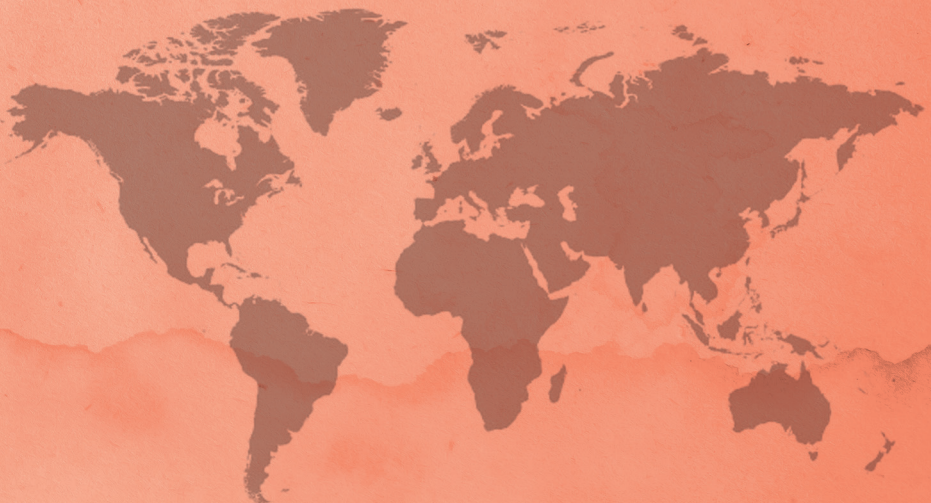


**Academy of
Democratic
Modernity**

**The Theory of Democratic
Modernity as a Guide for
Building a New
Internationalism**





The Theory of Democratic Modernity as a Guide for Building a New Internationalism

**World Democratic Confederalism:
A political alternative to capitalist modernity**

email: info@democraticmodernity.com
website: <https://democraticmodernity.com/>

The way out of global crisis requires global action. Under the hegemony of the global financial monopolies, the capitalist system is experiencing a general crisis internationally. This is simultaneous with the experience of specific crises, such as the social and ecological. If this historical crisis is to be overcome on the basis of freedom, equality and democracy, those political forces whose activities and convictions are based on these values must act decisively, responsibly and comprehensively. The anti-systemic and democratic forces will have to jointly develop and put into practice global, systemic and structural forms of action and organisation for a safer, more peaceful, ecological and just world.

1

In many of his books, the foremost theorist and leader of the Kurdistan freedom movement, Abdullah Öcalan, emphatically points out that with the collapse of real socialism at the beginning of the 1990s, a process of disintegration of the capitalist system has set in: “There are many indicators signalling the system’s depletion, such as the system itself breeding continuous terror, leaving a large portion of society unemployed, even degrading employment to a sort of unemployment, resulting in the masses and a herd-like society; the industrialization of arts, sex, and sports; and, the infiltration of power into the tiniest veins of society.”¹ There are clear qualitative differences between previous crises of capitalist modernity and the current crisis, which we can also call a *chaos interval*² or World War III. The capitalist system managed to restore itself and emerge stronger after the first two major crises in the wake of the world wars at the beginning of the 20th century. The system has generally overcome its crisis in one of two ways: by continuously reproducing its power and expanding the nation-state’s repressive apparatus - all sorts of wars, prisons, mental hospitals, hospitals, torture chambers, and ghettos - accompanied by the most dangerous genocide and societycide. Or, by the apparatuses of

1 Abdullah Öcalan, *Capitalism: The Age of Unmasked Gods and Naked Kings*, p. 287

2 Abdullah Öcalan describes a chaos interval as the hodgepodge that is necessary for changes, such as new forms, new types, and new structures in the world of phenomena. The contradictory aspects within a phenomenon are, at this point, no longer able to maintain either their interrelationship or the existent structuring. The form becomes unable to preserve the essence; it becomes insufficient, narrow, and destructive. In that situation, we will see a process of disintegration, with the hodgepodge we call “chaos” emerging. The essence has liberated itself from its old form but has not yet reached a new one. The fragmented old form can do no more than provide material that can be used to construct a new form. In *Beyond State, Power and Violence* Öcalan analyses in detail the signs that the capitalist system has disintegrated along with its counterpart since the 1990s.

the liberal ideological hegemony, which continuously evolves by assimilating new elements, including those of the anti-system forces, into itself. Liberalism is the ideological core that integrates nationalism, religiosity, scientism, and sexism. Its tools are schools, military barracks, place of worships, the media, universities, and, most recently, internet platforms. We can also add the arts, which have been turned into an industrialisation of culture. Even the most ordinary of scientists would agree that both of these approaches developed from a regime of crises, not produced from a path towards solutions. The crises that were once exceptional have become generalised and stable, while periods of 'normality' have become the exception. Societies, if they are to survive, cannot endure this regime for long. They will either go into decline and disintegrate - or resist and develop new systems, thereby overcoming the crisis. We are in such a period.

In this chaos interval, what social relations emerge from the crisis are shaped by the forces involved. There is a complicated mix of relations and contradictions - between the restructuring by the ruling system, and the restructuring struggles of the democratic and anti-system forces. In the brochure *Opportunities and Dangers of the Third World War*³ we have outlined the main scenarios in which the state forces are propagating and confronting the chaos. This was to enable a realistic political description of the situation for the forces of democratic modernity.

While these discussions on the crisis continue both within the forces of capitalist modernity, and in the opposition to the system, it is becoming increasingly urgent for the forces of democratic modernity to establish an alternative. Öcalan argues that the main reason for this lack of awakening within the anti-systemic forces is because they have not yet completed the necessary paradigmatic revolution. And consequently, have not yet developed sufficient strength in the form of analysis, organisation and action. In the following, we will present the alternative system of democratic modernity and elaborate its significance as a new school of social science. With a definition of "World Democratic Confederatism", the principles for a new internationalism will be illustrated and the concrete tasks for the construction of democratic modernity will be described.

3 <https://democraticmodernity.com/opportunities-and-dangers-of-the-third-world-war/>

The need for a renewal of opposition to the system

3

The examination of revolutionary experiences of the 20th century play an important role for the philosophy and politics of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Abdullah Öcalan. This is because the various anti-system forces have influenced our era at least as much as the system of capitalist modernity. They may not have been able to realise truly independent systems in theory and practice, but they undoubtedly possess a wealth of experience. Therefore, the incorporation of real socialism, social democracy and the national liberation movements into capitalist modernity also had profound negative effect on opponents to the system. Movements incurred a loss of power. They are still in a deep crisis of confidence. According to Öcalan, the main reasons for this weakness are the anti-systemic forces' own structural inadequacies and a flawed ideological and programmatic perspective. Postmodern, feminist, and ecological movements have recently emerged in response to these developments. Their current ideological and practical positions make it doubtful that they will be as effective as the system's former opponents. In this context, Öcalan makes the important point that the opposition to the system needs "a radical intellectual, moral and political renewal"⁴.

System opposition and an international democratic intervention in this phase of the system's crisis is more necessary than ever, especially as social problems are increasingly aggravated. Capitalist modernity has been the central factor in all economic distortions and crises including: Hunger, poverty, environmental disasters, social and political class divisions, power, extreme urbanisation and all the diseases that result from it, ideological contortions - and the particular ugliness that results from the distortion of the arts, and moral impoverishment and decay that have resulted from this over the last four hundred years.

However, both the left of former days, which gave rise to real socialism and the New Left, ecological, and feminist movements of more recent times, as well as the World Social Forums, are far from being able to grasp and overcome the chaos. Here, Öcalan asks "what kind of a world did the 'club of the rich' - the World Economic Forum in Davos - on the one hand, and the 'club of the poor' - the World Social Forums in Porto Alegre - on the other hand, visualise? These shallow discussions never got beyond the necessities of the day."⁵ He attests the lack of systematic and theoretical

4 Abdullah Öcalan, *Sociology of Freedom*, p. 285

5 Abdullah Öcalan, *Beyond State, Power and Violence*, p. 90

far-sightedness on both sides as a central reason for the limited discussions. According to Öcalan, the proponents of freedom and equality have neither the knowledge nor the necessary structures to successfully transform the crisis into a democratic, sustainable and liberatory awakening.

Demarcation of state and power as a basic theoretical prerequisite

Therefore, Öcalan points out that there is an urgent need for an intense discussion on the general theoretical perspectives and specific local tactics necessary for a worldwide democratic and ecological society with women's freedom, and for multitudinous solutions - without ignoring the aforementioned movements. With his defence writings written on the prison island of Imrali, he faces the challenge of finding answers to these questions: "Both the grave situation of the Kurdish people, who expect a comprehensive and feasible solution, and whose expectations we absolutely have to be worthy of, and the problems faced by the PKK, which took upon itself the responsibility to lead the people, required me to find the power of meaning and the structural instruments necessary for a successful solution. In facing this responsibility, I am fully aware of the need to act in the name of a transnational option for all peoples, while struggling in the name of our own people."⁶

In his book *Beyond State, Power and Violence*, Öcalan states that the first basic prerequisite for the development of general theoretical perspectives is "to say farewell to old theories and tactics that focus on ruling power and finding a solution by either 'destroying or seizing the state'".⁷ As a fundamental perspective, he formulates "revealing the consciousness and will of the people and all the groups that constitute the people based on their self-identity and culture and researching, organising, and putting into action local and transnational solutions."⁸ For this, he proposes the development of a democratic society organisation in the form of an "extensive social network as the fundamental organ of local authority, from the democratic municipal movement to village and neighbourhood communes, from cooperatives to broad civil society organisations, from human rights to children's rights and animal rights, from woman's freedom to ecological organisations, and vanguard youth organisations."⁹

6 Ibid., p. 90-91

7 Ibid., p. 208

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

5

For the ideological, theoretical and administrative coordination of this type of democratic society, political parties that focus on democratic politics are needed at the same time. Without the development of democratic parties and alliances, the creation of a liberated society is futile, according to Öcalan. Starting from the self-criticism that the party was defined in a statist way and seen as a means to achieve a state, Öcalan redefines the role of the party in democratic modernity: “It has a program seeking a democratic, free, and egalitarian transformation of society, with a common strategy for all social groups that have an interest in this program and based on a broad organisation, and on forms of action adopted by environmentalist, feminist, and cultural movements, as well as civil society organisations, without neglecting the tactical necessity of legitimate self-defence. In this sense, the party is the leading organisation of this sort of social movement.”¹⁰

He envisages “people’s congresses” for each group of people as the “highest expression of democratic society and political groups”. These people’s congresses are not an alternative to the state, but refuse to submit to it and, provided their principles are preserved, are open to compromises. Öcalan explains the following about the orientation of the people’s congresses: “A People’s Congress is different than a party. In parties, the ideological aspect predominates, while the People’s Congress prioritises the political aspect. It is an expression of the identity of an awakened people demanding its rights and striving for its freedom. It is the shared decision-making and supervisory body for those who desire freedom for the country and democracy for the people, regardless of ideology, class, sex, nationality, opinion, or belief. It is not a parliament or a classic law-making body, but it is the force that can make decisions that enable the people to live free and equal and that can monitor the implementation of laws. It is both a legal and political organ, the supreme non-state-oriented organ of the people. It is not a state organ nor does it represent an alternative to the state. It is, however, one of the most important institutions among those that treat democratic criteria as the yardstick for addressing all of the social problems of our time.”¹¹

In addition to these local and regional perspectives, Öcalan proposes in the general global context to transform the World Social Forum into a supranational platform for local democracies, into a “Global Democracy Congress” of the people, one that is not fixated on states. In the context of the

10 Ibid., p. 464

11 Ibid., p. 493

freedom struggle in Kurdistan, he formulates the supranational slogans for the coming period as: “Democratic Kurdistan,” a “Democratic Middle East Federation,” and a “Global Democracy Congress.”¹²

The alternative system and the sociology of freedom

Abdullah Öcalan presents a comprehensive answer to the specific question “What alternative system?” in his 5-volume opus magnum *Manifesto for a Democratic Civilisation*. In particular, in the third volume *The Sociology of Freedom*, he discusses both in theoretical terms the principles of a democratic socialism for the 21st century, and on a practical level the tasks for the construction of democratic modernity. Starting from the understanding that “it is difficult to develop a meaningful opposition to the system without both projects for the future and a correct analysis of the past”¹³ he develops his theory and also takes up the challenge of deriving from it concrete principles for the political practice of anti-system forces.

Öcalan bases his analysis and systematics on the concepts of “democratic civilisation” and “democratic modernity”. He emphasises that in the quest to not fall into the previous vicious circles, this is the correct method. Regarding his methodology, Öcalan emphasises that he applies the dialectical methodology applied by Karl Marx in *Capital* to civilisation: “Although I do not completely reject the scientific socialist method, which bases its opposition to the system on the conflict between two classes, I recognize that this is a very limited part of history and is far from providing an analysis of society. I have tried to overcome this with the concept of a five-thousand-year-old civilisation system whose development resembles the flow of a main stream. If we are looking for a dialectical contradiction - and I am convinced this is necessary - it is essential to develop it at the level of the civilisation system.”¹⁴ He elaborates on his approach to the Marxist method as follows: “In fact, as explained in *Capital*, civilisation polarises and creates groups and opposition. Even the bourgeoisie-proletariat contradiction is only one of many contradictions that civilisation created. In this sense, it would be more accurate to interpret my work not as in opposition to Marx but as an attempt to complement and develop Karl Marx’s views and evaluations on the basis of serious criticisms.”¹⁵ Central to the development of Öcalan’s paradigm and theory was then for

12 Ibid., p. 480

13 Abdullah Öcalan, *Sociology of Freedom*, p. 283

14 Ibid., p. 365-366

15 Ibid., p. 366

7

the question of what should be determined as a fundamental model - or on what model the analysis of society should be established. Based on his criticism of the lack of systematic theoretical foresight of the democratic and anti-system forces, and the need for a new theoretical framework, the crucial decision is which of the numerous social relationships are of crucial importance. "The social unit chosen will be meaningful to the extent that it explains the overall situation,"¹⁶ Öcalan expands on this, explaining: "My real problem was choosing a historical and social unit of analysis that would be both holistic and conclusive."¹⁷ In his book *The Sociology of Freedom*, Öcalan describes his search in various philosophical works for a suitable model unit. Central to this were Immanuel Wallerstein, Murray Bookchin, Fernand Braudel, Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault. But Öcalan singles out André Gunder Frank as the most important thinker, who compiled the views of a number of thinkers in his work *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?*. According to Öcalan, all the existing models of these thinkers contain many correct aspects, but also flaws and shortcomings, which he elaborates on. One of the fundamental flaws of André Gunder Frank's work is that his analysis runs the risk of presenting a closed loop that may seem impossible to exit: "In the end, he approaches hegemonic power systems as fate, or, more precisely, he does not dialectically show a way out."¹⁸ For this reason, Öcalan points out that his sociological approach contains specific dimensions of its own and is only influenced to a small extent by the aforementioned thinkers.

In this context, he presents the option of democratic civilisation as a model for a systematic approach, "a seemingly simple name that can be used until a more appropriate name is chosen"¹⁹. The option of democratic civilisation offers an alternative to the current centralised dominant world civilisation system. At the same time, it provides a very broad foundation for a revolution in the social sciences. For Öcalan, the main reason for the failure of many prominent oppositional – especially Marxist - social science structures, was that they were based on social science revolutions that remained rooted in the history of capitalism and power accumulation and, as a result, failed to develop an alternative system of civilisation. : "No doubt many of the aspects we have mentioned here have been widely criticised, but the next step of incorporating these criticisms into a narrative unit that could encompass the whole of history is yet to be taken. An

16 Ibid., p. 8

17 Ibid., p. 10

18 Ibid., p. 11

19 Ibid., p. 12

understanding of the world system could not be established, and as such narratives about it have never gone beyond fragmented efforts.”²⁰

With the system of democratic civilisation, Öcalan thus leaves the framework of the prevailing sociological structures, relying on the sociology of freedom that he has newly founded. This sociology offers him the possibility to question capitalist civilisation and modernity, and at the same time, to think in terms of democratic civilisation and modernity. “Without establishing my understanding of the social sciences, I would have been in no position to proceed to other challenging topics,”²¹ explains Öcalan, emphasising that the ultimate goal of social science must be to “develop the option of freedom.”²² Thus, Öcalan defines the sociology of freedom as a social science and sociological work that is “dealing with problem-solving and the promotion of an awareness of life”²³, since “to solve problems is to ensure freedom.”²⁴ As the rhetoric of scientific socialism has now become too narrow for Öcalan, he discusses social science in particular detail in his *Manifesto for a Democratic Civilisation* and concludes: “Social sciences that interpret awareness of life as freedom, and truth as the exploration of freedom, provide indispensable guidance for moral and political society’s enlightenment and development.”²⁵

Thinking independently of Western social sciences is identified as critically important for this, since “the Eurocentric social sciences truly stink of domination.”²⁶ . According to Öcalan, the social reality is different from that described by the Eurocentric social sciences. This is because the Eurocentric scientific paradigms have become detached from society, and those who deal with knowledge and science have predominantly adopted the perspective of capital and power. While science produces power and capital in modernity, capital and power have appropriated science: “The severing of all ties between science, and morality and politics, threw the door wide open for war, conflicts, battles, and all types of exploitation. Indeed, the history of Europe became the history of the most intense wars. The role cast to science was now to focus on inventing the perfect instru-

20 Ibid., p. 14

21 Ibid., p. 365

22 Ibid., p. 372

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., p. 365

26 Ibid., p. 45

ments of war to ensure victory.”²⁷ Accordingly, a meaningful social scientific paradigm (a radically anti-hegemonic civilisation philosophy of science) can only be developed by freeing oneself from the obstacles of positivism and Eurocentrism. At the same time, Öcalan warns that in the exploration of truth, wholesale anti-Europeanism can lead to outcomes that are just as negative as those resulting from the wholesale adoption of Europeanism: “Anti-Europeanism is also part of Eurocentric thought.”²⁸ Therefore, there is no way around understanding and appropriating the positive achievements and parts of the truth of Eurocentric science, especially the social sciences. Öcalan therefore develops his position on the basis of the understanding that Europe is to be found in the East and the East in Europe, aware of values that hold some element of universality.

Another central critique and observation of Öcalan is the sexist character of science as a whole. The social sciences are characterised by a masculine discourse that obscures and covers up the real status of women. Within the framework of his sociology of freedom, Öcalan therefore proposes “Jineoloji”²⁹ (science of women). Since women constitute the largest part of social nature both materially and in terms of centrality, they should also be made the subject of science: “So long as the nature of women remains in the dark, it will be impossible to illuminate social nature as a whole. A genuine and comprehensive illumination of social nature is only possible through a realistic and far-reaching elucidation of the nature of women. Revealing the status of women that includes the history of their colonisation and encompasses the economic, social, political, and intellectual aspects of this colonisation would greatly contribute to the enlightenment of other historical issues and all aspects of contemporary society.”³⁰

A new school of social science: The system of democratic civilisation

Alongside Marxism as a school or social science, and many other critical social science currents, such as the Frankfurt School and Annales School, “the school of social science that postulates the examination of the existence and development of social nature on the basis of moral and political society could be defined as the democratic civilisation system.”³¹

27 Ibid., p. 323

28 Ibid., p. 46

29 More information about the Jineoloji: <https://jineoloji.org/>

30 Ibid., p. 295

31 Ibid., p. 135

The different schools of social science are each based on different units of analysis. The approaches that are based on the well-known and most frequently used unit, the state in general and the nation-state in particular, rely more on the bourgeois perspective of the middle class. Marxists choose class and economy as the basic sociological unit and thus want to develop their own models as an alternative to the approach that relies on the unit 'state' as a point of reference. Theology and religion have society as their object, while the reference point of liberalism is the individual. We also encounter schools of thought that always interpret history and society only from the perspective of those in power and governmental authority. While there are schools that make power the object of study, there are also several approaches in which civilisations play the same role. All these approaches, which are based on a particular unit or reference, are criticised by Öcalan for being neither historical nor holistic.

According to Öcalan, a meaningful analysis should focus on “what is crucial from the point of view of society, both in terms of history and actuality.”³² Identifying the fundamental unit of the analytical framework of the social science school of democratic civilisation as moral and political society is significant, because it covers the dimensions of historicity and totality: “Moral and political society is the most historical and holistic expression of society. Morals and politics themselves can be understood as history. A society that has a moral and political dimension is a society that is the closest to the totality of all its existence and development. A society can exist without the state, class, exploitation, the city, power, or the nation, but a society devoid of morals and politics is unthinkable. [...] Throughout my work I chose moral and political society, which I consider to be the very state of existence of social nature, and which I tried to identify and define, as my fundamental unit of research.”³³ Öcalan consequently defines democratic civilisation as a “system of thought, the accumulation of thought, and the totality of moral rules and political organs”.³⁴

Democratic civilisation is not just a present and future utopia; it also seems very necessary and highly explanatory for a more concrete interpretation of the historical society. Öcalan's basic methodological change of the historical paradigm starts from the point that “the city-based capital and power monopoly could not have developed without agrarian-village society

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., p. 143

10,000 BCE to date).³⁵ According to Öcalan, this pre-capitalist society consists mainly of the “historical agrarian-village society, the society of women confined to their homes, of the craftspeople who live off their own labour, of the poor and the unemployed of the city (who live through subsidies).”³⁶ If we look at the reality in this way we will be able to better analyse the five-thousand-year-old civilisation and its last four hundred years as the capitalist world system—its most systematic period. Most probably the formation (aristocracy, lords, bourgeoisie) that have organised themselves by utilising capital and power throughout history have never amounted to more than 10 percent of the population. Therefore, the main body of society has always been above 90 percent of the population. The fundamental question that arises and must be answered, according to Öcalan, is which is the more correct methodology employed: Is it more scientific and correct to historicise and systematise this 10 percent, making it the main object of thought, as opposed to the 90 percent?³⁷

The fact that the history of democratic civilisation has not been written so far does not mean that it does not exist. The ideology of democratic civilisation has so far remained weak and unsystematic. This is because official civilisations utilise power, capital and military monopolies intertwined with ideological hegemony, and the forces of democratic civilisation have been repeatedly suppressed, misled and destroyed by these very powers. Öcalan therefore defines the most prioritised intellectual task as giving democratic civilisation a historical social expression.³⁸ In *The Sociology of Freedom*, he writes a first draft of the history of democratic civilisation and names its social elements. According to this, “the history of democratic civilisation, to a great extent, is the history of resistance, rebellion, and insistence on the life of the moral and political society of the tribes and aşirets (*editor’s note: tribal federation*) in their struggle for freedom, democracy, and equality in the face of the attacks by the civilisation.”³⁹ Moreover, democratic civilisation counters these attacks with a system that is not to be underestimated, even if it is not entirely integrated: “There have been city democracies (in Italy) and confederations (in Germany), peasants’ rebellions and communes, workers’ rebellions and communes (the Paris Commune), the experiences of real socialism (in one-third of the world), the process of national liberation (their non-power and the non-state mode

35 Ibid., p. 148

36 Ibid., p. 149

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., p. 207

39 Ibid., p. 182

of being), numerous democratic parties, civil society movements, and, recently, ecological and feminist movements, democratic youth movements, arts festivals, and new religious movements that do not seek power."⁴⁰

Democratic modernity as a world of its own

It is what Öcalan calls the “singularist” attitude that dominates all schools of social science, whether left, right, or centre. This method of social science is careful not to give any other kind of modernity a chance. If there is a modernity then it is unprecedented; two kinds of modernity cannot exist simultaneously. With the sociology of freedom, Öcalan attempts to shatter this understanding of a singular universal modernity. In his theoretical explanations, he proves step by step that “an alternative to the dominant modernity always exists and, despite all attempts to suppress and disguise it, continues to exist in all its forms and contents as one side of a dialectical pair of opposites.”⁴¹ Taking into account that dialectics do not necessarily function through opposing poles bent on each other’s destruction, he concludes that civilisation is not a monistic, but a dichotomous process, in the mostly non-destructive dialectical development of historical society. Öcalan emphasises that he is neither rediscovering nor inventing democratic modernity: “Democratic modernity has been dichotomous since the emergence of official civilisation, whenever and wherever it arose. What I am trying to do, even if only in broad terms, is to give due recognition to this form of civilisation (the unofficial democratic civilisation; the name is not so important) that exists whenever and wherever official civilisation exists and to meaningfully clarify its main dimensions in a way that arouses interest. Additionally, I will try to understand and define its basic forms of mentality, structures, and living society.”⁴² He expresses incomprehension that this natural consequence of the dialectical method has not been systematically expressed and given a voice throughout the history of civilisation. There has been a lack of interest in the development and reality of moral and political society, and what constitutes social nature, compared to the power-centred monopolies of capital of thousands of despots and emperors.

In this context, if “capitalist modernity”, the hegemonic age of capitalism is a specific term used to define the last four hundred years of classically defined capitalist civilisation, “democratic modernity” can be used to

40 Ibid., p. 153

41 Ibid., p. 195

42 Ibid., p. 200

refer for the last four hundred years of democratic civilisation. Democratic modernity is lived everywhere and at every time as the antithesis of where the networks of capitalist civilisation exist: “Whether successful or not, whether free or enslaved, whether marked by similarity or diversity, whether approaching equality or far removed from it, whether ecological and feminist or not, whether it has attained significance or not—in short, close to the characteristics of moral and political society or distant from them—democratic modernity exists at the heart of capitalist modernity always and everywhere.”⁴³ While capitalist modernity bases its existence on capitalism, industrialism and nation-statism, democratic modernity bases its counter-system on democratic society (or moral and political society, democratic communality, democratic socialism), eco-industry and democratic confederalism. It develops its alternative through its ecological and feminist characteristics that are open to diverse multicultural, non-monopolistic political structures, as well as with an economic structure that meets basic social needs and is controlled by the community. Öcalan contrasts and compares the differences between capitalist and democratic modernity extensively, and concludes that both modernities exist as two comprehensive, different worlds.

The political form of democratic modernity: Democratic confederalism and its characteristics

Democratic confederalism of democratic modernity is the political alternative to the nation-state of capitalist modernity. The democratic confederal system can also be defined as a non-state political form of governance. Central to this is the differentiation between democracy and the state: “The democratic confederalist system is democratic modernity’s counterpart of the nation-state, the main state form of official modernity. We can define this as a form of non-state political governance. It is this characteristic that makes the system so specific. We must not confuse democratic steering with that of the state’s administrative bodies. States administer; democracies steer. States rest on power, democracies rest on collective approval. In states, appointments are essential; in democracies, elections are central. In states obligation is essential; democracies run on voluntarism.”⁴⁴

Öcalan summarises several features that characterise democratic confederalism and can also be understood as principles for international relations of solidarity between democratic and anti-system forces. On this basis, the

43 Ibid., p. 241

44 Ibid., p. 256

first characteristic of democratic confederalism he mentions is its openness to different multilayered political structures. Horizontal and vertical political structures as well as central, local, and regional political structures relate to each other within a balance. Cultures, ethnic and national identities have the natural right to express themselves in political structures. **Secondly**, democratic confederalism is based on moral and political society: “Social forms that consist of capitalist, feudal, industrialist, consumerist, and other template projects based on social engineering are seen in the context of capitalist monopolies. While such societies don’t actually exist, their propaganda does. Societies are basically political and moral. Economic, political, ideological, and military monopolies are apparatuses gnawing away at the fundamental nature of society, chasing after surplus value and social tributaries. They have no intrinsic value. Even a revolution cannot create a new society. Revolutions can only play a positive role as an operation to restore the worn-out and lapsed moral and political fabric to its proper function.”⁴⁵ **Thirdly**, it is based on democratic politics, which is defined as the “true art of freedom”⁴⁶ and the “true school where freedom is learned and lived”⁴⁷. Central to this are council structures in which discussions take place and decisions are made: “There is no room for a leadership that acts as it wishes. From a general coordinating body (assembly, commission, congress) to local bodies, the democratic governance and supervision of social affairs are carried out by a bouquet of bodies that seek unity in diversity and are multi-structured in a way that suits the composition of all groups and cultures.”⁴⁸ **Fourth**, democratic confederalism is based on self-defence. Not as a military monopoly, but under the tight control of democratic organs in accordance with society’s internal and external security needs. The task of the self-defence units is to validate the will of democratic politics. **Fifth**, there is no place in democratic confederalism for hegemony of any sort - particularly ideological hegemony. Democratic civilisations and democratic modernity do not tolerate hegemonic powers and their ideologies. Collective management of social affairs requires mutual understanding, respect for different proposals, and commitment to democratic decision-making. While the concepts of general governance regarding classical civilisation, capitalist modernity, and the nation-state overlap, there are major differences and far-reaching contradictions between these concepts and those embraced by democratic civilisation and democratic modernity. Succinctly put, what underlies the

45 Ibid., p. 219

46 Ibid., p. 33

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., p. 220

differences and contradictions is bureaucratic and arbitrary governance, on one side, and democratic moral leadership, on the other. There can be no ideological hegemony in democratic confederalism, instead pluralism is even valid among different views and ideologies. As long as society's moral and political structure is not worn-out and hegemony is not sought, every opinion, idea, or belief can be freely expressed.⁴⁹ **Sixth**, democratic confederalism “favours a World Democratic Confederal Union of national societies, as opposed to the union of nation-states under the control of super-hegemonic power (*editors note: the USA*) in the United Nations. For a safer, more peaceful, more ecological, more just, and more productive world, we need a quantitatively and qualitatively strengthened union of much broader communities based on the criteria of democratic politics in a World Democratic Confederation.”⁵⁰

World Democratic Confederalism as a new form of internationalism

Despite the fact that today we are experiencing the systemic and structural crisis of the hegemony of global finance capitalism, and the nation-state system is facing serious problems, it still represents the strongest system in the national, regional, and global arena. Nation-states, numbering over two hundred, are represented by regional unions (such as the European Union, but also new alliances) and globally by the United Nations.

In contrast, the democratic civilisation system is inadequately represented by loose and formless forums like the World Social Forum and by non-state and non-power unions of labourers and peoples. Öcalan describes this inadequacy as ideological and structural in nature and proposes the development of “World Democratic Confederalism” to overcome it, i.e. local and regional democratic confederations with their political parties and instruments of civil society.⁵¹ While the paradigm of democratic modernity is a response to the ideological inadequacies, World Democratic Confederalism - among other institutionalisations listed below – is above all a response to the structural problems of the forces of democratic modernity at the international level.

The above characteristics of democratic confederalism are important principles for the internationalism of democratic modernity. Accordingly, World Democratic Confederalism includes various horizontal and vertical polit-

49 *ibid.*, p. 221

50 *Ibid.*

51 *Ibid.*, p. 153-154

ical structures, but it stands against rigid centralism, which Öcalan calls “a disease of nation-state thinking”⁵². Since societies and their political structures are not homogeneous, but consist of numerous communities, institutions and diversities, it is the duty of democratic confederalism to guarantee and maintain a harmonious coexistence. An extremely centralist government often causes explosions in democratic units. In this context, Öcalan refers to historical examples and emphasises that “the main reason for the disintegration of real socialism was its quick replacement of confederalism, which was high on the agenda at the beginning of the Soviet Russian experiment, with a centralised state. The reason that national liberation movements were unsuccessful and were quickly corrupted is closely linked to the fact that they did not develop democratic politics and confederalism. The lack of success of revolutionary movements over the last two hundred years is also because they considered the nation-state to be more revolutionary and regarded democratic confederalism as a backward political form, and thus opposed it.”⁵³ The same principles of organisation and governance that are central to all other processes in democratic modernity therefore apply to the construction of World Democratic Confederalism. “Rigid centralism and a hierarchical chain of command in organisation and administration are inimical to the organisational and governance principles of units of democratic modernity.” Öcalan explains.⁵⁴

Instead, “democratic politics is the way to build democratic confederalism”⁵⁵. Democratic politics offers each identity within and part of society the opportunity to express itself and become a political force. In the world of democratic modernity, mono-chromaticity is regarded as ugly, boring, and impoverished. The multicolours of a kaleidoscope, on the other hand, are associated with abundance, resilience, and beauty. Each of these autonomous units, from the local to the global, have the possibility of forming a confederation. The basic element of the local is the right to free discussion and the right of decision. A political functionality ranging from local unity, where direct democracy is practised and lived, to the global structure can be called democratic politics. Öcalan demands to think of the federal units in a very comprehensive way: “It is important to understand that even a village or district will need confederal units, and every village and district can easily be a confederal unit. For example, numerous direct-democratic units, from the ecological unit (or federal unit) to the units of free women,

52 Ibid., p. 309

53 Ibid., p. 259

54 Ibid., p. 318

55 Ibid., p. 258

self-defence, youth, education, folklore, health, mutual aid, and even the economic, must join together at the village level. We can simply call this new ‘unit of units’ a confederal unit (the unit of federal units) or confederal union. If we take the same system to the local, regional, national, and global levels, we can easily see what a comprehensive system democratic confederalism is.”⁵⁶

A central prerequisite for democratic politics is a broad field of organisation. “It is important to always keep in mind that democratic politics require competent cadre, media, political party organisations, and civil society organisations, as well as continuous education and propaganda.”⁵⁷ Features of successful democratic politics that are also crucial to the inner workings of organisation and society include; an overall respect for diversity within society as a basis for equality and reconciliation, a rich and courteous open discussion, political courage, the prioritising of morality, a comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand, a grasp of both the history and present, and a holistic and scientific approach.

The dimension of self defence, referred to as the “security policy of a moral and political society”⁵⁸, is also very important in this framework. It does not simply mean the military defence of societies, but is linked to the protection of identities, the guarantee of politicisation and the realisation of democratisation. Öcalan points out: “For every hegemonic network (commercial, financial, industrial, and ideological monopolies, as well as monopolies of power and nation-state), democratic modernity must develop the equivalent confederal networks of democratic politics and self-defence.”⁵⁹ However, contradictions and tensions can also arise within internal structures of society. Since societies have long been permeated by class and power, they will retain their power-oriented characteristics and approaches both externally and internally for a long time. Therefore, self-defence will also continue to occupy an important place on the agenda for (World) Democratic Confederalism for a long time.

Socialism and internationalism as a way of life

In democratic confederalism there is no place for striving towards hegemony in general, in particular ideological hegemony. But state-based in-

56 Ibid., p. 260

57 Ibid., p. 190

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., p. 261

ternationalism has produced new forms of hegemony. In each case, the anti-system force that succeeded in becoming a nation state, or in taking over the state and power apparatuses, simultaneously assumed the vanguard role in the field of internationalism. The expectation was to push the revolution on a global scale - that is, to spread internationalism. However, internationalism was sacrificed to the administrative mechanisms of the nation-state, whereby it lost its function over time and became integrated into the hegemony of the capital and power monopolies. The Chinese and Russian revolutions developed according to these approaches. Their politics were ultimately no longer based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism, but on the interests of the nation state - a central pillar of capitalist modernity.

In the theory of democratic modernity, internationalism takes on a new meaning. Democratic modernity or its democratic confederalist form of governance actively prevents the formation of hegemony. In the system of democratic confederalism, only solidarity based relations and alliances are to emerge on the basis of social freedom, equality and democracy. The understanding of internationalism in the theory of democratic modernity overcomes the local and temporal limitation of socialism, i.e. the focussing of the revolutionary subject on one region or social group. "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," Öcalan explains.⁶⁰

Wherever the system of democratic confederalism develops, wherever a democratic social organisation is formed as an alternative to the state, relations of solidarity can be established. This is synonymous with a new form of internationalism. This is an internationalism that does not aim to make others dependent on itself or to expand its own hegemony, but internationalism in the true sense. Internationalism is thus no longer an activity that is limited to a revolutionary phase. The composition of anti-system and democratic forces and social groupings that depend on international solidarity is rich and diverse. Consequently, internationalism cannot be limited to the respective working class of a nation. In this sense, Öcalan also redefines the subjects of revolution and liberation or the elements of democratic civilisation. He emphasises that the craftspeople, workers,

60 Abdullah Öcalan, Kürt Sorunu ve Demokratik Ulus Çözümü: Kültürel Soykırım Kışkacında Kürtleri Savunmak (Fifth volume of the Manifesto of Democratic Civilisation; not yet translated from Turkish)

unemployed, and self-employed people who live off their own labour must be accepted as equal pioneers and actors of socialism and revolution. Öcalan even speaks of a “sea of democratic forces”⁶¹ in which women in particular, as the oldest colony, form the backbone of society.

Internationalism is thus not an alliance that is only built or developed at international conferences and meetings, as was the case in the past. Internationalism is ultimately a practical attitude and way of living life itself that cannot be postponed into the future. It is a relationship that is established at every moment, not only in times of war, or when the threat of war is looming, or in times of economic crisis. It is a moral and political way of life and collectivity between all participants. It is a relationship that emerges in communities and councils, not only in critical and difficult times, and is lived out wherever and whenever those involved need it. If the forces of democratic modernity succeed in approaching each other and building relationships with each other on the basis of democratic modernity’s understanding of internationalism, an internationalist force and long-term institutionalisation can emerge that can provide an alternative to capitalist modernity, and develop approaches to solutions for the respective social problems in each country.

Democratic World Women’s Confederalism and Democratic Youth Confederalism

The self-organisation and consciousness of youth and women form the foundation of a moral and political society. The system of democratic confederalism therefore includes the possibility for women and youth to actively and self-determinedly represent their will in all social and political issues and terrains. They are the driving forces for the construction of democratic confederalism. As comprehensive movements, they are developing their own autonomous structures within this framework: democratic world women’s confederalism and democratic youth confederalism.

Based on the analysis that the 21st century is the century of women’s revolution through the growing struggle of women, the question of a new internationalism in the 21st century is also central for the Kurdish women’s movement. In this sense, democratic world women’s confederalism is defined as a way “of building a political system of world-women, the primary aim of which is to find solutions to all issues affecting women by collectively strengthening their power of thought, determination and action. This means

61 Abdullah Öcalan, *Sociology of Freedom*, p. 172

that world women's confederalism would be a political structure in which organised women would think together about patriarchal attacks and possibilities for the realisation of women's liberation, would engage in theoretical-intellectual production, make observations, work out solutions, make and implement joint decisions."⁶² Öcalan attributes a main role in solving the problems of society to the "democratic freedom and equality movement of women, based on women's science, which includes feminism".

In addition, a democratic youth movement is also seen as "guaranteeing success in the overall struggle for a democratic society."⁶³ A social movement that lacks the dynamics of youth has only limited chances of success. In this context, Öcalan mentions the understanding of the chaotic situation and the final crisis of the capitalist system and the internalisation of the values of democracy, women's liberation and ecological society as conditions for a youth awakening. Youth participation also envisages the construction of an autonomous system, with democratic youth confederalism contributing to the construction of democratic modernity.

Tasks for the construction of democratic modernity

While capitalism is trying to preserve its power under the conditions of global crisis on the basis of reconstruction or restoration of the nation state, the fundamental task of all the forces of democratic modernity is to respond to the crisis by building a democratic confederal system. This system aims to defend and strengthen the moral and political society. Öcalan also refers to this challenge as the reconstruction of the units of democratic modernity. By units, he means communities, individuals and movements that are aware that they are in opposition to the system and live accordingly: "These existences, which constitute the overwhelming majority of social nature, unfortunately subsist as qualitative forces far weaker than their numbers. Therefore, above all, rebuilding must pursue the objective of the quantitative multitudes gaining a qualitative capacity that equals their quantity."⁶⁴ Any anti-monopolist community is understood as a unit, "from the democratic nation to the village association, from an international confederation to the neighbourhood shop."⁶⁵ All these units can also be understood as the moral and political society.

62 <https://democraticmodernity.com/for-a-new-internationalism-of-women-democratic-world-womens-confederalism/>

63 Abdullah Öcalan, *Beyond state, power and violence*, p. 186

64 Abdullah Öcalan, *Sociology of Freedom*, p. 315-316

65 *Ibid.*, p. 317

Given the imbalance in the level of organisation, the central task is to rebuild the units of democratic modernity and make them an effective force. Öcalan lists these tasks under three headings and states: “These tasks, which can be sorted into three main categories, are all strongly connected and have intellectual, moral, and political dimensions.”⁶⁶ Each unit of democratic modernity must participate in the intellectual, moral and political tasks. Being such an entity requires being both a moral and political society and engaging in the intellectual, moral and political tasks.

The aforementioned characteristics of democratic confederalism apply to the principles of organisation and governance of the units of democratic modernity. They must organise themselves in the form of counter-networks and take on all three previously mentioned tasks. However, despite the close connection between these tasks, they must be institutionally absolutely independent of each other in order to be able to fulfil their functions adequately. As Öcalan explains: “Clarifying the required institutionalisation and the tasks related to these areas, which have become quite intertwined in history, and organising them for maximal cooperation are issues that must be resolved.”⁶⁷

Historically, various complicated institutional developments occurred between the units of democratic modernity. The history and experiences of socialism in general and the First, Second and Third Internationals in particular provide a reference for Öcalan: “In a certain sense, fraternal organisations combine these three tasks, as do utopians. Intellectual, moral, and political tasks attain functionality and are fulfilled under the guidance of a single person, much like in a sect. Especially during the period of real socialism, all three areas were institutionalised in the Communist League and the First, Second, and Third Internationals. The Communist Manifesto was effectively their program. These institutions shared the assimilationist inclinations of capitalist modernity regarding these three tasks.”⁶⁸ With regard to the present situation of the intellectual, morality and politics, Öcalan states that in modernity, the intellectual has been locked in the trap of the university, while morality has been exposed to strong attacks and consequently faces complete annihilation. It was replaced by positive law, causing its role in society to disappear. The field of politics, in turn, was gradually forced into the corset of parliamentarism and virtually brought to a standstill under the administration of the nation-state bureaucracy.

66 Ibid., p. 316

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid. p. 317

Therefore, like morality, politics can no longer play its role in any real sense today. Öcalan even speaks of the “actual death of politics”⁶⁹ at the stage of capitalist modernity and the decay of morality and the political sphere as phenomena of the present. This shows the urgency with which the units of democratic modernity must take on all three tasks if they do not want to prevent the complete disintegration of their respective societies.

Intellectual tasks of a new internationalism: The World Confederation of Cultures and Academies

In *The Sociology of Freedom*, Öcalan deals in detail with the intellectual, moral and political tasks of all social units in the reconstruction work of democratic modernity. He formulates concrete principles for each of these three tasks and puts them up for discussion. We can also understand these principles as a guideline for the construction of a new internationalism of the forces of democratic modernity.

For the reorganisation of the intellectual field of work, the basic understanding is that the solution to the intellectual crisis of the system is only possible through a new intellectual revolution. Moreover, the intellectual work in knowledge production and science must be defiant in nature, just as the elements of their research must necessarily contain a dimension of resistance. In this sense, both intellectuals themselves and their scholarship take a defiant stance against capitalist modernity. Since the fundamental sites of research cannot be the universities and the other official institutions of civilisation and capitalist modernity, an institutional revolution is necessary for social science. Here, the intervention of democratic modernity in form and content is crucial in the face of intellectual crisis. Öcalan points out that there is a rich intellectual and scientific heritage of revolutionary awakenings: “From the utopian socialists to the scientific socialists, from the anarchists to the Frankfurt School, from the French philosophy of the second half of the twentieth century to 1968 youth culture revolution, and finally to the postmodernist, feminist, and ecological movements that emerged in the 1990s.”⁷⁰ From this, democratic modernity must bring about its own intellectual and scientific revolution.

In order to realise the success of the intellectual revolution on a global level, Öcalan stresses the need for a new global institutional centre based on the lessons of the above-mentioned historical experiences, proposing the

69 Ibid. p. 32

70 Ibid. p. 333

23

construction of the “World Confederation of Culture and Academies”⁷¹. The central features of this global confederation would be its independence and autonomy from the nation state and power, as well as its opposition to the capitalist monopolies. The confederation could establish institutions with specific tasks at local, regional, national and continental levels. The participation of a wide range of local cultural institutions and regional and national academies could take place on the basis of common principles regarding programme, organisation and action. Öcalan defines these institutions as “democratic politics and culture academies”⁷² that can provide the necessary intellectual and scientific support for the reconstruction of the moral and political units of society. In terms of principles regarding form and content, according to Öcalan, “These academies should be autonomous and democratic, form their own program and cadres, and base themselves on the principle of their members being both voluntary students and voluntary teachers. It is quite easy to imagine that to begin with the positions of teacher and student will be readily interchangeable. From a shepherd in the mountains to a professor in the city, anyone who has an idea and a purpose should be able to contribute. Academies primarily for women might also prove appropriate, to allow for the scientific treatment of the unique aspects of women’s reality, while still having content similar to that of other academies. To avoid remaining purely theoretical, the participation of women in every aspect of the implementation would be a sought-after quality. Academies would be established and run in response to practical needs, whenever and wherever they might arise.”⁷³ Since an intellectual and scientific contribution is absolutely necessary for the reconstruction of the units of democratic modernity, these academies are the strategic place to meet this need for science and the development of their own cadres.

Moral tasks of a new internationalism: The Global Confederation of Sacredness and Moral Studies

The determination of the moral tasks awaiting democratic modernity in its reconstruction is based on the observation that the global crisis of modernity is a consequence of the destruction of moral society by the five-thousand-year forces of civilisation. According to the dialectic, the way out of the crisis must be sought in the reconstruction of moral society. Öcalan defines morality as a social institution; “the source of morality and

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., p. 333-334

democracy is one and the same: the collective mind of social practice and its capacity for work.”⁷⁴ Participatory and direct democracy is thus both the moral leadership and the ethical life of society.

When taking a closer look at the process of civilisation, one finds that there has always been an attempt to enforce the state norms against moral values. According to Öcalan, society in modernity is experiencing an “invasion of law” or “legal colonialism”.⁷⁵ This is because the more legal rules there are in a place or institution, the more effective the monopoly of oppression and exploitation that exists there.

However, referring to numerous historical incidents, Öcalan also points to the great resilience of moral society. The forces of democratic civilisation have never stopped insisting on morality against the religion and civilisation imposed on them. Öcalan sees the current main problems and tasks regarding morality in the positioning of the democratic forces: “Obviously, the study of ethics (the theory of morality) as a branch of social sciences is a task to be taken up in the intellectual area. The key issue, however, is to determine how ethics will become a united whole with society and how the eroded moral society will more strongly re-equip itself with morality. The task of rebuilding morality is not only a question of the sustainability of the century or the current modernity but of society itself.”⁷⁶

The units of democratic civilisation cannot be successfully protected from the attacks carried out by the forces of civilisation and capitalist modernity with all kinds of ideological, material and cultural weapons unless the democratic forces implement their task in the moral field. Without morality, society cannot be defended. As with the intellectual tasks, one of the central conditions for the success of the moral tasks is their institutionalisation. In this regard, Öcalan states that “Vatican-style Catholic ecumenicalism and institutions of the former caliphate representing the Islamic ummah, along with Judaism, Buddhism, and similar moral and religious traditions, should re-institutionalise themselves under a common roof to constitute an institution for the global representation of morality. If they were to focus on ethical practices rather than theology, they might well play a major role in rebuilding moral and political society on behalf of humanity.”⁷⁷ For this too, Öcalan proposes a confederation as an organisational form where the great moral teachings

74 Ibid., p. 337

75 Ibid., p. 338

76 Ibid., P. 342

77 Ibid., p. 344-345

come together against the onslaught of modernity, forming a common institutionalisation. This could be similar to the coming together of nation states under the umbrella of the UN. For this, Öcalan proposes the foundation of the “Global Confederation of Sacredness and Moral Studies”⁷⁸.

Political tasks of a new internationalism: The World Confederation of Democratic Nations

Regarding the main principles underpinning the political tasks of the forces of democratic modernity, it should first be noted that the struggle of the anti-system forces over the last two hundred years has failed and is at an impasse due to their methods and approaches. This takes the shape of either coming to power, or of leaving the political arena empty. However, it is possible to present an alternative by developing a system against the three pillars of capitalist modernity - capitalism, industrialism and the nation state. Democratic society, eco-industry and democratic confederalism form precisely this counter-system under the name of “democratic modernity”.

During capitalist modernity, power besieges society both internally and externally and turns it into a kind of internal colony. The nation-state, as a form of power and the fundamental mode of the state, are in constant war with the society. This reality is the source of resistance politics. Given this situation in capitalist modernity, politics must begin as resistance to power: “Since power tries to conquer and colonise every individual and social unit, politics must try to win over and liberate every individual and social unit that it rests upon. Since every relationship, whether that of an individual or a unit, is related to power, it is also political in the opposite sense. Since power breeds liberal ideology, industrialism, capitalism, and the nation-state, politics must produce and build an ideology of freedom, eco-industry, communal society, and democratic confederalism. Since power is organised in every individual and unit, every city and village, at local, regional, national, continental, and global levels, politics must respond in kind. Since power enforces numerous forms of action at all these levels, including propaganda and war, politics must counter at every level with the appropriate propaganda and different forms of action.”⁷⁹ In this context, democratic modernity, as the present actuality of the forces of democratic civilisation, represents the existence of and stance adopted by all individuals and social units whose interests and existence contradict the capitalist system.

78 Ibid., p. 345

79 Ibid., p. 353

As the basic political form of democratic modernity, democratic confederalism plays an essential role in the reconstruction work. The language of democratic modernity is political. It envisages and builds its systematic structure using the art of politics. Öcalan defines politics and democratic confederalism as the principles of social governance that counteract the phenomena of power and the nation-state structure of capitalist modernity. While capitalist modernity always administrates through orders, democratic modernity governs by doing real politics⁸⁰ through discussion and consensus. Öcalan defines this system as “a new political world”.⁸¹ Democratic confederalism offers the possibility of the democratic nation as the fundamental means for solving the ethnic, religious, urban, local, regional, and national problems that arise from modernity’s monolithic, homogeneous, monochromatic, fascist model of society that is implemented by the nation-state.

As for the intellectual and moral tasks, Öcalan also proposes an internationalist structure in the form of confederations for the political tasks: “The global union of democratic nations, the World Confederation of Democratic Nations [or World Democratic Confederalism], would be an alternative to the United Nations. Continental areas and broad cultural spaces could form their own Confederation of Democratic Nations at the local level.”⁸² In these Confederations of Democratic Nations, every ethnic group, every religious direction and every urban, local, regional and national reality has the right to be represented with its own identity and democratic federal structure.

Theory of democratic modernity: A guide for the construction of a new internationalism

The goal of reconstructing democratic modernity is to approach all individuals and social units with a systematic understanding - a paradigm – and a practice, organising them and launching them into action. While the capitalist system searches daily for theoretical and practical ways to exit this crisis without suffering any meaningful losses, the opponents to the current system have no choice but to develop their own system of understanding and practice. Within the framework of these construction activities, the above-mentioned basic three tasks always arise. Intellectual,

80 About the redefinition of democratic politics: <https://democraticmodernity.com/the-redefinition-of-democratic-politics/>

81 Abdullah Öcalan, *Sociology of Freedom*, p. 354

82 *Ibid.*, p. 357

moral, and political tasks will always need to be carried out. Even though the strategic and tactical approaches may differ depending on the temporal and local context, the tasks never change their essential nature. The interconnectedness of the activities to the intellectual, moral and political tasks is essential here. “Therefore the measure of success of anti-system individuals and organisations is related to their ability to cohesively and effectively address the tasks they face in these three areas,” Öcalan explains.⁸³ When - and only when - intellectual, moral, and political tasks are fulfilled, intertwined in the way that moral and political society requires, can we hope to attain maximal freedom, equality, and democracy. In this sense, the construction of the World Confederation of Cultures and Academies, the Global Confederation of Sacredness and Moral Studies and the World Democratic Confederalism form a concrete guide for 21st century internationalism and all necessary steps on the way to democratic modernity.

83 Ibid., p. 360

While these discussions on the crisis continue both within the forces of capitalist modernity, and in the opposition to the system, it is becoming increasingly urgent for the forces of democratic modernity to establish an alternative. Abdullah Öcalan argues that the main reason for this lack of awakening within the anti-systemic forces is because they have not yet completed the necessary paradigmatic revolution. And consequently, have not yet developed sufficient strength in the form of analysis, organisation and action. In the following, we will present the alternative system of democratic modernity and elaborate its significance as a new school of social science. With a definition of "World Democratic Confederalism", the principles for a new internationalism will be illustrated and the concrete tasks for the construction of democratic modernity will be described.

email: info@democraticmodernity.com
website: <https://democraticmodernity.com/>