


**Looking back  
at the**

**Peoples'  
Platform**



**EUROPE**

**Vienna, 14-16 February 2025**



*We don't have to invent internationalism,  
we must organise it. That is the goal of  
the Platform.*

*Roadmap of the Peoples' Platform Europe*

RECLAIM THE INITIATIVE!

Peoples'  
Platform  
EUROPE

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# Introduction


The Peoples' Platform Europe, was born from the need to share experiences between those who, within European geographies, struggle against the forces of oppression, and to discuss possibilities and opportunities in the search for a free life. It calls on all democratic forces and activists from progressive, revolutionary and anti-system movements to participate, from the perspective that a process of collective discussion, at the broadest possible platform of democratic and revolutionary organisations, movements, and collectives, is necessary to find the right answers to the questions of our time.

Through the slogan 'reclaim the initiative', the platform seeks to remind us of the active role we must all take in building the future we dream of together. Success in this process depends on tackling problems at the roots: organising struggles for freedom and democracy that seek to bring about liberatory changes in mentality within our societies, in the battle for hearts and minds against the forces of capitalist modernity.

In the first meeting of the Peoples' Platform Europe, 800 delegates representing more than 160 organisations from 35 countries and territories answered this call. Together, we took important first steps, in beginning to build common analyses of the pressing social and political issues of our time, and in how to organise together. The following text attempts to provide an overview of the main topics, presentations and discussions held. While by no means an exhaustive account of the rich discussions and perspectives shared, we hope this may serve as a point of departure for future conversations, together and in each of our own local contexts.

This event would not have been possible without the effort and dedication of the Kurdish community of Vienna, Feykom, who has hosted hundreds of participants, cooked thousands of meals, and shared their rich experience of democratic organizing.



A man with glasses is speaking at a podium. Behind him is a large banner with the text 'REC' and 'VIENNA - 14-16 FEBRU'. The image has a teal overlay.

*We as revolutionary and democratic forces in Europe see the urgent need to link our struggles here with the anti-colonial struggles in the so-called Global South.*

*— Perspective of the Peoples' Platform Europe*

# The Perspective of the Peoples' Platform Europe

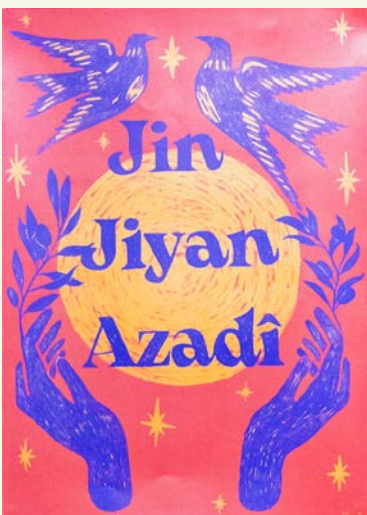
The world is on the brink of an historic change. Geopolitical changes, technological advances, ecological destruction, and economic-social crises have reached an unprecedented level in both their complexity and impact – and thus demand urgent solutions. These challenges can only be fully understood through an analysis of capitalist modernity, and the historical trajectory of Eurocentric capitalism. The rise of capitalism as the dominant mode of production in Europe, fuelled by colonial expansion, imperialism and industrialisation, established a framework of exploitation and inequality that continues to this day. In capitalist modernity, state power, patriarchy, and exploitation are deeply intertwined, reinforcing one another. It operates as a spiral of permanently deepening crisis, a war against women, societies, and the environment.

Given the damage that these crises of the system have inflicted on society, and widespread expectation of even greater economic and social crises in the coming years, it is no surprise that demands for change are growing. In the last 10 years, peoples all over the world have risen, protested, and revolted against the system, despite the many efforts to repress them through criminalisation and violence. Many of these struggles echoed in Europe, too. Popular and transnational movements against femicide reverberated beyond borders, shaking structures of power. Movements rose and spread against anti-Blackness and other forms of racism. Climate justice movements made the crisis of the system more visible. Workers struggles as well as movements against the rising cost of living went on strike against capitalist exploitation of societies. Anti-war movements continue to demand an end to the genocidal aggression of hegemonic states, calling for peoples' liberation and right to self-determination..



Now more than ever, organised struggles for democracy and freedom are needed. An effective response to the crises we are currently living through can only be given through building and strengthening connections between progressive, democratic, and revolutionary forces, through democratic and confederal methods. Achieving our goals requires a framework that emphasises action and ongoing dialogue at the regional level. By fostering cooperation between localised struggles, we can build a collective force that not only tackles specific challenges but also works to build a broader anti-capitalist movement. This holistic approach allows us to link specific efforts to a broader narrative, creating a united front against systemic injustices. Through this synergy, we can amplify our impact and drive transformative change.

The women's movement, and the struggle for gender liberation has the potential to lead mass movements and organisations through its active participation. If the simple concept that - the liberation of the most oppressed individuals should be the measure of success in the struggle for freedom - is accepted more widely, it could play a profoundly transformative role in reshaping life across all sectors of society and around the globe. Only by addressing these issues, can we hope to find a viable path toward resolving ecological destruction, social inequality, and individual freedom. **The memory of their historical resistance that women have preserved through their creative and rich methods can be a guide in this regard.** The women's struggle, rooted in a deep ethical connection to



life, has an intersectional character that embraces multiple contradictions and deals with difference in a way that strengthens and transforms rather than divides. It seeks endlessly for ways to overcome and transform patriarchy that permeates all areas of society. This makes women's struggle a primary force and vanguard in the construction of Democratic Modernity. Together with the struggle of the youth for their right to a future, the women's movement is the fundamental compass of our struggle.

Just as patriarchy is not only an ideological support for the ruling system, but rather the millennia-old basis of



every form of oppression and exploitation, racism, with its hierarchisation of races and dehumanisation of large parts of humanity, remains the basis for the continuation and hegemony of European capitalism. Even though European colonialism has changed its form over the course of history, it persists to this day as an unbroken continuity. **We as revolutionary and**

**democratic forces in Europe see the urgent need to link our struggles here with the anti-colonial struggles in the so-called Global South.** The many anti-racist struggles of migrant and post-migrant communities within Europe must also be seen in this context and are at the forefront of the struggle for a Peoples' Europe.

Developing 'unity in diversity' is ultimately our greatest strength; To see the differences and diversities between us as a richness, the basis from which we want to discuss together, learn from each other, and join forces. We are united by shared principles and goals, our resolute opposition to capitalism, and our insistence on humanity. In the face of the global crisis, ever-expanding wars, ecological catastrophe, the oppression of women and a system that tries to rob us of our right to a dignified future, we need to stand together. Capitalism has driven humanity to the edge of the abyss. Our survival is only possible through the defeat of capitalism and the construction of a different life and a different world. The conclusions we draw from the current situation show very clearly that we must come together and become an organised force in the shortest possible time.



**This is a huge and historic responsibility that falls on all of our shoulders. As those struggling in the context of Europe, we also have a duty to dismantle the oppression, injustice and destruction caused by the European powers around the world.**

Let us unite our struggles, perspectives and capacities and build the free life that the peoples of the world and all beings on our planet deserve!





EPOCHAL CRISIS OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM &  
CHALLENGES FOR POPULAR RESISTANCE

PANEL DISCUSSION

WILLIAM I. ROBINSON

MIREILLE FANON-

MENDÈS-FRANCE

SILVIA FEDERICI

JOHN HOLLOWAY



*But now we want to win and we must win. We must stop the dynamic that is destroying the world.*

*John Holloway*

# Panel discussion: Reclaim the initiative!

The conference began with input from four inspiring panellists who analysed the current crisis from different and complementary perspectives. They highlighted the most urgent challenges we face and gave impetus and focus to the debates that followed during the workshops.

William I. Robinson, Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, offered an analysis of the current epochal crisis of global capitalism. Robinson outlined the four key dimensions of this crisis – economic stagnation, social disintegration, political turmoil, and ecological collapse – emphasising the urgent need for a global counter-hegemonic movement. He sees the need both to build popular power at the local level and to intervene at the macro level to challenge state power in its own arena. Mireille Fanon Mendès-France, daughter of Frantz Fanon and co-founder of the foundation in his name, reminded the audience of the need to break with the paradigm of colonial domination that underpins global relations of power and exploitation. Silvia Federici, renowned scholar and feminist activist, drew attention to the need to rethink the daily mechanisms of reproductive labour that allow the capitalist system to reproduce itself. She argued that the feminist movement has a key role to play in liberating society from this system. Finally, John Holloway developed the importance of desperation in our struggle, for desperation is the hope in the storm. He reminds us that the Zapatista movement and the Rojava revolution are powerful examples which show us that another world is possible.

In the interest of brevity, only excerpts from the four speeches are reproduced in this booklet. However, the full speeches can be accessed online by following the QR code that links to the video of the panel. We strongly encourage readers to watch the full speeches.

# William I. Robinson

## The Epochal Crisis of Global Capitalism – Challenges for Popular Resistance from Below

“Global capitalism faces an unprecedented crisis. It is a stage of absolute, violent predation. Its extermination impulse is now rising to the surface. Our burning challenge in this situation is to renovate projects of radical transformation and emancipation and build up counter-hegemonic power from below. The global crisis we face right now is potentially more catastrophic than earlier cycles of crisis. But what kind of crisis is this? We can identify three types of crisis – cyclical crisis, structural crisis and systemic crisis. Great structural crises can be seen every 40 to 50 years. They affect the entire world. The last great crisis was in the 1970s. In response to that crisis transnational capital launched globalisation as prolonged class warfare from above. The transnational capitalist class emerged as hegemonic fraction of capital on a world scale. The past half-century involved prolonged waves worldwide of capital expansions, reintegration of the former Soviet Bloc, China, Third World revolutions, etc. Also, the violent insertion of every country into the new globalised system of production, finance and services. It was a vast new round of primitive accumulation. **Today, the global proletariat is at 5 billion people – the largest class in history.** [...]

Capital’s coercive domination is becoming deeply embedded in the new strategies of militarised accumulation by repression. Genocide is becoming enormously profitable and attractive because it resolves economic and political problems for the ruling groups, as limits to expansions must be overcome by technologies of death and destruction. [...] Surplus capital produces its alter ego: surplus labour. That means we have two billion people that count as surplus humanity. The global proletariat can be seen in two categories: 1. Expelled people, that are made surplus (2 billion people) and 2. Labourers that are incorporated into capital’s circuits as precarious labour (2 billion people). That means 4 billion of the 5 billion proletariat is completely precarious or surplus. Billions can’t survive. Social disintegration is spreading. Millions are facing displacement by conflict, climate change, economic collapse and political, ethnic and religious persecution. [...] **What we see in Gaza is the attempt to resolve the problem of surplus humanity through genocide.** This is the Gaza Option: extermination on the deepest structural level. Then there is the Salvadorian Option: new mega-prison geographies. And new geographies of containment, where borders are less physical markers than axes around which intense control of those expelled is organised; these are zones of non-being and zones of death like the Mexican border with 7 000 deaths, and the Mediterranean with more than 24 500 deaths between 2014-2024. [...]

We have a lot to learn from Rojava, with its model of democratic confederalism, from the Zapatistas, and other such experiments in local emancipatory struggles that place bottom-up autonomy and the struggle against patriarchy at the centre. [...] Autonomy and popular power at the local level is of critical importance but we cannot leave the macro levels and the states that dominate them free of anti-capitalist, anti-systemic challenges.”



*William I. Robinson is a professor of sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His work focuses on political economy, globalisation, Latin America and historical materialism. He is a member of the International Parliamentary and Civil Society Mission to Investigate the Political Transition in Iraq.*

**[Watch the full speech online!](#)**



# Mireille Fanon Mendès-France

## The 100th Anniversary of Frantz Fanon: Between Race and Class

“Frantz Fanon helps us to recognise evil and the struggles of those who, at the same time, have resisted and are resisting in order to curb barbarism. This forces us to understand that **the process of ‘decolonisation never goes unnoticed because it concerns existence, it fundamentally modifies existence, it transforms spectators struck by inessentiality into privileged actors’**, as Fanon emphasises. This explains the war waged against all those who want to emerge from this inessentiality. For the system, they have to be eliminated, humiliated and, if that doesn’t work, violated. This calls for the identification of decolonial practices of resistance that criticise, among other things, the negotiated rules by which states operate, including those of developing countries and the traders on the stock exchange, and that refer to a struggle against the logic of coloniality and its symbolic, epistemic and material effects, which are visible at the political, social, economic and cultural levels, including that of citizenship. This forces us to distance ourselves from the imperatives and norms imposed, by putting in place processes which allow us to separate ourselves from them. [...]

Changing the paradigm of colonial domination would mean breaking with the centrality and durability of institutional anti-Black racism – it is, moreover, on this anti-Black racism, this negrophobia, that universality was built on the exclusion of Black people. This would undeniably involve setting up a process of reparations policies to substantially counter the ravages caused by enslavement, colonisation, colonialism and the plantation doctrine. It’s no longer a question of reproducing, but of creating an ethical, spiritual, combative and decolonial balance of power to change the world on the basis of grassroots struggles. So, 2025 marks the two-hundredth anniversary of the illegal debt imposed on Haiti. Let’s have the courage to lead an international campaign against France to demand the cancellation of this debt, to open the process of collective and political reparations for all the crimes committed by the racist capitalist system during the doctrine of discovery and that of the plantations. **The colonised peoples rose up in Bandung in 1955. Do we not have the strength to rise up and set up a Bandung of the peoples, of the wretched of the earth to change the balance of power?”**

***Watch the full speech online!***





*Mireille Fanon Mendès-France has worked at the Université Paris V-René Descartes in cognitive educability and mediation of learning and peace, particularly conflict resolution. She is a militant and activist on international law issues, and has been appointed expert at the United Nations on issues of structural racism. She initiated the creation of the Foundation Frantz Fanon.*

# Silvia Federici

## For an International Feminist Movement Against Capitalist Patriarchy and its Ongoing War on Social Reproduction

“Capitalism was born with genocide, was born with colonisation, enslavement and witch hunts. It has been a violent patriarchal system throughout its history. It has led to two World Wars that have killed millions of people. Since the end of the Second World War, there has been a kind of compromise that has led to some negotiation and recognition of people’s rights, the process of recolonisation. Now all that has been erased, **we are entering a new phase of capitalist patriarchy.** I think it is really important to think about what that means.

This is the context in which I want to speak: what kind of struggle, what kind of movement we need. First of all, it’s important to understand that what I said many times in recent years, is what we’re seeing now, in Palestine, Sudan or Congo, in a way, is an extreme manifestation of a process that has been growing, preparing, advancing since the end of the 1970s. Since the beginning of the great counter-revolution. Counter-revolution against the movement of the 1960s, against decolonisation, against the feminist movement, against the anti-war movement. So, we have a whole process since the 70s, culminating in the debt crisis, structural adjustment, the imposition of conditionalities on many countries of the world, which has torn apart the social fabric of the countries, condemning many people to migration and forcing mass expulsions of people from their land. So, it is very important now to see that the extreme violence, the genocidal violence, the plans of annihilation that we have seen unfold, continue to this day. Especially, but not only, in the case of Palestine. Also beyond Palestine. It is not isolated, it is not an extreme exceptional case. [...]

In this context, the question of movement is very important to see that demonstrations and the creation of international networks are fundamental. But at the same time, we also have to rethink what are the mechanisms on a daily basis that actually feed this system, that allow the capitalist system to reproduce itself. **We have to learn to disable capitalism, not only by confronting it in the streets and in mass demonstrations. But also in terms of changing the organisation of social reproduction.** Because it is precisely in the process of structuring social reproduction, which depends on conflicts, on hierarchies, on division, on the devaluation of an entire population, that we are in this situation today, and here the feminist movement has a very important place.

There are different parts of feminism, there are many feminisms, and there is a

feminism that is really contrary, neoliberal, state-sponsored feminism, that is contrary to what I am saying. Feminism in Latin America, for example, is a popular feminism, rooted in mass struggle, a feminism that is really seen as a fundamental ground of struggle on the terrain of reproduction, which touches every aspect of life. Reproduction is food, agriculture, sexual relations, health, education, cultural production. [...]"

**[Watch the full speech online!](#)**



***Silvia Federici is an Italian-American emerita university lecturer, political philosopher and activist. Federici was a professor of political philosophy and women's studies. She has published numerous books and essays on Marxist and feminist theory, globalisation criticism and the concept of the commons.***



# John Holloway

## Perspectives in the Storm – Organising our Desperation

“Anger. We come here to express our anger. Our anger against the militarisation of the world, our anger against the heating of the planet that threatens us with suffering and extinction, our anger against the dehumanising treatment of migrants, our anger against feminicides and all the violence of patriarchy.

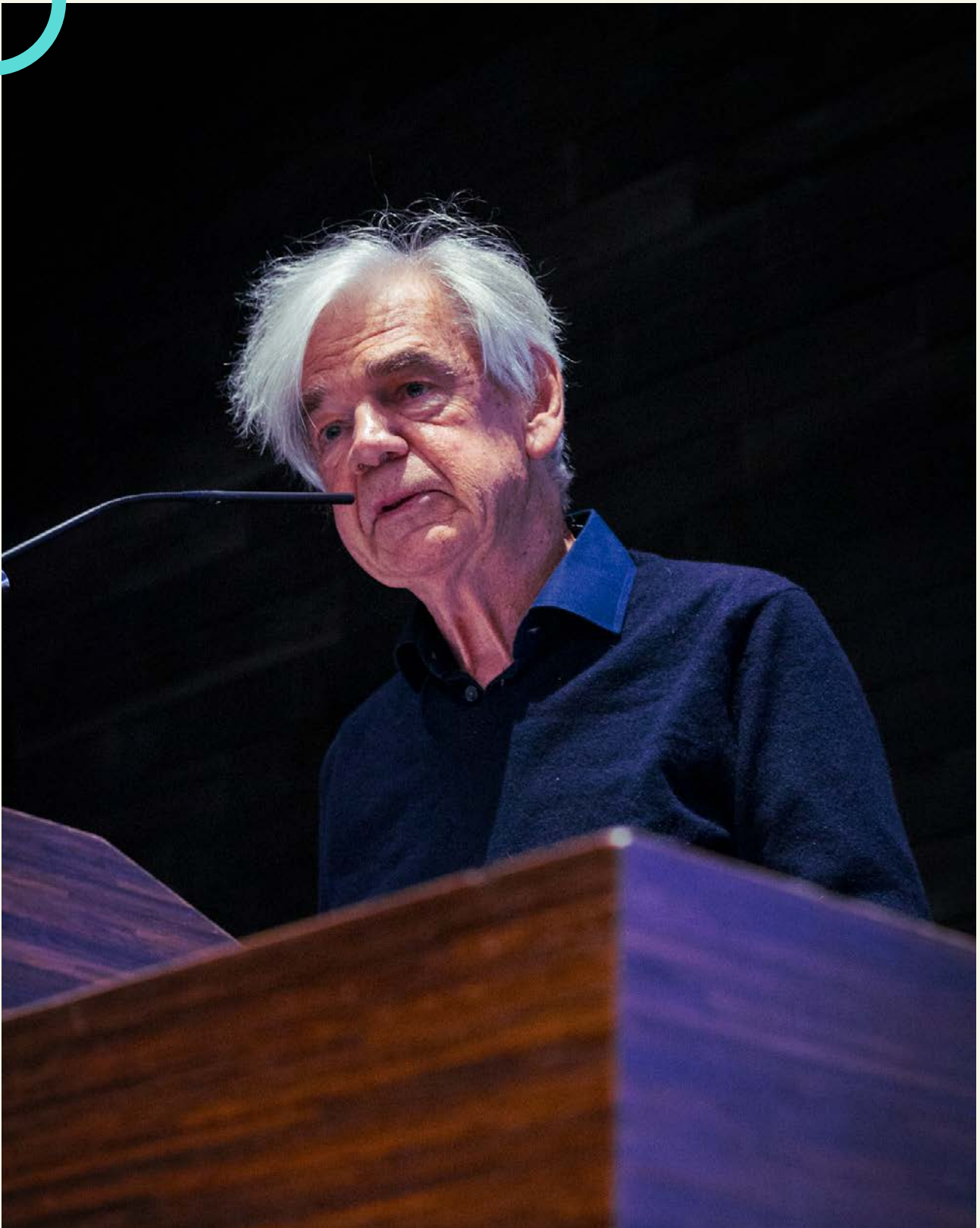
But not just anger. Hope. We come not just because we are angry but because we want to change things. Hope is our great pushing force. Not a happy-happy hope, not an empty wishful thinking, but an angry hope. A determined, reasoned hope that we can, must and will change the world. [...]

Desperation: a determination to change a bad or dangerous situation. That is where we are, in a very bad and dangerous situation. The Zapatistas call it the Storm, la Tormenta. We can feel it all around us, we can hear the winds howling more and more loudly with each day that passes. And we know that it is likely to get much worse, that it could lead to much greater catastrophe, even to the extinction of humanity.

**Desperation is hope in the storm, hope in-and-against the storm, hope in-against-and-beyond the storm. We do not just want to survive the storm, but to stop it and create something else.** At a Zapatista conference, Marcos imagines a telephone conversation with a young girl who lives in the future, 120 years from now. The digitally sophisticated comrades who have set up the streaming for the conference have managed to set up a connection with a community in the year 2145. It is a young girl who answers the phone and Marcos asks ‘how are you?’. The girl replies ‘it depends’. Marcos curses, wishing that it had been an adult that had picked up the phone. ‘How do you mean, it depends?’ he asks. The girl answers: ‘it depends on you’, and the connection is lost.

It depends on you, that is, it depends on us, on our ability to organise our desperation, the desperation that has brought us here today. The sort of life our great-great-grandchildren will lead, and whether they ever exist at all, depends on us.

We want to win. It seems almost shocking to say this, we are so accustomed to losing. **But now we want to win and we must win. We must stop the dynamic that is destroying the world,** we want the girl in 120 years’ time to have a life and to have a life of freedom and happiness.”



*John Holloway is an internationally renowned political scientist, socialist and philosopher at the university in Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (BUAP) in Puebla/Mexico. He is known for his influential writings on the renewal of Marxist theory, the relationship between the state and capitalism and forms of anti-capitalist struggle.*

**Watch the full speech online!**



# Workshops: Introduction

The main part of the conference consisted of 9 concurrent workshops. Each of them consisted of 6.5 hours of intense input, discussion and planning, spread over Friday afternoon and Saturday morning, which can only be partially reflected here.

What's more, in preparation for the conference, each workshop had several preparatory meetings. This process involved many of the organisations participating in the conference, months before the physical gathering, in order to develop a common analysis of the topic and to come together on common ground. This work also included a collective elaboration of the methodology used during the workshops. These rich debates cannot be reproduced here, but are foundational for each workshop. For this reason, at the beginning of each workshop summary, a QR code will provide access to the analysis produced collectively by each workshop as part of this preparatory work.

The following pages will concisely present some of the discussions and outcomes of each workshop:

- 1. War and Peace:** Understanding and Resisting European Militarism and Imperialism
- 2. Anti-fascism:** The Rise of Fascism and the Conditions of Democratic Forces in Europe
- 3. Ecological Resistance:** Defending Life
- 4. Women's Democratic Confederalism:** Women Weaving the Future
- 5. Youth Identity and Resistance:** Deepening the Need for Autonomous Youth Resistance
- 6. Building Autonomy:** Self-governance, Self-sufficiency and Self-defence
- 7. Activism & Organisation:** For a Long-term Struggle Rooted in Society
- 8. Against Genocidal Politics:** Opposing the Genocidal Politics of Capitalist Modernity
- 9. Democratic Media:** The Battle for Hearts & Minds

If you want to get involved in the further processes and activities that have been decided in a workshop, please get in touch, giving us a hint which workshop/ topic you are referring to! ⇒ [peoplesplatform@democraticmodernity.com](mailto:peoplesplatform@democraticmodernity.com)

*Instead of being destructive, accusing each other, or engaging in polemics, we should speak constructively; our language can unite us.*

*— Roadmap of the Peoples' Platform Europe*



# Workshop 1: War and Peace

## Understanding and Resisting European Militarism and Imperialism



The workshop was attended by 44 organisations from 20 countries and territories, with delegates involved in feminist, climate justice, student and youth movements, as well as local efforts to resist militarisation, arms companies, and military infrastructure. Among them were representatives of anti-imperialist international movements, as well as local collectives.

Participants introduced themselves by sharing areas of their political work, alongside brief background about anti-militarist and peace movements in their geographies/contexts. In groups, they discussed specified questions and exchanged experiences. The second day aimed to develop a common set of principles or 'manifesto'. While this first encounter was not the ideal setting for such activity, this initial exchange was an exercise in gauging shared understandings and engaging debate. The process will be continued. The workshop concluded with ideas about future joint activities.

In the discussions before and during the workshop, war was analysed in relation to capitalism and other systems of power and domination based on class, race, gender, etc. The continuum of war encompasses borders, prisons, police, low-intensity conflict, cognitive warfare, surveillance, counter-insurgency, and repression. European colonialism and imperialism have lasting global impact, including large-scale ecocide. Europe is a centre of the global war economy and arms trade. Thus, **anti-militarism in Europe should focus on blocking and disrupting weapons production**. Imperialism and militarism must also be understood and fought in ideological dimensions (cultural intervention, special warfare, perception management etc.) and societal and ecological impacts (worker exploitation, poverty, normalisation of militarism, nationalism, fascism, patriarchal masculinity, forced migration, ecocide, etc.).



**The main institutions of capitalist modernity in Europe (NATO, the EU, etc.) are among the perpetrators of crises within as well as beyond the continent.** Broad and united transnational struggles require internationalist analysis and principles, while empowering local struggle. Comrades raised the ways in which movements and struggles can be divided by repression. While anti-war movements are increasingly conformist, radical perspectives often fail implementation in practice. Many comrades stressed the need to insist on a revolutionary path and build a popular anti-militarist culture. Communities in Europe also need to materially and politically prepare for war scenarios, e.g. by exchanging perspectives on revolutionary self-defence. Rather than depend on states for protection, society must be able protect and defend itself from state violence and in war. **Beyond opposing and disrupting the systems of oppression, we also need to build solutions and alternatives for life.** Actions and campaigns should relate to people's life conditions and everyday issues. Labour strikes can be a tool for resistance to engage workers to create consciousness and mobilise action. Similarly, migrant/diaspora/refugee communities and anti-colonial movements around the world need to be central in our struggles. Youth-led campaigns against militarisation are necessary to counteract media propaganda.

Rather than a mere absence of clashes between states in a system based on domination, asymmetric power, and state violence against rebellious people, we must redefine peace as a revolutionary concept, something we ourselves organise in relation to justice and liberation. Peace should be a concern uniting social and political movements; rather than expect justice from states, we must rely on self-organisation and common struggle with those most impacted by militarist and imperialist aggression.



These discussions will inform a future publication. Local and regional meetings and joint research and education will be organised to exchange analysis, methods, and tactics. Common actions were proposed around events like NATO summits and arms exhibitions. Mechanisms for secure communication and coordination will be discussed. Campaigns may focus on mili-

tarist masculinity, army recruitment advertisements, conscription, and conscientious objection. Autonomous perspectives will be developed among women and feminist organisations in the working group.

# Workshop 2: Anti-fascism

## The Rise of Fascism and the Conditions of Democratic Forces in Europe



The term ‘fascism’ derives from the Italian word ‘fascio’, meaning ‘bundle’ or ‘group’, and is tied to Benito Mussolini’s early political movement, ‘Fasci di Combattimento’ (or ‘fight clubs’), which symbolised a united homogenic group of people working toward a common goal. The ‘fascio’ is also an old Romanic symbol of a bundle of sticks cut to the same size and held tightly together. **Some of the earliest examples of fascist states emerged outside Europe, such as the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the subsequent genocides of Armenians and Syrians.** Fascism often arises in response to social crises, when the capitalist system can no longer maintain social stability, leading elites to adopt fascist measures to suppress potential uprisings. Fascism is deeply connected to the nation-state, where power is centralised in a ruling elite, necessitating the artificial construct of a ‘united nation’ to legitimise the system. Women, as the first ‘occupied’ group in society, are a primary target of fascism, with patriarchy playing a central role. The exploitative mentality inherent in capitalism is a root cause of fascism, making it not just an economic issue but also a mental one. Fascism employs violence as a tool to instil fear and consolidate state power.

In this workshop, over 70 participants from 48 organisations came together to discuss the current resurgence of fascism and its definition. The workshop was prepared by a group (England, France, Belgium, Catalonia, Germany) which focused on the following points:

1. The critical link between the capitalist system and fascism.
2. The necessity of integrating women’s liberation into all areas of struggle.
3. The idea that anti-fascism is a tactic, but the solution lies at the strategic level – moving beyond framing the struggle as merely ‘anti-fascist’.
4. The mental dimension of the struggle against fascism: how to confront the ‘fascist within’.
5. The concept of the ‘enemy within’ as a unifying element for fascist movements, with racism serving as the glue that binds them.
6. The importance of including migrant struggles in the fight against fascism.
7. Techno-fascism: how laws and technologies are being developed to ‘predict’ crime, leading to increasingly self-repressed individuals. A stark example is the use of AI in the Gaza genocide to ‘identify’ targets.

Participants were divided into 6 working groups to discuss these topics and in the second round, to discuss proposals.

Across Europe, fascist projects share common traits: attacks on migrants, minorities, and gender rights; success of fascist forces in winning the 'battle of ideas' by promoting an ultra-conservative 'common sense'; defence of the neoliberal economic order; militarisation of society (through repression) and support for wars; and submission to US imperialism.

Participants stressed the importance of education, noting the need for a clear definition of fascism, given the unique characteristics of fascist forces, their historical context, and their current state in different regions. **A concrete analysis of the working class and specific local conditions is essential.** They proposed deepening political education and analysis, focusing on the connections between fascist forces and capital, social media, religious institutions, state structures, and working-class organisations.

Despite the lack of a unified definition of fascism and anti-fascism, participants agreed on the importance of organising anti-fascist movements. Anti-fascist strategies need to be reimagined: **Today's efforts require a more organised, community-focused social anti-fascism that emphasises anti-patriarchal, anti-racist, and working-class solidarity.** Movements should operate autonomously but not in isolation, building economic and ecological resistance.

Participants also made concrete proposals for the Peoples' Platform Europe, including:

- Creating spaces to **exchange and coordinate anti-fascist practices** across regions, fostering mutual learning and the development of best practices.
- Establishing a process of **political education to continually review and renew anti-fascist strategies** (e.g., defining 21st-century anti-fascism and developing new societal approaches).
- **Deepening the understanding** of anti-imperialism as an anti-fascist, anti-patriarchal, anti-racist, and de-colonial struggle.
- **Building international brigades:** developing local programs and visiting other projects to learn from their experiences.
- Organising a decentralised **European Anti-Fascist Action Day**, along with anti-fascist festivals and sports events.



# Workshop 3: Ecological Resistance

## Defending Life



Reports of environmental disasters from around the world are published daily. These events are all manifestations of a single, overarching ecological problem, deeply embedded in the current hegemonic system and its economic, cultural, and institutional expressions. The crisis stems from the specific way society – and thus its economy – is organised and governed by nation-states and capitalism. **To understand the roots of the ecological crisis within capitalist modernity, it is necessary to examine the historical, political, and ideological processes of separation, appropriation, and accumulation of nature.**

The workshop brought together over 60 participants from 38 organisations to explore these issues. Using a reconfigured map of Europe – with the north positioned below and borders erased – participants challenged colonialist geography and situated ecological struggles within a shared territorial context. Discussions focused on uncovering connections between ecological resistance in Europe and in colonised territories, emphasising a shared history rooted in love for nature and societal self-defence.

### Key Topics:

- 1. Production and Reproduction:** Addressing community needs and moving beyond market-driven systems.
- 2. Rural and Urban Relationships:** Exploring mutual support between rural and urban areas.
- 3. Ecological Struggles:** Analysing the goals and characteristics of communities resisting ecological destruction.
- 4. Systemic Analysis:** Highlighting the need for deeper systemic critique and self-defence, at media and legal levels.
- 5. Education:** Emphasising decolonisation of minds and fostering an ecological mentality beyond individual ‘virtuous behaviour.’

The workshop also included ‘The Four Abodes’, a physical practice designed to enable participants to learn and share not only with the analytical mind, but also with the subtle perceptions of the senses and emotions.

On the second day, the focus shifted to identifying common goals, organisational tools, and communication strategies. Participants stressed the importance of politicising ecological struggles, linking them to broader social and economic

movements, and fostering collective action. Organising outside state structures while remaining socially embedded was seen as crucial. Sharing analyses and experiences across movements was highlighted as a way to align strategies and build a unified vision. A gap in the workshop was the connection of ecology and the role of women, which is to be deepened in future education.

### Tools for Action:

- **Education:** Initiatives such as schools and self-education programs were proposed to build ecological consciousness.
- **Struggle Actions:** A range of tactics was suggested, including strikes, campaigns, legal actions, and community organising, supported by research and media engagement.
- **Strategic Relationships:** Building alliances with peasants, workers, and global movements was deemed essential, with tools like shared calendars helping to coordinate efforts.

### Next Steps:

- A working group will start organising a 'European Democratic Ecological Forum' in the year 2026. The goal of the forum is to build a network with concrete actions, and to develop common practice and analysis.
- Share a common calendar, communication channels and media.

**The workshop underscored the need for an ideological shift, emphasising solidarity, systemic critique, and decolonisation to address the root causes of ecological crises.**



*The Workshop ended with a solidarity action, a combative greeting to the UCIZONI companions. On the previous Thursday, three indigenous activists had been killed in Oaxaca, Mexico.*

# Workshop 4: Women's Democratic Confederation

## Women Weaving the Future



The network Women Weaving the Future organised this gathering, together and collectively with various other organisations, in the framework of the Peoples' Platform Europe, to deepen alliances, to share criticisms and self-criticisms and to strengthen the relations between women and feminist forces on a European level. Some of the criticisms that were shared will stay in the autonomous space, as the Network considers it their responsibility to deal with them and find solutions, that also strengthen the works of all gender struggles. In the preparation of this workshop, an analysis of the current situation of and struggle against patriarchy and other forces of oppression had been written, based on collective discussions with different organised collectives and in different geographies.

**The workshop brought together around 130 participants from 55 organisations and collectives.** The methodology of the workshop involved rituals, a form of theatre, body work, open chair discussion and organisations' sharing of their collective perspectives to deepen analyses, criticism and self-criticism, and proposals for common struggle. To open the workshop space, the participants shared symbolic objects to present themselves and their struggles. By answering four key questions, they presented their analysis as collectives present in this workshop. The discussions honestly and radically analysed root causes and symptoms of the crisis of capitalist modernity, and consequently developed ideas for further networking between those present and those not yet present. The participants were aware of the need to build stronger, common, and foundational self-defence on the local and European level. Many foundations for this are already laid, now is the time to connect and coordinate struggles towards an internationalist and democratic confederal women's system, from the local to the regional.

The participants aim to link political work against femicide, which strongly grew over the last years, with peace efforts. **Mass mobilisations for peace, against the feminicidal and genocidal capitalist war system are to be organised.** These plans will be pursued with the self-confidence of all the knowledge of what is already built: the tools of strike, networks, (cultural) festivals, collectives, skill shares etc. Strikes for workers' and women's rights and against fascism, are a tool for many struggles, and the common efforts will build upon this. One concrete proposal are weeks-long shared campaigns on the occasions of 8th of March and 25th November – a common ground/framework based on local realities. A Europe-wide

network against violence can be a step, tool or result for/of this.

Another campaign proposal is to focus on NATO's crimes against women and other dissident identities. War needs to be seen from the perspective of where it is planned and how. War is a tool for further colonisation and colonial logics in general. The participants see it as their duty to block the war and death industry. This can also be analysed and addressed through popular tribunals and marches. Proposals included solidarity campaigns with women from Afghanistan, struggling against imperialism and fascism.

The participants see a need to develop and share material and room for mutual political education. To build a strong and successful network, participants stated the need to dismantle hierarchies and power relations between us and strengthen the work of those most affected by state violence and at the receiving end of power. This includes, consciously and radically, centering, standing, and organising with the Romani community, care/cleaning/domestic workers, Black women, anti-colonial movements, migrants and refugees, undocumented, queer, and indigenous friends.



The participants of the workshop plan to stay in touch, build relations between each other, and further develop the Network by inviting more people to join. The aim is to share the workshops not only within their collectives, but also beyond. For further information, you are welcome to contact:

⇒ [womenweavingthefuture@posteo.com](mailto:womenweavingthefuture@posteo.com)

# Workshop 5: Youth Identity and Resistance

## Deepening the Need for Autonomous Youth Organisation



The Youth Writing History network organised its first conference in November 2023 in Paris, gathering more than 400 young people from all over the world. As a following step, and in the framework of the Peoples' Platform Europe, the network wanted to gather the revolutionary youth in Europe. Whether it is the resurgence of European militarism and the growing threat of war, the ecological catastrophe or the growing danger of fascism, young people are the first and most affected. Therefore, there is a need to think about the role of organised and autonomous youth in the revolutionary struggle. **How can young people organise within their movements and structures, what is the role of the organisation of young women and what can be common goals and projects to respond to the needs of the youth of Europe today?**

60 young people from 28 organisations attended this workshop. Discussion groups were formed around three topics and as part of a cultural program: symbols, anecdotes and histories were shared from many different places. The topics of the three groups were:

1. Identity and role of the youth in society.
2. Experiences of youth organisations.
3. Challenges and unity of youth.

The discussion of the first group defined the specific characteristics of the youth and the attacks they are facing. The debate evolved around how youth identity interacts with class and gender. Another important point was the connection of young people to life, and the fight against liberalism. The second discussion group



focused on the historical aspect of struggle for liberation, looking to different places. The group researched and discussed the differences in struggle between past and present, in order to identify an effective strategy for the future. The historical examples came from the Italian and Yugoslav partisan movements during

WWII, the German youth resisting against Nazi-Germany, practices of youth social care, for example through the 'Centri Sociali' in Italy or Scouts organisations. The third discussion group focussing on challenges, analysed different forms of special warfare. These topics led to discussions about tools to fight oppression and internalised patterns of liberalism in our daily lives and in our organising, as well as tools of communication and security. **Militarism appeared as a central concern to the participants, along with how the system tries to split the youth using various strategies such as drug wars or neoliberal lies.**

The participants expressed a variety of opinions and arguments, which did not all necessarily converge. This is also why, as the workshop progressed, the participants saw the need for more space for discussion about these topics, which gave rise to the idea of a Youth Conference of Europe in the future. A committee was formed with the task to lay down principles for future work, which were then discussed with the group. The following principles were agreed on:

- 1.** In the struggle against the capitalist way of life, which is forcing liberalism and individualism on the youth, we want to create communal forms of organising. This should be done in education, economy, politics and culture by questioning our lifestyle, to find collective solutions to individualism.
- 2.** We need to build new relationships that are based on true comradeship, by applying anti-discrimination policies among ourselves for overcoming patriarchal relationships of power and internalised systems of oppression.
- 3.** In order to strengthen the will of the youth and make youth a political force, we need to strive towards youth and young women's autonomy, as a tool against gerontocratic approaches, even among us. The goal is to create a self-aware and confident youth, able to give all of its strength to the broader struggle.
- 4.** The youth has a historic responsibility to restore a harmonic relationship between society and nature.
- 5.** As the youth in Europe is composed of many different cultures and heritages, we have to overcome barriers and unite our different struggles by fighting Eurocentrism, colonialism, imperialism and supporting the right of self-determination of oppressed nations.

Youth email contact ⇒ [info@ronahi.eu](mailto:info@ronahi.eu)

# Workshop 6: Building Autonomy

## Self-governance, Self-sufficiency and Self-defence



In a global moment of chaos, more and more people are seeking to understand the situation, and search for ways out of the crisis. Seeing how the situation of women, nature and of all of society is getting worse, the quest for a free and self-determined life, beyond states, power and violence, leads people to look for an alternative. They find answers in their neighbourhoods, cities and territories, which offer chances of building autonomy. Building autonomy means creating a free life, where society can govern, sustain and defend itself. However, societal autonomy is not a recent invention; rather, the capacity of autonomy in all spheres of life has always been a characteristic of society. Since the beginning of humanity until today we find many examples of autonomy in our territories, and generally, women played a central role, a vanguard role in it. Yet, many times this history has been forgotten, as the nation-state system has imposed 'one flag, one language, one nation' on society, forcefully assimilating the garden of hundreds of flowers of peoples, religions and cultures. **The nation-state has coopted societies' capacity of self-organisation, which society needs to take back.**

In this workshop, more than 120 people from over 69 organisations from across Europe participated. 20 people from different organisations had been previously involved in the preparation which allowed for an exchange of experience, ideas and projects before the beginning of the Platform. The preparatory work started with analyses from various territories, continued with drawing trees to map the problems facing organisations, and culminated in framing the workshop concept. This is why the workshop itself was not the beginning, but a continuation of the discussion which had been ongoing for months. The first part of the workshop consisted of presentations by six organisations, explaining their analyses and practice within society: **self-organised bakeries and schools, neighbourhood kitchens, homes for homeless youth, solidarity agriculture, women's houses, self-defence courses and more.** These projects reflected the diversity of what building autonomy concretely





means, in different regions of Europe. On the second day the discussion was deepened through the method of 'worldcafé'. The participants discussed questions about self-governance, self-sufficiency and self-defence, moving from one discussion table to the next. For the conclusions another tree was painted together, with the roots representing the contradictions we are facing and the leaves representing concrete proposals.

Seeing the diversity of organisations in this workshop was a glimpse of hope, showing that this is the time to build up the alternative we strive for. It demonstrates how society is being empowered to organize autonomously, in parallel to the state-system, pushing back the statist hold over social life, until this system is fully overcome.

The centrality of women's autonomy was also highlighted as women and youth are targeted by the attacks of the system in a special way. The diversity which was present also translated the need to find local solutions, adapted to regional realities. **Working on how the nation-state system affects our mentalities, and how we can build autonomy in our very minds was also a topic of discussion.**

Throughout the months of preparation, several concrete proposals for future common projects had been developed, both at ideological and organisational levels. For the ideological proposals, creating a brochure on building autonomy, as well as organising general educations and educations focused on autonomy were suggested. To strengthen the organisational level, the participants suggested organising regional tours with delegates from different countries and organisations visiting each other's projects, to create bridges between local and international organisations. The participants also proposed the creation of committees according to the needs of organisations (e.g. education committee, history research committee, social committee, culture committee, communal economy committee, self-defence committee, health committee, etc.).



# Workshop 7: Activism and Organisation

## For a Long-term Struggle Rooted in Society



As we are facing a structural crisis of capitalist modernity, the organisational crisis of the democratic forces in Europe is a key reason why we are unable to respond adequately to the attacks and use the existing opportunities to expand democracy against the state. What distinguishes us from the rulers and what gives them the power to take initiative is the degree of our organisation and our consciousness. To resist against imperialism, militarism, the rise of fascism, ecocide, feminicides, genocide and to build autonomy, we need collective self-empowerment and organisation of the people. **Starting from a self-critical analysis of the organisational crisis in Europe, the participants discussed ways out of the crisis.**

Almost 100 people from over 50 organisations participated in this workshop. Three organisations (active in Germany, Spain and Greece), that are developing strategic and frontline organising, shared their political practice and the limits they are facing. Afterwards, across five discussion tables, the participants discussed ways out of the crisis: regarding 1) the need to develop a coherence of theory, strategy, tactics and organisation, 2) fostering an understanding of autonomous youth and women's organising, 3) methods to strengthen long-term commitment as militants, 4) the need to root our struggle in society, and 5) how to live and sustain ourselves as militants. In a second part of the workshop, the participants discussed proposals for the Peoples' Platform Europe, in the interconnected fields of education, action and organisation.

**As an important part of our political work, the need to give more room to education was highlighted,** to develop a constructive cycle of praxis – learning – theory – analysis – praxis again. This was related to the need to have clear short, middle and long-term vision and objectives in the political struggle. The need for autonomous youth and women's organising, in any political collective, was stressed – to tackle the most deeply rooted oppression of society (patriarchy), and to allow the constant renewal of the struggle. But not all organisations present in the workshops practised either or both forms of autonomous organisation, and not all even agreed on the need for it. In order to ensure the long term commitment of militants, participants highlighted the importance of developing collective solutions for individualised problems (material, care-work etc.), of practising self-criticism and criticism to work on personality and solve conflicts, of creating a collective militant culture through singing, story-telling, sharing joyful moments in a fighting spirit, and having a clear common vision of what we want to achieve.

The participants discussed qualities that militants need to develop, in particular: humility, deep love for society and seeing its potential, knowledge of our own history, going out of our comfort zone by involving different kinds of people in different actions, embracing contradictions instead of remaining in a homogeneous militant bubble. **Militants should, in all moments, live according to the values they fight for, instead of limiting militancy to one part of their lives.**

The participants imagined concrete proposals for a peoples' platform: regarding the possibility of a common education (to share experience and knowledge, learn from past generations of struggle, discuss strategy, know more about the political situation in different countries), the need to share resources (material, physical, organisational), common campaigns and days of direct action around the topics that connect us, the importance of pro-actively involving more diaspora communities in the process of a peoples' platform, and of organising according to the cultural diversity present in Europe (regional platforms, for example). In conclusion, the workshop highlighted that international organising can only build upon strong local organising. A Peoples' Platform Europe must be based on strong militant and social organising.



# Workshop 8: Against Genocidal Politics

## Opposing the Genocidal Politics of Capitalist Modernity



As the world watches in horror over the mounting death toll of oppressed people around the world especially civilians in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and in Asia, the carnage in Palestine and Kurdistan gives us a ghastly window into the rapidly escalating crisis of global capitalism. Connecting the dots from the merciless Israeli destruction of Gaza and Turkish occupation in Kurdistan to the global crisis requires us to step back, to bring into focus the bigger picture. Looking at this big picture, we see genocide against societies in its various forms as a constant of the system. It is obvious that we are in an especially deadly phase of the structural crisis of global capitalism.

The participants of this workshops included representatives from several Palestine solidarity collectives, members of the Kurdish community, Armenian and Baloch organisations, members of a Jewish anti-Zionist organisation, of a women's movement and of anarchist organisations. Participants shared the history of genocidal politics that have been carried out against their people, exposing the different ways through which people's existence is being attacked. **This led to a broader analysis of genocidal politics, not as a spontaneous event, but rather an intended continuing process that contains various stages, and as a central element of capitalist modernity.** Workshop time was used for group discussions to deepen the analysis developed in the preparatory phase.

The global spread of capitalism, historically linked with imperialism and colonialism, is based on processes of dispossession, where indigenous peoples are systematically stripped of land, resources and political power. The wealth accumulated in Europe creates an illusion of enjoying a good standard of living in this continent – at the expense of exploited populations. Genocidal politics signify the most brutal forms of physical violence: structural racism, ethnic cleansing, forced migration and displacement, forced labour, mass detention, pogroms, systemic rape, torture and extermination. Yet, one must think of genocide beyond physical violence,



to grasp its complexity. By attacking the social fabric and social cohesion, genocidal politics target the very existence of a people's identity and its attachment to their land and culture. This is why a complete analysis of genocidal politics must include ethnocide, linguicide, destruction of culture, ecocide, femicide, the attacks on religion and on the self-rule and social organisation of an ethnic group.

Survivors often face trauma, fear, oppression, and victimisation, which leads to the fragmentation of communities. In response, those targeted by genocidal politics need to organise, analyse their situation, and build international solidarity. In this context, **nation-states and international law should not be seen as tools able to prevent genocide, but nation-states themselves justify genocidal politics according to their own laws.** Mass mobilisation and internationalist organisation over the past decade have shown that a network beyond states is possible.

The most important conclusion of the workshop was that, **since genocidal politics become effective through the disorganisation and fragmentation of society, a successful opposition to it requires first of all organisation of militants, of society, of the community.** For organisation we need education to unmask the monopolies of power, knowledge and resources, which are at the root of these genocides. To oppose genocide, one should not expect anything from states, which are themselves profiting from these politics. We can only rely on our own strength and insist on the mutual recognition of peoples in struggle.



# Workshop 9: Democratic Media

## The Battle for Hearts & Minds



In addition to bullets and bombs, the battle for hearts and minds is on the rise. Today's wars are not only fought on physical battlefields, but also for human perception through the media. So-called 'cognitive warfare' is in full swing as global wars escalate. There is a battle between various liberal-globalist and national-conservative power elites for the hegemony of truth and perception. Whether it is the Green New Deal or right-wing populism, these battles are not about the fight for a new system, but for supremacy in the existing capitalist power system. **Social media has changed the structure of propaganda. The potential it creates for democratisation comes along with huge new industries of manipulation and surveillance.** This happens at the intersection of secret services and corporations, while the main infrastructure is owned by a few private companies.

This workshop was about the question of how to bring democratic socialist ideas back into the social mainstream by organising media from below. Political civil society – women, youth, workers, all of the oppressed – and its search for truth, democratic politics, and a just and good life, are the basis for this. **The participants not only discussed the basic narratives that democratic media needs, but also the necessary infrastructure and ways for a collective process.**



An analysis of the current situation of the media was made collectively in the month before and presented to the 60 participants who represented various media collectives and projects throughout Europe, as well as journalists and other media workers. In the general discussion the need for women and minorities to have their own media structures was often highlighted.

In the second part of the workshop the participants split into 4 groups. Each went deeper on the question of how to organise the development of media on a European scale.

- **Group 1:** Building a Framework for a European Media-Network.
- **Group 2:** Building a Database to Share Contacts and Resources.
- **Group 3:** Building a Narrative and Strategic Framework around the 'Reclaim the Initiative' Motto.
- **Group 4:** Laying the Groundwork for a 'School of Democratic Media' Gathering in the Summer.



The four groups discussed systems of sharing news and content to: get information directly from the places of struggle, enable independent European-wide coverage, and interpret news in their proper context. They discussed the need for a common infrastructure – a database, and conscious narratives that focus on accessible analysis, opportunities for, and examples of people taking

back power. Another step they discussed was the idea of a 'School of Democratic Media' to deepen understanding, broaden the discussion and extend the network.

To implement the first steps in building a network of democratic media the workshop agreed on the following:

**1. Two communication channels:**

- One to coordinate, commit to staying in touch and organise for the future.
- One to share stories, information, and analysis across the network, so comrades across Europe can share resources and work towards building a common narrative.

**2. Developing media projects, spaces, campaigns for and by women and other groups marginalised in the system** as tools of resistance and empowerment.

**3. The commitment to push coordinated campaigns, across Europe,** on chosen narratives, i.e. posting a common article on a given day, or dedicating a week to a topic, during which every member of the network reports on that matter or investigates together.

**4. School of Democratic Media** - 1 week in August/September 2025, somewhere in Central Europe.

**5. A map of democratic media in Europe,** so everyone can have points of contact with like-minded media outlets.

*Our goal with this Platform is to build an organisation that can embrace all these different issues.*

*Roadmap of the Peoples' Platform Europe*



# Mahmut Şakar, Lawyer of Abdullah Öcalan

## Keynote speaker

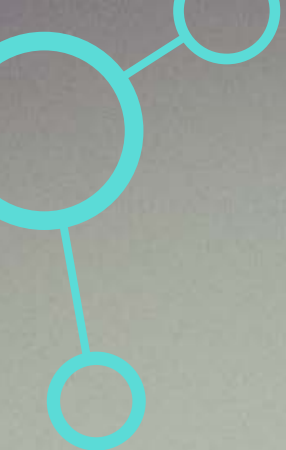
On 15th February 2025, exactly 26 years since the abduction of the Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan and the beginning of his imprisonment in isolation that is ongoing until today, Mahmut Şakar reminded the participants of the Peoples' Platform of the relevance of his philosophy for the event being held. It is during his detention on the prison-island Imrali that Abdullah Öcalan put to paper the paradigm of Democratic Modernity, including an analysis of the absolute need for democratic forces around the world to unite and organise a new internationalism. Mahmut Şakar has been a lawyer of Abdullah Öcalan since the beginning of his arrest. On the 'black day', as the 15th of February is called among the Kurdish community, Şakar reminded us of the incredibly harsh conditions under which Öcalan developed his theory, and how his prison resistance is a source of hope and inspiration for democratic forces in Europe.

After Öcalan's arrest, a special administration was set up in Imrali and the control of the island was placed under the supervision of the army. Öcalan himself compared his life on the island to a coffin, as he was detained in a space of 12m<sup>2</sup>. When he was allowed to leave his cell for one hour, he only had access to a completely closed area with walls so high that one could not see the sky. "It is easier to die here, than to live", he said. Şakar reminded the audience that the aim of this extreme regime was to erase hope, within Öcalan himself and all Kurdish people. However, despite being imprisoned in Imrali, his struggle goes on, and his willpower remains unbroken. **"This is Öcalan's method of resistance. For 26 years, this is his personality. In daily life, 24 hours a day, this resistance continues", says Şakar.**

Throughout the trial against him, Öcalan wrote his defence writings. Under such conditions, they were a form of resistance. Şakar underlined that his writings do not follow a technical, academic approach, but rather deal with the matter of freedom in society, answering questions such as: Why was the international conspiracy








*Mahmut Şakar is one of the lawyers of Abdullah Öcalan and a member of the Association for International Law and Democracy (MAF-DAD). Abdullah Öcalan is a key thinker for social liberation, his writings from the prison-island Imrali inspired the Peoples' Platform Europe.*

leading to Öcalan's arrest carried out against Kurdish society? How can we struggle against the forces of capitalist modernity? Through the discussions with his lawyers, he developed his thoughts, as they were sending him books about topics he suggested. These books inspired him when developing the paradigm of Democratic Modernity. However, between 2005-2009 he was sanctioned eleven times due to his political positions. Such sanctions involved taking away his books, preventing his lawyers and family from visiting him, and even taking away his pen and paper. All this time without the possibility of writing down his thoughts, he strengthened his resistance: "What I see as important, I keep in my mind and make it part of my personality, that's my method", he said. **In total he wrote 7 000 handwritten pages, which were transformed into 13 books.** He probably wrote many more pages, which were confiscated by prison authorities. However, this did not discourage him from going on. Recently, during a DEM party delegation visit in prison, he said: "I'm thinking about Marx, socialism, the state. I want to write something about it, I have a book project."

Already in 1999, after his arrest, Öcalan had said: "You will see the consequences of this". 26 years later we can see it: the Kurdish movement is one of the strongest struggles in the world, in all four parts of Kurdistan the organisation is present. The 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî' philosophy has brought many people together, and become internationally known. The Rojava revolution has been unfolding for over 12 years. All these are results of 26 years of Imrali resistance. Şakar concluded: "**The fact that we are here together is also part of his efforts.** Finally, I would like to say that for 26 years, Öcalan has been trying to make his society advance. His resistance continues, with intellectual concentration and courage. I send him my greetings from Vienna to Imrali."





*Increasingly, resistance is NGO-ised and thereby weakened. The Platform is not and will not be a liberal space. It is a political space with political principles.*

*Roadmap of the Peoples' Platform Europe*



# Roadmap of the Peoples' Platform Europe

*This is a shortened version of the final contribution made by representatives of the Academy of Democratic Modernity and the network Women Weaving the Future.*

This was an historic gathering, more than 800 people from more than 35 countries came, lived and discussed together for three days. They have also expressed their commitment to struggle together from now on. Many thanks again to the delegation from Abya Yala/Latin America for joining us. **Although this is the Peoples' Platform Europe, we plan to organise similar platforms in other regions and continents**, with the ultimate aim of bringing all together. This was a first step in a bigger internationalist process. In the future, comrades and struggles based in other parts of the world will be with us, as we bring the platforms together on an international scale.

Despite the rise of fascist and right-wing movements, parties and governments across Europe and the world, we here see the big potential of leftist socialist movements. There has been a lot of interest in the Peoples' Platform Europe. More people would have come had it been possible. If we feed back our work in more than 35 countries, we can influence movements across Europe, change discourses, our mentalities, and better coordinate struggles.

This initiative is intentionally called 'platform'. Unlike classical leftist conferences, we did not just want to bring many people together, discuss, and leave. **We saw a need to change the way of doing politics.** This also means changing the methodology of such gatherings, by already involving organisations and groups in the preparation process and pre-discussions. We also wanted to start building a system of delegates. Rather individuals, who are not part of any movement organisation, group etc., we gathered people who are part of organised struggles and who can bring in collective organised perspectives and experiences.

The Platform itself is not an existing organisation. Rather, this was a first encounter. The workshop presentations offered insights and impressions of some of the discussions that were held with different groups, where contacts existed. This gathering is not a one-off event but part of a process towards a far more expensive aim to unite the left and build a different system. Everything depends on how we communicate and coordinate from now on. The responsibility falls on everybody's shoulders. We should not hold a position of expectation, but be proactive in claiming this Platform.

While this Platform focused on the struggles in Europe, the place where we live, many of us are involved in internationalist and revolutionary practice. Certain

discussions will necessarily have to be held in a more closed form and in face-to-face discussions. Major aspects of our struggles were invisible in this process due to the format and frame. But without a doubt, our struggle is internationalist. Our aim is to push and radicalise our struggles and liberate the world together with all oppressed and struggling peoples. **We are committed to struggle alongside all peoples, from Africa to Abya Yala, from Palestine to Kurdistan to the Philippines.**

On this Platform, we were joined by comrades from different political traditions. Some are mass movements, some are smaller collectives. Some have highly structured organisations, others are more loosely organised. Some have old legacies, some are new. Sometimes, we have deep contradictions, ideological and political. Different perspectives and disagreements should not discourage us. On the contrary, we understand our ideological and political differences not as a reason to split and become more marginal as leftist forces, but as occasions to discuss and mutually transform each other, to convince each other of what we believe is right.



Women's liberation is a condition for the success of our movements. The whole process of organising towards the Platform, including the workshops themselves, had representatives of the women's movement and autonomous women's structures in the coordination and planning. **The women's liberation perspective was woven into the mentality of the workshops from the start, in addition to one fully autonomous workshop.** This was to embody the key principle that women's liberation is not a branch of struggle, but the precondition for the success of any struggle. We call on all women to organise autonomously and for all organisations to respect the will of women's autonomy and to actively integrate it into their culture. Women's autonomy, at the same time, is

not a way to shield oneself from society and from reality by creating isolated safe spaces. It must be entangled with the general struggle for liberation against the colonisation of life. And that is a fight that we must all be involved in.

The Platform was also an exercise of radical democracy. It showed us the possibility of what we can organise together. The Kurdish community has been doing much of the social reproductive labour of this gathering. The Kurdish political

diaspora community is a great example of what can be achieved when organising inside society with a revolutionary perspective. It is one of the most surveilled, targeted, vulnerable, attacked communities by state and fascist violence here in Europe. The criminalisation and repression of struggles, such as those in solidarity with Kurdistan, Palestine, and other struggles is something that we must actively resist and understand as part of the process of European states trying to repress social movements, while imposing their colonial and imperialist policies all around the world.



We don't have to invent internationalism, we must organise it. That is the goal of the Platform, to build an organisation for internationalism. We have to rebuild these kinds of spaces. **Increasingly, resistance is NGO-ised and thereby weakened. The Platform is not and will not be a liberal space. It is a political space with political principles.**

Not all the different communities, groups, and regions living and struggling in Europe are represented here. This was a first attempt to bring the different relations we have together and to encourage you to bring your contacts, your networks into this process in the future. From now on, the Platform will live from the active participation of each one of you. Local struggle should be our reference for a long-term struggle. We have to build coordination and networks between different local struggles and build regional platforms, local platforms across Europe where we can also deepen relations and not come together only on the continental, broad level.

Based on observing these past days, we see the need for a different kind of political culture as movements. We have to point out what brings us together instead of what differentiates us. It is important to be constructive in the way we express ourselves, speak to others, discuss together, raise questions, and try to convince someone. **Instead of being destructive, accusing each other, or engaging in polemics, we should speak constructively; our language can unite us.** This creates trust. We need unity and trust, not fragmentation and mistrust.

We are all impatient in the face of the genocidal attacks of capitalist modernity. Countless people were massacred in Gaza over a period of more than one year. So, naturally, we are impatient to struggle and stop the war machine. But everybody is confronting important issues. We are many different groups and strug-

gles. All our different focus points have value. We want to give all of them space to articulate and build relations here. We need to be patient in our discussions and with this process. Every topic is important. There is not one topic which is more important than all other topics. Our philosophy must be based on unity in diversity. **Our goal with this Platform is to build an organisation that can embrace all these different issues.**

There is an ideological paradigm behind this Platform, a philosophy, a revolutionary theory behind this concept. We appreciate all the radical proposals because we need radical movements. And we will also be radical in defending our principles. Not being radical in our insistence on certain issues can destroy leftist movements. Our struggle against patriarchy and for women's liberation is a key pillar. We cannot change the world without first transforming ourselves. Similarly, we believe in radical democracy. We believe that this way of discussing and organising the process is the right way, even if it creates tensions. Another important principle, a pillar of our paradigm, is ecology. We are against militarism. We are for legitimate self-defence, but we do not support any demands for weapons supplies for any states. **We oppose nationalism, Zionism, anti-Semitism. We believe in the concept of 'democratic nation'.** We are against all forms of racism and nationalist chauvinism. And we actively struggle against them. A lot of comrades here have been active in the struggle against the genocide in Palestine. Furthermore, the right of peoples' self-determination is a clear principle for us. Peoples in Europe, the Basque people, the Sami people, the Catalans, and other peoples all have the right of self-determination in the same way the Kurdish and the Palestinian people do.



**There is clearly an imbalance on who is represented here, in terms of class, region, identity.** The Platform attendance is visibly overwhelmingly white, Western European. Migrants, refugees, some of the most oppressed peoples living in Europe are not here. But beyond pointing this out, we need to facilitate meaningful political participation beyond mere representation. We should not remember just a few days or weeks before an event that we do not have certain people from this community or that identity here. That is liberal representational politics. This is not a revolutionary approach, because the revolutionary approach requires organisation.

The workshops revolved around different topics, ideas, and sites of struggle. We dis-

cussed over weeks and months, made contacts, initiated first conversations, in an atmosphere shaped by repression, criminalisation, fragmentation, and distrust. The nature of the workshops varied, in terms of methods for example. They were exercises of organising something together. The discussions revealed that capacity for self-organisation is something that needs to be built. **Mobilisation is not the same as organisation. We need to do both** – not just organise, but also be able to mobilise in order to not stay limited to activist bubbles. The topic of class struggle was actively mentioned throughout, as were differences and hierarchies between city and countryside. The importance of comradeship, the importance of self-defence, the need for political education and consciousness – all these were highlighted.

Diverse proposals were made. Committees or conferences on specific issues were proposed, as were regional tours, brochures, publications, joint educations, mechanisms for communication, action days, common programs. These are just some proposals that the comrades, who have been part of this process, shared as ideas. You can proactively involve yourselves in these ideas, but also make these efforts more meaningful by making more radical, more concrete proposals. The Platform can facilitate communication and coordination between the different groups.

**We call on all the comrades in the working groups to continue to exchange and to discuss how to implement their planing into practice.** More connection on the local and regional level are needed, with more time and different spaces for deeper discussions. There is a need for political education. Our experiences show that education builds organisation. **One of our concrete ideas is to build an Academy of the Peoples' Platform Europe, an educational space to conduct political education on specific topics and deepen and connect struggles.** Another proposal is to hold regular meetings and assemblies, to follow up on our discussions. We need to discuss on the local and regional levels, while also empowering other groups to join European-level meetings.

This was a historic exercise in bringing together the left in Europe. In a time of fascism, we cannot allow divisions to make us marginal and irrelevant. In this time of genocide, of war and destruction, in Congo, in Sudan, in Palestine, we need to insist on struggle and principles. This includes not expecting anything from the capitalist state system, not letting our movements






be co-opted, not letting them be divided, to become revolutionaries also in our individual lives, and to embody the principles we stand for by overcoming liberal bourgeois ideology in our own lives, in our own relations.

We are already living World War III. Here, we are people living in a continent that has labelled liberation struggles around this world as terrorist. European countries have enslaved and treated as slaves millions of people from the African continent, and established settler colonies in many different parts of the world. **This is the continent of the witch hunts, of peasant uprisings, that has exported counter-insurgency, counter-terrorism, and counter-extremism concepts all over the world.** We have experienced so many massacres inside Europe, let alone all the massacres due to colonial and imperialist violence, past and present, over hundreds of years. There are political prisoners in the jails of Europe, too. More and more people are criminalised for standing in solidarity, for rescuing people being killed at the borders of fortress Europe. At the same time, there is a huge legacy of struggle in Europe to build on. We need to revive our collective memory of revolutionary societal struggle.

This platform was organised around people who are in Europe, but our struggle must be an internationalist one. We have an historical and moral duty, especially because we live in the belly of the beast, the heart, the origin of capitalist modernity. It is therefore a very meaningful effort to try to smash it totally here – and we can only do this together. **So let's unite our forces.**





*We are committed to struggle alongside  
all peoples, from Africa to Abya Yala, from  
Palestine to Kurdistan to the Philippines.*

*Roadmap of the Peoples' Platform Europe*



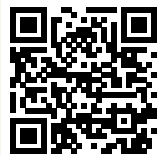
# Peoples' Platform Europe



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