

The Civilizational Crisis in the Middle East and the Democratic Civilization Solution

Manifesto of the Democratic Civilization

Abdullah Öcalan • Foreword by Leyla Güven

The global crisis of civilization is nowhere more visible than in the Middle East. Wars, authoritarian regimes, social fragmentation, and ecological collapse converge into a single, devastating picture. Abdullah Öcalan argues that the solution to this crisis must be found in the same place where centralized civilization first emerged 5,000 years ago.

The fourth volume of Öcalan's *Manifesto of Democratic Civilization* traces the region's deep historical crises while highlighting the many traditions of resistance—religious, cultural, communal, and antiauthoritarian—that have survived despite millennia of state domination. These traditions, he argues, provide the building blocks for a future beyond capitalist modernity.

Drawing on the theoretical framework laid out in earlier volumes, Öcalan offers a bold rereading of Middle Eastern history, revealing how patriarchy, hierarchy, and empire became entrenched, and how they can be dismantled. He presents democratic confederalism, a moral and political society, and an ecological, women-centered economic order as the essential pillars of a new civilizational model.

In this volume, Öcalan emerges not only as a strategist for resolving the Kurdish question but as a visionary for democratizing the entire region. He closes with urgent questions that speak directly to our global moment: How should we live? What must we do? And where do we begin?

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Abdullah Öcalan, the founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), is credited with developing the paradigm of Democratic Modernity. Since his abduction in 1999, he has been imprisoned on the island of İmralı in conditions of extreme isolation. During his time in prison, he has written over ten books that have transformed Kurdish politics. Writing extensively about history, philosophy and politics, he is widely regarded as a key figure in finding a political resolution to the Kurdish question. His writings have made significant contributions to discussions on freedom and outline proposals for non-state political systems in his theories on Democratic Confederalism. His most notable work is the five-volume "Manifesto for a Democratic Civilisation". His works have been translated into over twenty languages.

Leyla Güven is a Kurdish politician, co-chair of the Democratic Society Congress and former mayor of the municipality of Viranşehir in the Şanlıurfa Province of Southeast Anatolia of Turkey, where she represented the former Democratic Society Party.

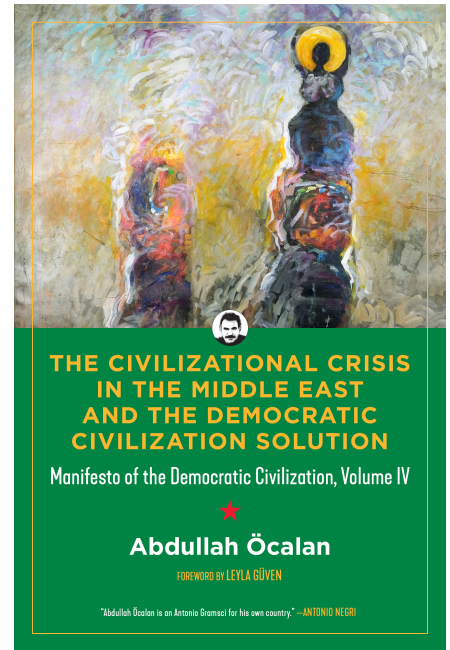
ACCOLADES

"Öcalan, from his cell, reminds us that freedom is not a point of arrival, but a living process, a weaving that is remade collectively, an ethical construction that challenges us in every decision, in every word, in every step. His thought, in dialogue with the rebellious spirit of the people, becomes a vital tool for thinking about emancipation beyond classical forms of politics. That is why reading his work is not only an intellectual act, but a profoundly political act."

—Rosario Aquím Chávez, Bolivian activist, poet, and educator

"Öcalan's works have played a key role in inspiring one of the most widespread movements of real-life revolutionary transformation in recent memory."

—David Graeber, author of *Debt* and *The Dawn of Everything*



THE CIVILIZATIONAL CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE DEMOCRATIC CIVILIZATION SOLUTION

Manifesto of the Democratic Civilization, Volume IV

Abdullah Öcalan

FOREWORD BY LEYLA GÜVEN

"Abdullah Öcalan is an Antonio Gramsci for his own country." —ANTONIO NEGRI

SUBJECT CATEGORY

Social Theory / World History
Political Ideologies

PRICE

\$26.95 / \$59.95

ISBN

979-8-88744-193-1 / 979-8-88744-196-2

PAGE COUNT

384

SIZE

6 x 9

FORMAT

Paperback / Hardcover

PUBLICATION DATE

08/18/2026

US DISTRIBUTION

Publishers Group West
1-866-400-5351

www.pgw.com • ips@ingramcontent.com

CANADA DISTRIBUTION

Publishers Group Canada
1-800-663-5714

customerservice@raincoast.com

EUROPE DISTRIBUTION

IPS_International.Orders@ingramcontent.com

UK DISTRIBUTION

Turnaround Publisher Services Ltd
020-8829-3000 • orders@turnaround-uk.com

PM PRESS

P.O. Box 23912 • Oakland, CA 94623
www.pmpress.org • info@pmpress.org
510-703-0327

PM

PM Press is an independent, radical publisher of critically necessary books for our tumultuous times. Our aim is to deliver bold political ideas and vital stories to all walks of life and arm the dreamers to demand the impossible. Founded in 2007 by a small group of people with decades of publishing, media, and organizing experience. We're old enough to know what we're doing and young enough to know what's at stake.