

Sustam, E. (2021), '*Ecological Self-Governmentality in Kurdish Space at a Time of Authoritarianism*', in *Ecological Solidarity and the Kurdish Freedom Movement*, Stephen E. Hunt (edited by), Lexington Books- Rowman & Littlefield Publishing, Maryland, August, pp. 41-60

## *Chapter 3*

# **Ecological Self-Governmentality in Kurdish Space at a Time of Neoliberal Authoritarianism**

Engin Sustam

The Kurdish question in the Middle East currently expresses itself in a puzzle of political and social ecology. This chapter examines this and theorizes a change of political values in Kurdish life. We will speak of the micropolitical ecological emancipation at the center of Turkey's Kurdish region (Bakûr) and Syria (Rojava). It has taken the shape of a heterogeneous movement which is challenging the crisis of colonial society. It also struggles for the environment, feminism, and the emancipation of the Kurdish people. This chapter offers an analysis of Kurdish space during a time of new uprisings and global authoritarianism. The topical analysis of Kurdish spaces of resistance crosses over with other movements, in which new and unique Kurdish subjectivities create emancipatory experiences, an important concern for wider alternative politics. This defines the chapter's milestones in a revolution that is embedded in the era of world capitalism. These novel spaces are analyzed alongside the concept of "Kurdish communalism." This discussion is informed by Michel Foucault's concept of "governmentality" (2004b, 2008 and 1994, 642) which contributes an analysis of the change in neoliberal powers toward an emerging governmental and global authoritarianism, in which the state and its institutional arrangements are characterized by a specific mode of macro-power. It is essential to underline that the goal of the Rojava Revolution is completely counter to such authoritarian power, based on policies of control of the population. The Foucauldian analysis, therefore, will give us a fresh perspective upon this Kurdish practice.

It is important to consider the Kurdish political movement within the context of the wider political transformation, of global "insurrectionary" social movements. This influenced the revolution's thinker, Abdullah Öcalan, who transformed a Marxist-Leninist movement into an autonomist-libertarian

movement (2013b). The theory of social ecology, in particular, has a rhetoric and outlook that is compatible with the priorities of the Kurdish political movement (Üstündağ 2018; Cooperativa Integral Catalana 2016; Rojava Information Center 2020). The Kurdish political movement has adopted a discourse centering on an alternative political system, characterized by ecological priorities and communalism and based on micro-identities. The movement's aspiration is to apply this system to territory, which is contiguous, but separated by nation-state borders across the Kurdish majority region. Since the 1990s (from the first experience of HADEP's thirty-seven municipalities), Kurdish municipalities organized workshops that developed the theoretical idea of an alternative economy in Turkey's Kurdish areas. This economy, however, remains dependent on the monetary system of the state and international corporations. In November 2016, the Kurdish political movement worked with ecology activists to organize a conference in the city of Van with the slogan: "Let's communalize our land, our water and our energy, let's build a democratic, free life!" This micropolitical, communal vision of a free territory is embodied by the Rojava Revolution post-2012. At the Van conference, attendees discussed the necessity to construct an alternative economy centered on social, "humanitarian," and environmental benefits, and the emancipation of women, one that would avoid "individualist" or statist, for-profit approaches. This perspective reflects the emerging principles of radical democracy, communalism, ecologism, the emancipation of women, equality of sexual identities, the eradication of poverty, and solidarity. The resolutions taken at the conference in Van aimed at communalizing the cultivation of land, as well as work against precarity in the Kurdish space. The brutality of war and the "necropolitics" (Mbembe 2003) of Turkish state violence had exacerbated all inequalities. These effects do not limit themselves to stimulating the micronational dialectics of the movement, but also express a sort of politics of "dissensus" (Rancière 2009) in the Kurdish regions. The ecological movement aims to be both political and practical, basing itself on material conditions, with its practice informed by a theoretical toolbox.

We will discuss the expression of emancipation in the public space in relation to the culture of urban insurrection in the Kurdish region. The complexity of the space of revolt engenders a new political perception of the revolution in the Kurdish cantons by means of counterpower and countercultural reproduction, which makes itself visible, transcending any conventional ideological behavior in the Middle East. This micro-revolutionary tendency encompasses heterogeneous realities. It formulates politics in the Kurdish regions in a perspective close to that developed by Félix Guattari (2012, 2014): we see "a molecular revolution" at the heart of the process of a new Kurdish subjectivity coming into being. In parallel, this chapter will examine the thought processes relating to ecology. The questions that impress themselves

are: What are the current criticisms concerning the social consequences of the ecological crises in Kurdistan in times of conflict and war? What are the propositions for alternative projects as part of the Kurdish revolution in urban and rural spaces?

## FROM THE ARAB SPRING TO THE ROJAVA REVOLUTION IN THE TIME OF GLOBAL UPRISING

At a time of global crisis, neoliberalism aims to take total control over the life of every citizen of the world. We are on the way to a new level of global governmentality based on the surveillance of everyday life and of dissidence (Sustam 2020). By contrast, amid conflict, racism, and violence, the Rojava experience invites us to reflect on what we had not seen coming: the unforeseen insurgencies and a molecular revolution in life and free territory. Kurdish practice helps us to analyze the new spaces of uprisings in the world and the crisis of capitalism in the twenty-first century. The emerging Kurdish space is made up of complex themes, to be theoretically understood through framing concepts such as pedagogy, social ecology, uprising, the social structure of emancipation, and insurrection. In this context, our objective is, therefore, to understand the conditions and the factors which favor the appearance of this advanced countercultural language of Kurdish revolts and communalism, against the hegemonic construction of the neoliberal (in the Middle East and the world) and state apparatus in the space of conflict. This chapter intends to examine the subversive and creative subjectivity of emancipatory spaces and uprisings in the making. It situates the pedagogy of new ontological forms of these micropolitical spaces on a world scale, where uprisings are traced globally. In this context, since July 19, 2012, the revolution in Rojava has been a striking and outstanding example among several others, notably: Tahrir Square, Istanbul's Gezi Park, the Diyarbakır Hevsel Gardens resistance, Place Maiden, Nuit Debout, the Zapatistas' autonomous administration in Chiapas, Brazil's Landless Movement (MST), ZAD, and the *Gilets Jaunes*, and also revolts in Chile, Bolivia, Hong Kong, Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, France, and elsewhere (see Sustam 2020).

Turkey's Kurdish region became the site of the new urban *Serhildan* (Kurdish popular urban uprising, literally meaning "to raise the head," from *ser*, meaning "head," and *hildan*, meaning to rise) against the state apparatus, with the state following a new strategy that entails establishing special security zones in the cities. This is a generation born during the war of the 1990s that is now behind the barricades. The emergence of this new generation (who formed the youth movement YDG-H/K: Movement of the Patriotic Revolutionary Youth/Women, that became YPS: Civil Protection

Units) shows a reflexive-strategic break with the 1990s (Collectif Ne Var Ne Yok: 2016, 7–27). They have become the principal actors of the counter-violence of the Kurdish intifada known as the Serhildan. After the uprising in the areas that proclaimed themselves autonomous, the government installed special security zones, thus engaging in an undeclared war that interrupted the peace process. The intensification of the Serhildan in 2014–2016 was connected to this breakdown in peace talks, and Daesh’s recent genocide of Yazidis, and attacks on Kobanî at this time. There were several manifestations of Serhildan, in Turkey’s Kurdish areas, which echoed the Kurdish uprising of the 1990s. It was during the period, when Daesh attacked Kobanî, that Turkey wanted to conquer Rojava through such paramilitary groups. Kurds in Turkey therefore use the term “Serhildan” as a powerful expression of anger at state violence and colonial denial. At the same time, some ecological movements engaged in urban ecopolitics in diverse spaces, such as the Hevsel Gardens resistance movement (See Erbay 2017 on the Amed Ecology Platform and Evrensel 2014) in the center of Diyarbakır, against gentrification, the expansion of the urban area, privatization of the city and social exclusion.

To understand the political character of the Kurdish political movement, it is necessary to concentrate on the Rojava Revolution and the resistance at the barricades (*hendek*) in Kurdish cities. Self-governance is a new strategy for the micro-power to reproduce itself when facing the oppression of the state, which is militarizing the Kurdish region, and the domination of the “necropolitics” (Mbembe 2003) of the jihadist movements in the Middle East. It is important to stress that the discourse on self-governance of the Kurdish political movement in the Middle East proposes a diversified approach in the elaboration of the social project. The counter-violence (against state, patriarchal, and jihadist violence) has created something that looks like non-state organization in Kurdistan (Tatort Kurdistan 2013). Its self-organized movement is elaborating a resilient critique of the traditional armed struggle with its hierarchies.

In this context, the objective is to understand the conditions and factors that favor the transformation of the Kurdish space in Syria and the emergence of this insurrectionary language of revolts in the face of the hegemonic construction of the neoliberal economy and state. During the last decade, the Kurdish space has seen the emergence of what could be called a new political subjectivity, a perspective critical of political readings of Kurdicity as based on the idealization of the nation-state. This changed criticism concerns mainly the practical foundations of a whole space of revolt and urban insurrection facing the colonization of the dominant nation-states. In this context, the concept and practice of self-management lead to a regional, complex, and cross-border approach among Kurds. They operate a double shift from a state

government and the classic landmarks of the nation-state: to a revolution (in Rojava) based on the principles of social ecology and the idea of democratic confederalism.

In keeping with the ideas that Hardt and Negri explore in “Assembly” (2017), these uprisings present subjectivities and raise the potential to create a micro-revolutionary process. This represents a deviation from the transnationalized monetary system which, with its increasing domination of the potentially heterogeneous “people to come” able to realize collective subjectivities liberated from capitalism (Deleuze 1993, 15; Deleuze and Guattari 1991; Comité invisible 2007), threatens to bring bringing poverty, precariousness, and insecurity to societies across the planet (Lazzarato 2004; 2008). The revolutionary impetus and the emancipation of a colonized people carry the weight of the possibility of hope for a better life, ecology, and freedom. We also see new forms of “debt dependency” (Lazzarato and Negri 1991; Lazzarato, 2004 and 2008) and the kind of widespread surveillance and security measures that assert the future of international companies, creating the potential to get rid of state systems. On the one hand, global neoliberalism imposes a system of control upon society using state apparatuses, yet at the same time, it strives to free itself from state rule to suit its economic and transnational interests. In this respect, David Graeber’s discussion of the debt mechanism of neoliberalism is relevant. Graeber highlights the role of debt in causing poverty, human misery, and ultimately the destruction of the planet, observing that “consumer debt is the lifeblood of our economy. All modern nation-states are built on deficit spending. Debt has come to be the central issue of international politics. But nobody seems to know exactly what it is, or how to think about it” (2011, 5).

Counter to this model of global capitalism, the cooperatives in Rojava, often led by women, provide an alternative example, one grounded in the system of democratic confederalism and inspired by indigenous people in the part of Chiapas administered by the Zapatistas (Baschet 2019). Following his visit to Rojava, Graeber thus underlined the political transformation of the Kurdish political movement toward a more libertarian practice in Kurdish northeastern Syria (Graeber 2017; Schaepelynck and Sustam 2018). Yet a question remains: What differentiates the Rojava Revolution and the internationalist uprising, allowing the Kurdish people to assert their existence with other peoples, in a context where the autonomous institutions are neither virtual nor imaginary but represent a real possibility to create a future “together”? How should we account for and read the concept of the communal revolution among the Kurds, as an instance of solidarity and radical democracy directly counter to the Middle East’s totalitarian regimes? The following will try to analyze these questions.

## KURDISH SELF-GOVERNMENT: AN EXPERIMENT IN A STATELESS SOCIETY

It should be recalled that the Kurds generally claim an autonomous government in each part of the Kurdish region (Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria). Indeed, we are talking about four systems with completely different components. Kurds in Iraq have an already established experience of federal government in the form of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq, in existence since 1992. The autonomy of the Iraqi Kurds in a representative and parliamentary democracy is based on a neoliberal, financialized oil economy. In Iran, it has only been possible for Kurdish people to develop limited cultural autonomy, due to the colonial domination of the despotic regime in power since the 1979 Islamic Revolution. The focus here will be upon Rojava, the self-government and confederal system in northeastern Syria, and Turkish Kurdistan, or Bakûr, as a municipal experience (quasi “self-government”) based on the political theory of radical and representative democracy dependent on the Turkish neoliberal economy (Aslan 2016, 93-98).

The Kurdish political movement (that of the PKK, PYD, and others) uses two relative terms according to the regional political needs: those of *Xweserî* (autonomy) and *Xweserîya demokratîk* (democratic autonomy) and thus *Demokratîk Konfederalîzm* (democratic confederalism) (Bance: 2017; 2020). The Kurds have established self-governing institutions such as those of TEV-DEM (Movement for a Democratic Society) to manage the administration and the socio-ecological project of the Rojava Revolution. Democratic autonomy is a proposal of the Kurdish political movement, coordinated by the Union of Kurdistan Communities (KCK) from 2005, alongside civil society groups in the DTK (Democratic Society Congress, formed in 2017 with a horizontal structure, without “hegemony of state power”). It is in this environment that the transformation of the new Kurdish subjectivity in the Middle East begins. For the Kurdish political movement, to put ecology, the emancipation of women, and self-government at the center of the process of social change is to question the capitalist system and to occupy a position for the transformation of Kurdish society.

The first thing to say is that the Rojava Revolution promotes democratic self-governance based on ideas of libertarian anarchism. A communal system is being built using Öcalan’s theories (2011a, 2013a and 2015), which in turn are based on the concept of social ecology developed by Murray Bookchin (Bookchin 1995, 1998, 2006) and are a departure from Marxist “orthodoxy.” We can also recognize the legacy of historic self-governance, such as anarchist governance in the Spanish Revolution, or experiences, such as the Zapatista movement in Chiapas (Baronnet 2013; Baschet and Goutte 2015). In the Kurdish regions, a hermeneutic decoding of political

and ecological philosophy (grounded in the ideas of thinkers, such as Marx, Bakunin, Fanon, Foucault, Deleuze, Bookchin, Wallerstein, and Negri) has been begun. Generally, the definition of a stateless society entails a transformation of political conditions through social struggle. Sharing, comradeship, knowledge, relationships, desire, and emotion, all these constitute material and immaterial kinds of work, which allow for mobility in political organization made up of interconnected networks. TEV-DEM, for example, is driven by a powerful representation of women in governmentality (Duman 2016, 79–115). Much has been said about the place of women and minority society at the center of political action in the Rojava Revolution. However, what is at stake is less a political struggle against patriarchy alone than a revolution with a self-governance approach, which goes beyond the form of nation-state.

The concept of “molecular revolution” functions as a helpful tool for the analysis of the ecological revolution in Rojava. For Guattari, the concept is key as a form of political criticism for understanding the institutional practice of a revolution that refers to a transformation beyond notions of national revolution or to a class recovering state power (Guattari 2012, 54–76, 199–204, 218, 266, and 371). This seems an important critical tool, especially

for the Kurdish political movement, which transformed its vision from the Soviet model toward a new libertarian and ecological policy. Guattari observes precisely how the institutional dynamics of the state, with its old left structure and practices of class struggle, internalized the bureaucratic and despotic aspects of its political vision (Guattari 2007). Likewise, in the period following the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the Kurdish political movement critiqued the despotic institutions of the Soviet system (Öcalan 1993, 2004, and 2011b). This then links analysis of the revolution to the micropolitical struggle for “identity” emancipation. For the Kurdish political movement, overthrowing power for the working class is not enough. It focuses on the unfinished liberation of sexes, genders, social class, and ecology (Öcalan: 2011a). In this way, the mentality of the movement decolonizes the territory and decentralizes the question of the struggle toward communalism.

Despite the war, the “co-chairs” of northeastern Syria are implementing a self-administrated society and establishing a micro-economic system regarding the alternative economy, ecology, and land ownership as provided by Rojava’s constitution, the “Social Contract.” Rojava, now AANES, adopted the “Social Contract,” on January 6, 2014,<sup>1</sup> as the foundation of a new political model based on libertarian municipalism and rethinking education, the health system, security, and the local micro-economy. Minorities are equally represented in the municipalities, since the “Social Contract” also advances the political integration of all peoples, whether Kurds, Yazidis, Alevi, Arabs, Armenians, Assyrians, Christians, or other micro-ethnicities. For several years, workshops and conferences were being organized that developed



the idea of an alternative economy. The cooperative economy, the political economy of the revolution, has become concrete practice in Rojava, where it takes the form of regional cooperative and participatory societies. It creates companies which belong to the employees, who elect their manager; the cooperative economy is also associated with networks of consumers and producers in the free zone. The cooperatives that make up the solidarity economy in Rojava are based on the cultivation of the land and primary agricultural products, such as olives, and also oil (Lebsky 2016; Shilton 2019; Madra 2016). It is important to add that Rojava's economy remains something of a working laboratory, not a final outcome (Küçük and Özselçuk 2016; Stefani and Ruge 2019).

The declaration of democratic confederalism reveals a reconfiguration of priorities in the public sphere. When speaking of the micro-economic alternative, the “molecular revolution,” in the urban and rural spaces in relation to Kurdish resistance, some political activists underline ecology as an important expression of self-governance and the emancipation of the colonized identity. Political ecology in Kurdistan is influenced by the theories of Bookchin and Öcalan, who analyzes social ecology, together with the historical accumulation of knowledge, the nation-state, sexism, religion, the hegemonic state apparatus, in *Democratic Confederalism* (Öcalan 2011a, 9–22). The Kurdish movement connects democratic confederalism (Öcalan 2011a, 21–35) to environmental issues by grasping ecological practice as a political lever for territorial and social emancipation that incorporates a global critique of the despotic model of capitalist global companies and nation-states. For example, the demonstrators of the Hevsel Gardens resistance in Diyarbakır, subject to “Special Project Area” measures (Emeç 2017), used the type of resistance from the barricades or “Hendek” against an extensive gentrification project. The Kurdish movement takes a clear stance in criticizing capitalism as a form of colonialism. For the Kurdish ecologists, the governmentality of the war and conflict does not only base itself on the ideological colonization of identity and the Kurdish territory, it also physically, and by force, colonizes the geography and nature of Kurdistan. This is the reason why the ecology movement in Kurdistan draws upon the social values and mythical history of Mesopotamia in its theory and has a constitutive vision of ecology as a rejection of capitalism's takeover of micro-territory. In this Kurdish context, social ecology, based on Bookchin's libertarian municipalism (Bookchin 1998), seeks to criticize the system of “capitalist modernity” (Network for an Alternative Quest 2012 and 2015); not only its most flamboyant excesses but also its state legal system. According to Öcalan's definition, the term “capitalist modernity” is used to redefine the globalization era, the crisis of contemporary society, and the diversion of capitalist wealth.

The dynamic of Kurdish ecological ideas, in the form of the first ecology movements that emerged during the Mesopotamian Social Forum (2011, in Diyarbakır's Sumer Park), has been influenced by Bookchin's theory for "a libertarian ecology" (Leverink 2015; De Long 2015), adapting its anti-colonial critique to the specificity of the Kurdish space, opposing masculine domination and colonialist war in the case of Turkey. Bookchin's conception of social ecology underscores the adjective "social" in ecological matters to problematize the profound social change applied to the institutions of the capitalist system (Bookchin 1982, 8). Bookchin's conception of nature beyond the system of world capitalism is interpreted and adapted in Öcalan's thinking about an ecological society as part of the new political proposal for cultural, sexual, and feminist emancipation (Öcalan 2004, 79–173). The Kurdish political movement focuses on three propositions: a sociohistorical theory of colonized territory, social ecology, and gender equality (an emancipatory project of women), within the libertarian municipalism of the system of democratic confederalism. This perception is based on the need for a transformation of understanding in a gendered ecopolitical way in the face of colonialist patriarchal culture. It must be emphasized that it is the municipality which has also been the central form of the Kurdish space since 1991, within the political movement and the legal context. The experience of the Kurdish municipality has begun to materialize since the local election of 1999 (well before the Rojava Revolution in 2012).

How does such a patchwork of micro-identities that constitutes the Kurdish space connect between the dynamic of the resistance and of peace and connect them to the practice of ecologic emancipation? Social ecology rejects colonial domination, basing itself on a definition of eco-geography as a decolonized perception of Kurdish identity in a subaltern culture within the framework of the revolt for self-governance. It mobilizes many types of activist networks at the heart of the political question with its dynamics, tensions, and confrontations and is a significant part of the new momentum of the heterotopic Kurdish spaces. In Rojava, the population is organized into assemblies, which include ecology assemblies, alongside neighborhood assemblies, and those constituted for women, religions, energy, youth, and others. The current strategy is to consider the cantonal municipality as autonomous of the state executive power. According to the "Social Contract," the autonomy of municipalities is structured from below. In this vision, the Öcalan-proposed democratic confederal system is one that rejects the nation, patriarchy, positivist scientism, hegemony, state administration, capitalism, and Fordist or post-Fordist industrialism and is the place of democratic autonomy, a social and alternative ecology (Bouquin, Court, Hond: 2017). Indeed, we have another example of an alternative institution. The University of Rojava is an important experiment to observe, since it identifies itself as a self-managing

educational institution that is completely at odds with the statist Ba'athist educational system resulting from the culture of pan-Arab power. Another example of an initiative in civil society is "Jinwar," the women's self-managed ecological village in the canton of Cizîrê, near the city of Amûdê in Rojava (Oke 2017). This is an initiative where the women are subjects of this free autonomous space, organizing their living space according to their own decisions. Influenced by the feminism of *Jineoloji*, the science of women and free life (see Kurdistan au féminin 2017; and l'OCL 2015), the village is also based on the principles of local self-reliance and women's labor and aims to empower women to meet their basic needs. In this free zone in the north of Syria, the residents take up permaculture and design organic systems of agriculture inspired by Mesopotamian cultural heritage and nature traditions. The village upholds direct democracy, gender equality, and ethnic and linguistic pluralism through female subjectivity under the influence of *Jineoloji*.

### THE SOCIAL FORUM AND THE ECOLOGICAL MOVEMENT IN BAKÛR

I will mostly speak here of three sites of sociopolitical ecology in Kurdistan: two physical ecological movements, those of *Tevgera Ekolojiyê ya Mezopotamyayê* (Mesopotamia Ecological Movement, hereafter MEM), *Jîngeh* (Space of Life), and an internet portal for new journalism on Kurdish social ecology called *Jiyana Ekolojik-Dengê Xwezayê* (Ecological life/the sound of nature).

The MEM (Mesopotamian Ecology Movement 2016a), was founded during the international Mesopotamian Social Forum in Diyarbakır in 2011. It created self-governed, regional ecological assemblies which tackle problems resulting from the war and the politics of the Kurdish question. There is solidarity with the ecological movements of western Turkey, and they work together to oppose nuclear and hydroelectric power plants on the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Such cement constructions treat the earth and the forest like goods to be used and alienate the local population. The movement for democratic confederalism organized a conference on April 23–24, 2016, in Van. The suffocating destruction capitalism inflicts on society and the depredations inflicted on nature were raised, together with the response of self-government as a form of resistance against the state. The movement goes further than the history of Kurdish anti-colonial resistance. It also criticizes poverty, precarity, unemployment, and the unhealthy food choices imposed by industrial agriculture and genetic modification. Another talking point was the enormously destructive project of the hydroelectric dams, started by Turgut Özal's government at the beginning of the 1990s,

as well as the GAP project in south Anatolia and the Kurdish region. The AKP government continues to devastate the region with programs inherited from this era, such as dams on the Munzur and the Ilisu dam at Hasankeyf. The MEM positions itself against the nation-state and its capitalist capacity. According to the movement, the mobilization of an ecological resistance gives crucial importance to a culture of sharing. To fight against the socio-political destruction of the government and war, the movement proposes to communalize the earth, water, and electricity. As was declared at their last conference:

Our struggle is an important contribution to the liberation of people and nature on our planet. We strive to attain a truly natural society, the fundamental justification of our existence. [. . .] We announce the 21st century to be a brilliant age built by new generations. We will see a radical, democratic society of free women. The ecological struggle is larger than a single-issue struggle, it incorporates the vital essence of the paradigm of free life itself. Without ecology, society cannot exist, and without humanity and nature, the ecology cannot exist. Ecology is the essence of a millenarian dialectic of generation and regeneration, it connects all natural, interdependent elements like the rings of a chain. [. . .] It can only develop in a sociopolitical movement and through a struggle for liberation that takes a position against the system that puts nature, society and the individual into peril in the interest of profit, capitalism, and the hegemonic state. [. . .] In the Middle East, the history of ecology has not yet been written. To arrive at the liberation of women, it was necessary to learn the history of women. In the same manner, in order to arrive at an ecological society, it's necessary to understand the history of ecology. We can spread consciousness by opening ecology academies. Ecology will be an essential component of the study programs in all social spheres and all university programs. Spreading ecological consciousness and sensibility in the social sphere and in educational institutions is as vital as organizing our own self-governed assemblies. (*Sources: Eko-teknoloji çalistayi* (January 22, 2016, Amed), *Enerji çalistayi* (January 9, 2016, Urfa), *Orman çalistayi* (January 10, 2016, Dersim), *Su çalistayi* (December 12–13, 2015, Wan), *Ekolojik Kentler çalistayi* (December 12, 2015), *Çevre saglik çalistayi* (December 26, 2015, Antep sonuç bildireleri)

Concluding Declaration of the 1st Conference of the MEM (see Aslan 2014):

- An intellectual, organizational strategy must be put into place, and coordination with national and international ecology movements must be assured in order to improve the discussions and the communal actions against destruction and ecological exploitation.

- Mental, physical, and ideological destruction must be fought, and the topics of energy, water, forests, earth, cities, seeds of agriculture, and technology must be addressed. We must mobilize for struggle to construct a new way of life on the basis of the politics of the Ecology Movement of Mesopotamia that we have discussed.
- We must fight against a system which demolishes the urban agglomerations and burns the forests in Kurdistan. We must make the ecological devastation that happened in Kurdistan known and chart a map of the destruction the war has caused.
- Actions must be planned in coordination with other ecological movements. Our actions must also address the destruction of Kurdish cities, and we must actively participate in solidarity platforms that have been established in those cities.
- The struggles to preserve the cultural and natural sites of Kurdistan have to continue. There are many sites that face extinction, such as Hasankeyf, Diyarbakır-Sur, the Munzur Valley, and “Gele Goderne.” They are under threat because of the politics of energy and security.
- An ecological model adapted to Kurdistan must be developed.
- We must work toward a bigger and more regular presence in the print and digital media, and an ecology academy must be established.
- Legal battles currently running parallel to actions and campaigns must be brought to a successful end.
- Organizational structures everywhere in Kurdistan and the Middle East must be developed (translated from the Turkish original, Mesopotamian Ecology Movement 2016b).

Since its inception, the MEM has brought many projects to fruition. Together with the Kurdish municipalities, it has organized workshops that broach environmental issues such as water, forest, fields, agriculture, technology, ecological buildings, health, communal economy, and poverty. These workshops were organized in towns like Mardin, Van, Diyarbakır, Urfa, Dersim, Antep, and Batman. These big cities were chosen for their political history that positions them at the heart of the Kurdish resistance.

Concerning ecological groups in Turkey’s Kurdish region, *Jîngeh* (space of life, the collective ecology) is an antiauthoritarian, decolonial anarchist movement based in Diyarbakır and Van that is part of the MEM. *Jîngeh* activists have undertaken a campaign tour (from Dersîm, to Hewlêr in the KRI) to attract attention to the forest fires in Turkey’s Kurdish region. The Turkish state’s burning of forests and villages in the 1990s marked the collective memory, and it is one reason why the Kurdish political movement makes ecology a central issue in the micropolitics of the Kurdish identity (Yeşil Gazete 2020). *Jîngeh* raises awareness about social ecology and biodiversity

in Kurdistan, taking an interest in environmental repercussions and criticizing the territorial framework of the nation-state (Gazete Karınca 2021; Jîngeh).<sup>2</sup> They explore and share knowledge about relevant subjects, for example, organizing evening events to discuss ecology or different micropolitical theories, including libertarian, anarchist theories.

Finally, it is important to mention the portal, Jiyana Ekolojî, an online and social media forum for environmental journalism that covers ecological questions and resistance in Kurdistan from an anti-colonial perspective. Jiyana Ekolojîk (meaning “ecological life”) is a platform for the journalistic voice of the ecology movements in Kurdish spaces and is also in contact with ecologists from western Turkey. Jiyana Ekolojîk aims to revive traditional Kurdish practices and values. Nevertheless, this is not a movement, but a website gathering material to expand the internal and external relations of the ecology movements (Jiyana Ekolojîk 2015). The portal uses social media creatively to illustrate collective life and representing resistance at the everyday, micropolitical level. Last, in Turkey’s Kurdish region, it incorporates self-government organizations in an autonomist archive, covering areas such as *Tevgera Ekolojîyê ya Mezopotamyayê* (MEM), *Rêveberiya Xweser a Demokratîk* (Democratic Self-Government), *Avedanî û Bajarvanî* (Environment and Urbanism), *Ziman, Çand û Bawerî* (Language, Culture, and Religion), *Jîngeh* (Space of life), *Ekolojî û Şîngeh* (Ecology and Shelter), *Geşkirina Aboriya Xwecihî* (Local Economic Growth), *Tenduristiya Gel* (Public Health), and *Heyberên Çandî û Dîrokî û Turîzm* (Cultural, Historical, and Tourist sources). The critique of capitalism as a global system is specifically situated here, as a theory and discourse appertaining to the Kurdish space. The ecology movement defines nature as oppressed, like the Kurdish identity. Its central focus is on the war, which has a double impact on nature and the population, relentlessly exposed without their own state. The ecology movement takes the question of nature, opposing the big industries that run agriculture, as a starting point, but it ultimately forces us to rethink the entire emancipation struggle of the Kurds and reformulate it as part of a desire for liberation that faces a hegemonic system. To a great degree, taking into consideration the specificity of colonial Turkey, the liberation of the Kurds makes ecological critique its symbol, positioning itself outside of modern, capitalist civilization, as much as outside of colonial power. The Kurds see ecological practice and life as intrinsic to their revolt against Turkish colonialism and capitalism in the Middle East.

This new transformation of Kurdish space also constitutes a dissolution of the state military apparatus in the region, an extension of the realm to political relationships. The Kurdish zone then becomes a factory of autonomist political action, since it is transnationalized by various effects of struggle for emancipation and actor-networks. The dynamics of ecology in Kurdistan,

from the appearance of the first ecology movements in the Social Forum of Mesopotamia at Bakûr (for “an ecology of freedom”), is based on an anti-colonial critique in relation to the nature of the Kurdish space toward the patriarchal and colonialist domination of the war in Turkey. And Kurdish actors export this experience in their own context in Rojava after the 2012 Revolution. Kurdish ideas about social ecology, especially as applied in Bakûr and Rojava, forms the new challenge of a geopolitical approach which sets aside orthodox left politics (the nation-state, Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism) and colonial intervention and thus positions itself as a way to reflect decolonized anti-capitalism. According to the ecologists’ approach, the governmentality of war and conflict does not only colonize Kurdish identity and territory, it is also a mechanism for colonizing geography and nature in Kurdistan. This is why the thesis of the ecology movement in Kurdistan interprets social values, the mythical history of Mesopotamia, the constitutive vision of ecology as a perspective of micro-territoriality against colonialism and capitalism.

In addition, it was decided, for example, to incorporate articles on animal rights and their protection (animal liberation) and a conscientious objection against the call to compulsory military service (civil disobedience and anti-militarism) into Rojava’s “Social Contract.” The “Social Contract” defends the collective rights of societies, rejects patriarchy, and favors a self-managed economy to advance politically toward the emancipation of women and society. The cantons continue to “reinforce” their autonomist goals despite the demands of wartime. The mobilization of ecological resistance in Kurdish space also creates a crucial sharing and commonality within the colonized society in Kurdistan, proposes a struggle of social ecology against the socio-political destruction of the necropolitics of violence and war that eliminate the areas of freedom for peoples and rural life and the environment. That is why the movement proposes to communalize the land, water, and energy, setting up a free, democratic life against the nation-state and capitalism. The system of “capitalist modernity” prevents the creation of ecological cities, alternative energies, and a sharing free society due to the monopoly of the big industries over agriculture, villages, and other aspects of rural space.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, we have a critical approach on three levels. The Kurdish space comes with an urban micropolitical patchwork of identity affiliations, an emancipation embodying the politics of social ecology. This emancipation comes into being through the performance of a heterogeneous movement putting up resistance against the war. We approach it dialectically from the



angle of counterpower and countercultural reproduction which transcends any conventional ideological behavior (especially the ideology of the state) in the Middle East. These revolts must be analyzed as a new micropolitics which takes strong positions in relation to the environment, micro-identities, the crisis of society and, on the opposite side, necropolitics and, to use Foucault's term, biopolitical governmentality, where subversive violence is in action. We also try to grasp the new codes of collective pronouncement that were created in the revolts. This Kurdish space became the manufacturing center for political libertarian action as a result of having been singularized and transnationalized by various actors since the Rojava Revolution, as I have argued elsewhere, and as Graeber suggests in an interview given in 2017 (Sustam 2016; Graeber 2017).

To conclude, social ecology rejects colonial domination and builds on the concept of eco-geography defined as an anti-colonial geography of the Kurdish minority identity. It is part of a larger framework of self-governed revolt that mobilizes networks and actors that, in their turn, are at the center of a political question with its own dynamics, tensions, and confrontations. We pose the following question: how can a patchwork of micro-identities connect the dynamic of resistance, peace, and the practice of ecological emancipation? Therefore, there is a need to broaden the debate on building radical and direct democracy in the Kurdish space for the future, which after the era of uprising shows the communalist social imaginary based on the "constituent power" approach. This Kurdish communalism is a cross-border experience and expresses the capacity of Rojava's "Social Contract" to represent democratic and autonomist opposition against colonialist and state sovereignty in the Middle East. The administration of the Kurdish municipalities of Rojava is democratic and semi-decentralized; the local administrations of several settlements and communes give people autonomy and control in making decisions that may affect their lives. All that is significant to observe after the experience of democratic municipality in Bakûr and the ecological revolution in Rojava, the Kurds also created their own notion regarding the struggle for emancipation and ecology, such as "jîngeh, xweserî, jînwar, jinêolojî," xweseriya ekolojî, and çalakî (for definitions of Kurdish ecological terms see Ecomark 2019). The destruction of the habitat in Kurdistan threatens many species. The Kurdish political movement has also embarked on cultural and administrative initiatives on land and health. Among all these intergenerational transformations, the most emblematic subjects dealt with are nature, ecology, municipality, and gender within the struggle for emancipation. This political change from the anti-colonial politics of the 1990s is integrated into the new decolonial position of the movement and the institutional application through the organizations of the municipality, local government, and other aspects of the political framework.



In the period following the Arab Spring, the Kurds had the historic opportunity to experience liberation for the first time in more than a century in Syria, a moment of emancipation which has evolved into new practices informed by social ecology and communalist life. This experience also gave the Kurds opportunity to decolonize their territory and reverse previous policies. Kurdish communalism and libertarian municipalism represent a historic, democratic form of political organization based on the recognition of ecology and women's freedom and on the defense of the autonomy of multiple communities against the "repressive state" and despotic regimes. As we have seen over the last decade, democratic forces operating in this political space include not only libertarian perspectives but the solidarity economy and women's spaces (such as Jinwar) and thus ecological production zones. Writing at the dystopian time of the COVID-19 pandemic, it seems to me that we must have debates based on the rejection of corporate capitalism and the global factory by creating a new ecological perspective and an alternative democratic society in opposition to the society of control and consumption.

## NOTES

1. "Charter of the Social Contract: Self-Rule in Rojava." January 29, 2014. *Peace in Kurdistan* website. <https://peaceinkurdistancampaign.com/charter-of-the-social-contract/>.

2. Jîngeh on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/J%C3%AEngeh-584222668356661/>.

## REFERENCES

Aslan, Azize. 2014. "Democratic Economy Conference in Wan." [November 8–9, 2014]. Published by the Institute for Social, Political and Economic Studies, *Cooperation in Mesopotamia* website. <https://mesopotamia.coop/democratic-economy-conference-in-wan/>.

Aslan, Azize. 2016. "Economic Self-governance in Democratic Autonomy: The Example of Bakûr (Turkish Kurdistan)." *Birikim* no 325 (May): 93–98.

Bance, Pierre. 2017. *Un autre futur pour le Kurdistan? Municipalisme libertaire et confédéralisme démocratique*. Paris: Noir et Rouge.

Bance, Pierre. 2020. *La fascinante démocratie du Rojava: le contrat social de la Fédération de la Syrie du Nord*. Paris: Noir et Rouge.

Baronnet, Bruno. 2013. "L'Expérience D'Education Zapatiste au Chiapas: Entre Pratiques Politiques et Imaginaires Autochtones à L'école." *Cahiers de la Recherche sur L'Education et les Savoirs* 12: 133–52. <https://journals.openedition.org/cres/2341>.

- Baschet, Jérôme. 2019. *La rébellion zapatiste: Insurrection indienne et résistance planétaire*, Paris: Flammarion.
- Baschet, Jérôme and Guillaume Goutte. 2015. *Enseignements D'une Rébellion: La Petite école Zapatiste*. [S.l.] : Éditions de l'Escargot.
- Bookchin, Murray. 1982. *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy*, Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books.
- Bookchin, Murray. 1995. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism, An Unbridgeable Chasm*. Edinburgh: AK Press.
- Bookchin, Murray. 1998. *The Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism*. Montréal: Black Rose Books.
- Bookchin, Murray. 2006. *Social Ecology and Communalism*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Bookchin, Murray. 2011. *Une société à refaire: Vers une écologie de la liberté*, Montréal: Éditions Écosociété.
- Bookchin, Murray. 2015. *Au-delà de la rareté*. Montréal: Éditions Ecosociété.
- Bouquin, Stephen, Mirielle Court, and Chris den Hond, eds. 2017. *La Commune du Rojava: l'alternative kurde à l'état nation*. Brussels: Coédition Critica and Paris: Editions Syllepse.
- Collectif Ne var Ne Yok. 2016. "Serhildan," *Le soulèvement au Kurdistan: Paroles de celles et ceux qui luttent pour l'autonomie*, [Marseille]: Niet Editions.
- Comité invisible. 2007. *L'insurrection qui vient*. Paris: La Fabrique.
- Cooperativa Integral Catalana. 2016. "Economic Self-Governance in Democratic Autonomy: The Example of Bakûr (Turkish Kurdistan)." *Cooperativa Integral Catalana* website. July 9, 2016. <http://cooperativa.cat/en/economic-self-governance-in-democratic-autonomy-the-example-of-bakur-turkish-kurdistan/>.
- De Long, Alex. 2015. "Kurdish Autonomy Between Dream and Reality." [interview with Joost Jongerden], *Roar Magazine* (June 4, 2015): <https://roarmag.org/essays/kurdish-autonomy-jongerden-interview/>.
- Deleuze, Gilles. 1993. *Critique et clinique*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. 1991. *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie?* Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Duman, Yasin. 2016. *Rojava, Bir Demokratik Özerklik Deneyimi*. Istanbul: İletişim.
- Ecomark. 2019. "Termên Ekolojî." *Ecomark* website. <https://www.ekoloji.com/ku/ekoloji/ekoloji-terimleri/>, with accompanying English language webpage.
- Emeç, Hülya. 2017. "Dicle Valley and Hevsel Gardens Open for Pillaging with Statutory Decree." *ANF News* website. January 17, 2017. <https://anfenglish.com/kurdistan/dicle-valley-and-hevsel-gardens-open-for-pillaging-with-statutory-decree-18053>.
- Erbay, Vecdi. 2017. "Amed Ekoloji Platformu: Hevsel Bahçeleri Talan Ediliyor." *Gazete Duvar*, March 17, 2017. <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2017/03/17/amed-ekoloji-platformu-hevsel-bahceleri-talan-ediliyor>.
- Evrensel. 2014. "Hevsel Direnişi Güçlenerek Sürecek," *Evrensel* website, March 11, 2014. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/80019/hevsel-direnisi-guclenerek-surecek>.
- Foucault, Michel. 1994. *Dits et écrits, Tome III: 1976–1979*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, Michel. 2004a. *Naissance de la Biopolitique*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, Michel. 2004b. *Sécurité, territoire, population*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

- Foucault, Michel. 2008. *Le Gouvernement de soi, et des Autres*. Hautes Etudes, Gallimard, Seuil.
- Gazete Karınca. 2021. "Mezopotamya Ekoloji Hareketi." *Gazete Karınca* website (reports relating to MEM). <https://gazetekarınca.com/tag/mezopotamya-ekoloji-hareketi/>.
- Graeber, David. 2011. *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House.
- Graeber, David. 2017. "Syria, Anarchism and Visiting Rojava." *Cooperation in Mesopotamia* website. July 5, 2017. <https://mesopotamia.coop/david-graeber-syria-anarchism-and-visiting-rojava/>.
- Guattari, Félix. 2012. *La Révolution moléculaire*. Paris: Les Prairies Ordinaires.
- Guattari, Félix. 2014. *Qu'est-ce que l'écologie?* Paris: Éditions Lignes.
- Guattari, Félix, and Suely Rolnik. 2007. *Micropolitiques*. Paris: Empêcheurs de Penser en Rond.
- Günes, Cengiz. 2012. *The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From Protest to Resistance*. London: Routledge.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2017. *Assembly*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jiyana Ekolojîk. 2015. [Homepage of Jiyana Ekolojîk]. <http://www.jiyanaekolojik.org/> (site discontinued). Accessible via Wayback Machine, March 7, 2021. <https://web.archive.org/web/20160303134011/http://www.jiyanaekolojik.org/>.
- Knapp, Michael, Anja Flach, and Ercan Ayboğa. 2016. *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women's Liberation in Syrian Kurdistan*. London: Pluto Press, 2016.
- Küçük, Bülent, and Ceren Özselçuk. 2016. "The Rojava Experience: Possibilities and Challenges of Building a Democratic Life." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 115, no. 1: 184–196. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-3425013>.
- Kurdistan au féminin. 2017. "Qu'est-ce que la Jineoloji, une science des femmes?" *Jineoloji* website. December 24, 2020. <http://jineoloji.org/fr/quest-ce-que-la-jineoloji-une-science-des-femmes/>.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. 2004. *Les Révolutions du capitalisme*. Paris: Empêcheurs de penser en rond.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. 2008. *Le Gouvernement des inégalités: critique de l'insécurité néolibérale*. Paris: Amsterdam.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio, and Antonio Negri. 1991. "Travail immatériel et subjectivité." *Futur Antérieur* 6 (Summer): 87–99.
- Lebsky, Maksim. 2016. "The Economy of Rojava." *Co-operation in Mesopotamia* website, March 17, 2016. <https://mesopotamia.coop/the-economy-of-rojava/>.
- Leverink, Joris. 2015. "Murray Bookchin and the Kurdish Resistance." *Roar Magazine*, August 9, 2015. <https://roarmag.org/essays/bookchin-kurdish-struggle-ocalan-rojava/>.
- Madra, Yahya Mete. 2016. "Democratic Economy Conference: An Introductory Note." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 115, no. 1: 211–222. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-3425035>.
- Mbembe, Achille. 2003. "Necropolitics." *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (Winter): 11–40. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-15-1-11>.

- Mesopotamian Ecology Movement. 2016a. [Homepage of the MEM]. <http://mezopotamyaeokolohareketi.org/Anasayfa> (site discontinued). Accessible via Wayback Machine, March 7, 2021. <https://web.archive.org/web/20160312212100/http://mezopotamyaeokolohareketi.org/Anasayfa>.
- Mesopotamian Ecology Movement. 2016b. "Final Declaration of 1st Ecology Conference (April 23–24, Wan)." Last modified June 8, 2016. English language translation available on *Initiative to Keep Hasankeyf Alive* website. <https://www.hasankeyfgirisimi.net/final-declaration-of-1st-ecology-conference-april-23-24-wan/>.
- Network for an Alternative Quest. 2012. *Challenging Capitalist Modernity, Alternative Concepts and the Kurdish Quest*, Cologne: Internationale Initiative Edition.
- Network for an Alternative Quest. 2015. *Challenging Capitalist Modernity II: Dissecting Capitalist Modernity—Building Democratic Confederalism*. Hamburg: Internationale Initiative Edition.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. 2004. *Bir Halki Savunmak*. Istanbul: Çetin Yayınları.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. 2011a. *Le Confédéralisme démocratique*. Cologne: International Initiative Edition.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. 2011b. *Türkiye’de Demokratikleşme Sorunları ve Kürdistan’da Çözüm Modelleri (Yol Haritası)*. [s.l.]: Azadi Matbaası.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. 2013a. *La Feuille de route vers les négociations: Carnets de prison*. Internationale Initiative Edition.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. 2013b. Demokratik Uygurlik manifestosu 1-2-3-4-5, A. Öcalan Sosyal Bilimler Akademisi Yayinlari.
- Öcalan, Abdullah. 2015. *Manifesto for a Democratic Civilization: Civilization: The Age of Masked Gods and Disguised Kings*. Porsgrunn: New Compass Press.
- l’OCL. 2015. "Le Mouvement pour une Société Démocratique (TEV-DEM) c’est quoi?" *Ecologie Sociale.ch* website. October 23, 2015. <http://www.ecologiesociale.ch/international/index.php/kurdistan/51-le-mouvement-pour-une-societe-democratique-tev-dem-c-est-quoi>.
- Oke, Naz. 2017. "Jinwar, village de femmes au Rojava." *Kedistan* website. February 27, 2017. <http://www.kedistan.net/2017/02/27/jinwar-village-de-femmes-au-rojava/>.
- Rancière, Jacques. 2009. *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. London: Continuum.
- Rojava Information Center. 2020. "Explainer: Cooperatives in North and East Syria – Developing a New Economy." *Rojava Information Center* website: <https://rojvainformationcenter.com/2020/11/explainer-cooperatives-in-north-and-east-syria-developing-a-new-economy/>.
- Schaepelynck, Valentin and Engin Sustam. 2018. "Autogestion." *Le Télémaque* 54, no. 2: 27–36.
- Shilton, Dor. 2019. "The Radical Eco-Anarchist Experiment Betrayed by the West, and Bludgeoned by Turkey." *Ecologise.in* website, October 27, 2019. <https://ecologise.in/2019/10/27/rojava-the-eco-anarchist-experiment/>.
- Stefani, Daniel, and Edmund Ruge. 2019. "Experiments in Radically Democratic Education: Rojava’s Revolutionary Model at Risk Amid the Geopolitics of War."

- Periferias* (December 20, 2019): <http://revistaperiferias.org/en/materia/the-linguistic-pedagogy-of-co-existence-at-kurdish-schools/>.
- Sustam, Engin. 2016. "Rojava: A Municipal Autonomy Experiment in Times of War," interview by Claudio Pulgar and Charlotte Mathivet, in "Unveiling the Right to the City, Representations, Uses and Instrumentalization of the Right of the City." *Passerelle Collection* published by Ritimo, Habitat International Coalition, no. 15 (September): 124–130.
- Sustam, Engin. 2020. *Kırılğan Sapmalar- Sokak Mukavemetleri ve Yeni Başkaldırılar*. Kalkedon: Istanbul.
- Tatort, Kurdistan. 2013. *Democratic Autonomy in North Kurdistan, The Council Movement, Gender Liberation, and Ecology in Practice*. Porsgrunn: New Compass Press.
- Üstündağ, Nazan. 2018. "The Wounds of Afrin, the Promise of Rojava: An Interview with Nazan Üstündağ." *LeftEast* website. February 14, 2018. <http://www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/nazan-ustundag-interview/>.
- Yeniay, Özlem. 2017. "Topraksızlar Hareketi ve Kürt Özgürlük Mücadelesinde Alternatif Yaşam ve Ekoloji: Tartışmalar/Karşılaştırmalar." ["Alternative Economy and Ecology within the Landless Rural Workers Movement and the Kurdish Freedom Movement: Discussions/Comparisons"]. *Toplumve Kuram* no. 12. <http://zanenstitu.org/uploads/dosyalar/Kitaplar/Toplum%20ve%20Kuram/12sayi/Topraks%20B%20lzlar%20Hareketi%20ve%20Ku%20CC%88rt%20O%20CC%88zgu%20CC%88rlu%20CC%88k%20Mu%20CC%88cadelesinde%20Alternatif%20Yas%20CC%20A7am%20ve%20Ekoloji.pdf>.
- Yeşil, Gazete. 2020. "Mezopotamya Ekoloji Hareketi: Askeri operasyonlar ormanlarımızı yok ediyor." *Yeşil Gazete* website. July 27, 2020. <https://yesilgazete.org/mezopotamya-ekoloji-hareketi-askeri-operasyonlar-ormanlarımızı-yok-ediyor/>.

