

# The Art of Freedom

## A Brief History of the Kurdish Liberation Struggle

Havin Guneser

Introduction: Andrej Grubačić • Interview: Sasha Lilley

The revolution in Rojava captured the imagination of the left, sparking a worldwide interest in the Kurdish Freedom Movement. *The Art of Freedom* demonstrates that this explosive movement is firmly rooted in several decades of organized struggle.

In 2018, one of the most important spokespersons for the struggle of Kurdish Freedom, Havin Guneser, held three groundbreaking seminars on the historical background and guiding ideology of the movement. Much to the chagrin of career academics, the theoretical foundation of the Kurdish Freedom Movement is far too fluid and dynamic to be neatly stuffed into an ivory-tower filing cabinet. A vital introduction to the Kurdish struggle, *The Art of Freedom* is the first English-language book to deliver a distillation of the ideas and sensibilities that gave rise to the most important political event of the early twenty-first century.

The book is broken into three sections:

- "Critique and Self-Critique: The rise of the Kurdish freedom movement from the rubbles of two world wars" provides an accessible explanation of the origins and theoretical foundation of the movement.
- "The Rebellion of the Oldest Colony: Jineology—the Science of Women" describes the undercurrents and nuances of the Kurdish women's movement and how they have managed to create the most vibrant and successful feminist movement in the Middle East.
- "Democratic Confederation and Democratic Nation: Defense of Society Against Societocide" deals with the attacks on the fabric of society and new concepts beyond national liberation to counter it. Centering on notions of "a shared homeland" and "a nation made up of nations," these rousing ideas find deep international resonance.

Havin Guneser has provided an expansive definition of freedom and democracy and a road map to help usher in a new era of struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and the State.

### ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

**Havin Guneser** is an engineer, journalist, and a women's rights activist who writes and speaks extensively on the topic of revolution in Rojava. She is one of the spokespersons of the International Initiative "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan—Peace in Kurdistan" and translator of several of Öcalan's books.

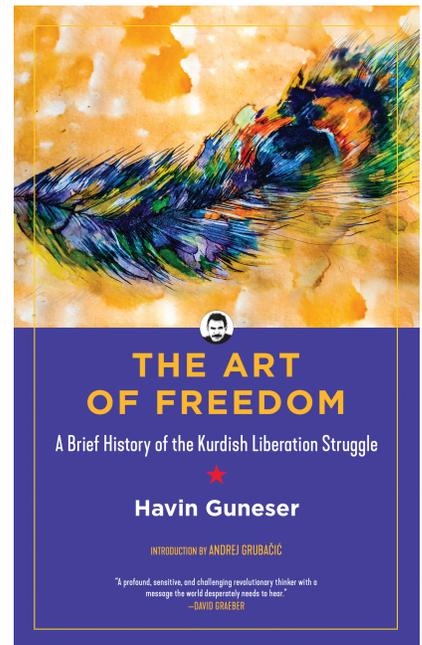
**Andrej Grubačić** is an anarchist dissident and historian who has written prolifically on anarchism and the history of the Balkans. He is founding chair of the Anthropology and Social Change department. He is the author of *Don't Mourn, Balkanize! Essays after Yugoslavia* and the coauthor of *Wobblies and Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism and Radical History*.

**Sasha Lilley** is a writer and radio broadcaster. She's the cofounder and host of the critically acclaimed program of radical ideas, *Against the Grain*. Sasha is the author of *Capital and Its Discontents*, which *Publishers Weekly* called a "cool-headed but urgent volume—timely but sophisticated and wide-ranging enough to remain a longtime reference."

### ACCOLADES

"Havin Guneser is not just the world's leading authority on the thought of Abdullah Öcalan; she is a profound, sensitive, and challenging revolutionary thinker with a message the world desperately needs to hear."

—David Graeber author of *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*



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