

Lêgerîn

To insist on humanity is to insist on socialism

THE YOUTH RISE UP!



ANTI PARTIDU LIBERAL ABAT

PANAGUTIN ANG LAHAT

ISKOLAR BAGUHING BULAGAN

UNITED FOR A BETTER KENYA. CORRUPTION SHOULD BE KILLED NOT THE PEACEFUL PROTESTORS.

PEOPLES' CARAWAN TO DEFEND HUMANITY

চৈতন্য আধিকার
হয়তোমাম রাজস্বের



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DEAR READERS,

The old world is dying, and the new world struggles to be born: now is the time of monsters.” This quote from Antonio Gramsci in 1929 could have been written today, as it so accurately describes the situation we are currently facing. Everything points to the fact that the so-called world order, based on international law, is a thing of the past. In March, Kremlin spokesperson Dmitry Peskov acknowledged this himself: “Honestly, I don’t even understand how one can today call on anyone to respect the norms and principles of international law. In fact, it no longer exists. And what law has replaced international law? No one can really say at the moment...” A recent speech by Macron on nuclear weapons defines the principle upon which the new world order is being built: “To be free, one must be feared. And to be feared, one must be powerful. ” The existential crisis facing capitalism no longer allows it to hide behind a mask. While the ongoing wars reveal this brutality openly, the Epstein files simultaneously reflect the nature of the patriarchal mindset behind these massacres.

In this darkness, the youth uprisings of recent months are glimmers of hope spreading across every continent. These movements are a call to take back the initiative and to break free from the paralysis into which the system seeks to plunge us. How can we understand these uprisings? What are their strengths and weaknesses? What perspectives exist for achieving lasting change? Through this issue, we aim to offer some possible answers to these questions.

What is clear is that rising up against the system is not enough; we must also detach ourselves from it: materially and mentally. We can no longer accept serving as soldiers, workers or bureaucrats for the states and capitalist forces that are leading humanity to its downfall. We must build our own system in parallel, placing women’s freedom at its centre.

“The practical realisation of theory is communalisation. A free and dignified life can only be achieved by building communes in every sphere of life. The genuine free life of women—and therefore of society—depends on women’s constructive power and the communalisation they lead.”

We stand alongside the young people returning to their villages in Indonesia, alongside those who are resigning from their schools or workplaces in protest against the war in Europe, we stand with Madagascar’s Gen Z as they defend their hard-won gains, and with the young people setting up their self-defence units in Rojava, we stand with the Zapatista youth who are strengthening their autonomy, and with those preparing to set sail again on the flotillas to Gaza.

Together, let us build the permanent uprising of the youth!

Lêgerîn Editorial

1. Abdullah Öcalan’s message on 8 March <https://english.anf-news.com/features/-84264>

EDITORIAL

➔ YOUTH IN ACTION ➔

ALL OVER THE WORLD THE YOUTH IS RECLAIMING THE INITIATIVE! HERE WE COMPILE SOME OF THE MOBILIZATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN OCTOBER 2025 AND JANUARY 2026.



CAMEROON

Demonstrations in Cameroon began in October 2025 due to allegations of political election fraud where Paul Biya, who has been the president since 1982, once again was appointed the leader of the country, making him the oldest president in the world. The youth broke out into the street to demonstrate and fight the authoritarianism of Biya. The demonstration also called out for an end to the rampant repression and corruption of the regime.



BULGARIA

Mass protests broke out in Bulgaria at the end of November 2025 as the citizens demonstrated against the 2026 draft budget that increased taxes and corruption. Young people and workers who led the protests also demanded better healthcare, wage increase, and job opportunities. The draft budget was withdrawn and Rosen Zhelyazkov, the prime minister of the time, had to resign in face of the strength of the opposition.

IRAN

At the end of 2025, protests erupted in Iran where the people demanded that the government rectify inflation. The protest quickly evolved into a broader mobilization to overturn the Islamic regime and to end the economic failure of the country, a continuation of the Jin, Jiyan, Azadi protests of September 2022. Thousands of people were killed by the police in the struggle.



DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY SOCIALISM LEADS TO VICTORY



A MESSAGE FROM IMRALI TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON PEACE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

BY ABDULLAH ÖCALAN

Abdullah Öcalan sent this message from the prison-island of Imrali to the “International Peace and Democratic Society Conference” held on 6–7 December 2025 in Istanbul. Politicians, academics, journalists, human rights defenders, and parliamentary representatives who have served in various capacities in different countries attended to the conference as speaker or participant from 19 countries across 5 different continents.¹

Esteemed thinkers, dear comrades, valued delegates, and all people who continue to believe that socialism is still possible; I address you today from İmralı Island under the conditions of isolation of 26 years, at a moment when a new dialogue with the state over the Kurdish question in search for peace and a democratic society has resumed again. To address you, at the International Conference on Peace and Democratic Society, on the path of rebuilding socialism, is both meaningful and significant.

As Kurds, over the course of the PKK’s 52-year struggle, we have completed our fight for existence and dignity, and we now enter a period in which a democratic republic and a democratic society can be rebuilt.

The PKK has fulfilled its historical mission by securing the national existence of the Kurdish people, while also exposing the limitations of nation-state socialism. Twentieth-century socialism emerged as a negative revolutionary intervention², yet failed to present a lasting alternative. By the 1990s, at a time when most people were turning away from socialism, I dedicated my entire life to rebuilding this hope, declaring that ‘insisting on socialism is insisting on being human.’ Despite enormous sacrifices, this struggle has become a legacy enriched through both theoretical and practical critique. To honor and to own this legacy properly requires transforming socialism from a mere memory to a living social force beating at the heart of the people. The socialist tradition in history must be understood as a legacy aimed at building both peace and democratic society, and the path forward lies in fulfilling internationalist responsibilities—in theory and in practice.

Although utopian socialists and Marxists have offered comprehensive critiques of the capitalist hegemonic system since the 19th century, they failed to develop a decisive line with concrete results. Today’s capitalism is no longer merely a crisis; it has become a disease threatening the very survival of humankind. The

monopoly of violence in the form of the nation-state plays a defining role in this collapse.

Just as capitalism cannot be explained solely through economic motives, the failures of socialist movements cannot be explained only by capitalist repression. Historical and contemporary mistakes have also been decisive.

My critiques of Marxism must be understood correctly. I do not blame Marx; in his era, history was not as well understood as it is today and there was no ecological crisis, and capitalism was still on the rise. Even so, Marx was a thinker of profound self-questioning and intellectual courage. He perceived the importance of women’s liberation, yet approached it superficially, believing that once economic exploitation was overcome, gender oppression would naturally dissolve. His attempt to interpret social history exclusively through class, and his insufficient analysis of the state and the nation-state, led to serious consequences. While offering these critiques, I would like to underline my deep respect for Marx’s efforts and have no doubt about his sincerity, and note that I distinguish Marxism from Marx himself. When we critique Marxism and actual existing socialism on certain fundamental

questions, what we feel—as socialists—is the spirit of self-critique from within.

Anti-systemic forces must revisit historical materialism in a way that aligns with the reality of human society. It is essential to understand that capitalism did not “descend from the heavens” in the 16th century; rather, its roots extend back to the 10–12 thousand years of evolution of civilization that began in Lower Mesopotamia. Archeological sites such as Göbeklitepe and Karahantepe shed light on this historical origin. For this reason, I find it more accurate to define the existing system of civilization as a “caste-based system of social murder.” Archeological and anthropological findings show that male hunter castes, through the development of killing techniques, suppressed and enslaved women-centered clan communities. This marks the deepest rupture in human history—indeed, a major counter-revolution shaping all subsequent developments of civilization.

Understanding capitalism from this long historical perspective allows for far more eye-opening analysis. This system not only deepens internal social contradictions; it also threatens the extinction of the human species by producing chemical and nuclear weaponry that can annihilate the planet, by polluting the environment, and by plundering nature’s riches both above and below the ground. It is one of the essential duties of the international to offer humanity a new analysis of capitalism founded upon this grave reality.

We need to examine the history of the oppressed through the perspective of the commune, which emerged first and foremost as a form of self-defence preceding class. This requires seeing early tribal communities as the beginnings of the commune and adopting a historical perspective stretching to today’s proletariat—and to all oppressed groups.

On this basis, we state that history cannot be reduced solely to class struggle. While class struggle is indeed part of it, it is more accurate to read history as a long process of relation and conflict between com-



Assembly of Petrograd’s Soviet, 1917

munal development and anti-communal development extending back roughly 30,000 years.

I anticipate that this conference also by engaging with the theoretical analyses I have offered here, will foster important debates that can contribute to the development of a new perspective of political program and organization. In this process, the fundamental method is dialectical materialism. However, certain excesses of classical dialectics need to be overcome. We must see contradictions not as opposing poles destined to eliminate one another, but as social phenomena that also sustain and shape each other. For

without the commune, there would be no state; without the bourgeoisie, no proletariat. Thus, contradiction must be assessed not with a logic of annihilation, but through a transformative historical perspective.

Scientific developments show that the dialectical method remains an effective tool for social analysis, so long as it is not treated as absolute. With this framework, updating the commune–state and class–state dialectics is imperative. The failure of 20th-century real socialism stemmed from an inability to interpret this historical dialectic correctly: state-centered socialism seized the state, only to be defeated by it. By binding the right of nations to self-determination to the nation-state, it became confined within the boundaries of bourgeois politics. The concept of a “proletarian nation-state” similarly produced nothing but a reproduction of statist mentality.

Interpreting this reality correctly, I stated the following: nation-state socialism leads to defeat, whereas democratic society socialism leads to victory. Today, the time has come to advance toward democratic emancipation on the basis of democratic society socialism. On this path, I move forward with the conviction that we will succeed in reconstruction not through the state, but rather through the paradigm of a democratic republic and a democratic nation founded upon principles of women’s freedom, ecology and democratic society.

This awareness has renewed our movement ideologically and politi-

cally, revitalized its organizational dynamism, and deepened its roots in society — enabling it to develop a socialist program capable of responding to the needs of the century.

The relationship between democratic socialism and the state is also being reshaped within the context of the peace and resolution process. I define my relationship with the state as a relationship of democratization. The concept of the democratic republic requires that the state not function as a divine power standing above society, but rather as a structure operating within the framework of a democratic contract made with society. Through a strategy of democratic politics, it is possible to bring about change and transformation of the state and to rebuild society on democratic foundations.

Grounding this strategy in law will form the lasting basis of peace. Law is a mechanism that guarantees and balances the democratic relationship between state and society, serving as an instrument that prevents violence. At the same time, it will institutionalize the establishment,

legitimacy, and reconstruction of the democratic republic. In relation, one of the key strategic arguments I have proposed is the concept of democratic integration and its legal framework. Democratic integration law, in which legal norms are reconstructed in favor of society through individual and universal norms along with collective rights, must rest on the following three fundamental principles:

- A law of the free citizen
- A law of peace and democratic society
- Laws of freedom

Democratic integration law will not only transform the state into a normative one³ but will also allow to institutionalize the societal gains, enabling society to realize its freedom. The “Call for Peace and Democratic Society” process that I launched is in itself a process of dialogue. In a region such as the Middle East—defined by complex relationships of ethnicities, religions, and sects—much can be achieved through democratic dialogue and negotiation. In addition, I believe that a mea-

ningful socialism can be organized not through a violent revolutionary method but through a positive system of construction and existence—one that takes shape through democratic dialogue. Without comprehensive and profound democratic dialogue, it is difficult to believe that socialism can be built, or that it could endure even if it were built.

Lenin, too, said: “Without an inclusive and advanced democracy, socialism cannot be built.”

With these thoughts and determination, I once again wish you a successful conference, and extend my enduring comradely greetings and affection.

Abdullah Öcalan
06.12.2025, İmralı Island

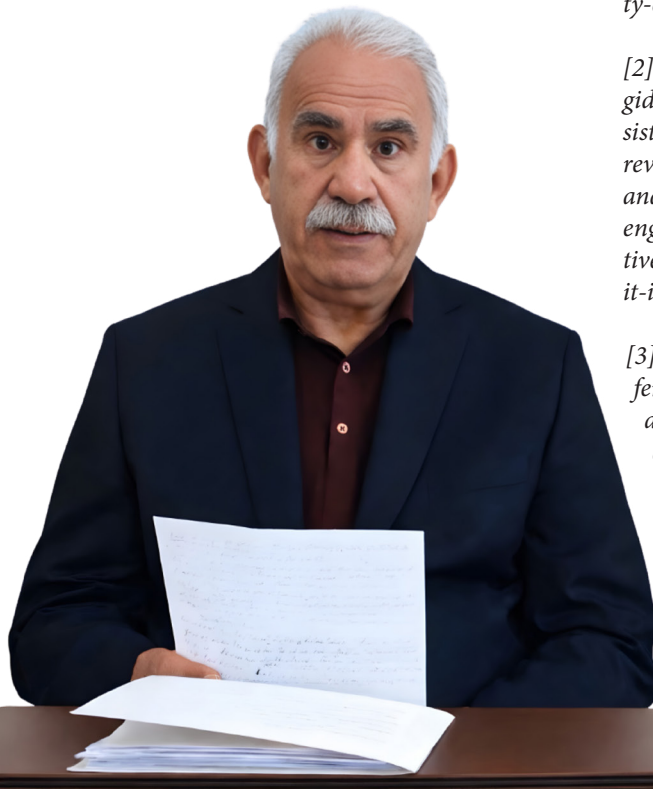


[1] *Final Declaration of the International Conference on Peace and Democratic Society* <https://www.demparti.org.tr/Images/UserFiles/Documents/Editor/2025/final-declaration-of-international-peace-and-democratic-society-conference.pdf>

[2] “A negative revolution is the rigidity, conservative attitudes, and resistance to change that emerge within revolutionary parties, institutions, and movements themselves.” <https://english.anf-news.com/features/negative-revolution-what-it-is-and-what-it-is-not-82505>

[3] *Abdullah Öcalan is making difference between the normative state and the abnormative state. This describes those forces within the state that act in a covertly organized manner and do not adhere to the established norms, i.e. the laws and regulations of a state, but pursue their own agenda, exploiting the “normal state” for their own purposes.*

Abdullah Öcalan from the prison-island of İmralı, February 2026



BEYOND "GEN Z"

DEFENDING REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH SPIRIT



INTERNATIONALIST
YOUNG WOMEN
PERSPECTIVE



Generation Z, a recognizable group of kids and teens who are constantly the center of attention.” Hardly a week passes without a fresh headline stigmatising us. We are said to be lazy, fragile, and addicted to our phones. The ruling system undertakes enormous efforts to shape and control our collective consciousness, constantly bombarding society with oppressive narratives. These narratives are designed to distract us from our own, alternative consciousness and to bind us to the status quo.

What purpose do narratives like the Gen Z narrative serve? If we approach these theories not as passive objects of study, but as revolutionary youth, we must ask: does the category “Gen Z” genuinely reflect our reality, or is it simply a tool to confine and limit us?

GENERATIONAL AND GEN Z THEORY

Generational theory rests on the premise that history follows a rhythm. According to generational theory, societies move through recurring cycles shaped by successive age cohorts. Each generation is said to develop a distinct mindset, formed by the political and cultural conditions of its upbringing. As one generation ages and another enters adulthood, a new historical phase allegedly emerges. Change appears not as the result of organized struggle, but as the automatic turning of a historical wheel. At first glance, this seems convincing. Youth has repeatedly stood at the center of historical ruptures. Yet generational theory reduces this role to a structural rhythm. What could be conscious political intervention is reframed as the automatic turning of a historical wheel.

Within this framework, “Generation Z” refers to those born roughly between 1995 and 2010. We are described as the first fully digital generation, shaped by smartphones, social media, economic instability, climate crisis, and pandemic. We are called digitally fluent and permanently connected. We are described as socially progressive, concerned with climate justice and gender equality. Yet when we mobilize, our clarity is dismissed as naïve idealism or extremism. We are also told we are fragile. Rising anxiety and depression are individualized rather than linked to war, debt, precarious labor, and ecological collapse. And perhaps most persistently, we are accused of laziness — as if refusing exploitation were a character defect rather than a rational response to systemic injustice.

On the surface, generational categories appear neutral. In reality, they flatten historical complexity. Frameworks derived largely from Anglo-American contexts are exported as universal models, ignoring class, colonial histories, and political realities across the globe. The result is depoliticization. If generations merely follow a script, youth ceases to be a historical subject. The constant repetition of labels — lazy, sensitive, radical — shapes self-perception. Narratives do not merely describe youth; they attempt to define and discipline it.

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH SPIRIT INSTEAD OF “GEN Z”

And yet, beneath these distortions lies a truth: when youth enters history, history shifts. Not because of mystical cycles, but because youth occupies a distinct social position. To understand youth as a social category is inseparable from understanding history and society

itself. Society is not static; it moves through stages of transformation. Change and development are its most fundamental characteristics. Youth, by its very nature, embodies this dynamic. The youth represents the vitality of social nature. It is mobile, restless, unwilling to remain confined. It seeks to make its voice heard in the furthest places. Its energy is not easily exhausted. Its attitude toward life is questioning, searching. The time of youth is comparable to spring in the seasonal calendar. Just as nature transforms in spring, human life in youth contains an immense openness toward change. Everything appears possible; nothing is fixed.

But awareness of this role is decisive. Without consciousness of its historical mission, youth can be absorbed and neutralized. A youth unaware of its social function cannot be free or autonomous. A clear identity of youth is therefore a fundamental condition for a free life.

Definitions developed thus far about youth, like the Gen Z narrative, have largely been linked to roles attributed by the dominant system. The rulers have invented a whole range of terms — rebellious, irresponsible, apolitical, extremist, consumerist — not to understand youth, but to neutralize it. They know as well as we do that whoever wins over the youth wins over society. A youth surrendered to the system guarantees the system's future, because youth means future. For this reason, youth has always occupied a special place in historical struggles. It has played pioneering roles in moments of social development. Where societies were open to change rather than clinging to conservative stagnation, youth became the most active and effective force of transformation.

At the same time, history also shows that youth can be manipulated and mobilized for reactionary ends. Its dynamism can serve liberation or domination depending on its level of consciousness and organization. Thus the question is not whether youth is powerful, but in whose interest this power is directed. Today's uprisings — such as those in Nepal, Bangladesh, Madagascar, Indonesia, Kenya, Morocco, and beyond — demonstrate that youth continues to emerge as a decisive actor. Young women like Deniz Ciya have proven this with their lives. These uprisings are not expressions of generational temperament. These „Gen Z uprisings“ are expressions of a social force confronting structural crisis inherent in the current system.

To defend revolutionary youth spirit means deepening organization. Spontaneous uprisings reveal vitality, but sustained transformation requires ideological clarity, internationalism, democratic leadership, and a commitment to women's freedom as foundational. Without these, youth energy risks fragmentation. Recent youth uprisings — whether in the form of environmental justice protests, labor movements, or uprisings against authoritarian governments — are proof that youth worldwide are not only responding to a set of circumstances; they are consciously and collectively rejecting the narratives that seek to define them. Thus, it is crucial to analyze what transpired, and draw lessons from these uprisings, particularly in the context of building a global youth democratic confederalism. For the power of youth movements is interconnected, despite being geographically distant.



In this context, the term Gen Z also holds potential for reclamation: in uprisings like those in Nepal and Morocco, it has been self-appropriated to both strengthen local revolutionary movements and forge connections with youth in struggle worldwide, rekindling an international youth consciousness.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE YOUNG WOMAN

Within this struggle, the position of the young woman is decisive. The exploiting capitalist system assigns her a peculiar mission: to have no mission at all. She is encouraged to pursue individual success, aesthetic conformity, and silent adaptation. Her political voice is trivialized; her anger is pathologized. Yet at the core of the young woman's identity lies a resistant and militant spirit. She carries within herself not only the vitality of youth but also the historical memory of women's resistance. To awaken this spirit requires conscious organization.

The young woman must insist on organizing an education within the perspective of the Democratic Nation¹ — an education that strengthens collective ethics, historical awareness, and political responsibility. She must question everything in the existing system: the roles assigned to her, the images imposed upon her, the limits drawn around her dreams. Questioning, however, must not remain individual. Her reflex must be organized. Thus, it is up to the young woman to shatter the perception created by capitalism about her and her people. She must develop new political methods and ways of participation. She must bring her own creativity and revolutionary nature into politics as a determining force.

When the young woman organizes, she does not merely defend herself. She transforms the entire youth movement. For without women's freedom as a guiding principle, no revolutionary spirit can sustain itself. For instance, the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the Soviet Union under Stalin both demonstrated how patriarchal dominance within the movement not only limited women's contributions but undermined the revolution as a whole. In these contexts, the refusal to elevate women's roles within the revolution ultimately led to the decline of socialism. The lessons learned from these failures highlight the importance of integrating women's leadership into the heart of revolutionary struggles.

THE YOUTH IS THE FUTURE

Despite all the talk surrounding Gen Z, the youth is not merely a marketing demographic. It is not just a demographic trend. It is the most dynamic expression of society's capacity for renewal. If society's essential characteristic is change, then youth — as the embodiment of openness to change — becomes its most active component. Because the system understands our potential, it categorizes, criticizes, and humiliates us. A depoliticized youth is its guarantee of continuity. A conscious, organized youth is its greatest challenge.

To defend revolutionary youth spirit is therefore to defend the future. To defend the future requires clarity about who defines us and why. It requires rejecting imposed identities and constructing our own. It requires recognizing that youth, aware of its historical role, becomes a vanguard actor of transformation. We are not a fixed archetype in a recurring cycle. We are a living force shaped by struggle and organization. We do not merely follow history's rhythm, we have the capacity to break it.

As long as young people refuse the imposed image and organize around their own understanding of freedom, dignity, and collective life, the spirit of youth will remain irreducible. And as long as this spirit remains conscious and organized — especially through the leadership and liberation of young women — youth will continue to be not the object of history, but its driving wheel.



[1] The concept of a Democratic Nation, as proposed by Abdullah Öcalan, envisions a society where cultural diversity and democratic principles are embraced through decentralized governance and collective self-determination. It calls for a transformation of the nation-state into a system based on democratic confederalism, women's liberation, and social ecology.



France 1968



Kurdistan 2015



Peru 2025



Kenya 2025





**The new year
begins with spring.
New life begins with youth.
Youth is the springtime
of society.**

- Hồ Chí Minh

Corruption, social injustice, patriarchal domination and repression are just some of the enemies that young people across the world have been fighting against in recent months. One protest after another, like links in a chain, has formed a line uniting young people across every continent. Luffy's pirate flag, taken from the Japanese manga *One Piece*, has flown high at hundreds of demonstrations, and become a symbol of global youth unity.

We are realising today that to achieve victory, we must join forces. We know who to fight against, we know what we want to destroy. And today, following the recent wave of youth protests, we also know that victories are possible.

It is not yet entirely clear however how to achieve total victory over the enemy, how to walk the path towards a different way of life, how to build a system based on ethical values, and what those values might be. In short, how to expel the enemy from our minds and hearts. Victories run the risk of being reabsorbed by the system if they fail to create new and functioning systems of living together in an organized and free way.

This issue aims to make historical links between youth protests and offer a critical perspective that can help us move forward together in building the revolutions of the 21st century. **How can we make the uprising permanent?** Or, in other words, how can we ensure that the revolutionary

drive of young people is not reabsorbed by the capitalist and patriarchal system?

We will analyse the context and organisation of the 2024 **Kenyan youth uprising**, before moving further back in time to 1968. We will highlight the origins, spirit and legacy of the first revolution led by young people as young people, in an effort to understand the past in order to interpret the present and build our own future.

Fast-forwarding through history, we will learn about the **youth of Bakur** (the region of Kurdistan occupied by Turkey) and their resistance in the face of attacks by the Turkish state, in the spring of 10 years ago. Finally, we will turn our attention to Peru to remember **comrade Trvko**, killed by the police at the age of 32 during a protest.

We dedicate this issue to all the young men and women who have fallen in the struggle against oppression, and in particular to those who have been murdered by the state in recent months. Just as in Indonesia the murder of a young delivery boy by the police fanned the flames of revolution, we will keep this flame burning in our hearts, feeding it with hatred for injustice and love for life and freedom. We hope this issue will help us in this endeavour.

Until Victory!

THE PERMANENT UPRISING

TRANSFORMING MOBILIZATION INTO ORGANIZATION THROUGH THE COMMUNE

BY ÉMILE MARTI

September 2025, Nepal. Smoke, tear gas, shouts, stones flying, small groups of young people gathering and forming a massive human tide. A powerful wave surges towards the presidential palace. The gate is quickly toppled; some wave the “One Piece” flag, people take videos to capture these moments of joy.

Starting from Indonesia and Nepal in August 2025, then spreading to the Philippines, Madagascar, Morocco, Peru, and Bulgaria, we have witnessed in recent months a new phase in the global youth struggle. The media—and the youth in struggle themselves—have spoken of a “Gen Z uprising.” How can we understand these revolts? What lessons can we draw for the period ahead?

Through the Gen Z identity, today’s youth has been portrayed in the media as alienated in the virtual world, selfish, and apolitical. In this way, the system hopes to neutralize youth before it can even pose a threat to its existence. The goal is to drain its revolutionary potential and create a paralyzed, pacified youth, incapable of thinking or creating change. Capitalism seeks to domesticate us so it can better exploit us for its own interests, reducing our lives to studying, work, and production.

This is nothing new: the powerful have always sought to attack and exploit youth, to disconnect it from previous generations, to make its struggle illegitimate. In response, youth has always defended itself and will continue to revolt. From Kathmandu to Rabat, young people have risen up massively in recent months, reclaiming the identity of struggling youth and transforming it into a collective, unifying force.

CHRONOLOGY OF A NEW GLOBAL WAVE OF STRUGGLING YOUTH

In August 2018, Greta Thunberg launched the climate strike, within months marches gathered hun-

dreds of thousands of young people across all continents. A new generation took to the streets and questioned the entire system. In 2020 and 2022, the murders of George Floyd and Jina Amini trigger mass movements in which youth played a vanguard role. The slogans of these uprisings—“Black Lives Matter” and “Jin Jiyan Azadi”—still resonate today. In 2022, the “Aragalaya” (the struggle) protests forced Sri Lankan President Gotabaya Rajapaksa to flee after just a few weeks. Youth revolts against a system where the family interests of those in power override the common good. Two years later, in June 2024, Kenyan youth rose up massively against a finance bill, which was ultimately withdrawn. At the same time, Bangladesh becomes the epicenter of a youth uprising. A few months later, in November 2024, Serbia erupts, with students leading a massive revolt movement.

A WAVE SWEEPING FROM ASIA TO EASTERN EUROPE

But the most recent and intense sequence begins in August 2025 in Indonesia. This time, the movement starts in the countryside, where peasant groups mobilize against a land tax increase. For the first time, the “One Piece” flag is raised as a symbol of the “Generation Z” uprising. If this new phase of struggle begins in Indonesia, it is in Nepal that it draws worldwide attention. Online contestation of the ruling class’s corruption by youth had become too widespread, so the government decides to block access to major social networks. That was the final straw.

On September 8, students and young workers take to the streets, and the next day the president flees; official buildings and those of major companies are set on fire, the presidential palace is stormed. The intensity of the uprising spreads far beyond Nepal’s borders. At that moment, for young people around the world, the question becomes: “If they can do it in Nepal, why couldn’t we do the same here?”

The rapid victory in Nepal restores confidence and strength to youth across all continents—youth that the system had tried, in vain, to neutralize. In the following days, young people take to the streets in the Philippines, Timor-Leste, Madagascar, and Morocco. In the months that follow, the wave reaches South America with uprisings in Peru, and Europe with the fall of the government in Bulgaria.

WHY IS “GEN Z” REVOLTING?

“The conflict of generations can and must be resolved in social conflict; conversely, it thus becomes a factor of movement and progress. The young generations find in the collective movement the solution to their difficulties, and by choosing the movement, they accelerate it.”

Albert Memmi – Portrait of the Colonized

Gen Z is the most educated generation but also the one facing the highest unemployment and debt. As young people, we find ourselves in a position where building the present is impossible, and projecting ourselves into the future seems equally out of reach. Climate disasters and war are brutal realities that many of us experience directly. In Global South countries, youth makes up the largest part of the population: the median age in Kenya is 20, in Nepal 25. Previously, the system claimed to offer material comfort or recognition in exchange for exploitation. Today, it no longer even bothers with appearances; it provides no answers or perspectives for youth. Especially in the South, the only contact with the state comes through its bureaucracy and militarized police. For those who insist on a dignified life, the corruption of state institutions and the violence of capitalism become unbearable.

Social medias amplify and accelerate the youth’s strong capacity for mobilization—a mobilization that turns individual anger into collective street action. Beyond these characteristics specific to this generation, the Gen Z revolt is the most recent expression of the continuous historical struggle of youth. Youth is the most dynamic part of society; it has always played a vanguard role in social change. Being young is a way of approaching life: questioning everything, seeking freedom, being ready to give everything for one’s ideas!

“Living without principles makes you age. Youth means necessarily being forced to live consistently. When I was a child I said, ‘If you live, then either free or not.’ I rejected a life without freedom.”¹

Abdullah Öcalan

SHORTCOMINGS TO OVERCOME

The absence of clear, collectively shared ideas weakens Gen Z. As a new generation in struggle, we must develop our own model of alternative life if we truly want to overcome capitalist modernity. Anarchism, feminism, national liberation movements, Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, and previous episodes of class struggle have created an extremely important history of resistance. However, as struggling youth, we need thinking adapted to the 21st century to make our gains permanent and sustainable.

A vision based on women’s liberation, grassroots democracy, ecology, and political consciousness is a necessity. Without resolving the patriarchal question, no radical solution is possible—the patriarchy being the foundation on which all power systems are built. Faced with the collapse of living systems, an ecological and communal paradigm has never been more necessary.



A COMMUNALIST STRATEGY TO ENSURE VICTORY

“In the past, resistance was offered in order to overthrow the opposing side and to establish one’s own rule in its place. Today, however, the build-up precedes the resistance. Wherever the possibility exists, building up takes place immediately. If there is an attack on it, one defends oneself, resists and fights when necessary.”

The Manifesto of the Youth – Revolutionary Youth Movement of Kurdistan

As in the time of the 2011 Arab Spring, Gen Z uprisings are spontaneous, and in the absence of an alternative similar regimes to those overthrown quickly return to power. Politics can’t accept a vacuum. Movements that base their hopes for change solely on the state are quickly co-opted: the capitalist system is organized enough to withstand government changes and reforms. The situations in Nepal and Bangladesh, among others, demonstrate this.

On the other hand, thinking it possible to free oneself from the state simply by rising up is a dangerous illusion. The communalist strategy opens a path between these two approaches. Neither total rejection of the

state nor illusory expectation: it is society and its democratic self-government that are placed at the center.

The process for peace and democratic society, initiated by Abdullah Öcalan from İmralı prison island on February 27, 2025, is a living embodiment of this new path toward emancipation, which can inspire peoples worldwide. Dialogue with the Turkish state has halted military attacks and opens new possibilities for struggle, where society becomes directly involved in building its own grassroots self-governance. The attacks on the Rojava revolution in January 2026 demonstrate the threat these ideas pose in practice to the hegemonic system.

In Serbia, the revival of Zborovi—democratic grassroots assemblies—alongside mass mobilizations is an important example.² A few days after the government’s overthrow, “Gen Z Madagascar” announced in their charter that “Institutional overhaul must emerge from a collegial reflection on a new system based on needs and aspirations collected from local communities (fo-kontany/commune),” and that a new social contract based on the principle of Fihavanana (Malagasy tradition of communal mutual aid) should be developed.³

At the end of February 2026, in continuity with the previous months’ uprisings, Indonesian youth organize the Saba Kampung Festival, with the slogan “Revitalizing the Commune Amidst Forced Modernity.” Their first objective: “Rehabilitate Living Spaces as Holistic Socio-Cultural Ecosystems. Restore the village’s function as a democratic living space—not just a geographical location—where social relations based on gotong royong (mutual aid), musyawarah mufakat (consensus decision-making), and respect for diversity (a democratic nationhood) are actively practiced.” The festival should also “Serve as a Laboratory for Alternative Living for Youth.”

Wherever possible, we can start building our new way of life from the grassroots today through a process of communalisation. Uprisings can accelerate history, but they cannot be victorious without



Youth uprising in Antananarivo, Madagascar, 11 October 2025

slow, continuous construction in parallel. We should stop addressing only the state with our demands and regain awareness of our own strength as an organized society.

PERSPECTIVE FOR A WORLDWIDE YOUTH REVOLUTION

In Greek philosophy, Kairos describes the “critical moment,” the instant one must recognize and seize when it arrives. It is also described as a small flying god: when it passes before us, we either fail to see it, see it and let it pass, or grab it and seize the opportunity.

The year 2026 began simultaneously with the abduction of Nicolás Maduro in Venezuela and the start of new attacks on the Rojava revolution. Trump has threatened to invade Greenland and Cuba, and Macron recently declared that the coming period would be “a half-century of nuclear weapons.” On February 28, a new US-Israel military operation began against the Iranian regime, which, as we write, is turning into a regional war affecting all the peoples of the Middle East. With the US in the lead, Western forces have clearly stated their intentions for the new year: to launch a major offensive against all forces—democratic or authoritarian—that refuse to submit to their imperialist plans.

This situation does not demonstrate their strength but reflects the existential crisis the capitalist system is going through. These attacks also show their fear in the face of peoples’ resistance. The international “Gen Z” uprising has created a new context: for the first time since 1968, struggling youth around the world are once again aware of belonging to the same dynamic of revolt; they openly claim this connection and turn it into a strength.

We must not let this opportunity pass. The idea of a worldwide democratic confederalism of youth can transform this collective youth consciousness into an organized force.

By combining grassroots communalist construction with the confederation of all existing initiatives into an alternative system, and with an internationalism among the youth of all continents, we can become a force capable of intervening and putting an end to the ongoing world war!



« Zborovi » assembly in Novi Sad, Serbia, march 2025

[1] <https://internationalistcommune.com/youth-means-understanding-text-by-abdullah-ocalan/>

[2] Zborovi, direct democracy council, Serbia: <https://berlinergazette.de/the-politics-of-zborovi-councils-direct-democracy-and-the-specters-of-revolution-in-the-balkans/>

[3] Gen Z Madagascar Charter: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1f700Tl3kP7SnlNvxEXQwkasmrSjdHP0o/view>

YOUTH PROTESTS AROUND THE WORLD

Hungary 2026

Following child-abuse and other scandals of president Victor Orban, the youth demanded his resignation through mass mobilizations.

Serbia 2024

After the collapse of a train station building, youth called for accountability and stop of governmental corruption with mass-protests and blockades.

Peru 2025

After there were already protests against the government in 2022 and 2023, the successive president the political crisis continued with corruption and unjust reforms. The youth rose up again, which was then answered with massive police violence against the young men and women.

Bulgaria 2025-2026

"Gen Z" in Bulgaria successfully demanded the resignation of the government and protested the corruption and 2026 tax increases.

Morocco 2025

Addressing the prioritization by the government to spend money on sport events instead of social, educational and healthcare structures, "Gen Z 212" organized large protests. After the death of eight women during childbirth in a hospital, the protests became massive.

Togo 2025

Young people voiced concerns about a new law allowing the president to stay in power indefinitely. Further the arrest of a rapper heated the anger, as well as the longlasting failure of the government to provide jobs and basic human conditions. The protests were countered with violence of the military and people as young as 13 and 15 years were shot.

These are just some of the youth movements that were started in the past four years.

In the past years there were also youth uprisings in Thailand, Nigera, Mozambique, Cameroon, Mongolia, Malaysia, France, Maldives, Paraguay, Mexico and many more...



Sri Lanka 2022

The youth of Sri Lanka overthrew the government and led protests against corruption, economic instability and nepotism.

Nepal 2025

The youth revolution burned down the parliament in September, inspiring many other waves of youth uprisings around the world. The reason for the uprising was corruption, nepotism and the ban of social media.

Philippines 2025-26

Against the corruption and mismanagement of flooding crisis by the government, the youth continues to organize mass marches.

Iran 2022

Following the cruel murder of Jina Amini by the police, young people and especially young women took to the streets and resisted the Islamist Iranian system.

Indonesia 2025

The widespread youth protests against the government, its economic system and police brutality led to revision of the unjust and capitalist policies and laws by president Prabowo Subianto.

Timor-Leste 2025

Shortly after the Nepal protests, the youth in Timor-Leste took their anger against the self-enrichment of the government to the streets.

Kenya 2024

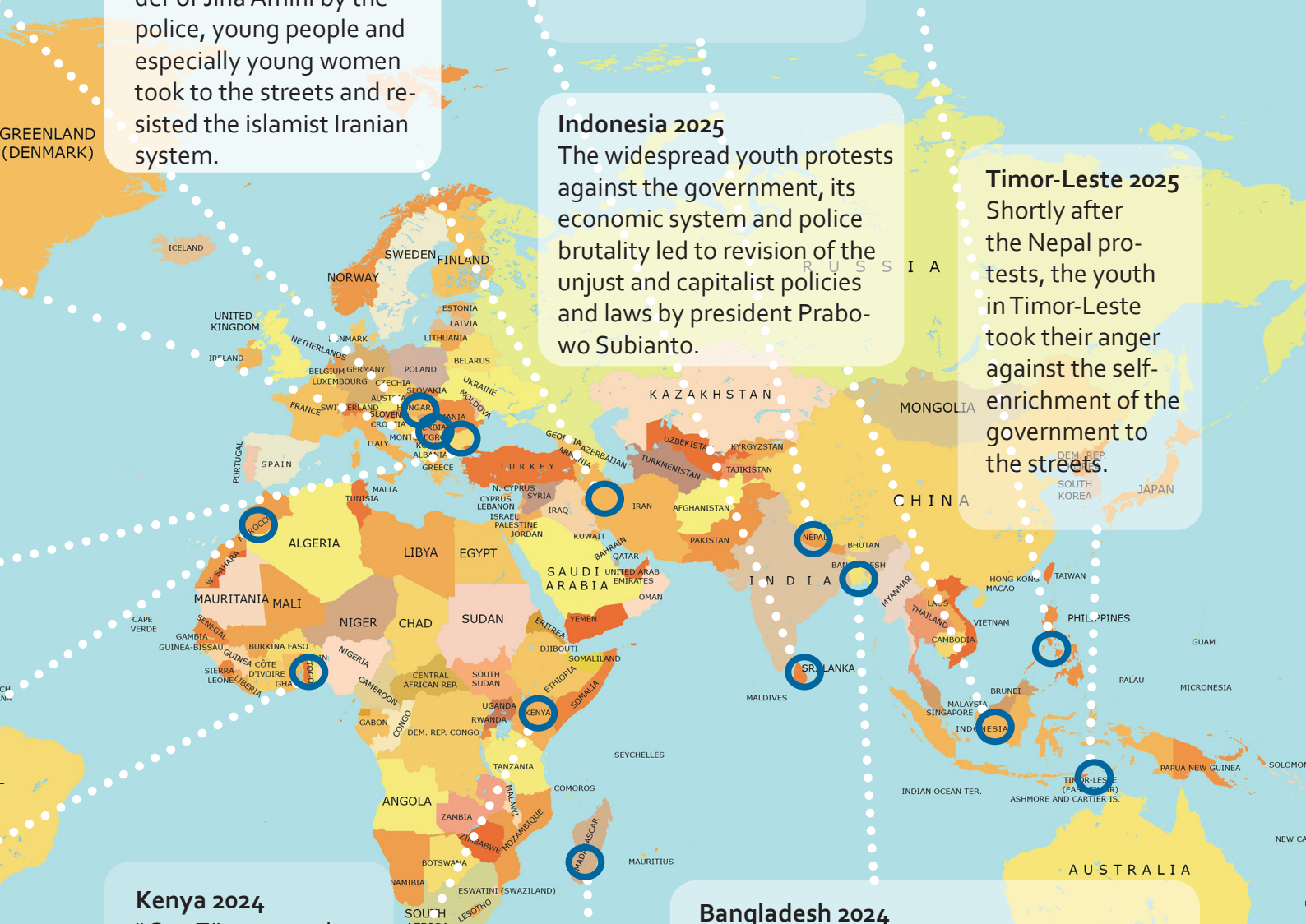
"Gen Z" protested a finance bill involving tax increases to pay off debt. As a result of the youth uprisings the bill was revoked. The protests were confronted with police shootings, leaving many injured and many martyrs.

Bangladesh 2024

Bangladesh youth rose up in July, overthrew the authoritarian regime and countered the job quota system. The regime answered with a mass killing of the young protesters.

Madagascar 2025

"Generation Z" overthrew of the Malagasy government because of dissatisfaction with the corruption and bad living conditions in the country. In response, many protesters have been killed.



ECHOES OF RESISTANCE

A TRIBUTE TO THE VICTIMS OF STATE VIOLENCE IN KENYA

BY GATHANGA NDUNGU

Written by Gathanga Ndung'u, a community organizer and activist with Mathare Social Justice Centre (MSJC) and a political organizer with Revolutionary Socialist League – Africa (RSL).

Kenya gained its flag independence in 1963. The much-awaited sovereignty never came, as the tools of economic emancipation, such as land and industries, remained in the hands of the colonial powers, together with their local proteges, the comprador class, led by the first president, Kamau Wa Ngegi (alias Jomo Kenyatta). This betrayal came after one of Africa's bloodiest liberation struggles waged by the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA), also known as Mau Mau, against the British government from 1952 to 1963. To date, land and other resources have been concentrated in the hands of a few political elites and their cronies, creating a highly unequal society.

The June 2024 protests did not erupt out of a vacuum. The 2024 Finance Bill was just a trigger of more than 120 years of systemic socio-economic and political repression in Kenya. June 25th, 2024, will forever remain etched in our hearts and minds as Kenyans. It is an indelible mark that will forever embody the courage of the Kenyan youths who took it upon themselves to change the course of our history as a country. Confronted with a dwindling job market, unfulfilled promises, enactment of anti-people neoliberal policies, misgovernance and corruption, open defiance of the constitution and laws, and unparalleled wanton wastage of national resources coupled with unbridled opulent showing off by public servants and the political class, the youths saw no hope in the “Hustler

Dream”¹.

In what started as disgruntlement and citizens' concerns about the annual budget which sought to raise an extra USD 2.7 billion from taxation, and opposition to draconian and oppressive bills such as the Seeds Bill 2024, which criminalized sharing of indigenous seeds, among others, disgruntlement grew into a popular resistance backed by Kenyans from different social classes, ethnicities, creeds, and generations.

The 6th June protests were started by members of the Social Justice Movement and other organizers and activists from different organizations who stormed the gates of the National Assembly – the legislative arm of the Kenyan Government- to demand the rejection of the Finance Bill 2024 in its entirety. The peaceful protesters, who were only ‘armed’ with water bottles, whistles, and placards, were met with a ruthless police force that arrested tens of them with trumped-up charges of disturbing public peace.

This set the stage for more weekly protests, with 18th June changing the course of the largely peaceful protests. On this day, the protests went past 6 pm, continuing into the night in the capital's Central Business District (CBD), something which was hitherto unheard of. It was during this protest that a police bullet felled the first political martyr of our time, despite being unarmed. The death of Rex Masai, a young man who had shown up to protest against what had become a tone-deaf government, was a tragedy. Masai lost his life to the same government that had promised to reform the police and put an end to these endless and senseless extra-judicial executions.

#Ruto
Must Go

*Young woman in the
Kenya protests 2024*

This action by the state, which was meant to instil fear and prevent more youths from joining what was becoming a popular struggle, boomeranged and instead led to the massive country-wide protests of June 25th, which would change the political history and trajectory of the country. His death brought to life the words inscribed on Pio Gama Pinto's grave – Kenyan socialist and first political martyr to be assassinated by the first independence government on 24th February 1965 – 'A light has been extinguished. Yet there arise a thousand beacons from the spark he bore.'

On June 25th, when the parliament was hurriedly passing the controversial Finance Bill 2024 under the influence of the executive, a popular movement was being birthed in the streets of every major town and cities in Kenya, including the president's home backyard in Eldoret, Uasin Gishu County, which he had considered his political vanguard.

Yet again, this courageous stand was met with even more brutal repression, leading to more than 62 deaths, with six deaths happening in front of the gates of the National Assembly through snipers and other state machinery. This was after the youths heroically breached the parliament's wall for the first time in history, valiantly marching to the chambers as members of parliament scampered for safety. During this occupation of parliament by the youths, the
m a c e ,

which symbolizes the assembly's power to legislate, was taken, which symbolically meant the people took back their donated powers through which the parliament uses to represent them.

After the 25th of June, the abductions, disappearances, and torture of many young activists became more common, with the weakened state becoming more vicious in attempts to clamp down on those purported to be the 'leaders,' 'organizers,' and 'financiers' of the uprisings.

A DIGITALLY POWERED PROTEST

The 2024 uprising had many firsts and several achievements in its organizing. This was the first country-wide protest ever seen with a reach in nearly all parts of the country. It also managed to breach the socio-economic, political, religious, and ethnic barriers that have long created divides during organizing. By harnessing the power of digital platforms, the state was confronted by an amorphous movement that it could not handle. It was christened 'leaderless and party-less,' beating the traditional forms of organizing that revolve around tribal kingpins and political parties, which are easily compromised. Their attempts to counter the growing digital activism wave on social media platforms failed terribly as the political and civic education by activists and ordinary youths seemed to resonate with the masses. As a result, the government failed in the propaganda war against its people.

In 2024, memes were used as political tools of activism, helping to build the critical mass for a 'national anger' that was missing from previous years. Through these memes that were critical of the government, thousands of youths were mobilized across the nation through digital platforms.

From the use of memes, cartoons, and caricatures to critique the government and the president in particular, to the use of educational videos on various platforms and their translation to different ethnic languages to pass information on various controversial sections of the bill, and the stipulation of the constitution, the youths managed to reach even the hitherto unreached populations. Breaking down the constitu-



Amos Onyango
#Rejectfinancebill2024

#Reject
Finance Bill

tion in a simple and understandable format for the majority of Kenyans ensured that the people, even those in the villages, understood how the bill would affect their day-to-day lives.

Through murals, graffiti, spoken word, music, poetry, dance, and comical skits, popular education spread like wildfire on the internet. On the ground, community assemblies, local protests, and civic and political education efforts intensified in spaces such as matatus², markets, homes, and other public spaces as the government's propaganda efforts failed.

Women played a critical role in organizing anti-femicide marches, which were the first large-scale protests in 2024. They were organized by young women and girls across several cities and towns in Kenya. These protests helped to build the momentum that was needed for the June-August 2024 anti-Finance Bill protests. They were then followed by Mau Mau³ Women protests in April against illegal evictions in Mathare after the devastating floods of 2024, which were led by octogenarian women who had fought in the liberation struggle against the British Empire in Kenya. These protests highlighted the critical role played by women in the 2024 organizing and the build-up activities. During the major protests, women also came in numbers to the frontline confronting the ruthless state police forces.

With these unfoldings, the youth changed Kenya, and as one protester said, "things will never be the same again." A new dispensation has come: that of young people who have realized their agency and are ready to shape their future and their country's politics.

In 2026, the youths are continuing to organize and agitate. Most of the efforts are being channeled to broaden political and civic education to the general populace through all media. Even though democratic processes such as elections and public participations have limits, especially in neoliberal states such as Kenya, there has been a huge mobilization to effect incremental changes to leadership at the grassroots level. This has emerged as a short-term tactical political maneuver, as we strategically plan for long-term cultivation of a critical, conscious mass.

IN MEMORY OF THE 2024 ANTI-FINANCE BILL AND 2025 COMMEMORATIVE PROTEST HEROES

These achievements were not without their fair share of setbacks at a great human cost. From the outset of the protests, more than 61 people were killed, more than 72 were abducted, with 29 still missing to date, 601 sustained injuries, and more than 1376 arbitrary

arrests were made. During the following year, 2025, when we held commemorations for the 2024 protests, 65 people were killed, more than 400 were injured, and more than 26 people were forcibly disappeared.

These scars will continue to be a reminder of the dark past and the human sacrifice that it took to liberate our country from the clutches of imperialist forces with their out-of-touch bourgeois class, which has ruled since the country's independence. As we celebrate these brave heroes of our time through murals, graffiti, songs, poems, and other forms of memorialization, the people of Kenya continue to organize in their faces to keep the sparks of revolution burning. As Milan Kundera asserts, the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.

The onus of immortalizing our martyrs is thus left to our generation to make sure there is collective memorializing of the fallen Gen Zs while we keep their aspirations of a better country alive. As Frantz Fanon wrote: "each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it". Liberating the country was and continues to be the mission of our time as the young people of Kenya, as we fight to restore social justice, democracy, and humanize our living.

In Memory of Rex Masai Kanyike, Eric Shieni, David Chege, Denzel Omondi, Wanjiku, and many other Kenyans who lost their lives or who were completely disappeared by the state.



[1] *Hustler Dream*: President William Ruto packaged himself as the chief hustler during the 2022 presidential campaign, owing to his rise from a poor background to the highest ranks in government. The hustler dream was his populist bait for the poor masses, promising to transform their lives through bottom-up economics.

[2] *Matatus*: Shared public transport vehicles in Kenya.

[3] *Mau Mau*: Colloquial name for the Kenya Land & Freedom Army which was the independence anti-colonial insurgent movement in Kenya from 1952 to 1963.

THE MODERN PARIS COMMUNE

HOW THE YOUTH OF BAKUR ROSE UP IN DEFENSE OF COMMUNAL LIFE

BY MARCOS PACHECO

The fireworks illuminate the sky with red, green and yellow colors throughout the night. In the streets, bonfires have been lit everywhere and people of every age have congregated around them. Many of them are dancing in circles around the fires to the rhythm of the deafening music that plays through speakers. Whenever there is a pause in the music, the young people use their powerful voices to chant the songs themselves, which are in turn repeated back by everyone else.

The biggest crowd is gathered at the “Mala Gel”, the House of the People that has been recently opened. But the people of the neighborhood jokingly call it the “House of God” since, like in a mosque, it’s always full and everyone comes and goes as they want. While all the institutions of the state and of the political parties remain almost empty. Instead, people come here to solve their problems, get organized and help out. It has become the new heart of the city, where the meaning of words like politics, democracy and community is being redefined.

Even with all the noise and activity, there is not single policeman in sight. None of them would dare to come without the support of a huge military operation. Instead, groups



of young people from the neighborhood, both male and female, take turns to stand guard behind the barricades they've been building at the main roads. Their face is hidden by patterned scarves to protect their identity, but their excitement and determination is palpable even through them. The old mothers of the neighborhood bring them food regularly and everyone else opens their house so they can sleep and rest whenever they need.

Later that same night the young people gather all together, forming a single massive column as they march through the city. As they advance, several of the main roads are completely taken over and cut out to the traffic. They carry stones and Molotov cocktails, which they throw to any police car that dares to get close to them. More fireworks explode above their heads as an electric energy passes from body to body. In the months to come many of them will fall in battle or be taken prisoners to the inhuman prisons of the Turkish state. But tonight the streets belong to them. To the young and bold, who carry the dream of all previous generations. Tonight this is their neighborhood. Their city. Their land.

A DECADE ON, WE STILL HEAR THE ECHOES OF THE STRUGGLE IN BAKUR

It is 15th of August, 2015 in the city of Cizre, situated at the heart of Botan, one of the Kurdish-majority regions that today is considered part of the Turkish state. Only a few days before, the people of the city, along with those of cities like Şirnexê, Amed and Nisêbîn, have announced their autonomous self-administration. This came about after years of negotiations with the Turkish state failed to reach a peaceful solution. It came to halt when the government abandoned the negotiations table and resumed its physical attacks. Although the Kurdish cities have no intention of splitting from Turkey, with this move they are declaring that they no longer recognize the authority of the state to decide their destiny for them and that they are taking control of their lives back into their own hands. This move for autonomy didn't come from nowhere. It was the result of years of preparation and organization following a deep ideological transformation in the Kurdistan Freedom Movement.

Since the end of the 20th century, the movement has moved away from its Marxist-Leninist origins and the strategy of national liberation to adopt the strategy of Democratic Society Socialism. Inspired by the writings of Kurdish leader and political prisoner Abdullah Ocalan, it no longer seeks to "conquer the state" nor does it wait for it to grant its demands. But it's also not

trying to immediately destroy it. Instead it is focused on organizing society outside of the state, building the capacity of society to provide for itself and allowing people to make decisions about their own lives and solve problems together. They still interact with the institutions of the state, but only when doing so can widen the space for society to organize itself.

BUILDING THE COMMUNAL SYSTEM

In Bakur (the north part of Kurdistan that is within the Turkish border) this process started in 2009 through the establishment of councils at the neighborhood, district and city levels and with communes founded in the villages. In them, people took decisions on how life should be organised and worked together with representatives of political and civil society organizations to



make these decisions. They divided their work in different committees, which took care of social, political and ideological issues, as well as others dealing with justice and diplomacy. In addition to it, many projects and organizations were created to satisfy the needs of society: workers cooperatives, artistic and educational initiatives and independent women and youth organizations among many others.

Since the liberation of women is a fundamental principle of the movement, the movement pushed and organised for women to have equal participation and decision-making power and as men, and this effort was one of the greatest successes. As part of this the system

of co-presidency was implemented across every institution; this meant that every leadership position was held by a man and a woman together. Alongside this, the women's autonomous structures gave women the space to find their own perspectives and build their own power, outside of the influence of men. This gave women great strength when participating in the mixed structures to articulate themselves and their positions collectively.

Although the heavy repression by the state made this process difficult, the results can clearly be felt as a big part of the population became politically and socially active in each other's lives and in their communities. Whenever the police came into the neighborhood, the message spread quickly and the people mobilized to deal with them. Every time an institution is raided by the police and those responsible were arrested, the

next day more people will go to re-open the institution and carry on their work. The people expected that sooner or later they would end up in prison so they organized inside to turn the prisons into into political education academies.

One of the main sources of the dynamism and energy of this process was the youth movement. They are mostly known for their role in protests and actions, but they also took the lead in the organization of activities to revive the repressed Kurdish culture, to organize themselves against the activities of drug dealers and criminal gangs in their neighborhoods and to educate themselves politically. The youth had their own autonomous councils but also partici-

pated in the general ones to push for radical change and the expansion of the revolution.

THE MODERN PARIS COMMUNE

In order to stifle the fierce resistance of the Kurdish youth the state sent the army to the cities, practically demolishing some neighborhoods with their bombs and tanks. In spite of this some of these youth continued to resist and were able to keep fighting for months under the incessant attacks of the state. So even though this was a setback for the self-organization of society, the examples of those like Şehîd Çiyager Hêvî, Şehîd Faraşîn Sidar and many more who fell martyr

in this fight are today inspiring a new generation of young people to take up the mantle and continue their struggle.

And even though this particular phase of the struggle may have ended, what took place in North Kurdistan was an experience of people's self-governance on a scale never seen before in the 21st century. Because although the Rojava Revolution had taken place 3 years prior, the situation in Bakur was very different. The Turkish state had not collapsed like in Syria, but still the movement was able to slowly erode its legitimacy through more than 40 years of organising and, more importantly, to was able to build a real alternative to it. It proved that this model and ideology could work in a modern context.

Just like the Kurdish movement started as a small group of young people from universities, combining their ideological deepness with the militancy of the youth, so the social struggles of the 21st century have been defined by large popular mobilizations of young people during times of social unrest. They are no longer confined to the factories, instead their main space of struggle is the public arena, the squares and the cities. But there is still the question: what next? How can we turn this temporary outbursts into long-term change?

This is where the experience in Bakur can show us a way forward. While many social movements are stuck between the need to achieve concrete gains and the difficulty of dealing with the violence of the state without compromising one's socialist ideals and goals, the youth in Bakur were able to break this deadlock. So although they could not completely overcome every challenge they faced, their achievements demonstrate that this path can offer hope to the current generation of young people searching for a light to guide them amidst the dark in which the world has fallen. Today the struggle continues in Bakur and in every part of Kurdistan. Every sacrifice that was made forms the basis of new ideological and practical developments that spread everywhere. Just like the events of the Paris Commune opened the period of "classical" socialism that lasted until the fall of the Soviet Union, so too the "Bakur Commune" and the Rojava Revolution have inaugurated the struggle for a new socialism in the 21st century. **One that is being led by the militant women and youth from all over the world and is spreading everywhere they go.**



IMAGINE THE IM

A HISTORY OF THE 1968 REVOLUTION

BY TERESA COPPOLA

Who are the youth of 1968? What similarities exist between that moment and the times we are living in today? How can we re-imagine a different world, even when it seems impossible? If we look at youth throughout history, this is certainly a part of society that drives action across the long term¹. Within this current which still flows today we want to uncover the mechanisms of history that were crucial and that traced a different direction. In order to find a way out of the chaos, our goal is to find and shape the keys capable of unlocking the gears of our own time.

The year 1968 takes place at a conjuncture in world history. After emerging devastated from two world wars and unrestrained colonialism, the nation states of the world decide to open a period of peace. Yet this peace did not extend to the global south. The freedom promised by neoliberalism clouded one side of the world like opium and transformed the other side into a living hell. The Congo, Vietnam, and South Africa became the ghettos of an affluent imperialist society.

THE REBELLION OF THE PERIPHERY

With the connection between the «First» and the «Third» world, a new model of internationalist solidarity develops along two different strategic fronts. On one side there is the development of anti-colonial guerrilla warfare in an era in which the technology of war is rapidly accelerating. On the other side there is the internal weakening of capitalism at its very core through the development of consciousness and the construction of a different way of living.

In this context it becomes necessary for revolutionary vanguards to push society as a whole to imagine a world different from the one offered by capitalist modernity. The priority is seen in building the will to free oneself from self-imposed servitude and in becoming aware of living under the effect of liberalism's elixir of false freedom.

Vietnam is certainly the most important example of this double front. On one side there is the resistance of young Americans facing mass conscription. On the other side there is a popular guerrilla movement defending itself against the greatest military power in the world. The Palestinian struggle for national liberation becomes a beacon of hope and reaches a turning point in 1967 with the creation of the PFLP and the beginning of armed operations.

The vocabulary of decolonization is also transferred within Western states themselves. Michel Rocard, leader of the Parti Socialiste Unifié in France, speaks in 1966 about the decolonization of the provinces, denouncing the imbalance between Paris and the rest of the country².

In the United States the struggle of the African American movement becomes crucial, particularly that of the Black Panther Party, which from its foundation in 1966 quickly assumes a transnational character. Oppressed Dalits in India emulate the rhetoric of the Black Panthers. Representatives of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front also use the organization as a model, calling themselves the Yellow Panthers.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The activism that existed in Palestine, Algeria, Vietnam and Latin America suddenly spreads throughout the world. Young people, necessary to the system for their physical strength in the military field and for their intellectual contribution in the field of knowledge, rebel and become the revolutionary subject of the era. The year 1968 represents the culmination of a period of protests without precedent that begins ideologically on Californian campuses. It then spreads to Italy, Germany and Mexico before finding its strongest and most symbolic expression in France during the months of May and June 1968.

Che Guevara's warning «Be realistic, demand the impossible» echoes everywhere. It is as if thousands of bridges were being built across the world. The brotherhood of a society resisting modernity links all these struggles in a visceral way.

POSSIBLE ■ ■ ■ →

1968 becomes possible thanks to the struggles of decolonization, thanks to young people from working class families entering universities, and thanks to the alliances between students and workers. For the first time in history youth openly affirm their own identity within a revolution, with the collective consciousness of being its vanguard.

A CHANGE OF PARADIGM

A transition takes place from an approach centered on class to one centered on political autonomy and on the moral characteristics of society. The new sensibility of 1968 is linked to a more utopian vision of socialism in all aspects of life. It means taking a stand against power and against authorities that repress imagination and freedom.

From the Chinese revolution emerges the concept of cultural revolution. In this sense 1968 represents a cognitive turning point, a change of paradigm for an entire generation.

For these reasons the wave of change begins in universities, which had opened their doors to young people from less privileged social classes. Throughout 1968 we see the birth of committees and general assemblies within faculties that are open to anyone willing to participate.

The following year in 1969 students across Europe leave the universities in order to encounter the workers movement, opening the path for the development of the political parties and organizations of the 1970s.

During occupations and mobilizations students experience forms of communal life among equals. Here the seed of the idea that the personal is political³ begins to emerge. This happens through the attempt to politicize new areas of life and new contradictions that arise from the deep bonds created during occupations, strikes and demonstrations.

Against the moral corruption of capitalism, the goal becomes the development of a new way of living that is coherent with one's ideals and that can already be practiced along the path itself.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

When society is in motion the elements that jam the gears become easier to see. Women who participate in the social movement of 1968 realize that the greatest obstacle to liberation is the gender oppression they themselves experience. It is the patriarchal mentality that exists at every level of society. They understand that the contradiction between men and women is a fracture that crosses all other social divisions. The renewed awareness of being subjects capable of shaping history connects personal liberation with collective liberation. The personal experiences of women become political.

The participation of women in social movements becomes a disruptive phenomenon. It represents both rupture and reconciliation. It is capable of interpreting historical necessity and leaving a lasting mark, offering important contributions in terms of political tools and practices that help overcome the impasse of left-wing militancy after the decline of the protest waves of that year.

Black feminisms also contribute to the evolution of feminist theory because they arise from the awareness of Black women that racism, sexism and class oppression are inseparable.



Women's Liberation group marches in support of Black Panther Party, New Haven, November, 1969

In this sense women's movements emerge victorious from the legacy of 1968, unlike most of the extra-parliamentary left. They promote a political culture of unity in diversity and develop the capacity to unite different struggles and identities without simplifying reality. In doing so they succeed in influencing global society and provoking a deep awakening of consciousness.

DESTRUCTIVE TURNS

The feeling of despair and impotence created by a world divided into two blocs, together with the risk of becoming only a cog in the capitalist machine, pushes many people toward new searches.

The creation of subcultures and artificial paradises separated from the rest of society becomes one of the more liberal turns of the youth movement. Remaining at the margins of the system and its lifestyle is often perceived as something radical, but the consequence is frequently isolation from society.

Partly because of the distance from the political traditions of the nineteenth century and the openness to

ideological experimentation, the youth movement of 1968 does not always succeed in recognizing what is a product of capitalism and what is not. In organizational structures that are often fluid and without strate-

«All revolutionary Youth resistances that have occurred throughout history are treated as a legacy. In particular, the Youth movement of 1968 is defined as a fundamental legacy for one's own existence, as the most up-to-date central pillar, and as a Youth revolution in whose tradition the Youth movement of today stands. The intention is to develop the spirit, the resistance, and the rebellion of the Youth revolution of 1968 in one's own struggle. The strategic goal is to push forward a second wave of the Youth movement of 1968»

The Principles of Democratic Youth Confederatism - Manifesto of the Youth



gic objectives, the possibility remains open for attacks and marginalization carried out by the system itself.

It is not by chance that large quantities of drugs arrive in Western metropolises following the waves of protest. Heroin spreads like an epidemic and kills thousands of young people who might otherwise have had the potential to overthrow that system.

OUR INHERITANCE

Though we have grown up experiencing systemic violence we are still able to imagine the impossible, to unite, to uncover contradictions, and to expose the hidden connections and the false myths of capitalist system that presents itself as invincible but has always been fragile. This is what 1968 teaches us. If we do not become aware of our past, of young people who like us broke their heads against the walls of the world, wore out their voices shouting and threw themselves into a society that wanted them silent and obedient, how can we overcome the attacks against our hearts and our minds today?

We are not alone, neither today nor in history. There are thousands of young people who sacrificed themselves so that we could be one step closer to understanding and realizing our objectives.

1. The historian Fernand Braudel views history through three dimensions: a "micro history", the surface level of the here and now; a conjunctural history, composed of intermediate material cycles; and a structural history, or *longue durée*, which is the continuous flow that moves and shapes what exists.

2. For further discussion of the regionalist demands of 1968, we recommend the article "Le réveil des revendications régionalistes et nationalitaires au tournant des années 1968 : analyse d'une « vague » nationale" by Tudi Kernalegenn (2013)

3. The expression spread thanks to the essay "The Personal Is Political" by Carol Hanisch (1970)

Peace demonstration in Paris for Vietnam, Bruno Barbey, May 1968

IN MEMORY OF

TRVKO

AN ARTIST AND ACTIVIST
FOR DEMOCRACY



In the night of the 15th of October 2025, an infiltrated police man shot Eduardo Mauricio Ruiz Saenz, also known as Trvko. In the hours before his death Trvko marched with thousands of his people on the streets of Lima to demand an end of the yearlong corruption and injustice. He was an artist, father, brother, son, killed at the age of 32. And with his assassination he's one of more than 50 martyrs of democracy in Peru.

WHAT CAME BEFORE: THE UPRISINGS OF 2022/23

When in 2022 the elected president Pedro Castillo, the first Peruvian president of peasant upbringing, was overthrown, the people especially in the South-Andean region revolted. Roadblocks, strikes and protests all over the country lasted for months, followed by the heaviest and deadliest repression wave the country has seen in the 21st century. When Pedro Castillo ran for the presidency in 2021, much of the Peruvian population with peasant backgrounds—long invisible throughout 200 years of republican public politics—saw themselves represented in a candidate for the first time. People from remote communities traveled for hours to reach the nearest polling place, hoping that this time their vote would matter and that it would bring real change for the better. So, when not even a year later the congress decided to dismiss the popular vote for their own agenda, the outrage of the people, especially in said communities, was big and manifested itself in months of spontaneous and well-organized protest. The police and military forces killed almost 50 people only in December of 2022 and January of 2023. Since then, the fall of democracy and the rise of authoritarianism in Peru is escalating: three different presidents in one year, increasing street-violence and extortion-gangs terrorizing the workers of Lima and the Northern parts of the country, drug-trafficking networks in the South, corruption scandals left and right, and congress politicians being increasingly disconnected from the people. Mauricio, like many people, took his anger on the streets this 15th of October, when the student federations, the unions of bus drivers and different social organizations called for a national strike. Like many others, he was killed by a neoliberal regime of death that will annihilate anyone to preserve itself.

WHEN STATE REPRESSION ESCALATES, THE PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS ORGANIZE

This system has its roots in the history of Peru. In the 80s and 90s the country lived through an era of terror, violence and repression that marked its people to this day. The people, especially in the rural areas found themselves amidst the violence of subversive com-

munist groups that turned against its own population and brutal state repression against the population and any form of political or social organizing. The military and police forces committed massacres and oppressive persecution in universities, peasant villages, especially in the South of Peru, where also in 2022/23 most of the massacres happened. The consequence was a widespread fear of politics in any form. Especially with the presidency of Alberto Fujimori in 1990 and the implementation of neoliberalism the fear of political movements and organizations grew. But, as history teaches us, democratic forces will always find a way to organize. Trvko was part of the Hip Hop Movement that formed in the beginnings of the 2000s in the neighbourhoods of Lima. After the experience of the 80s and 90s a lot of people lost its faith in the traditional leftist movement lead by parties and communist groups. But the spread of neoliberalism and US-imperialism caused, like everywhere in America from Mexico going south, a new wave of social organization, rooted in creating community. In Peru, especially in Lima, it followed also the memory of what happened under the Fujimori-Regime. Young people in the lower-class neighbourhoods of Lima, such as Comas, San Juan de Lurigancho, San Martin de Porres, formed collectives and social centres centred on making hip-hop music and offering young people an alternative, to becoming police officers or turning to drugs and organized crime. They also trained themselves for the protests, learning how to self-defend against the police and how to deactivate tear-gas bombs. After his death, the media and police tried to paint the picture of a violent, drug-addicted criminal to distract the public from demanding justice and holding this state responsible for the killing of Mauricio. But we see through this kind of manipulation, and we will hold his memory just like of all the martyrs of democracy in Peru, we know they are the children of this land, of its people.

THE PEOPLE WILL STRUGGLE, AND THE PEOPLE WILL WIN.





A story from Rojava

by Klara

These brieflines, taken from the diary of a young internationalist in Rojava, tell us about the early moments of the advance of HTS and the Islamic State towards the DAANES (Democratic Autonomous Administration of Northeast Syria).

In January 2026, after heavy attacks against the population of the Sheikh Masqsoud and Asrafiye neighborhoods in Aleppo, the jihadist militias of the government targeted the whole of Rojava. Despite an agreement between the forces of the Syrian transitional government and the SDF that the DAANES military structures would relocate to outside of the Arab-majority areas of Deir Ez Zor, Tabqa and Raqqa, on January 18, 2026, jihadist militias attacked the entire civilian population and the military structures as they were evacuating the area.

Thousands of civilians were massacred, thousands kidnapped, and thousands are still missing.

That same night, January 18, hundreds of young people joined convoys heading to the Hesekeh area to stop the jihadist advance and defend their land and their people.

18 January 2026

Me and another german comrade are driving to Heseke. It is evening and tension is in the air. The enemy has advanced to the city limits and we have set off to join the medical structures. Only a few cars are driving in the same direction as us. We encounter refugees from Tabka, Raqqa, and families from Afrin who are fleeing the approaching gangs. We analyse the situation, exchange medical knowledge, and try to ease the tension a little. It feels like driving into a gathering storm, but excitement and tension alternate. The attacks, the massacres, the question of how our friends in the attacked areas are doing – all this alternates with a deep-seated defiance, a refusal to give up another metre of this revolution to these gangs. In my head there is a voice that keeps saying **“Enough. Whatever it takes, we must do everything we can to stop them.”**

Our conversations revolve around medical matters and our defence: what can we expect, what should we pay particular attention to? When we reach the clinic, there is a flurry of activity. Wounded people who have undergone surgery and are in a stable condition are being distribut-

ed to other cities, and ambulances are constantly rushing by. We are warmly welcomed by our friends and after a short time we also help to load wounded friends into ambulances. The place where we are is close to the front line, so we try to keep as few friends here as possible. Many friends have been ambushed during the retreat from Şedadê and Deir ez Zor. Cars keep arriving and we help where we can.

After a few hours, things calm down and we can visit friends from the military units. We know some of them, others we are meeting for the first time. We sit together with friends of the YPJ, drink tea and marvel at the encounters this revolution makes possible. We, two internationalists coming from Germany, sit together around a heater with Arab, Assyrian, Armenian and Kurdish friends from all regions of Rojava. It is getting later and later, minutes of conversation, glances at the news and guard duty on the roof alternate. We are all eagerly awaiting what the next few hours will bring. After a few hours, the need to sleep takes over. I close my eyes for a couple of hours.



As I stand on the roof of the clinic, I look at the sunrise. I let my gaze wander, watching for suspicious movements and brooding to myself. I came to Rojava because I see its self-government, its ideology of women's liberation and the coexistence of so many peoples as an example for the whole world. For me, Rojava is a place where hope shines through, like the first rays of sunshine after a rain shower through the clouds. The current attacks are an attack on this hope.

From afar, I hear the rumbling of fighter jets circling above us. Coalition aircraft monitoring the transfer of IS fighters¹. Perhaps so that they can be imprisoned elsewhere, perhaps so that the US can once again assemble a mercenary army of Islamists – who knows for sure? I clench my fists and stare angrily at the circling jets. My friend next to me laughs and pats me on the shoulder. “Dev ji wan berde,” which means something like, “Don't worry about them!” I nod and he continues, “**No one will give us our freedom, we can only rely on ourselves. On our strength, that of society and our convictions.**” Smiling, we look around. Armoured vehicles from the YPG and

YPJ drive past, revolutionary songs blaring from loudspeakers, the wind carrying the sounds up to us. On the surrounding rooftops, many other friends are keeping watch, just like us. Alert, determined, ready.



Several weeks have now passed, and life in the city is slowly returning to normal. Now that the integration agreement² has been concluded, everyone is trying to understand what this will mean in practice, how we can defend the achievements of the revolution, and ensure that the transformation of society continues. The attacks were aimed at pitting the peoples of Rojava and Syria against one another; the resistance here, in all parts of Kurdistan and across the world, has given us the opportunity to stop the bloodshed for the time being.

In the last few weeks I have had the chance to meet many different people; together we have fought, mourned, laughed and dreamed. Friendships forged in such times and circumstances will always hold a special significance. During these weeks, in which we shared both difficult and light-hearted experiences, one thing has also become clear to me. No matter what attacks and obstacles may still lie ahead of us, if we live and strive with hope and determination, then we can create something wonderful in any circumstances.



[1] In the end of January 2016 an agreement was reached between US and the Syrian interim government to transfer thousands of IS fighters from Syrian to Iraqi prisons, through the so-called “Global Coalition To Defeat ISIS” [editor's note].

[2] An agreement was reached in the end of January, between the Syrian Democratic forces and the Syrian Transitional Government. The agreement provides for an immediate cease-fire and the gradual integration of the autonomous administration's military, administrative, and civilian structures into the state [editor's note].



CALL FOR LETTERS

Dear readers,
We invite you to share your thoughts with us!

Our magazine's approach is grassroots journalism, while always offering a strong ideological perspective. That's why, starting with the next issue, we'll begin publishing letters that you send us.

Which issues, articles, images, or stories in *Lêgerîn* have inspired you? Which topics have you discussed at length? What was missing? Do you have ideas for content, formats, or categories? Tell us also about your actions, recent experiences in your political work, or ideas that you want to share.

If you want to write a letter to the editor for publication in the magazine, please send it to this email address: legerinkovar@protonmail.com.

**READ YOU
SOON!**



What happened in history?



4 APRIL 2013 - ROJAVA

On the 4th of April 2013, the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) were officially founded in Rojava, northern Syria, during the early phase of the popular revolution. The 4th April was chosen because it marks the birthday of the leader Abdullah Öcalan, who was born on April 4th 1949. Emerging as an outcome of years of political organisation within the Kurdish women's movement, the YPJ formalized autonomous women's self-defense. It came at a moment when armed conflict, regional destabilization, and profound social transformation were unfolding simultaneously. Young women joined in large numbers, challenging both external aggression and deeply rooted patriarchal norms within their own society that excluded them from political and defensive structures. By organizing independently from male-dominated formations, they affirmed that women's liberation could not be postponed until after war or after the revolution itself. Women's autonomy was defined as a foundational condition of social transformation, not a consequence of it.

30 APRIL 1975 - VIETNAM



On the 30th of April 1975, revolutionary forces entered Saigon, capital of US-backed South Vietnam, marking the collapse of the U.S.-backed regime and the end of decades of war. The victory concluded a prolonged anti-colonial struggle that had begun against French domination and continued through large-scale U.S. military intervention. The outcome was not merely military. Millions of people mobilized among peasants, workers, youth, and women, and had worked to reorganise villages and cities into sustained networks of resistance. The fall of the former southern capital became a global reference point for anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements, demonstrating that even heavily militarised intervention could be overturned through organized popular struggle.

4 MAY 1919 - CHINA



On the 4th of May 1919, more than three thousand students gathered in China to protest the Treaty of Versailles, which transferred former German concessions in the country to Japan rather than restoring them to Chinese sovereignty. The decision revealed the continuing subordination of China to imperialist powers despite the formal end of the First World War. What began as a student demonstration expanded into worker strikes and merchant boycotts of Japanese goods, confronting both foreign intervention and the internal political fragmentation that had left the country vulnerable to domination. Youth emerged as a decisive political force. The May Fourth Movement marked a profound turning point in the development of revolutionary politics in China. It accelerated the growth of the revolutionary communist movement while also drawing in a broad constellation of radical forces, including anarchists, intellectuals, workers, and women who challenged both imperial domination and entrenched social hierarchies. Women participated actively in demonstrations, political organizations, and debates on social emancipation, linking national liberation with the struggle against patriarchy and feudal traditions.

16 JUNE 1976 - SOUTH AFRICA



On 16 June 1976 — known as the 'Soweto Uprising' — thousands of black South African students rose up against the apartheid regime's decision to make Afrikaans a compulsory language in schools. The policy symbolized a broader system of racial domination designed to regulate education, labor, and political life. When police opened fire on unarmed youth, 176 became martyrs on that day alone. The uprising spread across townships, as students, workers, and communities organized resistance in the face of mass arrests and state violence. The Soweto Uprising marked a decisive turning point in the struggle against apartheid, exposing the instability of a regime sustained by racial segregation, economic exploitation, and coercive force.

WHO ARE WE?

Lêgerîn is a global media platform created by and for internationalist revolutionary youth - united in differences that bring us together. Its ideological stance aligns with the paradigm of Democratic Modernity, developed by Abdullah Öcalan, originating from the ongoing revolution in Kurdistan. Since sexism and the devaluation of women are the bases of all systems of domination, the ideology of Women's Liberation is the foundation of all our work.

Our name "Lêgerîn" is a Kurdish word that means "to search," reflecting the journey of revolutionaries seeking a path toward collective freedom. We also chose this name to honour Lêgerîn Ciya (Alina Sanchez) from Argentina, an inspiring internationalist doctor and fighter with the YPJ (Women's Protection Units), who bravely sacrificed her life in Hassake (Rojava) in March 2018.



Currently, friends from Indonesia, Papua, Kenya, Uganda, Rojava, Europe, and Abya Yala are participating in our work.

WHAT IS OUR GOAL?

As Lêgerîn, we aim to provide tools, both ideological and practical, for young people around the world to organize, develop their own perspectives, autonomy, and a free life. While young people are more than ever playing a vanguard role in all the uprisings and resistance movements around the world we believe that a lack of clear and globally reflecting perspectives and a missing common identity is preventing these movements from achieving bigger victories.

We therefore have 3 main goals

- To promote the paradigm of Democratic Modernity
- To foster an intellectual and cultural revolution among young people globally
- To participate in shaping a new Internationalism rooted in Communalism

WHAT ARE OUR PROJECTS?

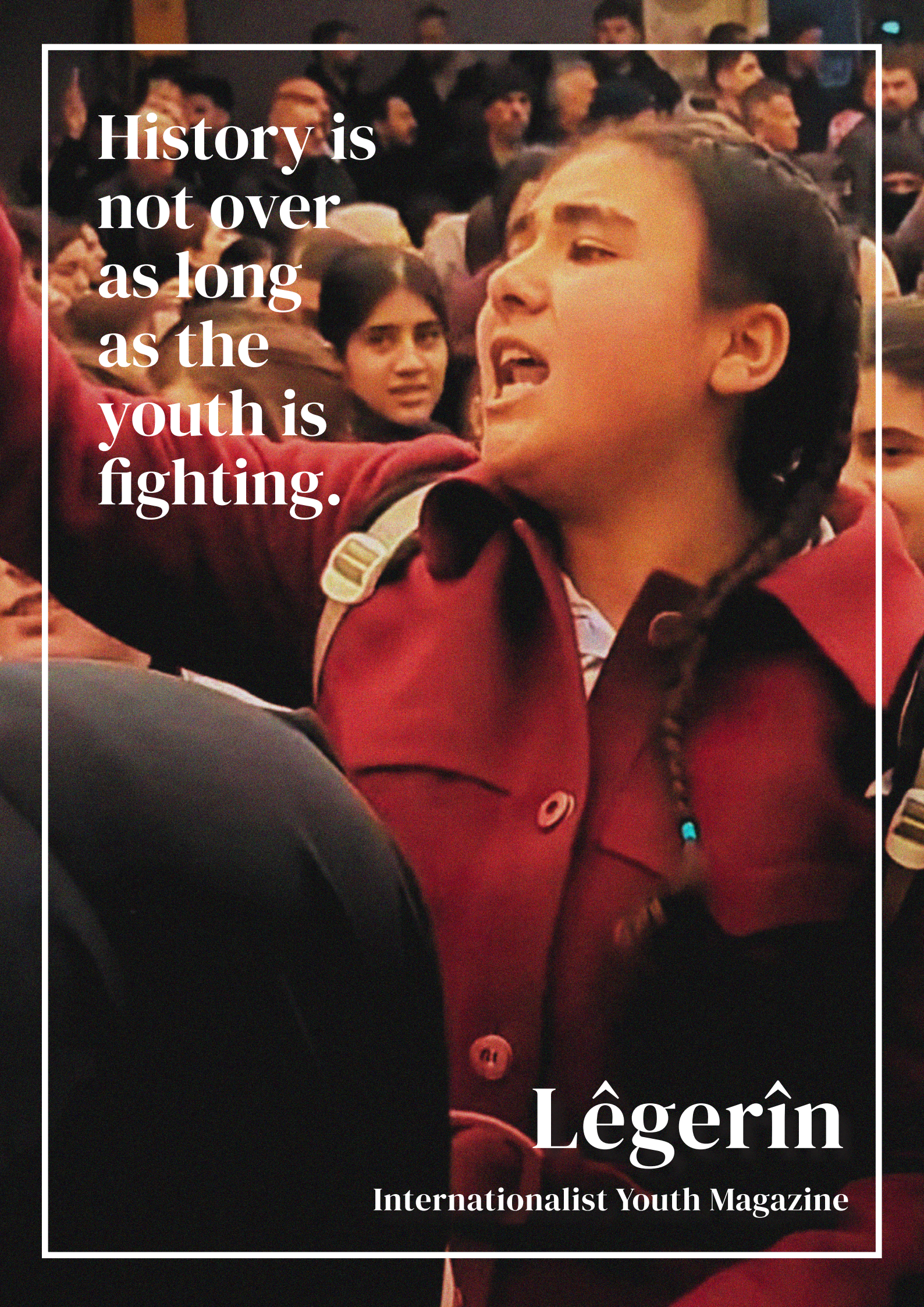
We publish the magazine every four months in 7 languages, produce various types of brochures, videos, podcasts, we manage a website and various digital media platforms. We also establish research groups around the world, we run an international Academy where we offer online political education accessible to all and we regularly host workshops and seminars in person.

HOW TO JOIN THE NETWORK?

If you are interested in participating in our work in any way, please do not hesitate to contact us!

Send us an email at:
legerinkovar@protonmail.com



A young woman with dark hair, wearing a red jacket, is shouting with her mouth open, looking upwards. She is surrounded by a crowd of people, some of whom are also wearing red jackets. The background is slightly blurred, showing more people in a dimly lit setting.

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

Lêgerîn

Internationalist Youth Magazine