

Honoring LGBTI+ martyrs who filled their hearts with indescribable love

AN ALBUM TO REMEMBER OUR COMRADES THAT HAVE
BECOME IMMORTAL IN REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE





Preface

They were neither flawless nor fearless. They discovered themselves, they fell in love, they made mistakes, they fell but got up, they fought, they broke hearts, their hearts got broken, they laughed, they cried, they chased their desires, they got depressed, maybe hidden maybe openly they danced. They were as human as anyone else

At the same time, what made them different was that they opposed fascism, imperialism, capitalism, feudalism, patriarchy and all forms of reaction, despite all the sieges of heterosexism and patriarchy. This audacity, of course, did not emerge spontaneously. They became part of the revolutionary struggle as a result of social conditions and their developing consciousness. They shouted to the world that homosexuals are not cowards. They became the molotov of a trans sex worker in Stonewall and illuminated the paths we walk. All over the world, they turned the gains of the LGBTI+ movement into bullets and put them in their magazines.

Of course they struggled, of course they hesitated. However, they learned not to be satisfied with the given, and they shattered the individualism imposed by the system by saying, "If even one of us is not free, we are all prisoners". In this document you are holding in your hands, there are short stories of a very limited number of LGBTI+ heroes, who participated in armed struggle, whose names we can extract from the patriarchal heterosexist siege. Before and after them, there were many others whose names we do not know. From now on, we will write our own history so that no LGBTI+ fighter remains hidden. One day, this history will also be discovered and be known by the LGBTI+ masses, who are affected by the anti-propaganda against the revolution and revolutionaries.

We know very well that the democratic gains of LGBTI+ people will become permanent as long as they meet with the revolution. Imperialists and capitalists usurp the rights we have won at every opportunity they find. They impose on us to be part of

pink capital for 'freedom' and to be part of the heterosexist order. Our daily interests bring us together against the system. These gatherings sometimes result in victories and sometimes in defeats. However, the main issue is to transform these gatherings into organizations and carry them into the future. From the villages of Afghanistan to the metropolises of Europe, the fulfillment of our historical interest is possible through revolutions and the revolutionary war that will bring these revolutions. This will happen in different geographies and at different times under their own unique conditions. But it must be based on fundamental principles. There have been those who have risked the future of our liberation movement with "good intentions" for everyday interests. Against such a situation, Sylvia made her famous speech when transgender sex workers were excluded from the movement due to moral and normative concerns. There have been revolutionary organizations that risked the future of the revolution by leaving the LGBTI+ masses at the mercy of imperialism and capitalism without calculating the next big consequences. There were LGBTI+ people who preferred to live in their protected bubbles. But these obstacles have been broken down, and continue to be broken down. Helin Qerecox was one of those who worked at destroying these obstacles, she did this by coming to Rojava.

Now, the flag of our martyrs against LGBTI+phobia is waving with revolutionary ideas against opportunism and fueling our fire of rebellion. Once again, we repeat our promise that we will bring the paths illuminated by them together with the river of revolution to turn sacrifice, resistance and determination into victory.

We have a free future ahead of us that we will win with this determination. And now we cannot call them dead because there is no death for those who fill their hearts with indescribable love!

TKP-ML Communist Women's Union (KKB)



Willem “Tiky” Arondeus

22.08.1894 – 01.07.1943

Willem was born in 1894 in Naarden, The Netherlands. During his youth he fought with his parents about his homosexuality, and consequently left his parental home at the age of 17. He went to art school and worked as an artist afterwards. As an artist he struggled financially. To supplement his income he wrote several books, both fiction and non-fiction, which proved successful and improved his financial situation. Willem was open about his sexuality in a time where this was highly unusual and risky, even in the liberal and artistic social circles that he inhabited.

Early in his career he was part of an artistic community in North Holland, during this period he created much art and documented a lot of his life and thoughts in diaries. His diaries are interesting since he wrote about being gay in a time and place where little is documented of gay people's histories. His writing also include expressions of insecurity, about his homosexuality, and uncertainty, about his passions and purpose in life. It is said that Willem Arondeus struggled to know what his purpose in life was, never really being sure he belonged or was in the right place. It seems he could not find what he was looking for, he moved around numerous times, including to Paris for sometime, only to move back to the Netherlands after concluding that Paris wasn't all he had hoped for.

When the German Nazi's invaded the Netherlands in 1940, he nearly immediately joined the resistance. Statements from his friends and comrades in the resistance show a Willem who is incredibly dedicated to the cause, and whose earlier insecurities moved to the background in the light of his passion and love for the people. It seems he found his purpose in life in the resistance work, and left many of his fears behind.

In 1942 he started an underground periodical, the “Brandarisbrief” in which he called on his fellow artists to resist against the occupying forces. In 1943 it merged with “De Vrije Kunstenaar” (The Free Artist), through which Willem met Gerrit van der Veen, the publication would continue until the end of the war in 1945. Through meeting Gerrit he also became involved in the falsification of ID's of Jewish people, alongside Frieda Belinfante. When mandatory documentation for Jews people was introduced, he was immediately considering the potential dangers of it and campaigned against it, at a time when few people did. So joining this work was a logical next step for him.

Like mentioned in the article about Frieda Belinfante, falsification of ID's gradually became less effective since they could be check against the documentation in the Population Register and determined as fake. To counter this Willem, Frieda

and various others who had been working together hatched a plan, to destroy the public records office in Amsterdam where the identity papers of many Jewish people were stored and used to identify, harass and deport them. They figured that if the records didn't exist the Nazi's couldn't check them any longer. And so they commenced on their mission in 1943. Their sabotage act was a successful one, the population register was totally destroyed, including over 800 000 ID's inside of it, saving many lives. However soon after the action many members of the group were arrested, due to an unknown traitor. During the interrogations Willem refused to tell on the rest of the team, but a notebook of his was found and because of that many of the group were arrested anyway. He plead guilty and took full blame, which might have been the reason that two other young members of the group were spared from execution. Most were trialed and got the death sentence, including Willem.

It is noteworthy that after the war, the group that carried out the bombing was named after Gerrit van der Veen, a cis-hetero man who was also a part of the group, but no more a leader than Willem Arondeus was. However for the Dutch public at the time, it was probably an easier truth to swallow that a straight man was a leader to an armed resistance group, than that a gay man could be.

“LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HOMOSEXUALS
ARE NOT PER DEFINITION COWARDS.”

Allegedly there were also two other members of the group who were gay, Bakker and Brouwer, but information about them is sparse. For decades Willem Arondeus was more or less lost to history. It was not until 1984 that he was awarded a medal for his work. On the other hand Gerrit van der Veen was awarded a postuum medal for his resistance already in 1946 and a school and a street were named after him. This delay in the recognition of Willem's work is contributed to his sexuality.

Willem's last words are often quoted to be “Let it be known homosexuals are not cowards,” but looking at his original words, a more accurate translation would be “Let it be known that homosexuals are not per definition cowards.” It is understandable that the former is more flashy and a more desirable message from a resistance fighter in today's society, however we should not twist his words to fit our current framework. Instead we should honor what he said and understand that in his time and context, these words were very radical. He was part of the struggle for LGBTI+ people, he progressed that struggle, and because of him and many others today the LGBTI+ struggle has developed further than it had in his time.

Amelio Robles Avila

03.11.1889 - 07.12.1984

Amelio was born in 1889 in Xochipala, Guerrero, Mexico with the name Amelia. He was the son of ranchers, ranchers had an important role as a class in the Mexican revolution. He spend much of his childhood on the ranch, away from town, where he also had the chance to learn about horses and weapons. Being seen as a girl, he was part of a catholic congregation Hijas de María. He aspired to become a doctor, a man's job at that time. He joined the guerrilla in 1912 or 1913, where he found "The sensation of being completely free". The contrast to his life as a girl on the ranch must have been transformative. After joining the struggle he changed his appearance from feminine to masculine and starting then, for the rest of his life he would be know as Amelio. His skill with horses and weapons were precious and respected in the ranks of the guerrilla. Amelio did not join the zapatistas so much for the ideological aspect as for his love of guerrilla life. The life suited him well, his masculinity was more or less accepted, and his skills and person were valued, he loved the freedoms and challenges of that life.

During his time with the zapatistas Robles fought in several battles during a period of about six years. His experience with horse and weapon helped him advance to the rank of colonel. The most notable battle is the one at Chilpancingo in 1914, it amounted to the defeat of huertismo and the victory of zapatismo in Guerrero. Over the years he got multiple gunshot wounds, which he loved to show off to anyone that would listen later on.

His change in gender expression did not come easy, acceptance of diverse sexual identities was not the norm in the zapatista movement. Especially homophobia in the movement

was strong and had severe consequences for some of it's gay members, such as Manuel Palafox. Palafox was dismissed by guerrilla chief Maurilio Mejía as "A poor devil with the wrong sex like yourself cannot call himself a friend of real men like us". In the overtly context of war, homosexuality is seen as a feminization, and therefor contrarian to the masculine revolutionary values of the time. This same logic also created the relatively free space that allowed Amelia to become Amelio, because Amelio was in a way exemplary in carrying the masculine identity so valued in the war.

His masculinity was generally accepted, though at times also the subject of jokes. His comrades would publicly respect his masculinity, but privately refer to him as "La coronela Amelia Robles", the female colonel Amelia Robles. He himself also forced and enforced the acceptance of his identity, a neighbor said in an interview "I never called her lady, I always called him Mr. Robles, because he'd pull out his gun if someone called him a woman or Mrs." Amelio accepted the patriarchal gender division of his times. He became the ultimate macho man, acting immediately and violently on threats, showing of bravery and strength. In his relations with women he fulfilled the stereotypical role of men in his society, meaning he for example did not do any housework, and relied extensively on the women in his life to do this for him.

Amelio Robles fought for his people as well as for himself. He asserted his masculinity in unlikely times and carried this with confidence and pride throughout his life, in this aspect he was a pioneer. He was also, understandably, a product of his times in the sense that he adopted the role of a typical country man.

He lived and became immortal in December 1984, unaware of the debates that the trans men or trans masculine movement is conducting today. However, he left behind a very valuable legacy as part of a freedom movement.

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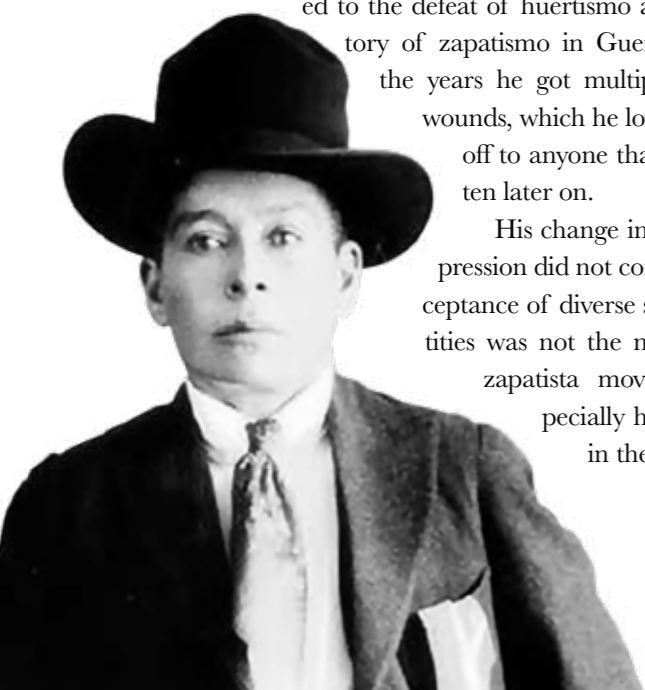
Frieda Belinfante

10.05.1904 – 05.03.1995

Frieda was born in Amsterdam, the Netherlands in 1904. Her father was a pianist, and she grew up surrounded by music, which led her to also pursue this path herself. As a teenager she got more serious about playing cello, mainly with the aim to financially contribute to her family, since their economic conditions were harsh, especially after her father fell ill, he died in 1924. From a young age she stood out for her strong, unique character and decisiveness. As a young woman, growing up in a time dominated by war and men, she took her independence and did not wait for anyone to give it to her. Being a lesbian was not a point of contention for her, she carried her sexuality with a quiet confidence. She felt no shame, doubt or confusion over this, but rather pursued her love interests assertively, while also keeping them private, as the times demanded of her. She got her first taste of document falsification when she was 17 years old. She falsified travel documents for a school friend of hers, in order for the friend to leave the Netherlands and return to her partner in the USSR.

Although Frieda worked hard for the benefit of others, she often had a hard time standing up for herself, creating a place for herself. In some of her personal relations she became a shadow of herself, serving her loved ones, but not valuing or prioritizing her own goals or needs. This meant that at times she stunted her own development.

In the years leading up to the second world war, Frieda paid close attention to how the political situation progressed, and therefor understood very early on that the Nazi rule would ramp up its censorship, control, military power and pursuit of Jews and other marginalized groups quickly and swiftly in the years to come. Instead of being complacent like the majority in the Netherlands, she resisted from the very start. It was a given for her that she would participate in the resistance, as her values were clear and she lived by them, later she said, "I don't understand people that can only live for themselves. I cant understand it. Where do you get your happiness? Where do you get your satisfaction? What do you do with your life?"



At the start of the occupation in 1940, since she foresaw that increasing Nazi control would mean that she would have to start firing Jewish musicians. She did not want to do this and instead disbanded the orchestra she conducted early on. Much of the arts and culture world adjusted meekly to the demands of the occupier, she was outraged by this compliance to the increasing overt fascism. Frieda joined the resistance group that included Gerrit van der Veen and Willem Arondeus. She started working on the falsification of ID's together with some other artists. Moreover she also gathered financial support for artists who refused to sign the so-called "Aryan-declaration" (a declaration that stated one was not Jewish, these declarations were used to index, fine and prosecute the Jewish population). Frieda and Frans Duwaer together produced about 70.000 false ID's. She attracted the attention of Nazi's not because of her sexuality, but because of her work in the resistance.

In 1943 it had become clear to the resistance group that only falsifying ID's was not enough anymore. Nazi's started to check the validity of ID's more regularly at the Amsterdam population register (were duplicates of all official ID's were stored), and could easily determine the fakes this way. Solution-focused as they were, a plan was conceived to blow up the population register, to deal with this problem. Their sabotage act was a successful one, the population register was totally

destroyed, including over 800 000 ID's inside of it. Frieda played an active role in the planning of the action, but was not allowed to join the night of the action, because her comrades considered that 'men's work'. Shortly after the sabotage most members of the group were arrested, due to a traitor, and executed. Frieda escaped by fleeing to Switzerland. After the war she shortly returned to the Netherlands but ultimately emigrated to the USA. On her experience of returning to the Netherlands she said, "Nobody cared about the Jews that returned from the camps and didn't have homes, furniture and money. Nobody talked about their grief and desperation (...) Nobody talked about the people who had risked their lives either. They didn't exist. It was as if my friends had died for nothing. It was such a cold shower." In the USA she picked up her career as a cellist and conductor again. There she became immortal in 1995 because of cancer.

Frieda did not explicitly struggle for LGBTI+ comrades, but her life story, her resistance during the war is a part of our LGBTI+ revolutionary history. She faced obstacles as a woman and a lesbian, but nevertheless she persisted. Her resistance shows us that LGBTI+ participation in armed struggle is nothing new, it is simply hidden, and now it is our turn to uncover it and continue this path that many of our queer elders have walked before us.



Richard/Lola (Valerio Mante Jr)

1950 - 22.09.2008

Comrade Richard, also known as Lola, a gay communist fighter in the Philippines who, for more than 10 years, surrendered himself to the embrace of the people's revolution. He was one of the top leaders of the New People's Army (NPA) in Southern Mindanao who took up the fight of peasants and indigenous peoples against oppressive forces. Comrade Richard first started organizing well before the 1972 institution of martial law in the Philippines, at that time he was active through his church. Later he joined Khi Rho, a peasant mass organization. He was imprisoned for a year, after his release he immediately continued his activities in Davao city organizing marches against land grabbing. In the 1990's he was a part of the Freedom from Debt Coalition. From 1996 to 1998 he was the head of the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan in Southern Mindanao. He often worked in propaganda and had close relations to the media, always giving honest, direct and well-argued answers.

At age 47 he joined the NPA. In the mountains comrade Richard found his place and joy among his comrades and farmers. Some friends and relatives resisted his decision to join, worried that he was too old for the guerrilla life. In his diary he wrote, "At the height of my activism, I decided to join the NPA. My decision elicited various reactions from the people close to me. Some were happy, some were skeptical. This did not affect my decision. It was a product of a long and painful struggle against selfishness, individualism and pride. I gave up a comfortable lifestyle, left my family and relatives and evaded close friends. It was the harshest yet the best decision so far I've made in my life." He did not let his age hinder him, climbing mountains and insisting on also visiting the most remote communities to continue the work with the masses also there.

Comrade Richard was a proud gay and broke many stereotypes. He did not let his identity pre-

vent him from serving his people through armed struggle, and with that also inspired others. His marriage was the first formal gay marriage in the region. He worked tirelessly to support the education of his comrades and encourage reading and writing. He was also a poet and wrote about and for the peasants and farm workers.

Paying great respect to the work and problems of villagers, he saw the incredible relevance of Maxism-Leninism-Maoism especially to the farmers, who were often continuously in conflict with landlords and government interventions. He was able to put intellectual discussions in simple terms, making them easily understandable for the masses. Moreover, he led by example, not force. He was a party instructor and made many valuable contributions to the party's ideological campaign. Comrade Richard was a patient listener, concerned with the well-being of his comrades, especially those who felt doubts or confusion found solace in discussing with comrade Richard. Sama Sulong, a community leader in the area where comrade Richard/Lola was stationed said that he would always be remembered as "Inahan sa tanang inahan (mother of all mothers). Lola treated us as his real children. The grandmother of the Lumad people ... the hero of the oppressed."

In September 2008 Comrade Richard was immortalized at the age 57 of a blood infection that lead to kidney failure. He had already been sick for a week, but unwilling to have his comrades go through the trouble of bringing him to the hospital. After many efforts of his comrades, they finally convinced him to let them take him to the hospital. He died in the hospital 14 hours after his comrades brought him there from the mountains. While on his deathbed he was still the one raising the morale and motivation of his comrades, joking even then.



Purga (Alvin Rey Santiago)

02.11.1990 – 11.08.2011

Purga was born on November 2nd 1990, to a lower middle class family in the Philippines. He studied in Mindanao, where he became an activist and engaged himself with the masses and eventually became a student leader. He developed himself more ideologically in the late 2000's. He learned to analyze his people's conditions and the systematic oppression of various groups and their specific circumstances through the lens of Marxism-Leninism. He joined the New People's Army (NPA) in the summer of 2010.

As his comrade Moses wrote, "Alvin's life was perhaps a study of wonderful ironies to those who knew him. In many ways, he was the epitome of a lower class, petty-bourgeoisie who struggled to overcome his class vestiges as he navigated his way into the national democratic movement. While he frequently had to endure hunger pangs to make his meager allowance enough for the week, he was also one to splurge on 6-inch thick high heels, albeit scoured from ukay-ukay, that he would only wear once." Moses adds, "His memory for the lyrics of progressive and revolutionary songs is rivaled only by his mastery of Mariah Carey hits. Endeared for diffusing tensions during meetings through his humor, he would also at times be found bickering with comrades over the most petty issues. I was told that he was one of the pioneering 'out' members of the Pi Sigma Fraternity¹ who campaigned vigorously to organize members of the LGBTI+ community into the fraternity."

When comrade Purga joined the guerrillas he made good use of the education he had gotten before. He participated in his unit's literacy-numeracy program, helped children of peasant with their homework, educated his comrades about health and food. In the party he was trained as a medic. He also continued to develop his political and ideological struggle, through theoretical study and most of all through learning from the masses. He was a political guide to his comrades and, in addition to revolutionary war, emphasized the need for spreading accessible interpretations of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the peasant and proletarian masses as well as new comrades.

Comrade Purga became immortal on the morning of August 11th 2011. His unit ambushed state soldiers in Cateel, Davao Oriental. He was shot in the chest. His comrades buried him a few kilometers from the frontline, while still withdrawing from the enemy. After a few days the enemy dug up his body, as a state propaganda show.

Comrade Purga, through his daily practice showed that a guerrilla fighter can look many different ways. Guerrillas are not only stern-faced, imposing cis-men. Guerrillas are also social, funny, pop-song-loving, gentle, high-heeled queers. He fought with commitment, love and laughter. He showed us the way, he showed us the possibilities that lay at our feet, now it is on us to pick up where he left off and continue to strengthen our struggle in his memory.

¹ A fraternity committed to "Paglingkuran ang Sambayanan" aka "Serve the People" principles. It was founded in 1972 at the University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City.



Avaşin Tekoşin Güneş (Ivana Hoffman)

01.09.1995 – 07.03.2015

Avaşin was born on September 1st, 1995 in Emmerich, Germany. Her father was a Togolese immigrant and her mother was a German worker. She had a social personality from an early age. She quickly adapted to the environments she entered. Having a working-class family, she grew up in neighborhoods where immigrants and workers were concentrated. Here she formed a special relationship with immigrants from the Kurdish nation. In an interview her sister gave after she was martyred, her sister states that Avaşin was a headstrong, loud and angry person. She had a keen interest in football from an early age and played for local football teams. As Avaşin became politicized, her angry nature took on a revolutionary character. The social relations she established with Kurds played an important role in her politicization. In 2011, she met the youth organization called Young Struggle. In the same year, student protests were quite common in Germany. Avaşin also played an active role here. The experiences she gained in these actions gave a new direction to her political stance. At the same time, she admired the female guerrillas fighting in Kurdistan. In 2012, she joined the ranks of the Communist Youth Organization (KGÖ), the youth organization of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLKP). In the following years, she continued to participate in many anti-fascist actions, blockade actions, and solidarity actions with the Kurdish nation.

As a lesbian, she did not have a special relationship with the LGBTI+ movement. She had the same problems that many young women had. Despite her social personality, she had a hard time taking the floor in the meetings she attended. Along with her quarrelsome personality, she also had shyness. Her mother states that Avaşin played a male role in her relations with women. However, her comrades state that these aspects of her have

changed with the discussions and training she received in her revolutionary activity. Avaşin was slowly overcoming her abstention and other reactionary features. She wanted to take up her activities within MLKP and join the guerrilla struggle as soon as possible. Her sister said, “She didn’t want to be like the girls around her. That’s why she started dressing more masculine when she was 15-16 years old. She wanted to increase her self-confidence with her clothing,” she points out. Through her politicization, she had discovered the role of the free woman she sought throughout her childhood and adolescence.

As an Afro-German lesbian woman, she was no stranger to Kurdish and Turkish revolutionaries. She tried to overcome the language problem somehow. These efforts continued after she joined the guerrilla. She traveled to Istanbul several times and participated in the work of her party there. In the book “International Fighter of Hope” written to commemorate her, she was described as “A common sight in the families Ivana visited, watching Turkish TV series or listening to Kurdish music. She was interested in everything related to Kurdistan, especially the struggle of Kurdish women guerrillas. For a long time she introduced herself as ‘from Mêrdîn.’ She knew the characteristics and differences of the provinces of Kurdistan. At Newroz, when Ivana took up the halay, no one could stand still. Especially when she started jumping in the middle of the halay, everyone started laughing and applauding.”

After her request to join the guerrilla, she had a long and hectic waiting period. Avaşin left school in April 2014, just before her high school exams, wrote a farewell letter to her mother, and soon began her journey to the mountains of Kurdistan. For her, the new journey to life began with this step.

She wanted to learn about political and mili-

tary work with enthusiasm, she had specifically set her mind to mastering the Kalashnikov and PKM weapon. At the same time, she aimed to receive a political-ideological education. She wanted to understand the strategy and tactics of her party. She started to learn Turkish quickly for her education.

She had problems adapting to guerrilla life. However, she did not complain about this. In the same book, the process she lived in the mountains is described as follows: “There could be difficult aspects of collective life in the mountains. In particular, criticism and self-criticism played a decisive role in personal development and were part of basic education.” One of her comrades said about this process, “Comrade Avaşin could get very nervous. She was trying to learn the reasons for the criticism stubbornly. Once she understood the reasons for a criticism, she would give strong self-criticism on the given issue. However, she did not readily accept any criticism, it was necessary to persuade her to a criticism. In the process of persuasion, there was often a tense atmosphere.” Guerrilla life brings with it emotional challenges. This form of unlimited freedom also imposes separation from the people you love. The book states that Avaşin thought a lot about her family and missed the friends and comrades she had left behind, and most of all her mother. She then moved to Rojava, where she quickly adapted to her new life. She took part in the Til Temir front against ISIS. While stationed in the village of Til Nesri, she was immortalized in a gang attack.

In the book written about Avaşin’s last conflict, in which she became immortal on the night of March 7th 2015, it is understood as follows, “The enemy first attacked the neighboring village and then the village of Til Nesri. Ivana, who was resting at this hour, was awakened with other comrades. She immediately ran to the PKM, machine gun po-

sition and prepared for the conflict. After 1-2 hours of fighting she received two gunshot wounds. She became immortal with comrade Coşkun İnce in this battle. Afterwards, her comrades who fought with her told how she fought bravely.” Peoples Protection Units (YPG) fighter Mordem Birhat said about that night, “Our comrades who fought until their last bullets did not allow the gangs to pass. Our comrades, who fought with enthusiasm and determination in their positions surrounded by a large group of gangs, fought to the last bullet.”

Avaşin chose to fight and become immortal in Rojava instead of a comfortable life. She did not succumb to her backwardness, shortcomings and mistakes and lived and died as a revolutionary. Her lesbian identity was hidden by others under various pretexts. However, her revolutionary practice was recorded in history with the letter she wrote, “I can no longer distinguish beautiful colors, I can no longer feel the wind of the city on my skin, the chirping of birds seems to me a stronger call for freedom. I have made a decision, I have lived with these thoughts for days. Now is the day to take a step with my will as strong as the flow of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. I want to be part of the Rojava revolution, I want to develop myself there, I want to get to know our struggle that unites all oppressed peoples. Above all, I want to defend the revolution with my own life if necessary. I know what I may face as a result of this and I am aware of the importance of this struggle. Of course I will have difficult moments and I will see what kind of bourgeois characteristics I have. I will experience what it will feel like to fight for the revolution with my gun, to fight against imperialism. I will feel life from different angles, I will live with more intense emotions. I will always push my limits, I will not give up my fighting spirit even in case I ideologically regress.”





Joaquin/Waquin (Wendell M. Gumban)

22.09.1985 - 23.07.2016

Waquin was born in 1985 and grew up in the Philippines in a petty bourgeois family. Comrade Waquin was gay. He is described as cheery, hard working, mahinhin (effeminate), an avid reader, soft-spoken and fun-loving. He worked with conviction. He was a lover of violet colored bags and flower patterned umbrellas. While at university, in 2003, in Diliman he joined the national democratic movement, first in the League of Filipino Students, as they opposed the commercialization of education, and the anti-people policies of then president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. He also challenged himself by writing for the Philippine Collegian. Through his student organizing he was recruited and joined the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). After working in the party structures focused on university and trade unions, he went to the guerrilla zones in Mindanao, to become a part of the New Peoples Army (NPA) in 2011. He became a valuable part of the Party's consolidation work in the Red bases and expansion work in the guerrilla zones. As a political instructor of an NPA unit, he contributed to the expansion of guerrilla units and political consolidation of Red fighters.

In the article "A hero called Wanda" Marya Salamat writes, "As a communist, Ka Waquin wrestled with his petty bourgeois origin and struggled to live in the spirit of simple living and hard struggle. He overcame the limitations of his frail frame, weak eyesight, even an unfamiliar dialect, to serve the Lumads and peasants of Southern Mindanao. Brilliant and daring, Ka Waquin is an inspiration to the intellectual

youth. He chose not the life of comfort that he could have otherwise led, but the life of selfless service and sacrifice at the bosom of people's war."

From his student organizing days to his days in the Mindanao guerrilla zones, he discussed the challenges of being gay in the movement and the party. He said that "Wanda (a nickname given to him) must be freed as well," he clearly considered it a necessity to see gay and LGBTI+ emancipation as a part of class struggle. As a guerrilla, comrade Waquin excelled at tightening the relation between the guerrillas and the people. He helped analyze the problems the people brought to the NPA, and spread propaganda among the people through community theaters and discussions.

On July 23th 2016, Comrade Waquin became immortalized together with comrade Glen (Sario Mabanding) in a clash with state soldiers in the Compostela Valley. Bayan general secretary Renato Reyes Jr. spoke at the tribute to comrade Waquin. Reyes said revolutionaries do not want war at all. But they know, only by waging a war can they end the war between classes. He said until such time that people are no longer divided between classes that exploit others and seek to oppress to continue exploiting others, the people would be in a war. Quoting Mao Zedong, "The laws of revolutionary war spring from a desire to end all wars." He added that revolutionaries such as Wendell in fact have the most fervent desire to achieve peace, and to really bring about change in the lives of our people.





Hêlîn Qereçox (Anna Campbell)

1991 – 15.03.2015

Hêlîn was born in 1991 in England. She was a bookish child, curious about the world. She was the daughter of a musician. Her mother was active in their town, protesting and advocating, with a keen sense of justice. Hêlîn took this as an example from a young age. She started an English degree at Sheffield University, but did not finish the degree. When she went to university she participated in student protests, occupied her university and came in contact with more explicit anti-fascist and anti-capitalist ideas. She started working as a plumber and moved to Bristol, where she dedicated much of her time to political works such as prison abolition, squatting, supporting people without papers traveling in Europe, hunt sabotaging and anti-fascism.

Hêlîn joined the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) in May 2017. When she first arrived to Rojava she joined a Kurdish language education in Derik, upon finishing this education she was able to participate in a military training from YPJ taught in Kurdish. She made the following comment on her decision to join the revolution and armed struggle "I joined because I wanted to support the revolution. And because I wanted to participate in the revolution of women that is being build up here. And fight and join also the weaponized fight against the forces of fascism and the enemies of the revolution." Despite the hardships she faced as a lesbian in Rojava, her commitment to revolution was steadfast, "Of course I am here, how could I be anywhere else."

In the media little attention has been given to the fact that Hêlîn was also part of the LGBTI+ community. It is a part of her story that has often been neglected and remained largely untold, both by media outlets in Europe and the Middle East. It is only through talking with her friends and comrades and the texts they have published that this part of her life is given the respect it deserves.

Hêlîn really came into herself as a queer person through political activism. Political work enabled her to explore her queer identity and analyze and understand queer struggle in relation to other kinds of oppression, such as class and race. She was comfortable being queer and would openly discuss about it. She had always been a feminist and had an accompanying repertoire of jokes around disliking cis-men, she even lived in a house that was jokingly called 'misandry manner'. While using these jokes also to deal with the effects of patriarchy in her life, it was clear for her that she was not struggling against men, but instead against patriarchy.

For her, queerness was always a part of her politics and analysis, but it was rarely the main or only topic. She had a deep historical understanding of struggle that was translated into an intersectional analysis of oppression and systems of power. This is probably also part of what drew her to the revolution in Rojava. When she arrived to Rojava, infrastructure was rudimentary and the war with ISIS was at a high, Hêlîn's focus therefor was also on the challenges of

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being in Rojava, understanding her whiteness in the context, learning what she could give, and being part of armed struggle. She was enthusiastic about participating in the struggle for women's emancipation. However LGBTI+ struggle is until now often ignored or dismissed in Rojava. LGBTI+ struggle was not at the forefront of her mind, but also not forgotten and she did not hide herself either.

The women's revolution was a great inspiration to her, she understood the importance of growing the confidence, strength and ability for self-defense of women well. She was especially impressed and awed by the HPC "moms with guns," as she would say. Older women of the community taking up arms in order to defend their community, she considered it a good way to vastly change the position of these women in society since older women are often left behind.

With her strong ideology, clear values and leadership, she taught and inspired many to further progress the liberation of women. However underneath this strength, doubt and fear were also a reality she faced throughout her life. In her diary from her time in Rojava she describes the challenges she faced with herself in brutal honesty. At the start of the invasion of Efrîn she wrote, "Today is the 8th day of turkey's attempted war on Efrîn. Friends are always saying Efrîn will be like Kobane, which I find a bit scary, since so many of our friends died there. On the news it said internationalists had arrived in Efrîn and I felt

jealous. I want to go so much. If I am honest with myself, for selfish reasons as well as altruist. I want to be a part of the fighting, I want to feel my own strength to defend myself and my friends. I watch and read all the news every day, see the martyrs' photos and the funerals. Maybe that is why I want to go to Efrîn so much, so I can feel closer to the struggle."

There is a video of her in training, masked, but unmistakably her, she says, "You really have to send us to Efrîn after this." At the time YPJ internationalists were not sent to the front easily, they were often kept back. But Anna did not give up easily and was very persistent with her wish to join the fighting in Efrîn. Which was eventually granted. That day she wrote, "I am ready to fight for this land, and even die for it if necessary, although I'd rather not." Initially she went to city itself, afterwards she was stationed along one of the roads just outside the city, to protect civilians who were evacuating the city since the Turkish state was closing in on Efrîn. After about a week in Efrîn, she became immortalized due to an airstrike in March 2018 together with her two comrades, Sara Mêrdîn and Serhildan.





İsyân Tolhildana Pirsûsê (Okan Altunöz)

03.11.1992 – 06.05.2022

İsyân was born in Ankara, Turkey in 1992 to a Kurdish and Alevi family. She started questioning her gender identity at a very young age. In 2008, when she was in high school, she met the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLKP) and took part in youth activities. In 2012, she disassociated herself from MLKP. At a time when she was more aware of her trans identity, she was studying environmental engineering at university. During this period when she continued her LGBTI+ activism, she focused on queer theory, the LGBTI+ Freedom Movement and HIV+ activism. In 2014, she was detained by the police. She was abused and raped during her detention.

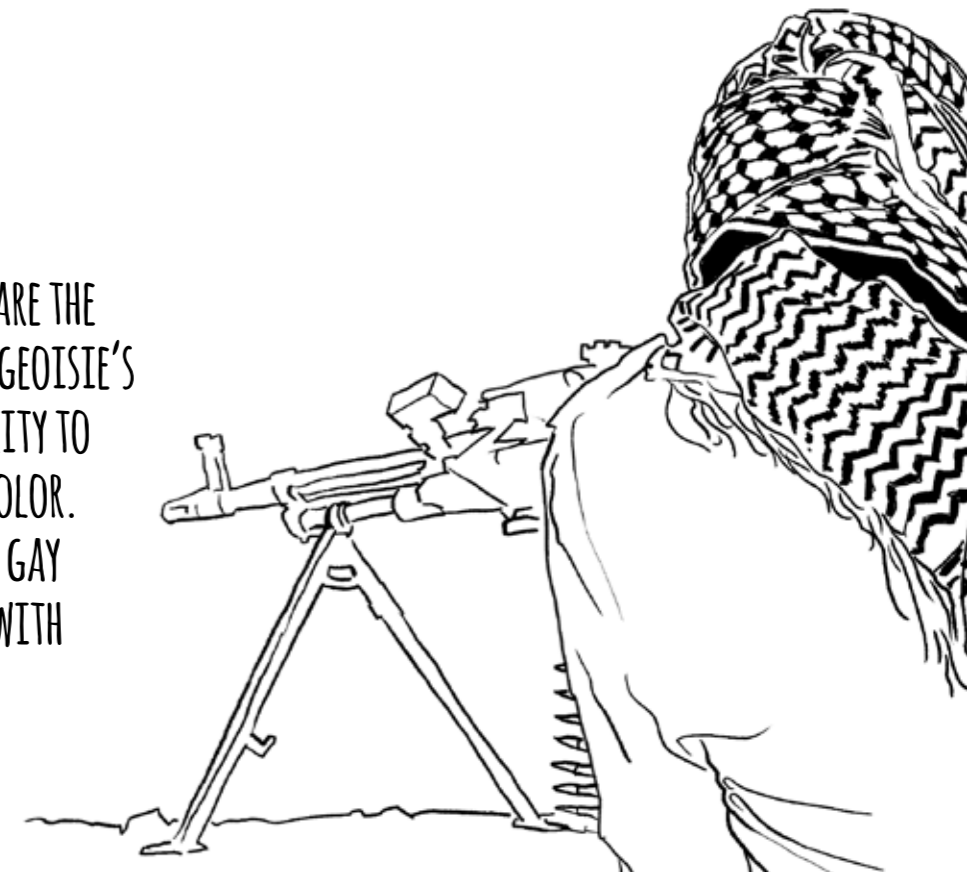
She also knew that the emancipation of LGBTI+ people could not be confined to activism alone, and she was well aware of the sieges of heterosexism within revolutionary organizations. She had experience in both fields. In 2015, after the Suruç (Kurdish name: Pirsûs) massacre carried out by ISIS, she wanted to go to Rojava to join the struggle further. In this process, she re-associated with MLKP. In 2016, she went to Rojava and took an active role in the war. As a party name, she chose “Tolhildana Pirsûsê”, which means Revenge of Pirsûs. While participating in the defense against the Turkish invasion attacks and gangs, she also led discussions about LGBTI+ politics within her party.

In the magazine of the Communist Women’s Organization (KKÖ) of which she was a member,

she wrote articles and held discussions on the commodification of the female body, domestic labor, the social situation of LGBTI+ people, the analysis of heterosexism and gender awareness. In an article she wrote under the code name Azad Fırat with the title “LGBTI+ People are Everywhere”, she addressed both her organization and LGBTI+ people around the organization and called for LGBTI+ people to form their own self-organization. In her article explaining the process of self-discovery, she writes, “I can say that the process of getting to know my identity was an internal struggle with the taught male gender consciousness rather than a struggle with the mentality of society. If we take this question of internal struggle and relate it to an organism or a collective, we can say that it is similar to the way, for example, party forces or party politics take their own development as a basis and put themselves on the table. Or we can define it in relation to the struggle to move away from the framework of consciousness created by the social power mentality.”

She transformed her quest for individual freedom into a struggle for social freedom. She was on the front lines against the occupation of Efrîn and Serêkaniyê. As a saboteur, she followed in the footsteps of Willem Arondeus and Frieda Belinfante, two people whose names she had never heard. In this way, the paths of LGBTI+ heroes who never knew each other crossed in Rojava. In the same period, she always fought against heterosexist attitudes with-

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in her organization, often strongly and sometimes weakly. There were many moments when she had a hard time due to the siege created by heterosexism. Even though she had difficulties as a trans woman when she had to stay with male fighters, she always continued her struggle. In one of her speeches, she reflected on her personal experience, “When I go to my female comrades, I leave myself to them so that they can heal my wounds. Sometimes I cry for hours. Sometimes we just sit there and giggle. Some of them don’t understand, some of them are just pitying, but some of them understand what I really feel. In the end, I know I have to get out of there and go back to the war. Even if it’s hard, I remind myself of my reasons and I do it.”

In the above-mentioned article, she describes the difficulties she experienced within her party as follows, “Homophobic attitudes bring along problems and often anxieties, even within a sincere collective, up to the point of keeping one’s identity a secret. If we reduce these anxieties to simpler facts, we can list them under some items. Let’s take an example of the common anxiety about family. This can be defined as the anxiety that if your sexual identity is discovered by your mother or any other family member, their thoughts, feelings or attitudes about you will change in a negative way. I can say that the reflection of this anxiety within the party collective is a bit like this. It is possible to call it an anxiety that puts a spoke in the wheel of a homosexual, sexual libera-

tion and identity liberation. The key to the solution is firstly embodied in the subject itself, and then in the mindset of the collective. Here, it is important for both sides to impose their perception of normal on themselves and to sincerely process this in their thoughts.”

She concluded this article with a call that she delivered with great conviction, “The owners of tomorrow are the oppressed, who are the bourgeoisie’s nightmare with their ability to imagine their future in color. Armed with the dream of a gay liberationist socialism, with colorful flags!”

During her struggle against male domination with the goal of a classless and genderless society, she contracted the Covid-19 virus. Her body weakened very quickly due to her other illnesses. She survived Covid-19 2 times, but when she caught it for the third time, her body could not resist anymore and she became immortal in May 2022 as a MLKP/ KKÖ fighter in the hospital where she was treated.

In the face of everything she went through, she stood up as a conscious trans woman. She was sent off to her grave in Rojava with rainbow flags. Now, true to her name, İsyân which means rebellion, she has become a flag of rebellion for the LGBTI+ fighters who will follow her.



Let's Become Subject in the Revolutionary War Against Heterosexism!

History tells the reality of the class that wrote it. The current history is the history of heteronormativity and the binary gender system. One of the reasons for writing this pamphlet, is to make a dent in heterosexist history. It will not be possible to write a more truthful version of history until heterosexism is completely eliminated.

So why all this oppression?

Correctly identifying where the oppression of LGBTI+ people is based, is the key to resisting LGBTI+phobia. We are using the term LGBTI+ over other words such as “queer” here because it seems the most widely understood and used term. Being LGBTI+ has become a political identity, through this identity people were able to come together and start to struggle against their oppression. One of the results of this struggle has been the development of new demands for rights for LGBTI+ people. These days this demand for rights has become the main focus of the LGBTI+ struggle. Getting legal rights is important, and getting certain rights has had a positive effect on the lives of many LGBTI+ people. But this is not the whole picture and it is not enough. Therefore, our main point should be this: we know that we can achieve gains and make certain progress with demanding rights, solidarity networks and communes. However, what we know much better is that these gains do not meet the needs of today, let alone the needs of tomorrow. In some capitalist states we have won certain rights as a result of our struggles, but instead of meeting our real needs, these rights are organized in a way that upholds heteronormativity and are limited in the freedoms they offer LGBTI+ people. To fight oppression it is necessary to understand the roots of this oppression. If we increase our understanding we will also better understand our immortals who

have chosen to be part of the revolutionary war despite all the difficulties.

It is impossible to fully cover the origins of the oppression and persecution of LGBTI+ people in this article. However, we will take a short look at the origins of heterosexism and how the oppression of LGBTI+ people became systematized. We think it is dangerous to use arguments such as, “homosexuality exists in nature” in order to explain that being LGBTI+ is something very ordinary. Firstly because if we say being LGBTI+ is natural, than LGBTI+-phobia is unnatural, but such a debate is only a distraction. What we should focus on instead is our enemy, heteronormativity and where this LGBTI+-phobia came from, whether it is natural or not is besides the point. Secondly, the “natural” argument can be applied against trans people who want to (medically) transition, because in nature there is nothing comparable to this. Therefore this argument undermines the struggle of trans people. Thirdly, LGBTI+ people have formed identities and a sub-culture, this identity and sub-culture are not natural, they are the result power relations and the resistance to them. For these reasons we do not see how this argument will help our struggle forward and so we would like to sideline the “natural” argument and rather dive into some of the relevant history that we can actually use to inform our struggle.

As Engels identified, it is generally accepted that the first class struggle began between men and women and that simultaneously societies became more rigidly organized in a binary gender system. Because of women's reproductive biology, being that they got pregnant and breastfed, they would often choose the kinds of work that were more easily paired with breastfeeding and taking care of children. The division of labor was a practical decision based on difference in reproductive biology, so men's and women's work were simply different, but equally valued. As

sedentary agriculture became more popular, tribes with larger populations had an advantage over tribes with smaller populations since many hands were needed to work the land. Women became important in this because they were ultimately the ones who could produce more children, aka workers for the land. So as women, or rather their reproductive potential, became more wanted, became a necessity for the survival of tribes, they also became more like property than human, to be controlled for the good of the tribe. To be able to have power over a group of people, this group needs to be defined, its boundaries need to be clear. The gender identities of male and female started to become defined in sharp opposition to each other around the time private property emerged. Private property and patriarchy developed in tandem with each other. They are heavily interdependent, so asking which one came first is not really the relevant question we should be asking.

Women's sexuality (we are not only talking about heterosexual sexuality) is put in a passive position, seen as the property of (the men of) the tribe. Men's power, including their sexuality, is unlimited. As the monogamous heterosexual family and the state apparatus, which are an extension of men's power, begin to form and strengthen, men's sexuality loses its unlimited power. Men's power is now also bound by the rules of the heterosexual family and the power of the state. Of course, not all of this happens in a pre-planned system. Capital, property relations, relations of production, etc. change in relation to the contexts that develop and changes around them as well as in relation to internal power struggles. However, these changes cannot eliminate gender diversity and fluidity in sexual orientations.

Although sexual diversity varied in different societies as a result of these relations that developed unequally in different geographies and times, the binary gender system and heteronormativity be-

came widespread with the formation and strengthening of the state. Any sexuality that did not serve production was banned. The modern state, responsible for the survival of private property, began to control society through regulations in areas such as medicine and law. The definition of sin as a first was not enough; crime and then disease would come into play. Both men and women were not supposed to have intercourse, not even masturbation, except for reproductive purposes. This was taken so seriously that in some countries such as England and France, where industry was more developed in the early stages of capitalism, special morality units that targeted gays and transvestites were created within the law enforcement agencies. It was not only wage slaves who were limited to only reproduce, but also the bourgeoisie had to abstain from illicit relations and bodily transgressions. After all, a man was still a man, even if he was a worker, and a woman was still a woman, even if she was a bourgeois, as such gender roles apply to all classes, though with slight variations. However, these sharpened prohibitions also met with opposition. Sexual diversity could not be prevented either by prohibitions or by horrible treatment methods.

Capital and private property relations, which monopolized in Western Europe through the transformation into nation-states, developed differently in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and the Middle East, differently in Africa and Asia, and differently in America and Australia. These different power balances meant different social relations. Therefore, there were also serious differences in gender roles. For example, social relations were different in the north and south of America. There were differences between the capital and rural areas of the Ottoman Empire. Some Western European bourgeois who were homosexual or transgender, were persecuted through Victorian prohibitions that tried to sharpen

gender roles. Some of them were able to escape these prohibitions, protected by their capital, because they could travel to geographies where gender roles differed. The reports of the French and British police of the time reveal this situation. However, workers and peasants did not have such a chance. Again, we see that it was mostly the bourgeois whose assigned gender was male, who had this chance to escaped persecution. Except for a few isolated examples.

In geographies where homosexual relations were and are relatively comfortable, we see that male homosexuality is lived comfortably and female homosexuality is almost not even mentioned. For example, the word *Ibne* used to describe homosexuals in the Ottoman Empire meant “male child” in Arabic. Again, the word *Gulami* used to describe passive homosexuals was of Arabic origin and meant “servant”. The word *Husna*, which describes transgenderism, was used to describe the transition from male to female. There are few or no such specific definitions for female homosexuality and trans men. In North America, we know that there were five different gender identities within some tribes, and that the white colonizers began by destroying this diversity. Again, in Africa, we know that the relationship between tribes, which today are very sharply separated and described as if they have been enemies since time immemorial, actually did not have such sharp boundaries, and that as colonialism increased, the boundaries between gender identities sharpened along with the boundaries between tribes. Although most of the sources we have access to today are of Western European origin, it is possible to find traces of this rich history in the legends, songs and stories that have survived to the present day. For example, in Kurdish legends, there are stories about gods and goddesses who changed their gender and had bisexual relationships, and stories about changing gender after passing under the rainbow, but these stories are

rendered invisible and deliberately skipped over. But despite this, the rumors continue.

We think that as a short insight into heterosexism this will suffice, but of course much more detailed research has been and is being done on the historical origins of heterosexism. We encourage you to read and explore more on these topics, especially related to your local and/or cultural history.

Towards Claiming Rights

With the state gaining so much control, it also brought on opposing stances that did not accept definitions of crime and disease for LGBTI+ people. When we look at it from today, the movement we define as the homophile movement was based on discussions in the academic field. The revolutionaries of the period did think quite similar to bourgeoisie when it came to LGBTI+ people in general. By the way, it is not possible to talk about an LGBTI+ discourse for that period. It would be more accurate to say homosexuality and transsexuality were defined as a disease. However, some revolutionaries questioned the morality of the bourgeoisie and argued that homosexuality and transsexuality should at least be removed from the category of crime. One example of this was August Bebel who in 1898 argued against the criminalization of homosexual acts in the Reichstag. Another one is Hirschfeld, who was also a Marxist. He did not only conduct research on trans and non-heterosexuals in the institute he founded, but also transformed this institute into a place of work and shelter for those outside heteronormativity.

Through imperialism and its policies, the ideology that considered everyone outside the heterosexist norm as sick and guilty spread all over the world. In this process, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 decriminalized homosexuality in Russia. Again in the 40's, Harry Hay, a member of the Communist Party

USA, emphasized the importance of the struggle for gay rights. Later Hay would defend gay rights with the cultural minority thesis, based on the socialist approach to national issues. Of course, all these developments do not mean that all revolutionaries are not LGBTI+phobic. Later developments also prove that this is not the case. However, revolutionism provided opportunities to defend ideas against the perception of crime and disease imposed by the system. During these years, the Nazis' homophobia had reached horrific heights. In concentration camps, homosexuals and transgender people marked with pink triangles were raped, tortured in so-called scientific experiments and then killed. This effect of heterosexism was reciprocated in the Soviet Union with the re-criminalization of homosexuality. Hirschfeld's sexology institute in Berlin was destroyed by the Nazis, its employees were arrested and sent to camps, and all documents were burned and destroyed. But opposition was also there, as in the same years, homosexuals were at the forefront of the resistance against the Nazis in the Netherlands.

In this process, the movement was beginning to move out of academia and into the streets. Kinsey had created a heterosexual-homosexual scale with his new thesis. Although it became conservative in later years, the Mattachine Society was one of the first known examples of these progressive movements. By the 1960s, the movement had reached a new stage with the Stonewall Riot. The anger of homosexuals and transgender people who gathered in bars in the face of state and police oppression finally spilled out onto the streets in Stonewall. In the same years, many groups such as the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) were founded, based on the idea of revolution for liberation and freedom. The movement gradually expanded and began to make gains. These gains were not only made inside the

state system. Breaches were also being made in the heterosexism of revolutionaries and labor unions. Groups like the London-based Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM) were bringing about changes within unions and revolutionary organizations. At the same time, however, a trend was emerging in which trans people were being pushed out of the movement and lesbians were being ignored. As the movement expanded, LGBTI+ people of color and immigrants were also experiencing different problems within the movement. A front was formed against sex workers. When homosexuality was removed from the category of disease as a result of the struggle both in academia and on the street, these ranks began to sharpen even more. Especially in capitalist countries where some democratic rights were gained, the class gap between the LGBTI+ community was widening. Although this gap could not be widened due to repression in places where fascism was open, the living conditions for LGBTI+ people who came from the working class and peasant masses or were immigrants were much more difficult, just as they are today. Eventually, in some countries, some rights such as the decriminalization of homosexuality and the recognition of equal marriage began to be accepted. However, all recognized rights were regulated in a way that did not harm private property relations and the existing family structure. Trans identities were removed from the list of mental illnesses of the WHO much later in 2019. However, in many countries it is still impossible for trans people to have a free and healthy gender re-assignment process. Systematic violence in all areas such as housing, education and health is still intense.

During these years, the LGBTI+ movement also underwent a transformation and started to transform into NGOs rather than action groups. The acquisition of some rights has led to some social progress in some countries. With the widespread



use of the internet, etc., and the ease of sharing information, these gains are having effects in colonial and semi-colonial countries. But all this does not solve our problems. It only creates breathing spaces in some cases. And these spaces are especially important in countries where open fascism is practiced. Nevertheless, as we see in the example of the USA today, our rights can be usurped at any moment.

Rights Are Not Enough, Let's Grow the Revolutionary War for Liberation!

While the limited rights gained within the system have become a breathing tube, they have also become a school of struggle for us. Many experiences were gained in this process. Again, the LGBTI+ movement created many theories such as Sexual Freedom, Queer Theory and Transfeminism based on practice. However, we all see that the struggle to achieve liberation and gain freedom is far from accomplished. Today, although the system imposes on us the idea of pursuing "individual freedom", we know from the LGBTI+ movement that such individual freedom and well-being is not possible. The system is trying to isolate us with this propaganda. However, we know the importance and necessity of collective life very well from the solidarity practices established by trans sex workers. We will also not be satisfied with the given. We will not settle for some ghettos, certain hours of the day, only a part of life. We are everywhere in life. We will become stronger subjects in the struggle against the heterosexist blockade, the homonormative imposition, the borders drawn by patriarchy, imperialism-capitalism-feudalism and this system of private property. Because as we mentioned above, we know the root of our problems. We will explain this root to more LGBTI+ people. As well as to cis and heterosexual people. Because this system has also enslaved them. Their own power has drawn boundaries for them and distanced them from a free life. This creates a society that is alien to its own reality. The struggle

against heterosexism is the struggle for the liberation of the whole society.

The private property system is waging a war against all masses of the people, especially LGBTI+ people, in order to preserve its ground of existence. While this war is waged openly where there is fascism, it is waged insidiously within bourgeois democracy. The extremely low sentences given to trans murderers are the clearest example of this. Again, the fact is that there is no healthy mechanism that people can rely on against violence and discrimination due to their sexual orientation and gender identity. In some bourgeois democracies it seems to exist, but this example shows clearly that it does not really.

While we are trying to open gaps in this system that is the root of our problems, why don't we think of overthrowing this system that fights against us with all kinds of ideological political weapons as well as physical weapons? Why do the majority of us easily fall under the influence of anti-propaganda against revolutionaries while ignoring the reality of this system? The reasons for this are clear. The enemy within us, that is, the individualist system that permeates all our social codes. As LGBTI+ people, we have to break these codes and take an example from our comrades who became immortal by turning their faces to the revolution and did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of the masses.

There are examples of LGBTI+ people taking on these responsibilities, not only in the past but also today. The Queer Insurrection and Liberation Army (TQILA) was the LGBTI+ armed self-defense force in Rojava and send a strong message to LGBTI+people around the world, that armed struggle was a possibility for them. Its international influence was very strong. However, TQILA could not find a place for itself in Rojava. Although great strides have been made forward with the women's revolution, the road is still long and patriarchy and heterosexism are still strong in the region and this power has openly attacked TQILA. There is also a strong armed LGBTI+ resistance in the Philippines, lead by the New People's Army (NPA) and lead by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The CPP and NPA have openly supported and developed the struggle

against heteronormativity since the 20th century. The CPP clearly shows that the masses and LGBTI+ people are not separate, they are in fact the same, and it is through this united struggle that all the oppressed stand strongest.

If there was an armed force that could protect Marsha P. Johnson or Dilek İnce against the state-police-gang collaboration, perhaps our comrades would be alive today and they would be doing much more than they did. If we had self-defense forces to protect ourselves when we were thrown out of our ghettos, which were dispersed under urban transformation, by the same state-police-gang collaboration, the situation would be much different today. While there is a power that does not hesitate to use all kinds of weapons both through civilian gangs and direct law enforcement forces, the only way for us to make the revolution that will ensure social peace will be to take power to reverse this situation. It is not possible for us to do this only as LGBTI+ people. However, we will be able to do it together with all the masses who have an interest in these revolutions. Today, the bullets of the colonizers and occupiers in Kurdistan, the Philippines and Palestine do not ask whether people are LGBTI+ or not. LGBTI+ identities are even used as blackmail against freedom movements. It is clear that such a system, which uses heterosexism for its interests and causes the murder of more LGBTI+ people, does not have the possibilities of freedom for us.

These problems are also the problems of our revolution. Revolutionaries must thus give their self-criticism in practice. If the aim of the revolution is to liberate all masses of people, not only to liberate the cis-heterosexual masses of people, appropriate steps must be taken today. Taking into account the LGBTI+ masses while drafting programs and statutes, as well as while producing war policies and daily policies, means getting closer to the revolution. Making only general evaluations and never in depth personal evaluations, dancing around the problem, seeing LGBTI+ people only as victims of the system, not seeing their personal and organizational responsibility, not being subjects in the struggle against heterosexism only damages the revolutionary struggle and

postpones the revolution day by day. Revolutionary forces need to start the revolution right now, to take power and organize freedom by destroying its enemies piece by piece. We cannot wait to address heterosexism until we made revolution. The struggle against cis-hetero-patriarchy needs to be fought every step along the way. Previous revolutions are full of examples of why this is necessary.

We do not want to end this article as, "Revolutionaries need LGBTI+ people and LGBTI+ people need revolutionaries." This would be a utilitarian approach. However, someone who has correctly perceived the private property system and heterosexism knows that such utilitarian approaches will definitely harm in the short or long term. For this reason, we want to underline that LGBTI+ masses are part of the masses of the people and the revolutionary war, while heterosexism is one of the cornerstones of this system that we must shake from its foundations and destroy. As LGBTI+ people actually take weapons in their hands and participate in the revolutionary war, the problems we will face will be solved with collective will and revolutionary perspective. Of course, there are things we can learn from the experiences to date from the LGBTI+ movement and measures we can take against the problems that are likely to arise. However, it would be a rather idealistic approach to offer a ready-made prescription for the whole. As LGBTI+ people who have been in the battlefields, we know that we will only produce solutions for the future by becoming subjects, just as we have produced solutions to our problems by living.

Trans+ TIKKO fighters

