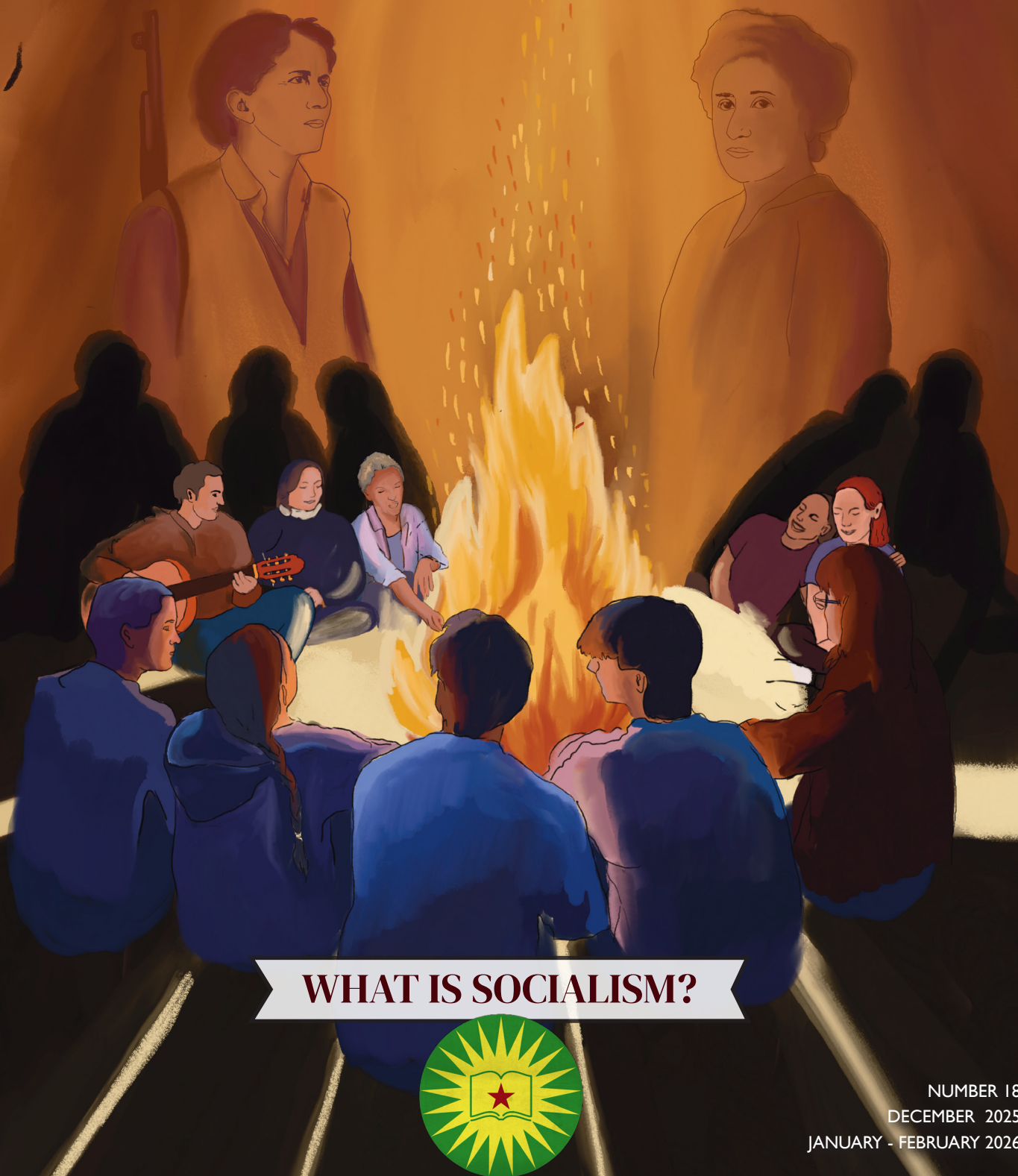


Lêgerîn

To insist on humanity is to insist on socialism



WHAT IS SOCIALISM?



NUMBER 18
DECEMBER 2025
JANUARY - FEBRUARY 2026

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○ With special thanks to the artists that let us use their works for this issue:
Ayshe-Mira Yashin (@ayshemira on Instagram, website: www.ayshemira.com),
Eric Andriantsialonina (@Dwa.Artist on Instagram and Facebook). Thanks to
artists Selma Uhlisch, Siria, and Ola for their original works created for this
issue.

DEAR READERS

As we write these lines, young people are rising up all over the world, from Nepal to Peru, Indonesia, the Philippines, Madagascar and Morocco! Young people are rising up in the name of Gen Z, those aged between 15 and 30. Fifty years ago the 1968 movement represented a historic break, why was this? It was the first time in history that young people rose up as young people, with their own identity and self-awareness. This identity united and guided young people from all backgrounds in their quest for a free life. Once again, with the Gen Z movement, young people are embracing their own identity and turning it into a force for struggle. From one continent to another, we recognise our unity. We take inspiration from the insurgents in Nepal and the resistance fighters in Madagascar. We share the pain of hardship but also the joy of victory!

However, rising up is not enough. After one day, one week or one month of revolt, we need to ask ourselves this question: what is our perspective? What is our long term goal? To what extent are we capable of getting to the root of the problems in order to solve them? What are we capable of changing in a profound and lasting way? It is in this discussion that we want to intervene with the subject of this magazine: what is socialism?

When we talk about socialism, we mostly think of the experience of real socialism and the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, the capitalist system exploited the mistakes made during the experience of USSR to condemn socialist ideas in general. The system wanted to seize this opportunity to completely shut down the alternative and hope that the socialist camp represented for humanity. In reaction, there has

been only few deep self-criticism within the socialist movement as a whole. This situation prevented the development of a concrete socialist alternative to capitalist modernity in the 21th century. Since the 1990s, the liberation movement led by Abdullah Öcalan has undertaken this work of criticism and reconstruction.

Based on the paradigm developed by Abdullah Öcalan we want to reclaim the idea of socialism et re-explore our history as humans. What is the commune? How did the first forms of domination develop based on the oppression of women? What forms of resistance have peoples engaged in throughout history? What is a socialist personality? How can we bring socialism into our own lives?

So after the uprising what will we build up? We hope that this issue will provide food for thought for the ongoing discussion on all continents.

Nothing can stop a united youth!

LÊGERÏN MAGAZINE

EDITORIAL

INTERNATIONALIST YOUTH IN ACTION

ALL OVER THE WORLD THE YOUTH IS RECLAIMING THE INITIATIVE! HERE WE COMPILE SOME OF THE ACTIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN AUGUST - SEPTEMBER 2025.



NEPAL

The youth of Nepal took to the streets against institutional corruption and censorship. What began as a protest for freedom of speech soon was embraced by the people that demanded governmental accountability and transparency to fight off corruption and nepotism. The protests resulted in 72 martyrs and the overthrow of Sharma Oli government.

KURDISTAN

In all parts of Kurdistan, in the diaspora, and around the world, young people are gathering collectively to read the “Manifesto for a Democratic Society” shared from the prison island of Imrali by Abdullah Öcalan in spring 2025. Here, a group of young women in the city of Aleppo (Syria).



WORLD, GLOBAL SUMUD FLOTILLA

In solidarity with Palestine, and against the inaction and complicity of the Western governments, over 500 activists, from 44 countries, decided to embark on a mission to break Israel illegal maritime blockade and reach Gaza's population with humanitarian aids.





INDONESIA

Indonesia people, led by student's organizations, showed their dissent against government's officials receiving pay and housing perks that dwarfed Jakarta's minimum wage by nearly tenfold. At least 10 people have become martyrs and thousands arrested since June.

MOROCCO

Decentralised collectives, such as Moroccan Youth Voice and GenZ 212, are leading demonstrations against government inefficiency and infrastructure policy. While the education and healthcare system in Morocco continue to suffer lack of funding and personnel, the liberal government led by billionaire Aziz Akhannouch is spending billions in stadiums and non essential infrastructure. The protests began following outrage over the deaths of nine pregnant women in a public hospital on September 25. Despite State's pressure and condescension, the demonstrators are going forward to gain assurances that their demands will be met.



MADAGASCAR

Starting on September 25, and inspired by the comrades from Nepal and Sri Lanka, the group called Gen Z Madagascar started demonstrating against electricity and water outages, but these protests have soon become a nation wide popular action against President Rajoelina leadership and systemic corruption. As we write this, soldiers have joined the protesters, refusing to obey orders to shoot their brothers and sisters. The president has fled.

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

WOMEN, COMMUNE AND THE NEW SOCIALISM

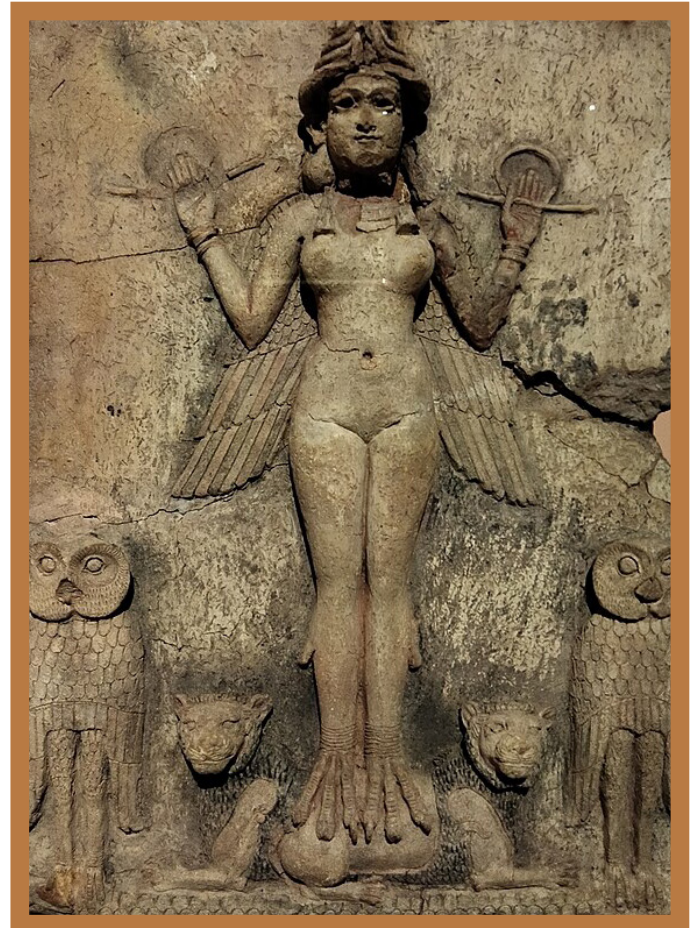
Abdullah Öcalan

Spring 2025

The following text is a compilation of excerpts from Abdullah Öcalan's perspectives written for the 12th PKK Congress, held from 5 to 7 May 2025 in the free mountains of Kurdistan. These perspectives represent the introduction to the 'Manifesto for a Democratic Society', which will soon be shared publicly and which develops in depth the topics opened here.

The woman gathers plants, the man hunts — he kills living beings. War is the killing of living beings. Killing animals is murder. The woman building social life around plant seeds is a completely different matter. The man strengthening himself by killing is a completely different matter. I will elaborate on this further. One turned into today's massacre-driven society; the other is still trying to hold society together. Therefore, the culture of keeping society alive is based on a sociology that develops around women. A society centred on war — that is, on plunder — is a male-dominated society. His business is surplus value. Marx ties this to class formation, but that's not even necessary. Once the possibility of surplus value begins to emerge around the woman a plant-based society and a nutritional increase arises, the man sets his sights on it. He hunts animals, yes, but then he also seizes the food the woman gathers. He takes the food and also takes the woman. That's how the story begins. He kills two birds with one stone.

Yes, the woman has built society, has established the home. The woman feeds her offspring. There is a women's clan, a women's society. She has reached the status of goddess and governed humanity for 30,000 years. Then the hunter-man creates a special group, a kind of club of male brotherhood. A hunting group is formed; they kill animals first, and if successful, hold a feast. But then he sees that women are planting



Statue of Inanna

wheat, barley, lentils — and by establishing villages, is developing the society we call the Neolithic. She builds homes. She does, because she feeds and protects the offspring, has sisters as aunts and brothers as uncles. There are children — this is a clan. But she is producing, inventing. Inanna says to Enki: "You've stolen hundreds of Me." That means there are hundreds of creative arts institutions — and she says, "I was the creator of these, and now you're claiming ownership." She says in the epic: "You say you created them, but you're lying." "I created them, you're seizing them." That's the mythological expression. I said this in my own style and developed it further. That's how I analysed the Epic of Gilgamesh. And when it comes to the core problem: the man, relying on this hunter's club, attacks this female-centred society.

That is where the problem begins. Is it true? Yes, it is true. We see it — starting with Riha (tr. Urfa), it's widespread. Through the institution of marriage, the powerful man kills every day.

The next phase is that of property. Let us not forget — confinement in the home is a dangerous ideology. A profound issue. As I've said before, this is where social problems truly begin. This is the root of the emergence of class, the state. And it is the man who orchestrates all of this. Man leads the aristocratic revolution, the bourgeois revolution — but all revolve around the enslavement of women. Once the state is established, there remains no power capable of restraining man. The state expresses limitless male power. Man is marked by it.

If you lose your freedom of thought, you inevitably perish. Therefore, our new emergence — new socialism, new Kurdish identity, new Kurdish freedom — develops on this basis. It is a strong critique of civilisation, modernity, and female slavery, and it's showing great progress in us. We can overcome the problem on an individual level, and progress collectively as well. For me, this is our greatest contribution to socialism. I said these things as an introduction under the topic of 'women's sociality and issues.

THE DICHOTOMY OF STATE AND COMMUNE IN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Historical materialism should replace the concept of class struggle with the concept of the 'commune'. Isn't this not only a realistic approach but also the healthiest path to socialism within sociology, through freedom of thought and action? Instead of defining historical materialism and socialism based on class conflict, I believe it is more accurate to base them on the dilemma between state and commune. I find it more appropriate to revisit Marxism and implement it through this concept. In other words, history is not a history of class warfare but a conflict between state and commune. Marxism's theory of conflict based on class division is the main reason for the collapse of real socialism. It doesn't even require criticism. The main cause lies in its attempt to build sociology based on this class division. So, what does the dilemma between state and commune mean as a replacement for this division? It is a very valuable observation—well known, yet not systematised. What I am doing here is a systematic analysis. I want to resolve historical materialism within this conceptual framework. Furthermore, I aim to ground contemporary socialism not in a dictatorship of the proletariat but in a concept set that organises the relationship between state and communality. I have a strong impression this will yield very constructive and striking results.



Painting found on an old Roman Vase

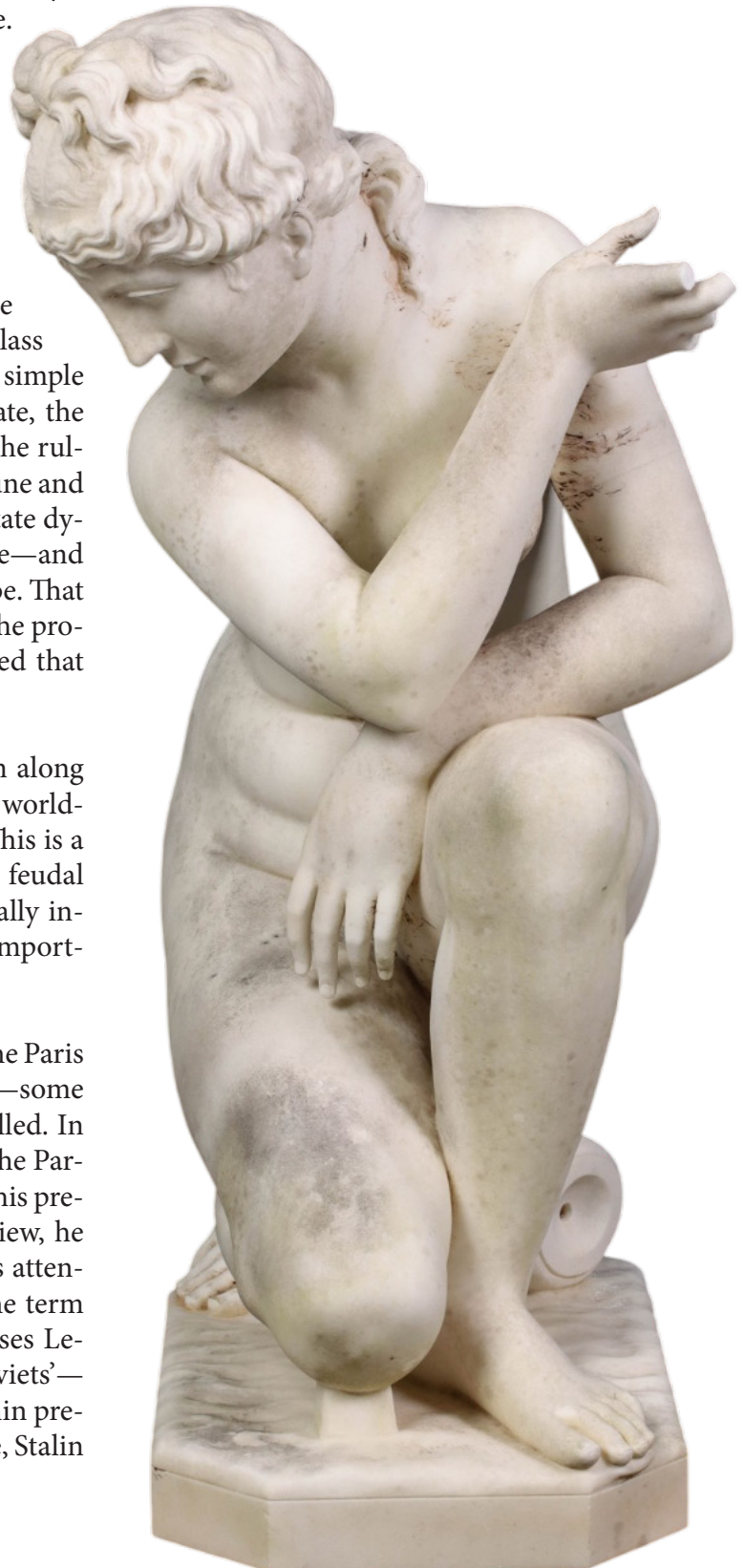
I base this on the idea that society is essentially a communal phenomenon. Earlier, I defined the clan, which is a form of sociality. Sociality means commune. Primitive commune means clan. Specifically, regarding the term commune, as far as we understand, it is necessary to analyse the cultural rise in the Mesopotamian region and the origins of Sumerian society—that is, the foundations on which the state, city, property, and class emerged.

Putting the state first is accurate, but so is the commune. Where then is sociality? Society is the foundation. Because until around 4000 BCE, the dominant form of social development was the clan. You might also call it an aşîret[1] or tribe. An aşîret is actually a union of communes. The tribe is a commune. The family had not yet fully formed.

The tribe's leader generates the state, and tribe members whose interests are harmed form the commune. This is actually the truth. It is very simple. I haven't made a great discovery here. Marx calls this a scientific discovery, but that's just storytelling. The formation and development of the working class did not create wonders or great science; it is a simple matter. The tribe's oppressor becomes the state, the clan chief or whoever the leader is becomes the ruler, and ordinary members continue as commune and later as family. Those at the top become the state dynasty. Those below remain the oppressed tribe—and when there is a state, there is an oppressed tribe. That is how division begins. Marxism's claim that the proletariat came into being this way or developed that way feels a bit forced to me.

Capitalism emerged as a form of exploitation along with its hegemony, which became dominant worldwide. Its roots go back to Sumerian society. This is a story of state formation—the slave state, the feudal state, the capitalist state. But we shouldn't really interpret it in such a straightforward way. The important question is: where is the commune?

Towards the end of his life, Marx focused on the Paris Commune, where many people he knew died—some 17,000 communards are said to have been killed. In their memory, he produced an evaluation of the Paris Commune. He abandoned *Capital* because his predictions had suffered a severe blow. In my view, he experienced an internal break and turned his attention to the idea of the commune. He used the term commune more than class. Kropotkin criticises Lenin with the argument 'Don't destroy the Soviets'—the Soviets are essentially communes. But Lenin preferred the state, and with the NEP programme, Stalin took things to terrifying extremes.



Roman Venus/Aphrodite Statue



Abdullah Öcalan in the Bekaa Valley

Ultimately, my view is that this distinction was indeed valid historically: historical materialism is not a history of class war—or rather, not quite a war—but a history of the dilemma between commune and state. All history amounts to this, especially written history. It was laid down in Sumer, and now we are experiencing its peak in the West.

In fact, the commune is a great form of sociality—the clan, even the family is a commune—but it has been weakened and emptied. Municipalities have been hollowed out; remnants of tribes and clans remain, but they too have been hollowed out.

The concept of the moral political society is another way of expressing the commune—how the commune finds expression against the state. The language of the new era of peace will be political. We will defend the freedom of the commune. As the name suggests, we are abandoning nationalist statehood and its related concepts, and instead prioritising ethical and political concepts based on the commune. We called it a moral and political society, but this is the name of the liberating commune. It is ethical and political, not even legal. Of course, there are laws, which will develop, such as municipal law. We will want it to find expression in law; this will be

a condition and principle for us. The more scientific term for this is communal freedom.

From now on, we will be communalists. Replacing the class concept with the commune is much more striking and scientific. Municipalities still are communes. We also have the ‘kom’. Is there no morality or ethics? Of course, there is. The commune will function more by ethics than by law. The commune is also a democracy. The ‘political’ is expressed through democratic politics. Commune is a noun; ethical and political are adjectives. Commune is ethical and political—one is a noun, the other adjectives. We call this the deepest revision of Marxism. We replace the class concept with the commune.

Kropotkin’s criticism of Lenin is correct. Bakunin’s criticism of Marx is also correct. They are incomplete but valid. Marxism must definitely undergo criticism on this point. Had Marx understood Bakunin, and Lenin understood Kropotkin, the fate of socialism would have developed very differently. Because they failed to synthesize these ideas, real socialism developed as it did.

Abdullah Öcalan

[1] grouping of several tribes or clans, no direct translation in English

[2] The Kurdish word “kom” can be understood as “group” or “collectivity,” and shares the same proto-indo-european root as the latin word “cum”, which is the basis for English words such as “community” or “commune”. It is often used to describe a community or a collection of people who come together or share a common identity.

SOCIALISM?

“ Instead of seeing socialism only as a project or programme for the future, it is necessary to conceive of it as a moral and political way of life that liberates the present, strives for equality and justice, and has aesthetic value. Socialism is a conscious way of life that expresses the truth. Social truths are socialism itself, and as long as society endures, it will always continue as a real way of life. In this sense, history is not only the history of class struggle but also the struggle to protect society, freedom and equality against hegemonic power and the state. Socialism is the increasingly scientific history of this social struggle.”

Abdullah Öcalan

If we look at the whole of human history, we see that humans have lived more than 97% of their existence outside of state civilisation, whether as small clans of hunter-gatherers or in the form of complex but egalitarian societies.

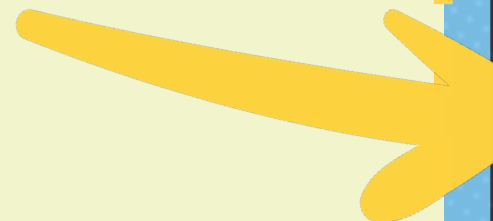
The reality of society under the state and capitalism has devolved from mother-centered tribes to highly fragmented, sexist masses organized around capital. In this ongoing war against humanity, socialism has been the response in defense by society for thousands of years. Unlike the assumption that socialism is only a theoretical concept, we use it to describe the real practices of society and communal ways of living that have never stopped existing since the beginning of humanity. This reality has been perpetuated through women's resistance, slave revolts, peasant uprisings, and the free life of communities maintained in the mountains and deserts.

“Socialism is a conscious way of life that expresses the truth.” It reveals what hegemonic systems seek to hide: power, the state, domination and exploitation have never been natural phenomena. Considering that the primary form of domination was developed against women, and that women have historically been at the heart of building and defending a free society, women's

liberation is at the centre of true socialist practices. Socialism is our way to insist on a free life. By digging up our roots of resistance and free life, we bring new ideas for society into the present like newly awakened flowers of hope.

This issue has the aim to make socialism more clear for us. Therefore we asked people around us, ‘What is socialism?’ and young people from Abya Yala, Africa, Asia and Europe responded. We explored the link between Jineolojî and socialism and the recent history of the socialist movement. Our comrades from Rojava shared their visions of socialist renewal and the young women's struggle for liberation, and a comrade from Uganda calls on the youth of her country to fight for a free life. Finally, we also want to share with you the life of Şehid Emine Erciyes, who made her entire existence a social truth.

ENJOY READING!



The key to democratic socialism is women's freedom

Internationalist Young
Women Perspective
Autumn 2025

*To all the young women
all over the world*

We start this perspective by commemorating the great effort that many women throughout our history gave in order for us to live and continue the struggle for women's liberation, freedom and social justice. The women who became martyrs in the struggle for women's liberation dedicated their life to the socialist cause, to the building of a free and equal society for us all. We dedicate this perspective on socialism to them.

First of all, this month marks the beginning of the international conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan. On the 9th of October, twenty-seven years ago, Öcalan, under enormous political pressure, was forced to leave Syria and traveled to Europe in order to avoid a military conflict in the region and protect the Kurdish Freedom Movement. In this way he began his long journey across Greece, Italy and Russia searching for a political alliance within the international community. At the end on the 15th of February 1999 he was captured by the secret services of Israel and USA in Kenya and was brought in

isolation onto the prison island of Imrali in Turkey. This attack, in which all the imperialist powers took part, especially aimed the defeat of the resistance of the people of Middle East against imperialism and the destruction of the struggle for a new world system based on the paradigm of women's liberation, social ecology and democracy. Since that moment until now Israel, the United States of America, Turkey, Britain and all the other members of the NATO, have continued their brutal attempts to stop the resistance of the Kurdish people and of all the other peoples that live in the region. Especially now with the genocide in Palestine, the attacks against Lebanon, the war in Iran and the violent conflict and crisis in Syria and in Kurdistan, we bring again the attention to Abdullah Öcalan and on the necessity of his physical liberation in order to stop the war and bring a political solution in Middle East.

WE ADDRESS THIS PERSPECTIVE TO YOU.

It might be that while you read this perspective you are in the car listening to music, and every song is talking about women as a trophy or property, as an object to own

with money and weapons, or maybe they refer to us just as sexual desires meant to fill up the deep void that the system creates in human beings. Or maybe you are walking on the street going to meet some friends or going to school and in every corner there is an advertisement with a woman, most of the time half naked, pictured together with some material for cleaning the house, food, cars or any kind of goods that can be sold in the market. Or let's say that you are going back home after a nice night together with your friends and in every step you take you hope to not find any man on the way, so that you won't have to change the side of the street and walk faster, or take the house keys in your hand ready to use them to defend yourself and hold your breath until he is gone. Or maybe while you read this perspective you are not in any of these situations, but you know that you will go through them tomorrow, because this is the reality in which we as women are forced to live in everyday by the sexist capitalist system. So, we address this perspective to you, whether you are at work, at school or university, or neither of these. Perhaps you are starting a new year of study, maybe economics or art, so-

cial sciences or physics. Or, on the other hand, you might have had no other choice than to work. Maybe as a waitress in a restaurant, or as a care worker, or in the logistic sector of some company that gives no job security and leaves you in precarious and uncertain conditions. Not to mention the salary, that if you are lucky enough will get you at the end of the month and either way always leaves you knowing your time and effort was worth more. Whether you live in a family that expects you to have a man by your side and wants to convince you that you just have to wait for the right one, that expects you to make an effort to love a man, to change who you are for a man. Whatever your situation is, we address this perspective to all of you; to all the young women that are resisting and fighting, in many different ways, for the liberation of us all. At this point in your life, you may ask yourself, "Who will I become?" or perhaps more importantly, "What will I do?". We want to try to give an answer to these questions in the next few lines.

About democratic socialism.

We as young women find ourselves in a dramatic situation. In front of the systemic attacks that we receive everyday, for us the solution can be nothing less than the construction of a new world system that radically rejects sexist rules and focuses on the freedom of the whole society based on woman's freedom. We call this system a socialist system. When we refer to socialism here we don't refer to a system of domination or to an impossible utopian future; these has nothing to do with the reality of

democratic socialism developed by Abdullah Öcalan. Democratic socialism is not a construct imposed on society from above, nor is it a concept alienated from the social nature of human beings. It is a concrete way of life based on freedom, communality, and diversity. It stands in contrast to capitalism, which is based on exploitation and violence, and also to liberalism, which focuses on individual and false freedom. In the socialist understanding, both the individual and the collective play a role in the society and are in organic balance with each other. Democratic socialism is of central importance, especially for us as young women, because it is interwoven within our history and is part of our identities.

HOW DID WE GET TO TODAY?

In the mid-19th century, the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels led to the development of a new form of socialism called scientific socialism. They understood the reality of society in the present and in history in terms of the struggle between classes with opposing interests, namely the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the working class and the owning class. Their analysis and their proposals focused on the material situation of society, in particular the relations of production. These insights were groundbreaking and led to historically significant steps. But the solution based on Marx's ideas



only scratched the surface and was never able to really solve the fundamental social contradiction. In fact, the oppression of women was neither destroyed nor resolved in real socialism. Yes, under socialist experiments around the world the situation of women improved, abortion rights were introduced, but even the Russian revolutionaries themselves were aware of the problem: it was the case that relations between men and women were so sexist that they even undermined class consciousness. At that time, class consciousness was seen as the basis for the common struggle; history has shown to us that this does not touch the root of the problem.

As Alexandra Kollontai analyzed herself: "The interests of the working class demand that new, comradely, and equal relationships be established between members of the working class, male and female workers. [For example] Prostitution prevents this. A man who has bought a woman's affection can never see her as a 'comrade'. It follows that prostitution destroys the development and growth of solidarity among members of the working class, and therefore the new communist morality can only condemn prostitution."¹

Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg, took important steps. They came closer to the truth of socialism. Beyond the contradiction of classes, they understood the relationship between genders as the main problem. In doing so, they always encountered resistance from the dominant

male mentality. Before the October Revolution in Russia, women were seen as appendages to men, not as revolutionary personalities, even though they were the driving force of the society. For example, the strike waged by women demanding for bread on International Women's Day in 1917 in Saint Petersburg was ultimately the starting point of the October Revolution, and it was women who became the driving force of the Russian Revolution.

The Feminist Movements of the 1960s and 1970s also made significant steps on the topic. Already at that time they were able to spread in the society the idea that "the personal is political". Everything we experience, every injustice, every oppression and violence is not just something individual, or occasional, but the same injustice is experienced by thousands of young women every day.

HOW DO WE BUILD DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM?

Abdullah Öcalan writes in his letter for the 8th of March 2025:

"Unless the rape culture is overcome, social reality cannot be revealed in the fields of philosophy, science, aesthetics, ethics and religion. As Marxism proves, the achievement of socialism will not be possible unless the new era destroys the male-dominated culture deeply embedded in society. Socialism can be achieved through women's liberation. One cannot be a socialist without women's free-

dom. There can be no socialism. One cannot go for socialism without democracy."²

The understandings that Öcalan has reached today prove what many revolutionary women tried to explain in the past centuries. The social problem that Alexandra Kollontai brought to light a century ago in relation to prostitution has today reached all levels and fields of society in the most brutal form. It is especially in the era of digital media and financial capitalism that the young women are hyper-aestheticised and hyper-sexualized the most. We are constantly led to conform to or respond to aesthetic and social norms that are based on sexism and rape culture. For this reason the first step to building democratic socialism is to build in ourselves a strong socialist personality that is able to create around itself an organized society through the building of communes, cooperatives, councils and any other form of autonomous organization that firmly reject sexism. Insisting on the moral values of humanity is at the same time creating a democratic and socialist culture and as young women, we carry these values particularly strongly within us. These principles though, do not only apply to us women, in fact, they are also of fundamental importance for men. As Öcalan says "A man can only call himself a socialist if he is able to live properly with women."³

We have mentioned the commune as a form of organization of the society, but it is not just this; it plays a central role in the building of

[1] Alexandra Kollontai, Letter to the Working Youth, 1922.

[2] Abdullah Öcalan, Letter on March 8, 2025.

[3] Abdullah Öcalan, Letter to the Jineoloji Academy.

Commune is society, and sociability is socialism.

democratic socialism. In the early 1800s archaeological researches made new discoveries about the origin of democratic societies and systems. At that time Marx and Engels were not yet able to take these discoveries into account in their theories about socialism and communism. They themselves recognized this. It was only later that the insights gained from the Paris Commune of 1871 and archaeological research shedding light on communal life at the time of natural society made it clear to humanity that the commune is a central guideline for understanding democratic history. Towards the end of his life, Marx also understood this. The commune is the most natural and fundamental form of organization of the democratic social-

ist society. It can exist as a youth commune, or even a children commune, a women neighborhood commune or a student commune. Inside of the commune, each part of the society can become political and so develop the ability to organize autonomously, make decisions and develop a system of life based on the necessities of each group or community. Also, it can develop the capacity to defend itself from physical, psychological, economical and any kind of attacks that are waged by the state and the system.

NOW IT COMES TO US, WHAT CAN WE DO?

Also for us young women the commune is the first structure in

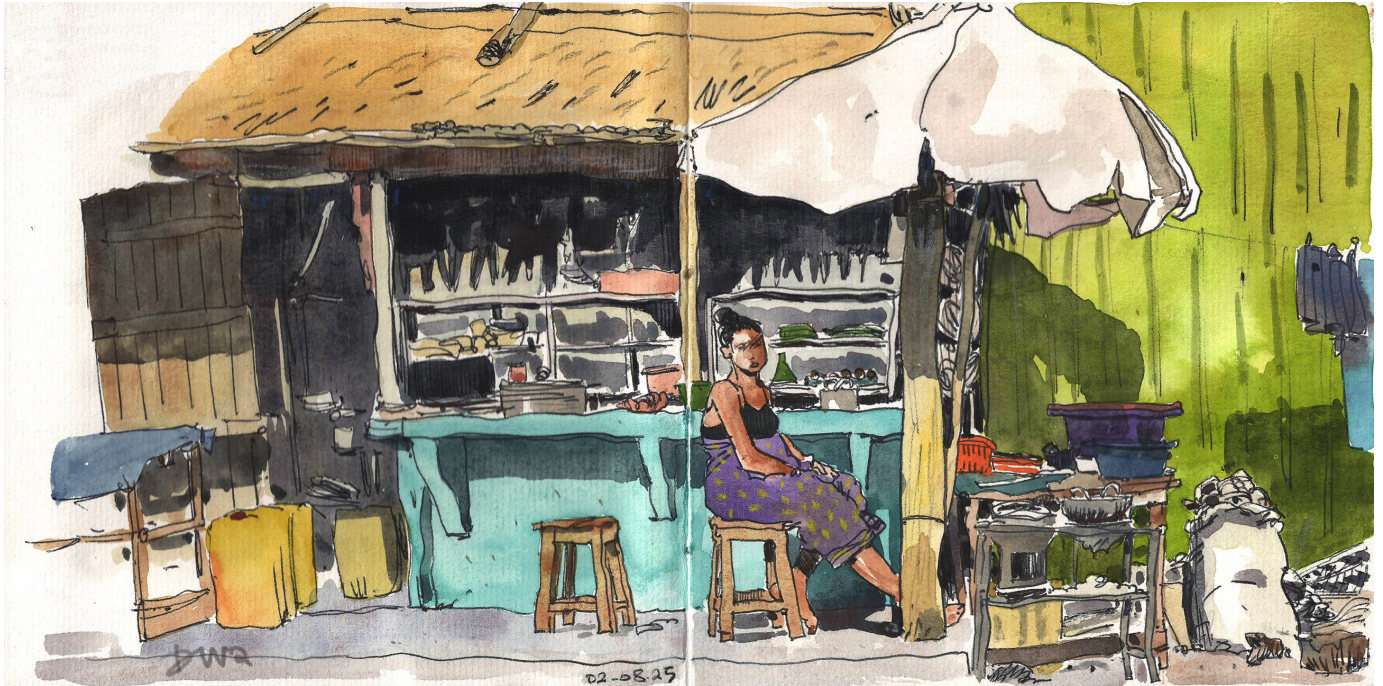
which we can organize ourselves. That is, in which we can become ourselves, discover our identity, build sisterhood, support each other, create the fundamentals for a democratic socialist system and most importantly, defend ourselves. If we want to become socialists and build up the way out of the world crisis, we have to think ourselves as a unity, as a commune; that means, we have to see ourselves as one. When a woman does not believe in herself, or does not see herself as valuable, it is also our responsibility to build this trust together with her. When a woman struggles with the question of whether she has enough strength or courage to be a revolutionary, we have to see ourselves in that question and together overcome any fear or obstacle. When a woman is harassed by a man on the street, or faces domestic violence in the



Art by Dwa, artist from Madagascar

family or in her workplace, we must feel this violence as it was against our own self. Now we know that when they attack one of us, they attack the identity of the woman as a whole and so they attack all of us. And so, the next time that we will hear a sexist song on the radio or we will see an advertisement on the street that portrays us as an

object to sell on the market, we can find in ourselves and in our sisters the strength to reject this culture, reject this system; change the radio station, destroy that advertisement and organize together with other young women our own system, our own self defense.



**“The revolutionary must move among
the masses like a fish in water.”**

Mao Ze-Dong

The world is changing, the youth is rising up everywhere and we are not alone anymore, there is a whole organization of women that has our backs and is ready to fight side by side with us for the building of a free society based on democratic socialism.

The next time that we ask “Who will I become?” we have all the tools that are necessary to give the right answer to ourselves. As Fred Hampton, revolutionary leader of the Black Panther Party, once said: **“if you are scared of socialism then you are scared of yourself”**.



WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

YOUNG PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD RESPOND!

When we started working on this new issue, we sent a request to all our friends around the world who participate in the L'égerin network to conduct interviews asking young people around them these two questions: What does socialism mean to you? How would you define communal life?

We received many responses, and we are sharing some of them with you here. You can find a full article with all the responses on our website. We hope that as you read these responses you can also ask yourself and those around you the same questions.



Anna - Austria

« I think socialism is matter of pure ideals and bringing them to life. »

« The sovereignty of the people over land and nature, which is able to break free from the oppressive systems of capitalism and imperialism. »

« Socialism for me means coming in contact with many people of your own society and to talk with them about the existing problems and to find solutions together. To take them out of the individuality and bring forward an activity inside ourselves and in others to take part in life, wanting to change things and to decide for ourselves, not let our lives be organized from above. To recognize our needs and take them into our own hands. And then also to fight against the war and the ruling system. »



Ernesto - Italy

« Socialism is a mode of production in which the people themselves, the people who actually work, get to enjoy the products of their labor. That the people are in control of the resources that exist in their society and the people actually get to appropriate the product of their labour for themselves. »



Lewis Maghanga - Kenya



Anita - West Papua

« Socialism is a light of hope, it listens when someone cannot speak, when a voice tries to shout but silence is louder. Socialism feels the little things, sees the invisible pains and carries the souls of the bodies we have lost our journey to change the world, giving us the strength to follow our hearts and our paths until everyone is free. »



Tathiana - Brazil



Okakah Onyango - Kenya

« For me communal life means a space that is very much serene, a space that is very much full of life, a space where i'm able to meet with my friends, with colleagues, with family. A space where we can be a human being. For me its what we are fighting for. »

« I grew up religious, but not strictly. Islam has impacted me in this way, to build communality, going to the Mosque, caring for everyone and have an eye for all people, friends and sisters. To know these values from the beginning on had a big impact. I am very glad about this and I try to show communality to other people in my day to day life, not only in religious contexts but in all communal aspects of life. »



Jasmin - Germany

« It's the practice of solidarity: sharing, caring, and fighting together. It's understanding that no one frees themselves alone; only through collective action is it possible to transform the world. »



Dur Bibi - Balochistan

« Communal life fuses tribal egalitarianism with revolutionary praxis, creating counter-hegemonic spaces for collective ownership and anti-imperialist consciousness. »



Mel - Brazil

« We are discussing a lot about how to build a communalism that can be a new way of understanding our struggle and a way to build our life together. Maybe in the leftist movement the building of a life together has been something the people didn't concentrate a lot. And our task today and in the future is to strengthen our capability to build a life together and also with the society. Being part of the society. »



Ainoa Gallardo - Catalan Countries

« If we don't revolt now, it's because we're not aware of the true lack of community that exists. In the past, you could see who the boss was at the factory and how they lived, and then you could see your terrible working conditions and living conditions, and that made you want to revolt and bring about change. Now it's different. »



Fabio - Italy

WHAT IS COMMUNAL LIFE?





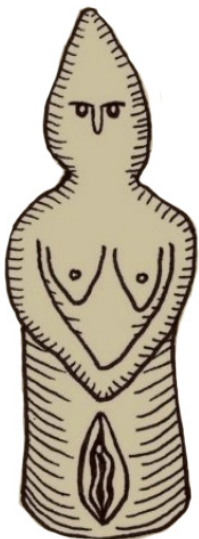
"Democratic Modernity River"
Art made by Ola

THE ROOTS OF SOCIALISM IN THE CULTURE OF THE MOTHER

Sina Wegner, Community Research Group
of Jineoloji in Germany

Socialism is as old as the history of humanity“, Abdullah Öcalan writes in a letter for the 1st of May 2000. In his new manifesto (2025) he deepens this hypothesis by saying that the commune is the founding element of socialism and the neolithic clan is the first commune. It develops around mothers and is marked by a culture of motherliness. This is the beginning of the society, the beginning of the long tradition of communal life. **It's the beginning of the contradiction between the commune and the state, which emerges with the rise of the first hierarchical structures.** Therefore we can understand all communal and self-organized forms of life and the resistance, that obtained them, as standing in one line, the tradition of socialism.

The struggles of indigenous societies that defended themselves against colonialism; the way of life of libertarian religious communities or the secret transmission of ancient knowledge by women that were burned as witches for it – in them we can see elements of the unbroken resistance of communal life. Even though the term “socialism” may only be 300 years old, we can research its roots back to the first humans on earth.

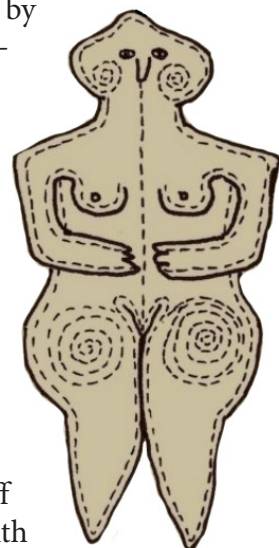


We can look back to the beginning of our existence, to the first forms of society and to the question of our nature. There are many claims and speculations about it. Theories like that of Thomas Hobbes'; that the state of nature is a war of all against all, his belief was that humans cannot live in peace without a state

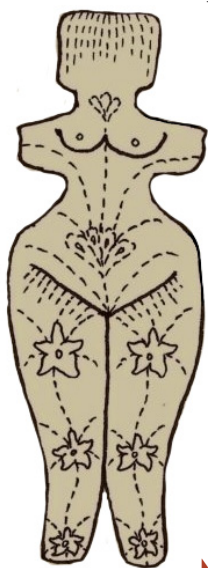
that over rules the people, holds them back and controls them. The image of the natural superiority of the man over the woman, which has been advocated in philosophy and sciences for thousands of years, is still influential today. We have to counter this!

HUMAN BEINGS ARE SOCIAL ANIMALS

But if we look at the newest research research, one thing becomes clear: humans are social beings at the basis. To be able to survive, we lived in groups from the very beginning. Living together was characterized by cooperation and mutual support. The findings from the Shanidar-cave in South Kurdistan show for example that already among the Neanderthals not only the strongest ones survived, but also ill and disabled group members were cared for. In the consciousness of the first humans, the individual approach that says only look out for yourself, pushed by neoliberal Capitalism, was unthinkable. Whereas it was social, communicative abilities like empathy, care and cooperation made our ancestors capable of surviving. About 100.000 years ago, the first more complex cultures brought forward the homo sapiens – the species of human we are today – in Africa. When they came to Europe about 40.000 years ago, they were already carving flutes and figurines, cut and drew symbols on cliff walls, immortalized themselves with hand prints and produced clothing and jewelry. Much of this revolved around the themes of life, fertility and death.



The seemingly magical ability of mothers to create new life must have made a big impression on them. From 35,000 years ago, this is reflected in the multitude of female symbols, such as vulvas and naked



bodies of women with well-formed breasts, hips, and bellies. These so-called “Venus figurines” which have been found across continents over several tens of thousands of years, have sparked much discussion and interpretation. Of course, male researchers initially saw them as sex objects. Today, they are understood as symbols that probably played a major role in human spirituality.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOTHER AND THE FIRST COMMUNE

The mother-child relationship is the first in every person's life. In order to give birth to a child and care for it, a group is needed that surrounds the mother and child. It therefore stands to reason that the first human groups also developed around mothers. Women were at the center of the first communities. While some of them went hunting, others tended the fire, invented techniques for processing raw materials, passed on their values and culture to the children, gathered knowledge about plants, stars, birth, the body and health. They told each other stories around the nightly camp fire. The concept of fatherhood did not appear in human consciousness until much later. However, family relationships based on the maternal line were obvious. Every child knew who their mother, their mother's mother, their siblings and aunts and uncles on their mother's side were. Thus, the first social organization was also oriented toward mothers.

The concept of the mother-child relationship has also been applied to the relationship of humans to nature. To this day, it is called “Mother Nature” in many places. The maternal culture, which we therefore assume to be the first human culture, is characterized by the principles of care, mutual giving

and taking, and love. As a culture, it is not bound to biological motherhood, but is embodied by all members of the community. **Creating, caring, nurturing, loving, protecting, defending, and nourishing are the fundamental values that sustain a commune. They enabled our ancestors in the clan society to survive for thousands of centuries.** We can understand their libertarian, egalitarian, and collective way of life as the first form of the socialist commune.

In all further societies that emerged from this, even after the rise of statist structures at least 5000 years ago, in which the man gradually began to dominate women, we can still recognize the culture of the mother and its defense by women. Despite conditions of oppression and enslavement, women managed to pass on their principles of life. The witch hunts at the beginning of the modern era represent a decisive break within Europe. By attacking women's autonomy, knowledge transfer, and relationships, the backbone of society was broken and the new capitalist way of life could be imposed on it.



TOWARD COMMUNAL SOCIALISM

Today, we have to find our way in a world where domestic violence has replaced love. Motherhood has become a burden connected to many difficulties. Instead of caring for one another, we are expected to always seek our own advantage, compete with one another, and work ourselves to the bone for the profit of others. Instead of treating Mother Nature with respect, our living environments are being increasingly destroyed. In a process spanning thousands of years, the culture of the mother

is being increasingly suppressed and destroyed by the patriarchal counter-revolution.

To all of this and rebuild a communal way of life, we explore with Jineolojî our history as women, the tradition of communal life, and the values of motherliness within it. Like this, we are laying the foundations for building a new, communal socialism. The stories of goddesses from pre-patriarchal times can inspire us just as much as the stories of resistance from the past five thousand years. We can learn from matriarchal ways of life that are still practiced today and look at our own biographies and movement histories. We can learn from mothers, grandmothers, and young women around the world who welcome every guest into their homes, fearlessly stand in front of tanks rolling into their villages, and calmly plant seeds in their gardens that soldiers want to turn into battlefields. We must look to the future and have courage to find new routes, because no one has laid out the forms for what we want to create.

In order to be vanguards in this process as young women, we also have to dig deep within ourselves to find traces of the culture of the mother and the influences of the state's male-dominated mentality. We must work together to strengthen our personalities, our connection to society and nature, our ability to think freely and express our will. We must organize ourselves, be aware of the struggle we are in, and express and live the values that enable a free and communal life in our own way.

In this time we find ourselves in, many things seem to be changing

rapidly. Great opportunities are opening up and we are facing great risks. There is war in so many places and on so many levels. And at the same time, so many beautiful and hopeful things are emerging. We feel the excitement that has already made so many hearts flutter before us. We are part of a new phase of a very long and very old struggle. We are following in the footsteps of the first women who created society, the ones who defended themselves against the first attacks of patriarchy, the ones who, imprisoned within the walls of the system, did not forget their values. Those who took to the barricades for them, and those who gave their lives in the struggle.

To make their dreams come true and win a free life for those who will come after us, we have to know their stories and keep their hope alive in us. In doing so, the deeper exploration of the meaning of the culture of the mother in communal life can give us guidance.



"Matriarchal Figurines" and "Olive Tree Goddess" by Ayshe Mira Yashin

SOCIALISM

A LOOK TO THE PAST TO BUILD OUR FUTURE

By Matteo Garemi

The idea and practice of socialism today are under attack on all fronts. Discussing and learning the history of socialism is difficult. On the one hand, the liberal cultural hegemony seeks to prevent us from doing this, it portrays socialists as monsters and hides or directly attacks and removes socialist ideas and practices from public spaces. On the other hand, there is the official history of real socialism, which with great absence of self-criticism always looks to place the blame for its failings and mistakes outside itself.

*"If we cannot correctly interpret the past, we cannot make sense of the present, and without making sense of the present we cannot understand the future."*¹

Understanding the context, the ideas that pushed socialism forward, without falling into the tendencies described above, is important for our present and our future.

What are the ideas and the experiences that gave birth to the organized socialist movement of the 19th and 20th centuries? What were the main contradictions that brought to divisions and splits in-

side this movement? What eventually brought the failure of the internationalist expressions of socialism?

When we talk about socialism we talk about the heritage of historical society and its resistance to attacks. This heritage is the expression of the life and struggle of the vast majority of human beings in history: from the first society, formed around women as a means of self-defense and survival which defined the ability of the human being to create, up to the expressions of this way of living in the last thousands of years in the women, youth, cultural, workers' struggles. Socialism is not a concept of the last 200 years, but it flows throughout the whole history of humanity.

THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS

The year 1848 plays a pivotal role in the transformation of what were called the "old regimes". It was a process challenged the power of the monarchies in favour of the masses of the people. Uprisings supported by wide parts of society took place in many areas around Europe on the wave of national consciousness, and led to various extents the adoption of constitutions that regulated politi-

cal participation in monarchies at the time. These uprisings took the name of Springtime of the Peoples.

Even if Marx and Engels would later describe these revolutions as bourgeois revolutions, and Marxists would later see them as necessary steps for the establishment of socialism, there was a big hope that was present in these movements, it saw the rising of many organizations and revolts. It is no coincidence that it was in this time, in 1847, that the establishment of the Communist League took place, and that in February 1848 the Manifesto of the Communist Party was published. At the time the answer that was widely given to the question of why these revolutions failed was related to the organization and consciousness of oppressed people.

THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE, MARX AND ENGELS

The Communist League was founded in London in 1847. The League was based on a clear principle of intention: it was the representation of the proletariat's struggle for liberation. A class that did not always exist, but was the result of the industrial revolution of the 18th century. The League was soon infiltrated and put on tri-



al in Cologne, and as a result it was dissolved. However, the Communist Manifesto would be a decisive text for the centuries to come, and several members of the League, including Marx and Engels, would continue to work and expand on the basis of the objectives defined in the Manifesto.

Marx focused on the study of the new English “political economy” in order to develop a critique of it, which took the form of his famous work “Capital.” Öcalan criticizes Marx and Marxism for excessive economic reductionism. It is because of the excessive and almost exclusive focus on the functioning of economical exploitation that a wider picture of the social and political problems could not be reached in analysis. This afterwards led, through interpretations of Marx’s work, to a practice of socialism that was based upon

the nation-state and industrialism, which within Öcalan’s analysis are two of the pillars of capitalist modernity and cannot be the basis of socialism.

THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE INTERNATIONALS

The First International, founded in 1864, was a union of movements, organizations and thinkers that were focused around the question of labor. In the internal discussions of the First International, the question of the nation-state was central. The topic of this contradiction, which started as a discussion on steps to be taken in the struggle, revolved around two different approaches. The “class against class” approach, predominantly proposed by communists, consisted of a view of history as the struggle between classes, and saw the path to socialism as the liberation of

the proletariat, the oppressed class, through the conquest of power and the seizing of the means of production (primarily the factories) from the hands of the bourgeoisie, the oppressive class. The counter side of the debate was the “state against oppressed peoples” approach, supported by anarchists. This saw the path to socialism as the autonomous organization of the oppressed peoples with the refusal of and abolition of power and the state which exist only as oppressive structures.

The Second International was founded in 1889 as a coordination of organizations to develop at least coordinated strategies and tactics and common policies. It was ideologically dominated by Marxism, although with some internal differences that led to conflicts. One of the main conflicts was between Marxists and Possibilists, who pushed for a line of progressive reform of the state towards socialism, instead of the conquest of the state through revolution, as proposed by the Marxists.

The Second International dissolved with the outbreak of World War I. Although the International was an organization with the goal of overcoming the boundaries of nation states, it was also composed of national parties that based themselves on these boundaries.

Despite attempts to build an anti-war movement, with important contributions of analysis on imperialism, the climate of growing confrontation in Europe at that stage also divided the International. Sections were formed in support of the Entente (Britain, France and Russia), sections in support of



“Women preparing rice field in mud” Herbert Geddes

the Alliance (Germany and Austria-Hungary). These depended on the position of the nation-state in question and based on the logic of “first we win the war, then we build socialism.” Some forces within the International, on the other hand, formed the Zimmerwald movement, continuing the attempts made in previous years to build a broader movement against the war. Once again, the reason behind the dissolution of the Second International is the fact that the organizations taking part to the International were ultimately structured on and heavily influenced by nation-statist values, and the issue was not addressed until it was too late.

Notable in this phase is the fact that the womens organization founded within the framework of the Second International, the “Women’s International Council of Socialist and Labour Organizations”, did not dissolve and continued to meet even during World War I, showing a different approach and a more radical foundation in the socialist women than in the general structure, and affirming the collective role of the leadership of women in the struggle.

FROM THE SOVIETS TO THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

The experience of the Zimmerwald movement also signed the clear breaking point between Revolutionary Socialists, led by the Bolsheviks, and Reformist Socialists. It was through this contradiction, in the wake of the October Revolution and Lenin’s April Theses, that the Third International, the Comintern, was formed in 1919. The

Bolsheviks developed an international perspective in the first place to break the isolation on the Soviet revolution.

In the first phase, until Lenin’s death, the goal was to bring the October Revolution to Europe, with various failed attempts, strengthening the line against socialist reformist parties. In these years different communist parties were formed in Europe from socialist party splits, for example in France, Spain, Italy, Belgium.

After the death of Lenin in 1924, Stalin taking power meant the adoption of the “socialism in one country” theory. On this line the Communist Parties became the expression of the Soviet Union in different countries and concretely tied to it, leading to a crisis as the steady disintegration of the Soviet Union took place. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943 as a compromise took place between Stalin and the Allies in Second World War: if it had not been clear before, through this act the pursuit of an international revolution was definitively abandoned. The issue of centralization, again related to state mentality, is fundamental to understand the failure of the Third International.

The fall of the Soviet Union, as well as the limited outcomes of different socialist experiences, are not due to external factors or to the historical events out of their control. The Real Socialist experience showed that anyone who wants to insist on socialism today must approach the nation-state and industrialism issues in the right way. If not, any struggle made in the name of socialism will result in an

homogeneous dogmatic regime of control over society, far away from its original values. It will inevitably reproduce what it had wanted to struggle against.

BEYOND THE SOVIET UNION

The history of socialism in the 20th century was not only determined by the experiences of the Soviet Union. Many movements attempted to build a socialist perspective that would overcome problems and oppressive approaches seen in the Soviet experiences.

In the whole world new horizons were opened, like the ones opened by the resistance in Vietnam, by Che Guevara in Abya Yala or by Amílcar Cabral in Africa. On the basis of socialism the resistance against colonizers in colonized countries took a new and organized form, new attempts at national liberation movements were made. This was also true for liberation movements of different “nations”, like the black liberation movement or the womens liberation movement.

The heritage of these struggles exploded in the 1968 Youth Cultural Revolution. In the whole world, in front of the violence of the colonial, patriarchal and statist system, the youth rose up through occupations, demonstrations and new organizations. 1968 in its essence was youth, women, workers and oppressed peoples taking initiative.

The 1968 movement has represented a spark that gave life to new fires: from the Feminist and Women Freedom Movements, to the

ecological movements, through the anti-war movements, a new lifeblood flowed to society.

With the Palestinian camps in Southern Lebanon as an international center, on the spirit of this Youth Revolution new movements were built. These movements struggled with divisions between them and wider society, as well as between themselves on a global level, questions such as leadership and a common strategy were left unanswered

This led in some cases to the loss of a common consciousness between expressions of socialism worldwide. In other cases it led to to dynamic attempts to overcome the theoretical and practical obstacles and continue insist on socialism. One example of this is the Zapatista movement, that since the uprising in Chiapas in 1994 has been struggling to establish free self-governed territories on the basis of communal life.

Another example of this is the Kurdistan Freedom Movement, born as a marxist-leninist national liberation movement on the wave of the 1968 Youth Revolution, it developed into the main driving force for socialism in the Middle East and the world. The Rojava Revolution and the experiences of the self-administration of North-East Syria show an example of free communal life for every society in the world.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE PRESENT

Today, democratic and social forces are divided, connected by subtle and temporary, tactical ties, with-

out a common basis or consciousness. The division is so deep that it is being passed down from generation to generation, without political discussions between different movements and contexts. Every generation we feel like we are starting from scratch.

At a time like this, the process initiated by the Call for Peace and Democratic Society, made on the 27th of February 2025 by Abdullah Öcalan, shows us a way out, an alternative. It demonstrates the ability to analyze the past in order to understand the present and build the future. It is a response to the historical problems of society and socialism, offering a different perspective on the question of the nation-state and industrialism, proposing a solution through the Commune and the Eco-Economy. It is an opening and a call to all democratic and social forces in the world to overcome the divisions imposed by power and organize democratic society.

"To insist on humanity means to insist on socialism."
Abdullah Öcalan

Because the essence of the human being is social, the strength of each individual is in society, and the strength of society is in the participation of each individual. We need to overcome divisions, to become part of a humanity that awakens its will for communal life and therefore puts it into practice, of a society that is able to think, act and create autonomously. We need this today like we need water and the sun, to continue life and build it together. By recognizing this need for a Democratic Nation, in our history and practices, by choosing

to be part of it and by consciously acting on this basis we can find paths to freedom.

Insisting on socialism does not mean dogmatically pursuing a doctrine or living in the debates of the past. It means taking on the historical responsibility that millions of people, giving their lives in the pursuit of freedom, have left us today. It means giving life back to these experiences, understanding them as alive in our struggles, today, as soil from which we grow. And it means being able to create on this basis, to change and transform ourselves, our view of the world, and reality, never getting stuck but always finding ways to overcome problems.

Abdullah Öcalan and the Kurdistan Freedom Movement are taking on this responsibility. The intellectual responsibility of bringing to light solutions to the problems of society. The moral responsibility of rebuilding social relations. The political responsibility of making collective decisions for the construction of a free life.

This process is an open call to dialogue, to build new relations on the basis of our common historical heritage and our current stances. It is a proposal for uniting struggles and lives. To get into dialogue with this proposal, to do it by adding experiences, knowledge and effort, makes hope and life flow to our societies!



[1] From Abdullah Öcalan's perspective for the 12th PKK Congress

Heval Emine -

A SYMBOL OF THE WOMEN'S REVOLUTION AND THE UNITY OF PEOPLES

Emine Erciyes was a member of the YJA Star (Free Women's Troops) and HPG Command Council (People's Defense Forces), and of the YJA Star Central Headquarters Command, who fell in 2020 in the Me-dya Defense Zones. As a Turkmen woman, her struggle represents a powerful symbol of internationalism and friendship between peoples. Çiğdem Doğu, member of the KJK Executive Council (Kurdistan Women's Union), spoke about her in a recent interview.

I remember my comrade, Heval Emine Erciyes, with love, respect, and gratitude. She was from Turkey. By joining the PKK, she lived and embodied the belief that the Turkish and Kurdish revolutions were, in fact, one and the same. In this sense, our answer to her memory must be to ensure the success of a united, democratic revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan. That is how I remember Heval Emine.

I first met her in 1996. Both her path and mine into the party were a little unusual. At that time, within the PKK there was a plan for comrades from Turkey to focus more on the Turkish revolution to build a new formation dedicated to that struggle. That was how the Revolutionary People's Party of Turkey (DHB) was founded: a structure that brought together Turkish comrades who had gained experience within the PKK, shaped with the perspective and contribution of the Rêber Apo. In the early 1990s this organizational effort took shape under the name DHB. Heval Emine joined this formation, and so did I.

As the process unfolded, operations took place. Later, we moved out of Turkey and directly joined the organization. That was when I got to know Heval Emine in the summer of 1996. We were in the same

training cycle: a significant group of comrades from Turkey and Kurdistan, learning together.

She Saw the Future in the Unity of the Kurdish and Turkish Peoples, and Found Her Path in the PKK

By character, she embodied both the democratic, ethical, and aesthetic values of women, as well as the communal spirit, social consciousness, and resistant streak of the Turkmen people. Even though she studied at Darüşşafaka, a school tied closely to the system, producing graduates with bright futures she was someone who could see her own future not in the system, but in the revolution and in the struggle of the peoples. She recognized her place not only in the Turkish people or the Turkmen people, but in the unity of the Kurdish and Turkish peoples and once she saw that path, she followed it wholeheartedly. That spirit is what brought her to the PKK.

At first, she joined through the Turkey-based formation. But over time, she carried forward the same essence in mindset, in ideology, in strategy of struggle and continued her path within the PKK movement itself.

Heval Emine was known in the Movement for her refinement. She was truly a thoughtful, artistic person in every sense of the word, a cultured woman, a cultured revolutionary. That was how we knew her from the very beginning, and she remained that way until the end.

She always kept her childlike spirit alive within herself, consciously refusing to let it fade or "grow up." At the same time, she deepened it revolutionizing it,



politicizing it, strengthening it with organizational experience, with the life of a guerrilla, with the discipline of self-defense. Yet through all this, she never lost the innocence, joy, and sensitivity of that child's spirit.

It is truly hard to describe her. But she left deep marks on all of us; not only among the older comrades, but especially among the youth. That is why it is so difficult to put into words. She was, quite simply, different.

A Comrade Who Created Meaning in Every Relationship

Her ideological awareness, her curiosity, her constant search for meaning, her effort to understand herself as a woman...

She kept diaries. We would share them even while she was writing, exchanging notes, reading to one another sometimes. In those diaries, there was always a search: the effort of a woman to discover herself; what the Rêber Apo calls *xwebûn*, redefining her own existence, consciously recreating herself on the basis of struggle. In this sense, Heval Emine was someone who invested deeply in herself, but not only in herself. She also gave great value and effort to her comrades, creating meaning in every relationship she was part of.

Even now I think about her this way. She was a comrade I often reflected on while she was alive. There was always something in her; a joy, a kind of love. In her stance toward life, in the way she acted, in the way she carried out her work, in the way she spoke to a comrade, even in the way she greeted someone,



there was always joy, always love. She had a special energy about her. And I believe that energy came directly from her search for truth and meaning.

She Could Act Freely; A Comrade Who Could Break Her Own Chains

Her way of giving meaning to life was not a scientific one, it was something different. For example, she was deeply interested in quantum physics, in trying to understand truth through quantum theory. But also through art, theater, music, dance...

As a revolutionary woman, she had a free personality in this regard. Where many of us might act more conservatively, she could act freely. To dance, to read poetry, to move without restraint on stage; that is truly another level. In this sense, Heval Emine was a comrade who could break her chains.

As I said, perhaps that artistic vein of hers met with her spirit of resistance and found a powerful harmony with the guerrilla reality that emerged in Kurdistan. I see it as very important to describe Heval Emine in this way. Because sometimes revolution and revolutionary life are understood only in rigid forms. Within the PKK, Heval Emine was a source of color in this sense. With her character as a woman, her artistic traits, her qualities as a guerrilla commander, as a member of the PAJK leadership, as a central command member, as a woman leader, she stood out by expressing her own identity, by becoming xwebûn. This is how I find it important to understand her.

And of course, she was also a comrade who must be understood together with her Turkmen identity. She carried within herself the uncorrupted, non-statist, communal, collective values of the Turkmen people. That spirit is what connected her to the PKK. Both by preserving the essence of womanhood and by embodying the resistant and communal side of the Turkmen people, she found her path to the PKK.

Her Bond with the Zagros Was Something Else

Her connection with the region was on the level of love. It wasn't just ordinary work or simply being in a place; she gave it a profound meaning. Especially in the Zagros, her relationship with the mountains and with nature was extraordinary.

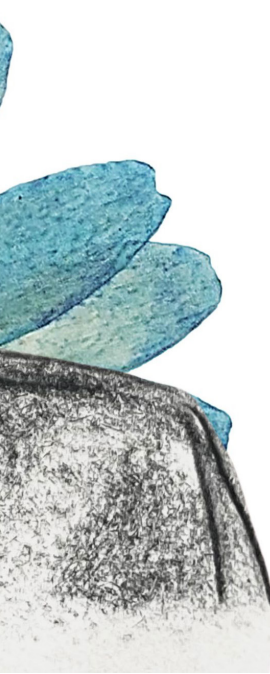
To describe it only as "ecological" would be too dry. The way she related to trees, flowers, animals; it was the same way she added meaning to human relationships, the same way she represented revolution with ethical and aesthetic values. Her bond with a tree, and especially with flowers, was striking.

She had a special love for narcissus flowers. The mountains of Kurdistan are beautiful everywhere, bringing people great joy. Heval Emine's relationship with nature was like that too: she saw it as alive, spoke to it, gave her love to it and received love back from it.

There is much to say about Heval Emine. At her core she was a revolutionary woman, a comrade who lived out women's communal essence at its highest level. To honor her memory, it is necessary to strengthen and socialize the women's revolution.

At the same time, the answer to her memory must also be to approach the Turkish and Kurdish revolutions as a united, democratic revolution and to ensure its success. To serve both the women's revolution and the unification of the Turkish and Kurdish revolutions that is the way to honor her.

Our promise to her will be on this basis. Personally, I give this meaning to my time with Heval Emine. But organizationally, we all owe her a debt. We will strive to be worthy of her."



A Woman Who Grew Up in the Zagros Mountains

Zagros...

It is not just a mountain range,
but an ember burning in the hearts of the people,
an ancient song whispered by history.
And within that song walks a woman...

Her steps race with the wind,
her gaze rooted beyond the horizon.
She is patient like earth,
fluid like water,
resolute like fire,
free like the wind.

When the Zagros Mountains embraced her,
it nurtured her like a secret. Because these mountains know women.
Because these mountains were the first place where the voices of
women,
chained for centuries, echoed.
And that woman came to the mountains to break these chains one
by one.

She was a Turkmen woman. But she was neither confined to ethnic
codes nor narrow nationalist minds.
She recreated herself in the shared pain and hopes of the peoples.
She became a sister in the honorable resistance of the Kurdish
people,
a pioneer in the path of women's liberation,
a comrade in the mountains.

When she recognized Rêber Apo,
a light lit up in the dark tunnels of her mind.
She was no longer merely a seeker,
but a finder,
a transformer,
and a guide.

She found new meaning on every slope of the Zagros.
She discovered not only the geography but also her own inner
universe.

For her,
guerrilla life wasn't an escape,
it was a confrontation.
It was a rebellion.
It was a revolution of centuries-old repressed femininity, gender,
effort, and consciousness.

And most of all,
she made this revolution by living it.
Those hands that quilted a comrade's back on the coldest
mountain night.
They were the same hands that held the honor of a people in the
hottest conflict.

Sometimes her voice became a song,
sometimes a slogan.
But always the voice of a life woven with resistance.

The flowers of the Zagros Mountain blossomed differently with
her.

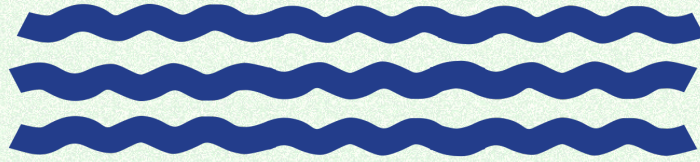
The rocks bore witness to her footprints.
And the wind still whispers her name in the morning mists:
"That woman passed through here...
Carrying freedom on her shoulders..."
Because she wasn't just a body.
She was an idea,
a soul,
a rebellion,
a love.

She was a woman who grew up in Zagros,
multiplied in Zagros,
became immortal in Zagros.

This poem was written by Ruken Viyan Gever in tribute to
comrade Emîne Erciyes, a vanguard PKK and PAJK militant
and commander in the YJA-Star women's guerrilla forces,
who was martyred in 2020 in the Medya Defence Zones.

AN **ALTERNATIVE** UGANDA

Borrowing a leaf from the Rojava struggle for autonomy and freedom from State oppression and Imperialist Invasion.



By Kemitooma, Ugandan Political Exile.

Sarah is a fighter of the YPJ, the women protection unit of the Rojava's self-defense forces. Sarah fights at the frontline and has defended Rojava with grace and might. And yet Sarah is feminine and beautiful and graceful. From the onset of our interaction I wanted to know Sarah's secret and I wanted to be like her. Sarah introduced me to the teachings of Abdullah Ocalan, the revolutionary leader fondly known as Apo. Apo means uncle in the Kurdistan language. He is the leader of the Kurdistan revolution for autonomy and freedom from Turkish oppression and Imperialist invasion. Sarah also introduced me to the concept of Jineoloji; the construction of society on the foundations of the woman and her power.

The first time I heard about Kurdistan, I was in high school and only 17 years old. Our History teacher mentioned the Kurdish people as reference in one of his lessons. He asked if any one of us had heard about Kurdistan and its people but no one had. Our teacher was referring to communities that have sought independence and autonomy from existing states. I promised myself to research more about the region although I did not. I would hear about Kurdistan again in 2024 when Sarah was guiding me on how to create a video to stand with Apo in demanding for his release from Imrali island in Turkey where he has been unjustly imprisoned since 1999!

In her words, Sarah kept insisting on the need for our video to be creative and fun. I did not understand why a militant woman would insist on such an

absurd and fleeting thing as fun. Why did that matter when we were addressing such a sensitive and sad topic as injustice and unfair incarceration of a revolutionary? That did not sound revolutionary in my ears. Then it hit me that Sarah and I were in the same age bracket. Sarah is a young woman but with a personality so strong and mighty that being fun and creative did not make her great personality less admirable. So together with Sarah we created a fun and creative video. The experience would begin to open my eyes to yet another way of fighting injustice.



My generation is the hashtag generation. We know how to run the hashtag and we can lead successful social media campaigns. My generation knows how to design placards and how to march peacefully as a way to fight injustice and state repression but when we are pushed to the wall, can we become Sarah? Learning from and observing the Rojava revolution, I came to learn that any people can adopt any means of defense for survival and self-preservation. I was learning from Sarah's grace and beauty that when pushed too far, the same hands I use to draw my lip line to gloss up, can still be used to fight for the justice of my people.

Before colonialism, there was no Uganda. Uganda was a formation of British Imperialism to help keep control of the newly formed state long after independence. My people lived in diverse societies; some stateless like the Kiga people while others like the Ganda society had organized themselves in highly centralized kingdoms with unique and sophisticated political systems. My people in their different capacities put up a great fight to rid themselves of the British although the damage done was so grave that

getting back to their original settings was close to impossible. A thing called Uganda was born and most of the earlier societies had been weakened so much by the British repression that they had to bend and kneel in front of the new state.

The state called Uganda was adopted by most and a people called Ugandans was born. I am one of the Ugandans who are still reluctant to adopt the new setting, six decades long after it was formed. I am not alone; the people of Buganda kingdom, one of the mightiest political societies from which the name Uganda was coined has had its reservations concerning the new state. The Baganda people with their reservations against the new state proposed the idea of a federal system of government although the idea has fallen on deaf ears for the most part. Among other reasons, the federal system of government was to allow the diverse communities and identities in Uganda the freedom to exist without being assimilated into the state identity and confusion.

When a state has become non-functional, you create an alternative. The people of Rojava created an alternative; the Democratic Autonomous Administration of Northern and Eastern Syria (DAANES). The DAANES rebelled against traditional hierarchical structures to create democratic local councils and representatives to act as both their social and political structure towards self-governance and self-reliance against state repression and imperialist invasion. I am a champion for an alternative Uganda, autonomous of dictator Museveni's murderous Uganda.¹

The young people dream of a culture different from the Musevenism culture that dehumanizes and kills its own citizens. The Musevenism culture of impunity. We the young people champion for a culture that respects human dignity and human rights. We refuse to be called grandchildren of a broken system. We long for a culture that develops its people and not push them away into exile when there are not enough teachers to educate the children and doctors to treat the sick. An alternative culture, an alternative Uganda.

The young people long to be fun and creative like Sarah of the YPJ! The young people want to express themselves on tiktok and not be dumped into prison like Edward Awebwa; a 24-year older tiktoker that is

currently serving six years in a Ugandan prison on charges of insulting the person of the president. Edward Awebwa's crime was to demand for an alternative Uganda. The young people want to dance to music and sing songs of freedom and love. The young people don't want to live in perpetual fear waiting for the next drone to pick them up because of a fun entertaining video they posted on social media. The dictator is not capable of humor. The dictator is sadistic but we are young, we are fun and we are the future. We refuse to live our lives in fear. We shall carve out an alternative Uganda and we shall dance and sing to freedom and to peace and to equality and to togetherness.

We understand the heavy burden set upon us but we are also an expressive generation that refuses to be gagged. For self-preservation, we are ready to employ all means to rid ourselves of a dictator that will not allow us to exercise our freedoms of expression in peace. Abdullah Öcalan once wrote, "A revolutionary that has no hate and anger for the enemy has to be suspicious to us."² The people of Rojava hated oppression and discrimination so much that the hate overpowered their love for comfort. Hate not as an emotional outburst but as a revolutionary tool to bring about change. Can Ugandans hate injustice so much that their hate for injustice overpowers their love for the Ugandan food that exists in plenty?

My plea to the Ugandan young people is for courage. Those that fought the colonialist invasion still had the food. Uganda has not changed much ever since. There was food and there will be food in our country. Let us have the courage, strength and revolutionary spirit to starve ourselves in favor of a more just society free from impunity. May our love for the homeland overpower our inherent fears. May we believe in her success and development so much that we are willing to sacrifice all that we have in our possession to set her free from a repressive setup that gags our freedom.

We are the fun generation. We are the unruly generation. We are the resistance!

[1] Yoweri Museveni has been the uninterrupted president of Uganda since 1986.

[2] 'The Question of Personality in Kurdistan, the Militant Personality and Party Life', Abdullah Öcalan, 1985.

What happened in history?



27 NOVEMBER 1978 - KURDISTAN

The founding congress of what would become named the “PKK” or Partiya Kar-kerên Kurdistanê (The Kurdistan Workers’ Party) is held in the village of Fis, near Lice, Amed. 22 delegates were present, among them Abdullah Öcalan and Sakine Cansiz “Sara”. The decision to move towards the foundation of the party was a response to the assassination of Haki Karer by the Turkish state, who was one of the leading personalities in the Apoist Group. What began as a modest gathering soon grew into one of the most meaningful contemporary liberation movements. In spring 2025, after a call for peace and democratic society by Öcalan, the 12th Congress of the PKK decided on the dissolution of the organization and the end of armed struggle strategy. It marked the beginning of a new phase in the struggle for liberation and a democratic society.

2 DECEMBER 1929 - NIGERIA



On 2 December 1929, more than ten thousand women demonstrated in Oloko, a town in Nigeria, which was colonised by the British at the time. The demonstration included women from six ethnic groups (Ibibio, Andoni, Orgoni, Bonny, Opobo, and Igbo). This marked the beginning of the women’s war, or Ogu Umunwanyi in the Igbo language. These demonstrations resulted in mass gatherings accompanied by dancing and singing, but also in the looting of European banks and warehouses and the destruction of the colonial courts for indigenous people. Traditionally, Nigerian women were allowed to participate in decision-making and played a major role in society. The British colonial administration sought to develop a patriarchal and male-dominated power structure in order to facilitate colonisation.

25 DECEMBER 1553 - WALLMAPU



In the lands of present-day Chile, on this day, the Spanish colonial governor Pedro de Valdivia marched into battle to face an army of over 50,000 Indigenous people, led by Lautaro—a young Mapuche who had once been Valdivia’s stable boy after being captured and forced into servitude at age 11. The Mapuche army won the Battle of Tucapel, capturing Valdivia and proving that the Indigenous peoples would not surrender. What followed was over 100 years of Mapuche resistance—one of the longest Indigenous uprisings on the continent. In 1982, during Pinochet’s dictatorship, the Lautaro Youth Movement emerged to fight fascist repression, honoring his enduring spirit. To this day, the legacy of Lautaro lives on in the daily resistance of the Mapuche people against state oppression.

1 JANUARY 1804 - HAITI



On 1 January 1804, following a courageous struggle, the former slaves of the French colony of Saint-Domingue declared their independence, renaming the island Haiti—a name taken from the Arawak people who once called it home. The Haitian Revolution was the first successful slave revolt in history. It sent waves of discomfort through the slave-owning societies of the Americas and inspired liberation movements across the colonies. But this came at a price: Haiti was isolated by the colonial powers and forced to repay France for the loss of its slave labor—an unjust debt that devastated the Haitian economy for generations.

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 three 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

-Send us a message on Signal:
[legerinkovar.84](https://t.me/legerinkovar.84)



A young woman with dark hair and glasses is shown in profile, looking to the left. She is wearing a red and blue sash tied around her neck. She is holding a white sign with text in English and Hindi. The background is blurred, showing other people at what appears to be a protest or rally.

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

Gen-Z united
राष्ट्र पहिला,
अहंकार पछि !

Lêgerîn

Internationalist Youth Magazine