i.e., socialist position.

Revolutionary internationalism also means getting directly involved in the local struggle wherever possible and helping out, without getting completely absorbed in it. Solidarity should not only be practiced from a moral standpoint, but also in order to be able to bring the experiences made by others into one's own revolutionary process.

We think that this is how we can best support the movements in other countries. In the end, we face the same enemies: bourgeois politics, capitalists, and reactionaries are internationally connected. And despite all the competition and conflicting interests among them, they organize the same system of rule together and have consistently joined forces throughout history when it came to defending their class rule in one country or another against uprisings and revolutions. International repression, and German repression in particular, against the Turkish and Kurdish left must also be viewed

against this background.

Especially when those in power cooperate as directly and intensively as is the case with Turkey and Germany, resistance can also be very effectively combined. In the revolutionary process of building, we must recognize existing commonalities and connections, filter them out, and consciously create new ones.

### **The meaning of the Kurdish liberation struggle for the revolutionary left**

In the current phase of the advancing capitalist crisis and relatively weak counterforces on a global level, it is enormously important—indeed, a condition of life—to have authentic points of reference, such as the revolutionary project in Rojava. The Kurdish liberation movement shows that the potential for revolutionary transformation exists. It gives us the opportunity to learn not only from history books, but also from real struggles, even if our conditions in the imperialist centers are completely different. It makes the revolution tangible for us. This is demonstrated by the waves of internationalist fighters who have set out in recent years. And it is demonstrated by the various waves of solidarity that have arisen internationally.

Here at home, we cannot yet gain experience with armed forms of struggle, broad fronts of resistance, and counterrevolutionary attacks on a larger scale in the current phase—and even less so with questions of building and defending a socialist experiment in society. But the experiences of others help us for the future. With every new attempt at revolutionary movements in other countries, we also have the opportunity to acquire new experiences, at least indirectly: new possibilities for forms of struggle and organization, dealing with contradictions, new insights into the strategies and tactics of the opposition...

The Kurdish liberation struggle, the struggle for the liberated territories, and especially the revolutionary project in Rojava (northeastern Syria) offer us a wealth of experience on many levels. After

years of political groundwork, the Kurdish freedom movement cleverly and quickly exploited the weakness of the Syrian regime there after the 2011 uprising and, with the involvement of broad sections of the population, took a historic step forward. With unwavering determination and heroism, they are now defending the territories and the society they have built. This development in Rojava and the Kurdish areas in Turkey is relatively advanced. Despite constant warfare, sabotage, and economic blockade in Rojava, despite military attacks, regular waves of arrests, and the use of state-imposed administration in Northern Kurdistan, structures for self-government are being created from the bottom up in these areas. Communes, people's councils, cultural centers, self-organized education centers, cooperatives, and women's self-organization shape the social fabric in Rojava. The establishment of professional people's defense forces with women's units at all levels is also noteworthy. All ethnic groups living in the region are included. This does not happen without contradictions, but it is pursued seriously. Partly through their own organizations within the democratic self-administration, but above all with respect for the respective cultural characteristics.

In addition, structures are being established to achieve long-term economic independence, such as factories for food and oil processing and power plants.

We can also learn from this attempt to build a society on a socialist basis for the revolutionary process here at home. Of course, nothing can be translated directly. Rather, the insights are a further contribution to the rich wealth of experience that socialist experiments have left us over the last 150 years. One key insight from the struggle of the Kurdish liberation movement is that a "national liberation struggle" can go far beyond the "national question" if it contains and pursues elements of a socialist perspective from the very beginning, such as the liberation of women or the establishment of council power.

For us, it is also important to recognize that all this does not arise on

its own. The organizational, strategic, and tactical capabilities of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the most developed revolutionary force in the region, play a central role.

It is no exaggeration to describe it as the brain of the revolutionary process. Today, it unites almost all military self-defense units, as well as most political and social organizations in all parts of Kurdistan, behind a unified strategy and military doctrine. What is remarkable is that throughout its history, the organization has repeatedly been able to adapt to new situations with great flexibility without abandoning its revolutionary course. A dialectic between its own strategic orientations and a constant, self-critical analysis of situations and approaches that enables change and further development.

We find it particularly important to see how a revolutionary process is taking place there on many different levels simultaneously and that it would be hardly conceivable without a strong organization at the core of the whole. An organization that is capable of working in various fields (diplomacy, guerrilla warfare, social organization, etc.), that builds up cadres in the long term and thus ensures continuity.

### **Starting points for solidarity with the Kurdish liberation movement**

Since the revolution in Rojava in 2012, there have been several waves of international solidarity. One was in 2014, when ISIS invaded Kobanê and Kurdish and internationalist fighters pushed them back. In addition to the many activities on the streets, campaigns such as "Support Rojava" and "Weapons for Rojava" were launched in Germany to organize direct material support. In 2018, visible international resistance formed again when the Turkish attacks against Afrin and the occupation began. And following a renewed Turkish offensive in October 2019, a diverse and successful international protest mobilization developed, during which blockades at airports and attacks on Turkish banks and consulates took place, among

other things. In the years that followed, the momentum declined significantly. Instead of comprehensive offensives, Turkey has developed a low-intensity war aimed at grinding down the population, infrastructure, economy, and political organs of self-government. This has allowed and continues to allow the state of war to become the norm, making it difficult to maintain a broad solidarity movement. We will probably not be able to initiate any major protests in Germany in the short term and on our own, but we would do well to understand the war as a serious threat not only to the Kurdish liberation struggle, but to revolutionary movements worldwide, and to continue our work accordingly. Recent years have shown that it is not effective to wait for major offensives by the Turkish state in order to initiate larger international solidarity mobilizations in response (e.g., through Day X mobilizations). In the winter of 2019/20, Riseup4Rojava and Rote Hilfe International instead called in a joint brochure, "Recognize a war when you see one," for "maintaining a thread of international solidarity that is both constant and adapted to change." In order to spin the continuous thread of internationalism in relation to Kurdistan, we would like to outline three approaches that we believe are important:

### **1. Fighting the right-wing networks of the Turkish regime**

The Turkish state not only maintains close ties to German politics and corporations. Here in Germany and in many other European countries, there is a widespread network of the Turkish right wing: in particular, the structures of the AKP, the Grey Wolves (the largest openly fascist organization in Germany) and the Turkish secret service MIT. Often in the form of cultural and mosque associations or informal contacts around consulates and embassies, they exert influence in German political parties and even in government circles. It is important to expose this network, which is difficult to see from the outside, to the public and to tackle it politically.

These political forces in particular have a major influence on Turkish exile communities. And they are the starting point for fascist street

violence. The connection between the pogrom-like attacks by Turkish fascists on Kurds during the Newroz celebrations in Belgium in 2024 and a visit by the Turkish foreign minister there is just one example of this. This is an immediate danger for Kurds, but in the long term also for left-wing forces and migrants in general.

## **2. Defending the revolution**

The revolutionary process in Kurdistan is mostly ignored by the bourgeois media or, in line with the Erdogan regime, portrayed as a project of terrorists/separatists. Only we ourselves can break through this policy of disinformation! Information and discussions about the motivations, character, and development of the movement and project in Rojava are essential for maintaining a vibrant connection and developing solidarity activities here at home. In short, we believe it is important to be the voice of the revolution in Kurdistan here—and there is no need for unity on all ideological issues to achieve this. The aim is to make the revolution visible in public discourse and part of left-wing debate and analysis. Last but not least, we know that every sign of international solidarity is an important source of motivation and fighting spirit for our comrades there.

Furthermore, it is also our responsibility to provide practical and material support. Medical supplies and military equipment such as gas masks are urgently needed – and we can contribute to this here!

## **3. Attacking the collaborators of the Turkish regime in their own countries**

The EU countries are direct collaborators of the Turkish regime. This happens at the political level through many very practical and openly visible actions. For example, by listing the PKK as a terrorist organization or handing over Kurdish activists to Turkey in exchange for Turkey's consent to NATO membership (as in Sweden, for example). The political persecution of Kurdish activists is the order of the day in Germany. Alleged PKK members are convicted under

the terrorism paragraph §129b for solidarity activities and are imprisoned in numerous German jails. In addition, politically active Kurds are being deported to Turkey, where they face torture and decades of imprisonment – the right to political asylum is being undermined by the inflationary use of terrorism charges.

But what benefit do Western countries gain from making Turkey their partner? As is so often the case, economic, geopolitical, and geostrategic interests are behind this. One aspect is the so-called refugee deal, in which the EU pays Turkey to keep refugees out of the EU before they reach its external borders. Numerous Western arms companies, banks, and insurance companies have also profited from Turkey's war, even though arms exports to Turkey have recently declined dramatically as Turkish companies have been provided with patents and are now able to build drones, missiles, and other military equipment on a larger scale themselves. Maintaining and expanding Western influence in the Middle East also plays a significant role. The Iraq Development Road is set to become an alternative trade route to China's New Silk Road from 2030. It is to run directly through the liberated areas of Kurdistan. In addition, following its departure from Russia, Turkey is being traded as a future "hub" for supplying Europe with gas and oil. With Turkey's help, the imperialists are once again grabbing as much as they can in the Middle East—and the liberated areas are standing in their way.

They have a direct interest in crushing the Kurdish liberation movement in order to expand their influence in the region and to curb the revolutionary potential of the movement – even if this means that their interests may overlap at times, as in the fight against ISIS.

European politicians and corporations are not getting their hands dirty, but they are tolerating Turkey's war against the Kurds and profiting from it. The disgusting double standards of the NATO camp are very clear here: On the one hand, there is Annalena Baerbock's supposedly "feminist foreign policy," which sends "Jin Jiyan Azadi" expressions of solidarity to the protests in Iran—at the same time,

there are friendly ties to the Erdogan regime, which, together with jihadist gangs, is deliberately murdering the women who fought so courageously against ISIS in 2014.

All this must be exposed, and the profiteers and collaborators in this country must be confronted—as an internationalist part of the class struggle against the rulers on our doorstep.

“The old world is dying, the new one is not yet born.” (Antonio Gramsci) As internationalists and revolutionaries, we draw hope and inspiration from the Kurdish liberation struggle. It shows us that we should not and cannot wait to advance a revolutionary process. On the contrary, conditions are likely to worsen on many levels. To counter this, we must develop revolutionary counterpower here and now. For us, this is not abstract: we must build long-term, powerful organizations and structures that can survive periods of low mobilization. “Building our own side” is not a platitude for us. Instead, it means advancing the revolutionary construction with consistency, perseverance, and seriousness. And we know that nothing will be handed to us on a silver platter.

The world is facing a new order. Imperialists and regional powers such as Turkey and Iran are entangled in new wars that could take on unpredictable proportions. The result is not only new war zones, but also highly militarized states that are pushing ahead with authoritarian, war-oriented state restructuring—Germany is at the forefront of this. At the same time, this social phase also presents opportunities. The transition is chaotic, even for those in power. We must analyze how they act and what offensives they will wage against us, and adapt our work accordingly. We must not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by this, but must develop our own perspectives for the future, even on a small scale.

The outcome of history has not yet been decided. It depends not only on capitalist laws and the power of those in power, but also on the other side of the contradiction: the subjective side, i.e., us. The


Kurdish freedom movement has shown a “third way in the Middle East,” its own political line beyond the despotic regimes and the imperialist interventionist powers. With this, they are very successfully involving not only the Kurdish population, but also other parts of the region's population, while at the same time managing to defend this social project militarily.

We are faced with the task of developing a path for the imperialist centers. The side that can present the better project for the oppressed will win the struggle. This will depend on whether we organize ourselves and move forward with courage, initiative, and determination.



[www.widerstandsvernetzung.org](http://www.widerstandsvernetzung.org)

# Notes and Poems by Azad Şergeş



In the boiling heat of this summer  
not only the surroundings are burning from the intensity of the sun  
also the blood of the youth that you upset is burning  
and their hearts burn and melt

You gave these young people a willingness  
Strength and morale  
You made them an army, with shields  
from anger and steel, that defend them

When in the boiling of this hot summer  
blood is shed  
It shall be my blood with which the ground  
of revolution is being watered  
It shall not be the blood of the hearts of my comrades  
These heroes shall live.  
I wish I could become black powder  
in the weapons of my friends  
become a bullet, which pierces and destroys  
heart and brain of the occupying enemy.  
In each important era of history

self sacrifices have to be made.  
The enemy must know  
That we are ready to become such a sacrifice  
In the traces of freedom.  
I wish I had taken my weapon  
And seen the bloodthirsty enemy in front of me  
the representant of the system of tyranny, oppression and  
enslavement of capitalism  
I would lie in wait  
and my eyes would watch them through the scope.

I would have aimed and breathed calmly  
Slowly, slowly, I would have pulled the trigger  
This is my decision  
My claim in the age of the war  
of being and not being  
And I would have sent that bullet

A bullet that is built from anger and hatred  
against the occupier  
A bullet that turns at the explosion  
into the voice of my freedom-loving heart  
In this moment I would have taken revenge for the Agids,  
the Dijwars, the Bagers and the Şiyars  
The enemy did not leave us another option  
That is why we are ready to fulfill our duty in this war

The duty to realize your freedom  
Because you saved us from the bite of the blind snake of the enemy  
You organized us, educated us and defended us  
Yes, yes in the moment of warmth of this summer

~ Left ~

The key of my home is with me  
With leaf and leaves  
From trees and trunks of this hand  
Never have I myself been far from her  
But I love the far country aswell  
Let life begin anew  
And in the silence I give myself an answer:

,The place your feet are searching  
There is the new life  
I walk in your steps  
And together, free our hearts will  
Live.‘

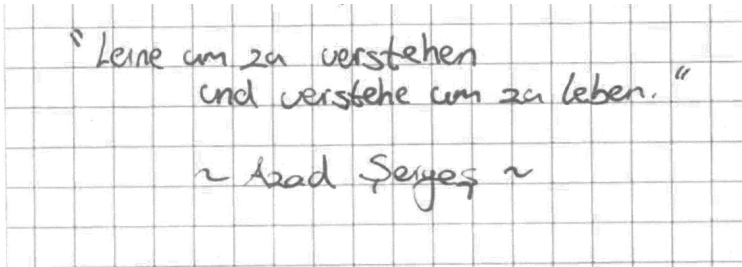
And never should anyone forget:  
If WE don't want it,  
we will not start any song from our voices.

~Azad Şerğes ~  
Summer 2017

To all international fighters. Those who went into the  
unknown and fought for a free life  
for all.

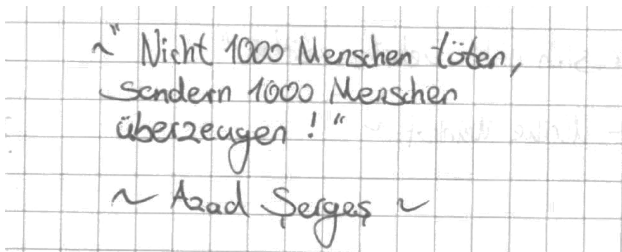
„Because the enemy of humanity, capitalism, wages a unique war against the beauty of the world, it is necessary that we, the free humans, stand up and carry out a unique struggle, a diverse resistance.“

~Azad Şerğes~



"Learn to understand and understand to live."

~Azad Şerğes~



"Do not kill 1000 people, but convince 1000 people!"

~Azad Şerğes~

"Every sincere human that reaches out for a free life, has to take on the life of a revolutionary and follow Ulrike Meinhof out of the window."

The Marxism propagated by Marxists today is nothing more than an outdated project with views and opinions that have been distorted by time and German social democracy. The true values from its origins must be brought to light again through careful work and analysis and reconciled with the elements of a modern democratic-confederalist society and way of thinking. The truth of socialism will guide us in this endeavor.

~Azad Şergeş~

„Only a party that knows to lead, which means, to drive forward, gains followers by storm.“<sup>1</sup>

~Rosa Luxemburg~

This party, which understands how to drive things forward, must be expressed in us as individuals, in the mentality of a militant. This is what the militant understands as part of the personality of the “revolutionary subject.”

~Azad Şergeş~

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1 From Rosa Luxemburgs unfinished manuscript about the Russian Revolution

Shoot comrade, shoot  
raise the red flag high  
we will be free, how beautiful that is.  
the voice of your rifle  
is always dancing.

Guerrilla  
oh, jewels of the mountains  
wind of the mountains  
hope of life  
and love of the peoples  
Shoot comrade, shoot  
we are heading towards the dawn  
because we will be free  
oh how beautiful is this

~Azad Şergeş ~  
February 2018

Kilîta welatê min  
li gel min e  
mîna pel û pêlan  
Ji dar û daran ji wan destan  
ti caran ez ji wê dûr neketim  
Lê êvîndarê welatê dûr im.  
Bila jiyana me nû dest pê bike.  
Daku di bêdengiyê de bersiv bidim:  
Cihê ku lingê te pê digerin  
Wê derê jiyaneke nû lê bê afrandin.  
Ji ber ez li pey şopa te dimeşim  
û ew dilê me yê li gel hev  
wê jiyaneke azad bike.  
Daku mirovahî neyê jibîrkirin:  
Ger em nexwazin, em ê bi dengên  
xwe sitranên jî nabêjin...

~Azad Şergeş~



Yours is my heart  
I give you my strength  
Dedicate my time to you  
But not into all eternity  
Because one day you will be over here  
Move to somewhere else  
But I don't mind  
Because I will follow you to every place.

~ **Revolution** ~

Azad Şergeş  
2016 December

*No one or everyone. All or nothing.  
A singular one cannot save himself  
Weapons or chains  
Noone or everyone. All or nothing.  
Who, lost soul, will dare?  
Those who can no longer bear their misery  
Must join those  
Who, out of necessity, are already ensuring  
That it happens today and not tomorrow.  
Noone or everyone. All or nothing.  
A singular one cannot save himself  
Weapons or chains  
No one or everyone. All or nothing.*

Bertolt Brecht

lêgerîn



magazin