

ENTERING A NEW INTELLECTUAL ERA

ABDULLAH ÖCALAN SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMY
MIDDLE EAST RESEARCH CENTER



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Societies practiced a form of democratic self-government based on clans and tribes until the end of the Neolithic era. It is observed, starting from the clan, that these societies lived under self-government for millions of years. The natural society during the period extending from the 6th to the 4th millennia BCE, known as the 'Neolithic era,' represents the pinnacle of this long historical period. At this zenith, Neolithic society, formed and developed with its own structures and became a self-governing society.

The culture of "Tell Halaf", known to be the prime of natural society, contributed to the development of the "Tell al-Ubaid" culture in Lower Mesopotamia. During the Sumerian era, which developed based on the "Tell al-Ubaid" culture, the wheel of natural society's development deviated, and underwent a bifurcation. During this bifurcation process, and after a prolonged period of extensive conflicts, a class-based, hierarchical, and statist structure emerged.



The city, class, and state that began in Uruk between 3000 – 2500 BCE developed as a distinct period. While statist civilization became Sumerian, the groups that resisted and did not submit to the state continued to exist as entities of democratic civilization. History witnessed, on this basis, periods of violent conflict between hierarchical, class-based statist civilization on one side, and democratic civilization on the other. Official history then began with written history, ignoring the social life and systems that lasted for hundreds of thousands of years prior.

History cannot be understood through the official written process or from a class-based perspective. Our historical thesis should begin with the formation of the clan; the contradiction that appears in the context of historical society is between hierarchical, class-based statist society and democratic civilization.

The statist civilization systematically weakened the natural society, which we define as a "moral-political society," striving to erode and exclude it. Statist civilization, which bases its existence on exploitation and monopolization of power, cannot establish exploitation and monopolization without doing so. Capital has managed to develop its monopolies by destroying its opponents; therefore, the reason for the existence of power monopolies is to undermine, loot, and commodify the moral-political society. This reality

is evident through the practices of genocide against society, women, and nature that have developed throughout history and continue to this day.

The class-based, hierarchical statist civilization develops as an opponent of communalism, forming the negative pole of two opposing poles in the main flow of history, where this flow oscillates between two opposing ends: civilization focusing on power and the state on one side, and civilization representing the non-state communal form on the other side. The fundamental contradiction lies between these two opposing poles, and all ideological, political, class, cultural, economic, and military relations, contradictions, and struggles occur between these two civilizational systems. Therefore, the class-based, hierarchical statist system rejects and denies the Neolithic society era, covering up the hundreds of thousands of years of historical processes with all sorts of conspiracies beginning official history with its own emergence.



Wherever the class-based state mentality and body exists, it is possible to talk about the democratic civilizational society as its dialectical antithesis. In this case, all components and units that fall within the scope of the democratic civilizational mentality must be systematically organized and have programs, organizing themselves comprehensively based on these programs.

Although the class-based, hierarchical statist civilization system represents 10% of societies, it has succeeded in organizing itself as massive monopolies. Why shouldn't the remaining 90%, which includes democratic civilizational units, also organize themselves? Therefore, all movements, including clans, tribes, families, cultural movements, religious movements, ecological movements, feminist movements, youth movements, social and socialist movements, anarchist movements, labor and worker movements, enlightened and intellectual segments, and all those identifying as democratic civilizational units, that have remained outside the system should organize themselves.

When we talk about organization, we are not referring to the classical hierarchical structure of rulers and the ruled. Organization is a truth inherent in the essence and fabric of society. For societies to express themselves in life, they need to continuously act collectively, identify all the necessities of life, establish principles of common life, fulfill their needs, and distinguish right from wrong.

Therefore, based on this foundation, the organizational form and language of these societies has always been a non-state, democratic confederal organization; confederalism represents the most suitable form of organization for historical social life. The historical flow has proven this truth. From this perspective, it is possible to describe it as creating free spaces and organizing them flexibly on a confederal basis outside the system but within a certain system, self-administrating through direct democracy based on gradually removing the state from life and expanding these spaces without needing the state, as the most suitable approach.

CAN DEMOCRATIC CIVILIZATIONAL UNITS EXPAND AND GLOBALIZE?

Democratic civilizational elements exist as social units, yet due to the absence of an ideological-political paradigm, they are not organized, systematic, or cohesive. Moral-political units of democratic society have been suppressed due to continuous assaults by the statist, class-based civilizational system. However, this does not imply the extinction or depletion of moral-political society. Despite being fragmented and suppressed as a system under various forms of attack, they have managed to sustain their existence parallel to statist civilization up to the present day.

The statist civilizational system establishes its existence through repression, exploitation, and continuous accumulation in the form of monopolies. Since its emergence, it has developed massive ideological, cultural, political, and military mechanisms to assert itself upon society, thereby organizing and ensuring continuity.

Class-based, hierarchical, and statist civilizational system is noted as a deviation from historical-social flow and anti-communal. The primary source and the historical-social understanding to be relied on is the natural communal truth. However, during the writing process, examples will be given from the statist civilizational system and its development. These examples are not unique methods developed by the statist system itself but rather methods that have evolved within social life. The statist system has used these methods in the opposite sense, taking them away from communities. These methods are rooted in principles of proliferation and growth to sustain themselves within the language of social flow. This is the prerequisite and rule of social existence.

While statist civilization develops itself in this context, democratic civilizational elements need to organize themselves against it. If it fails to develop itself as an entity, it cannot form and establish itself. There is an unorganized situation against a massive developed and organized monopoly.

Historically, a cohesive organization has not been achievable, nor have there been many opportunities for it. This is because, the statist, class-based civilizational system organized itself on the one hand, and continued to strike natural society units with military, political, ideological, and cultural tools it created on the other hand. Thus, it imposed its control over society, using coercive tools, both materially and morally, starting with mental domination and then reinforcing this hegemony materially with powerful tools.

Democratic civilizational units are not on equal footing with their opponents. This is because they lack extensive resources beyond sustaining their own existence. They are scattered due to constant hegemonic practices, with limited means and opportunities for self-sufficiency, and their organizational capabilities remain underdeveloped. They have become reliant on daily work to maintain their livelihoods. As a result of these developed methods, democratic civilizational units have been subjected to state exploitation systems and have had their organizational possibilities nullified. Given the intensifying pressures, barriers, and other factors, it is crucial to fundamentally reconsider the democratic civilizational system.

What is meant by units? It refers to segments that are more or less aware of the oppositional situation of the

system. While statist civilizational forces are systematic, these units do not have systems. From individuals onward, all units fall within this framework.

Marx, approaching history from a class perspective, addressed the fundamental contradictions in society based on the relationships between slave-master, feudal-peasant, and worker-employer. He also categorized among slaves. In the slave period, he categorized the fundamental contradiction as semi-free slaves with slave owners, landowning peasants and landless peasants in feudalism, and workers and bourgeoisie in capitalism. Öcalan, taking a holistic view beyond class-based and statist civilizations, defined the oppressed society, encompassing units and classes that constitute the entire society. Individuals are members of these units, and classes are within these units. Therefore, all sectors aware of their existence against statist civilization are democratic civilizational units.



If this is the case from the historical-social reality, then the organization of these units emerges as a necessity. The fundamental pillar of the democratic, ecological, women's liberation paradigm begins here. If the statist, hierarchical, and class-based civilization is so organized in every respect, having organized itself against every challenge, then democratic civilizational units cannot remain disorganized, scattered, and devoid of a system. Democratic civilizational units must overcome their defeated state against hierarchical, class-based, and statist civilization by organizing themselves and instituting a system based on principles of pluralism. Otherwise, developing a reconstruction movement becomes inevitable to avoid this scenario. Democratic civilizational units must transcend their disorganized, disconnected, and system-less states under the pressure of hierarchical, class-based, and statist civilization. Historical-social reality has demonstrated the existence of these units, yet they must construct themselves.



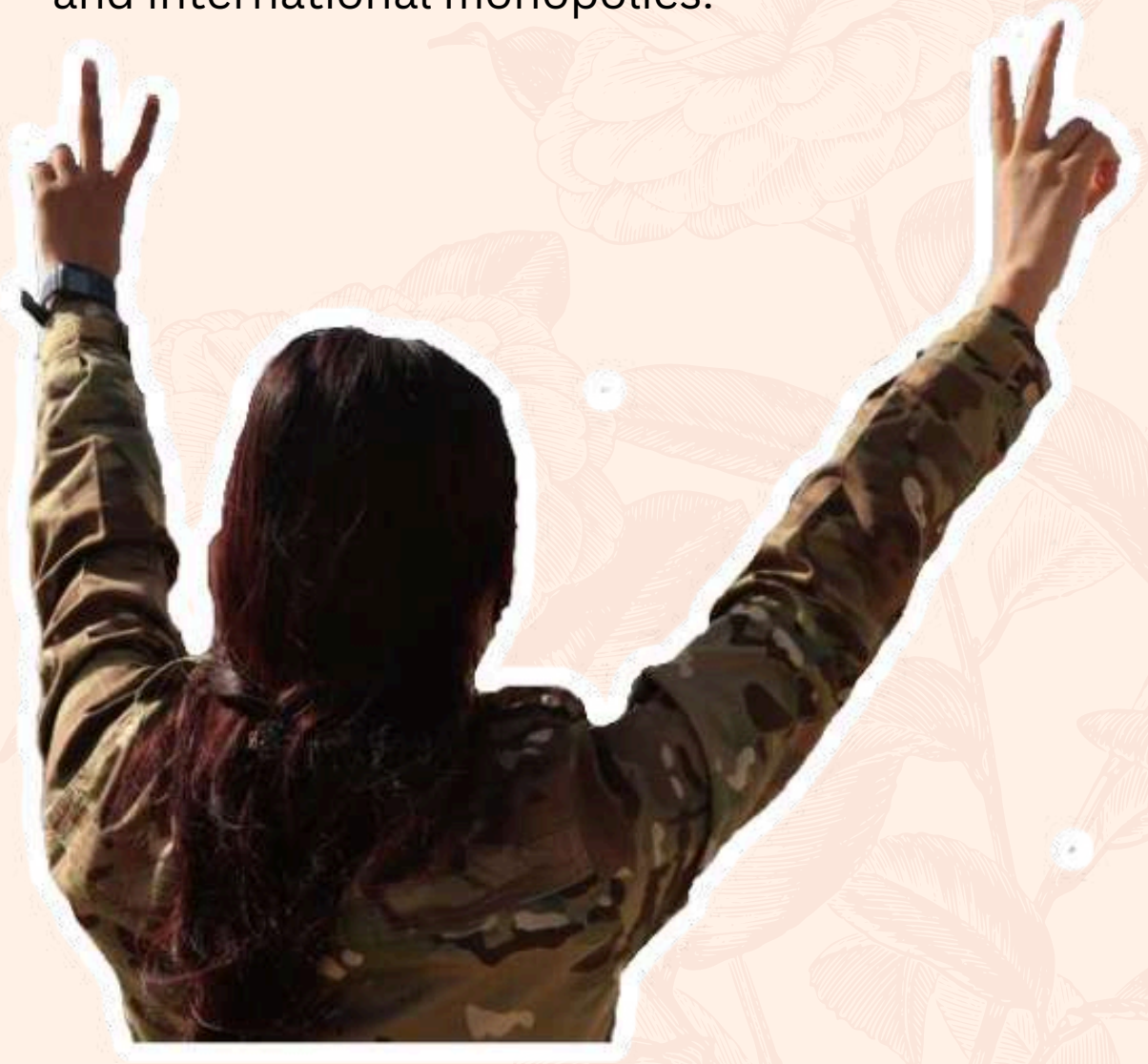
In social construction, these units can achieve qualitative strength only by organizing themselves quantitatively. Just as class-based, hierarchical, and statist civilization corresponds to the global organization it has achieved today, democratic civilizational forces must also achieve comprehensive organization at a global level starting from the lowest unit. The point to underline is to reproduce in terms of societal mentality and physical presence in order to exist; this is the essential law of life and freedom.

The class-based, hierarchical, and statist civilization mindset emerged in Sumer and gradually evolved into a global power over a historical period of five thousand years. The persistence of this mindset lies in its capacity for growth, as it understands that failure to develop and expand would endanger its existence. To safeguard its existence, order, profit system, and exploitation mechanisms, it has continually organized itself on a global scale through accumulation and expansion. It is crucial to comprehend the story of how this process began in the Sumerian city of Uruk. One must thoroughly understand the emergence of a power unit in a small city (Uruk) and its systematic, organized evolution to a global level.

The class-based, hierarchical, and statist system initially universalized itself internationally with monopolies, beginning from its place of origin, and it has reached a million while being one.

THE BIRTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATION IN KURDISTAN AS A UNIT OF DEMOCRATIC CIVILIZATION AND ITS PROCESS OF PLURALIZATION

It is important to ask and contemplate the following question: Can democratic civilization units overcome or abolish the hegemony of global power monopolies by organizing themselves through smaller units? Let us continue with the example of Kurdistan. If our emerging democratic national unit remains confined to Kurdistan alone, it cannot establish itself as a moral-political society unit, sustain its struggle, or dismantle regional and international monopolies.



The morally and politically organized unit developing in Kurdistan can only be effective to the extent that it develops and universalizes itself globally, transforming into a global force capable of articulating the difference in transformation and development. The preservation, expansion, and regional universalization of this organized unit are achievable.

Understanding the value of such a unit at the regional and global levels is as crucial as recognizing that the unit cannot achieve its purpose without replication. In Kurdistan, preserving the existence of this unit primarily demands the concrete realization of the theses of the democratic confederal system at both regional and global scales, through the concepts of 'alliance of peoples' and 'brotherhood of peoples' it espouses. These concepts are not employed haphazardly or romantically but signify a strategic understanding that is indispensable. Hence, just as international monopolies possess a systematic organization, democratic civilization units must similarly organize themselves intricately to establish a presence on both regional and global fronts. Significant tasks await us in pursuit of this objective. The sole pathway to disengage from and transcend the class-based, hierarchical, and statist system lies in fulfilling these duties. Intellectual, political, and moral responsibilities stand as the most fundamental among them.

The duties are tightly interconnected, and therefore, their interdependence is as crucial as their independence in terms of their roles. Without fulfilling these three duties systematically and through organization, a global movement cannot develop. Therefore, after briefly defining these three duties, their historical development will be discussed, followed by an evaluation of how statist civilization has historically interpreted these three forms of duty, and finally, a brief history of intellectual revolutions will be outlined.

Intellectual duty is the phenomenon of developing mentality and systematic thinking at the level of democratic society. The power of thought and action falls within the scope of intellectual duty. The positive and negative shaping of mentalities is open due to their flexibility. Power centers that recognize this have primarily attacked the phenomenon of mentality and imposed their own mentalities as dominant. The secret of their success lies here. Therefore, democratic civilization units must first and foremost engage in a mental activity. Bringing together all scattered and unorganized units requires intellectual activity, which is the most prioritized duty.

Moral duty is under a comprehensive attack, suppression, corruption, and erosion of social morality. Nevertheless, the particularities of social morality have not been completely eradicated. The spirit and

characteristics of moral society have been under the most severe attack for five thousand years. Hegemony's attack on morality stems from the desire to eliminate the essence of society from society itself. The erosion of moral phenomena lies at the heart of societal unresolved issues. The class-based, hierarchical, and statist system has prioritized law and judiciary over societal morality. Therefore, reviving and reconstructing the essential understanding of morality, which is indispensable for socialization, is within the scope of fundamental duties.



Politics involves the healthy development of society, its organization in every field, and its self-administration. Politics entails the daily organization of freedom, equality, and justice, the developing of freedom, and sustaining the created liberation. Here, the task is for society to organize its own affairs. The development of the class-based, hierarchical, and statist system has led politics to give way to state administration and bureaucratization. The disappearance of society from being a society is due to the absence of politics. Therefore, reinstating politics, which has been stolen from society, back to the center of social work in constructive efforts, is among the most fundamental duties. Hence, constructing society on a daily basis is at the core of these basic duties.



AT THE CORE OF SYSTEM CRISES LIES AN INTELLECTUAL CRISIS

We are confronted with fulfilling these fundamental duties. Without fulfilling these essential and indispensable duties, no progress can be achieved. We are not merely articulating these truths ourselves. Nor are we the only ones identifying these expressed realities. They are not circumstances that we have created ourselves. Instead, they are fundamental truths that hold a prominent position as historical-social realities.

Among social units, tribes are the longest-lived social unit after clans. Tribes have integrated moral, intellectual, and political duties. It can be observed that there is no serious divergence from these duties within tribes. If a community exists and its development is continuous, it primarily evolves through intellectual-ideological activities. Unity necessitates the integrity of social mentality and behavior. On the other hand, the organization of morality as a set of rules, which acts as the cement of togetherness, regulates social relationships. Where there is organization, moral order develops as its expression. In political duties, a relationship system such as organizing, preserving, and securing daily needs leads to their political nature.

A similar situation exists within clans. Clans are generally associated with political duties; clans are political formations. This is because families and clans have differed in their representation within tribes. As life becomes increasingly difficult and complex, changes in people's stance towards production and their relationships, as well as potential dangers, become inevitable. This growth is what has given rise to clans. Clans composition are mostly based on the unity of tribes. Clans based on the unity of tribes have organized themselves in a confederal manner. Therefore, clans are a political system. While the organization of clans is more of a moral organization within clans—which follows the principle of ‘one for all, all for one’—clans have evolved as political forms. In clans, politics have gained momentum. In clans, morality has been partially institutionalized and transmitted through experience and culture. Thus, morality within clans has developed as the transmission of experiences of women and the elderly from clan to tribe and from there to clan. Within clans, shamans, priests, mothers, and elders have developed intellectualism, ideology, and enlightenment.

In religions like Islam, they have their unique characteristics, although, in a similar way. In Islam, madrasas represent intellectual institutions. In Islam, the mosque represents a moral institution. Government or forms of governance represent political institutions.

The formation of prophets in Islam, from forms of thought in the verses to other forms of thought, is expressed as intellectual activities. By spreading intellectual efforts to societies, attitudes and behaviors are shaped. Religions are successful in establishing their systems to the extent that they create opinions in society. These activities promote growth as they succeed. Prophets' opposition to systems, from Nimrod to Pharaoh, can be evaluated as intellectual and moral developments through the Ten Commandments, sacred books, and revelations.

In Judaism, the emergence of the kingdom in Jerusalem is developed as a political process. In Christianity, the creation of the thought of salvation is an intellectual activity. The 300-year-old organizations are largely political activities dominated by morality. Subsequent reflections in the state or states developed as political activities.

In religions, the intensive interrelation of intellectual, moral, and political duties has prevented the development of their creative characteristics. The intense interaction of these three duties has led to their weakness on the side of independence. Intellectualism gains independence in Ionia, Greece, and Rome. Philosophy schools are intellectual institutions and Rome

Philosophy schools are intellectual institutions and widespread. These duties evolve as an important development towards freedom from dependency. In Rome, morality develops in temples. Politics, as expressed by the Senate and Emperor in the form of a republic, has moved away from being singular.

In capitalist modernity, intellectual activities have largely been limited to universities and have become dependent. As a result, intellectualism has lost its independence. Scientific nests have become dependent on nation-states. Morality has faced an unprecedented blow in history and has been replaced by positive laws and jurisprudence. Politics, on the other hand, has been narrowed down by being restricted to parliament. Instead of taking politics from society, bureaucracy, administration, and the state system have evolved. Capitalist modernity monopolizes intellectual activities by closing them off to universities, turning them into tools that serve the interests of the nation-state system, while largely separating society from intellectual duties. The absolute dominance of capitalist modernity is the nation-state system. Societies have been completely deprived of their fundamental duties accordingly.

In the real socialist countries, politics were centralized, detached from society, and morality gave way to positive law. Politics were conducted through the nation-state. These countries limited intellectual

responsibilities, viewing them as the activity of an elite segment rather than the entire society, thus excluding the broader population. Despite being initiated in the name of new ideas, socialist revolutions became mired in dogmatism and failed to innovate, leading to their collapse.

For class-based, hierarchical, and statist civilizations, these three fundamental duties have been essential from the Sumerians to the capitalist era. They have defined themselves based on these duties. Both civilizations have assigned different missions and roles to these duties.

Democratic civilizations have failed to distinguish themselves due to their lack of systematic and programmed approaches. Their well-intentioned initiatives did not achieve a paradigmatic level, allowing dominant forces to determine the course of history.

At the core of every crisis lies an intellectual crisis. Just as historical developments result from intellectual activities, the root of all current problems and crises is intellectual. All social constructions are the work of humans developing through intellectual activity. Therefore, if system crises are managed through extraordinary crises, a serious intellectual crisis exists. Crises cannot develop without a mental blockage.

From the perspectives of positivist and metaphysical philosophies, diagnosing an intellectual crisis is impractical. Linear social development processes are expressed and explained by specific laws. Laws of nature exist; humans are obligated only to know, recognize, and understand these laws, with little right to intervene. Marxism adopts a deterministic approach, explaining crises primarily through contradictions between production forces and relations, an expression of exploitation. Within this philosophical framework, the problem lies in the system's own functioning. Laws are fundamental; society and human will are not prioritized, neglecting the intellectual development that led to such contradictions. Viewing historical societal crises as inevitable, solutions should focus on a mental transformation.

A profound intellectual crisis is evident. Overcoming it requires an intellectual process. History has witnessed intellectual revolutions that resolved systemic issues and sparked social revolutions.

Between 6000 and 4000 BCE, agriculture's development, plant and animal domestication, societal organization forms, technology use, governance art, aesthetic's development, animist thought deepening, tenfold product increase, and Neolithic culture's Tel Halaf-like widespread dissemination—result from intellectual and ideological levels. Hence, we call 6000 to 4000 BCE the first intellectual revolution.

The second intellectual revolution developed in Sumer. Intellectual revolutions are beneficial when they contribute to and deepen societal development. They exist to enlighten, advance, and deepen societies. Therefore, intellectual revolutions are meaningful and positive when they serve society. The intellectual revolution in Sumer did not support the dialectical flow of societies because it fell under the control of rulers. However, the significant developments that arose, having deepened within societal contexts, became products of social thought. The advent of writing signifies the progression of intellectual development through various means; mathematics, literature, and art emerged as outcomes of intellectual endeavors. Mythology, medicine, astronomy, and technology, among others, evolved as products of thought.

The wealth that spread and accumulated from Sumer to Greece and Ionia did not negate the intellectual revolution in Sumer but rather enriched and deepened it.



The primary difference emerged in philosophy, fostering new modes of thought and systems of philosophy. This transition also marked the shift from thought influenced by mythology and religion to scientific thinking—an intellectual revolution. Consequently, it introduced new methods and approaches for understanding the universe and society. This adaptable and diverse application of thought laid the groundwork for subsequent eras. The adoption of the alphabet in writing, along with advancements in literature, art, and governance, became evident. Physics, logic, mathematics, history, and medicine flourished.

The culmination of these developments across Mesopotamia, Greco-Roman regions, Asia, Africa, the Americas, and beyond reached its zenith in Europe, where the intellectual revolution coincided with the industrial revolution. These advancements were later monopolized by nation-states, integrating significant developments in art, literature, physics, medicine, biology, chemistry, technology, social sciences, philosophy, and culture into the nation-state framework. In Europe, the intellectual process was entirely harnessed as a tool of capital, diverging from societal service and utilized as a counterforce against society, thus fostering a Euro-centric hegemonic system.

By reducing natural sciences to social sciences and imposing them on society, positivist scientism aligned with capital monopolies, exacerbating crises. The First and Second World Wars ensued as consequences of these crises.

THE NEW PARADIGM DEVELOPING WITH THE SOCIOLOGY OF FREEDOM

The period during which positivist scientism entered a crisis saw the emergence of the Frankfurt School, followed by the Annals School, marking a new phase where fresh theses were developed in the realm of social sciences. Social science debates during this period were influenced by quantum physics, leading to groundbreaking advancements. The revolutionary progress in quantum science, in particular, should also be viewed as the result of intellectual efforts. The debates in social science, evolving through critiques of European and real socialist centers, continued into the process of integration with capitalist modernity due to the lack of an alternative system, resulting in the failure to achieve the desired outcomes for the people.

The post-World War II period, especially the period from 1968 to 1970, saw the rise of feminist movements, ecological movements, cultural democratic movements, and youth movements. These movements, while laying the groundwork for revolutionary advancements, did not culminate in the development of an alternative process. The intellectuals of this period attributed the crisis to systematic models and thus developed anti-system proposals. Hence, this period, defined as the postmodern process, provided a respite for capitalist modernity and led to a process of reintegration into it. Although the 1968-70s era emerged as an intellectual effort, it ultimately benefited capitalist modernity due to the suggested systematic models.

Therefore, the postmodern process did not transcend capitalist modernity in terms of mentality and structure.



The positive aspect of this process was its questioning of the Western-centric mentality and the real socialist mindset. It was a period that marked the understanding that not all developments originated from the West, striking a blow to the Western-centric perspective. However, it also became a point of exit for the crises and turmoil that capitalist modernity had fallen into, as it prevented the system's collapse, provided breathing space, and led to the repair and perpetuation of the system. This process is also connected with the development of finance capital.

It is essential to accurately define the three developmental phases of capitalism: mercantilism, industrialism, and finance. Mercantilism, which corresponds to the nation-state, can be considered the most rigid phase of the nation-state process. The industrialism phase represents the standardization process of nation-states. By the time of the finance period, the system's crises required different solutions. During this era, when monetary world power developed its global monopoly, positivist sociology fell short of addressing these needs. Thus, there is a direct connection between the emergence of postmodern sociology and the hegemony of finance monopolies. Monetary dominance necessitated a form of sovereignty beyond the nation-state. Nation-state hegemony posed an obstacle to finance capital. Hence, the postmodern era corresponded well to this process.

These definitions and analyses are made to facilitate a proper understanding of the alternative social science approach of the Democratic Civilization paradigm. Without understanding the positivist sociology and postmodern sociology processes, the emergence of the sociology of freedom cannot be achieved. The period of 1968-70 must be well understood to clarify what the development of a new social science paradigm should be based on, as capitalist modernity is in a process of new restoration. This restoration process is still ongoing.

We must acknowledge that our current era is marked by systemic crises and that these crises, caused by an intellectual crisis, can only be resolved through a new intellectual revolution. The democratic, ecological, and women's liberationist paradigm proposed by Kurdish thought Abdullah Öcalan (Rêber Apo), which encompasses an intellectual revolution, has also paved the way for a new historical-societal paradigm. Respect for history necessitates defining the developed democratic civilization mentality as an intellectual revolution if we follow the dialectical development language of historical society. It is necessary to state that with the developed organized system model, a new intellectual era has been born, although it is not fully understood at the desired level.

The most crucial aspect of examining this process is that the civilization characterized by class, hierarchy,

and statism has been undergoing a new phase of restoration since the 1970s. Beginning with the city-states of Sumer, expanding through Assyria, continuing with the Greco-Roman era, and taking on a new form with the nation-state, the state has been experiencing a new restoration process since the period of 1968-70. To the extent that this process succeeds, the people will once again suffer losses. Therefore, the emergence of Democratic Civilization, known as the Sociology of Freedom, is of historical importance. From this point onwards, Rêber Apo poses the question: from all the fights for freedom, equality, and democracy developed throughout history, especially those of the last two centuries involving the struggles of the oppressed, the peoples, the nations, the movements, leftist politics, philosophers, academics, and intellectuals, “What are the responses to this crisis?”



What are the responses of all these groups to the systemic and intellectual crises being experienced? Against the crisis of the class-based, hierarchical, and statist system, what politics, means of struggle, and alternatives are the oppressed and the units of democratic civilization proposing? Rêber Apo proposes the answer as Democratic Civilization, based on the principles of democracy, ecology, and gender liberation. Democratic Civilization, defined by a new mindset resulting from its separation from the mentality and body of statist civilization, represents the name, temporal, and spatial scale of a struggle for self-governance based on democratic principles, an ecological society, a women's liberation line, and a solidarity economy. Thus, Rêber Apo responds to the three pillars of capitalist modernity—nation-state, industrialism, and capitalism—by proposing the paradigm of a democratic nation, eco-industry, and solidarity group-community economy. In response to the profound inquiries in the social sciences following quantum science, Rêber Apo provides a paradigmatic answer for a new organizational model for the people. The organizational model of the alternative system proposes to develop and deepen the democratic confederal organization, the democratic system of a stateless society, while removing the state from social life.

In summary, the democratic confederal system is where the anti-system units of democratic civilization can best express themselves. 'Democratic confederalism is the Democratic Nation organization of a stateless society.' It is essential for approximately ninety percent of society, the units of democratic civilization, to achieve and participate in confederal organization. This is the fundamental sphere. If a class-based, statist society is so well-organized and possesses enormous means, then the units of democratic civilization must also become organized, attain the mindset of a democratic nation based on principles of pluralism, and organize the democratic confederal system that embodies this, thereby making society a subject. As seen in history, the most powerful entity is the organized people who have transformed themselves into a system.

The democratic nation unit of democratic civilization is a conscious unit organized on the scale of Kurdistan. However, it is not possible for this unit to succeed in constructing itself within the borders of Kurdistan. Limiting itself to a local construction is contrary to the language of social life. It can only be successful by multiplying itself, regionalizing, and universalizing. Above all, one must possess and adhere to this kind of thinking and mindset. Otherwise, the negative examples experienced in history will be repeated, and the people will be condemned to hopelessness and lack of options.

The Middle Eastern Democratic Confederalism and World Confederal Unions can only be established based on this fundamental understanding of multiplication. This cannot be achieved merely through rhetoric and discussions. It is necessary to develop, establish, and substantiate the infrastructure of these discourses. To achieve this, we must understand well how the essential and fundamental tasks—intellectual, political, and moral—developed and succeeded throughout history. The only way to break away from class-based and statist civilization is to fulfill these tasks adequately. It is imperative that the constructive democratic units in Kurdistan act with this awareness, succeed in spreading the paradigm from one to millions, and, by forming the intellectual tools, develop both material and moral multiplication, thus reaching the global system.



Since Uruk, the statist and power-centric civilization has seen preserving and sustaining itself through multiplication, transforming itself into a universal and global system. The ruling powers have thus acted very consciously and planned. The dominant forces have best understood that preservation and permanence can only be achieved through multiplication.

We need to look at how the Russian revolution, as a unit of democratic civilization on behalf of the oppressed, multiplied itself. Under the guise of defending the motherland, they instrumentalised all class revolutions and class-based national liberation struggles for themselves. The main objective of the Soviet Union was not multiplication but the defense of the motherland, for which all democratic forces and developments in foreign policy were used as tools. Therefore, instead of multiplying itself, the Soviet Union integrated existing socialist struggles into its foreign policy, thinking that defending the motherland on this basis was correct, but it was mistaken. Consequently, it used many social and national liberation movements, integrating them into its system, but failed to even defend the motherland and ultimately dissolved.

The Rojava revolution has been realized with the perspective of the democratic civilization paradigm. For the Rojava revolution as a unit of democratic civilization

to exist, expand, and achieve universality, it must be understood that it can sustain itself through multiplication. Just as the statist civilization unit transformed from local to universal, developing numerous centers and systems within itself, the democratic civilization unit evolving in Rojava can similarly establish itself by multiplying, expanding, and globalizing. The distortions of mentality of class-based, hierarchical, and statist ideologies that led to the dissolution of the Soviet unit still hold relevance within the Rojava process. Care must be taken to avoid falling into these pitfalls. Rather than sacrificing other units and components of democratic civilization for Rojava, emerging oppositional units, forces, and individuals should learn to grow collectively within the framework of the democratic civilization system. The politics of "Everything for Rojava" mirrors Soviet policies, and its consequences are evident. If all defense reflexes developed under the guise of "Protect Rojava" cannot

be expanded and disseminated through various means and methods, remaining confined to Rojava poses such a risk and makes it vulnerable to loss, as this reflex will lead to contraction and detachment from the whole.



The Rojava revolution, by initially developing the alliance of peoples horizontally in the Middle East, can expand its scope and thwart the assaults of colonial nation-states and the forces of capitalist modernity. It should be recognized that capitalist monopolies, with their vast power and resources, would be reluctant to permit this and would pose a hindrance. Their developed political approaches vividly illustrate this reality. It is worth emphasizing that the way to safeguard the Rojava revolution lies in proliferation and globalizing itself. These evaluations were necessary because the Democratic Nation unit, as a force of democratic civilization, undertook a revolution in Rojava. Otherwise, the democratic civilization paradigm stands as one of the strategic goals of our struggle, and the aspiration to liberate humanity can be realized through this paradigm. Therefore, the evolving revolution should draw lessons from history and make sound assessments, seizing the opportunity to evolve into a regional and global system.

Constantly discussing the method of power and providing examples is not our approach; instead, we need to base our approach on extracting lessons without veering into pragmatism. The hierarchical and statist system, which comprehends and interprets the existing societal and linguistic milieu, does not endorse a strictly supervisory "let everything develop under my control" approach while it develops its system and propagates itself.

Whoever disseminates the system of power can propagate it. There is no anxiety, fear, or hesitation regarding the goal and method. The objective is to disseminate power. As depicted in The Lord of the Rings scenario, rings are bestowed upon everyone, adhering to the perspective of exporting systems, regardless of the means. The objective is the proliferation of power. Hence, powers extensively employ social relationships and structures. Historically, they have permeated traditional and innate relationships of societies like a virus, expanding themselves. If observed closely, power dominates in all facets of contemporary life. However, these facets and relationships are forms of interaction developed by social life and have evolved independently of power. The same methodology applies to the realm of technology and the internet. By infiltrating all computer programs and technical tools utilized by individuals via the virus method, it acquires all information. Taking precautions against this is impracticable. Therefore, through adeptly utilizing all social and technological relationships at the highest level, ruling powers have successfully placed them in the service of themselves.

Democratic civilizational units can also exist by replicating themselves and reaching a global systemic level. Thus, there emerges a need to identify a guiding principle that can provide direction amidst the chaos of our era, forming the societal and cultural groundwork for advancement.

By carefully assessing methods to penetrate the intricate networks of societies—from traditional and natural social relations to technological systems meeting basic societal needs—it is crucial to transform and enhance these relationships into a framework conducive to liberated existence. Extensive engagement across institutional, collective, and individual spheres is essential to position and propagate within existing social constructs. To ensure sustainable reproduction, it is imperative to institutionalize and operationalize institutional, collective, and individual styles across all social interactions, thereby facilitating the transformation of life through natural production-consumption dynamics and newly established social relations. Consequently, social relations must institutionalize as constructive forces that enhance all facets of societal activities. It is crucial to understand that expanding the global confederal system and organizing under Rêber Apo's leadership paradigm primarily revolves around multiplication, maintaining their autonomies effectively and efficiently, as historically practiced.

Rêber Apo's mission to disseminate the democratic, ecological, and women's liberation paradigm to all oppressed peoples and catalyze a global movement remains steadfast. However, restricting this endeavor solely to his own social construction efforts constitutes a significant self-critique.

Rêber Apo presented this paradigm as a program for liberation and freedom, advocating it across nearly every continent, region, and thus to oppressed societies. He called for the convergence of adversaries of the system around this developed paradigm. Yet, due to intellectuals and revolutionaries confining this paradigm within narrow parameters, it has not attained the desired level, failing to embed itself not only within revolutionary societies but also within the broader societal dynamics upon which we depend, and has struggled to gain acceptance among diverse peoples and beliefs. The continued support for the old paradigm suggests that the new paradigm has not been fully internalized, understood, or effectively advocated based on its new principles. The 'physical freedom' campaign launched for Rêber Apo on October 10, 2023, has, through its global proliferation, partially dismantled the restrictive, shortsighted, mistaken, superficial, and dogmatic aspects, thereby fostering hope for **“a new world is possible”**.



They have remained in a supportive position towards the freedom paradigm developed primarily among intellectuals, academics, and enlightened circles at local, regional, and global levels. They have consistently felt obligated to support, particularly in response to the just cause of the Kurdish people and the captivity of their leaders. However, they have not been able to transcend this supportive stance. Instead, they should be able to adapt the ecological, democratic, and women's liberation mindset developed intellectually and paradigmatically to concrete conditions and engage in their own struggle for freedom. Numerous labor struggles, parties, movements, and groups exist that needed to alter their programs according to the new paradigm and collaborate in solidarity. Similarly, new movements and parties could organize themselves on this basis. Intellectuals, academics, and enlightened individuals at regional and global levels could discuss and lead the ways and methods of uniting anti-system forces under the slogan 'another world is possible' in light of the new paradigm. Likewise, young people and women who have historically led social revolutions could take on leadership roles on a more global scale in the light of the ecological, democratic, and women's liberation paradigm. In essence, intellectuals, academics, and enlightened individuals, particularly those opposed to the system, could move beyond the supportive position towards Rêber Apo's paradigm amidst the chaos and systemic crises of our century and assume more active and leadership roles.

Zizek said: "It is an honor for me to read to you two paragraphs from Abdullah Öcalan's wonderful short text: 'How to live? What to do? Where to start?' This text directly addresses the basic problem of us all today: where do we stand with our subjectivity? What is the authentic subjective position in the mess of today's world? So let me begin." For five centuries, the question of 'what to do?' has been planned down to the smallest detail and answered: 'you should live an individualistic life', 'always think of yourself', say, 'The only way is the way of modern age', and do what you are entitled to. Your way is clear, the method is clear; you should do what everyone else is doing. If you are a boss, you should make a profit. If you are a worker, you should work for your wages. To look for other forms of doing is stupidity. If someone insists, the result is being squeezed out of the system. This means unemployment, helplessness, and corruption. Life became a Scowl as a horse race. So, the first general answer to the questions 'How to live? What to do? Where to start?' is to rebel against the system within the system. But to fight within the system against that system requires, like the wise men of ancient times, to fight for the truth in every moment, even if it requires dying for it. To the questions 'How to live?' and 'Where to start?' the answer is to escape the madness and hatred of this life. You have to vomit the system out, out of your stomach, out of your brain, and purify your body of this life. Even if it feels like the most beautiful life in the world, you have to vomit everything out.

I consider this text to be something that radiates and shows an almost metaphysical beauty. He once again gives the exact coordinates of where we are. We live in a system, which presents itself as individualistic; each of us should live a unique life, not like others. But beneath this vain, empty multiplicity there is a rather boring resemblance. Precisely insofar as we want to function as unique individuals, we are like all others. So what shall we do? Öcalan provides here a wonderful, precise metaphor to vomit out the system. This doesn't mean destroy all of reality and so on, but to, in the innermost of our subjectivity, to get rid of our being embedded in the existing ideological coordinates in which we live, which we accept as natural."

"Freedom is a condition of liberation that in order to engage in a process of social emancipation and liberation, you have first to liberate yourself to attain this minimum of freedom, which precisely to empty yourself of all defeats that regulates and interpenetrates our lives today."

"It is almost as if Öcalan is here paraphrasing the deepest insight of ancient Jewish theology, which is that before God created the world, he had to create the void itself. Then he could put things that he created. As a Materialist, as a Marxist, Öcalan said: 'Before you want to create a new social world, you have to vomit out the existing order to accept the void, to get rid of all the immense pressures of the world in which we live'.

In another evaluation by philosopher Slavoj Žižek, Rêber Apo presents a model for how we can unite the struggle for freedom that he leads with the global struggle for liberation. “All my solidarity goes to Öcalan, I don't offer him my sympathy, I think we should more than just a sympathy.” “His struggle is my struggle,” he said.

The final sentence of philosopher Slavoj Žižek's long evaluation, 'And we should follow him in this' and 'his struggle is my struggle' statements have strikingly answered the question of where intellectuals, academics, and thinkers should stand. Many intellectuals, academics, and thinkers have shown high levels of interest and participation in this matter. However, due to the lack of more systematic and broad initiatives, it is evident that this has not been sufficient to elevate the paradigms of ecological, democratic, and women's freedom to a level of global movement.

Consequently, developing new free spaces is necessary to complement each other as intertwined intellectual, moral, and political tasks. Without falling into the understanding of liberalism's excessive and ‘anything goes’ mentalities, without pragmatic approaches, it is the most valuable task to reproduce Rêber Apo's ideas through principled yet flexible, creative, and political mastery, starting with the three tasks.

For this reason, intellectuals, academics, artists, writers, sociologists, scientists, women, anarchists, socialists, democrats, faithful and honest scholars, and anti-system units, starting primarily with Öcalan's students and revolutionaries, should remember that they are faced with a historical task.

As a result, there is a need to develop new free spaces so that the intertwined intellectual, moral, and political tasks can operate in a complementary manner while maintaining their autonomy. The most valuable task is to propagate the ideas of Rêber Apo through three key missions, avoiding excessive liberalism, pragmatism, and the notion that all means are permissible. Instead, this should be done with principled, flexible, creative, and highly politically aware approaches. To this end, Rêber Apo's students, intellectuals, academics, enlighteners, artists, writers, sociologists, women, anarchists, socialists, democrats, honest and faithful scholars, and anti-system units must recognize that they are facing a historical duty.



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