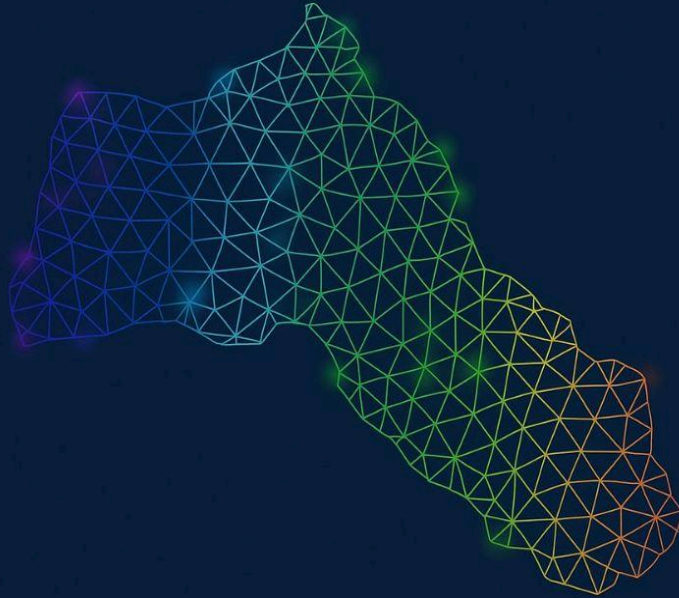


Kurdism

Theory and Concepts



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Kurdism; Theory and Concepts

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Preface

A nation that has something to say or seeks to play a role in the global community must be able to enhance its human potential. Since progress, in comparison to others, is an inevitable necessity, one must either achieve it or be left behind.

If the Kurdish nation once again retreats into outdated ideas and obsolete institutions, not only will it soon be cast out from the book of life, but its only share in the future world will be that of a worthless outcast.

For a nation whose long-term political and military considerations have hindered the realization of its conventional national identity—and for whom years of resistance against overwhelming forces have been deemed futile—easing the pressure through logical means, understanding global transformation, and adopting a future strategy now seem more attainable than ever. Today, the nature of longstanding national conflicts is shaped by the global balance of power, where true recognition of nations as actual nations has become the norm. This is a world where the role of physical force is diminishing, while the role of intellect is on the rise.

This is why, in recent decades, we have witnessed extensive transformations in borders. The outlook for future global developments is centered on wisdom, thought, research, effort, education, and diligence. Nationalism is no longer chauvinism but rather a belief in the essence of nations based on logic rather than force.

We speak of wisdom, thought, research, education, effort, and diligence—an arena where intellectuals take the stage and where their powerful wings soar in the realm of thought. It is here that a nation's human foundation, built on an intellectual infrastructure, quenches the unfulfilled thirst of a people whose aspirations have been fragmented by injustice.

How can ancient injustice be transformed into property rights?

Perhaps only one path remains: either we drown, or we leap into the unknown waters in search of a bright future. There is no third way.

A solid intellectual foundation is the key element in defining identity, property rights, and the path toward a bright future. This foundation, built through prudence, thought, research, education, effort, and perseverance, lays the groundwork for the present to architect the future.

Since the beginning of the disintegration of Kurdistan in 1639, which resulted in the division of this land into the artificially labeled "Ottoman Kurdistan" and "Safavid Kurdistan," until the years 1921 and 1922, when new terms such as Iranian Kurdistan, Turkish Kurdistan, Iraqi Kurdistan, and Syrian Kurdistan imposed an additional identity on this nation, Kurdish worldview, with its transnational perspective, has not only failed to progress but has also remained directionless. It has been a circular approach that constantly brings us back to the starting point.

The lack of clear approaches, uncertainty in defining concepts in terms of structure, content, and direction, the inability to establish foundational principles, doubts and hesitations, disregard for causal relationships, reliance on dramatic ideologies, lack of valuation criteria, excessive cyclical movements, and more have been the most significant characteristics of this critical period.

One of the most important consequences of this situation has been the absence of a central focal point in which a nation, possessing all the factors of nationhood, has never been able to definitively answer the questions before it, make the right decisions at critical moments, or allow itself the autonomy to decide for itself.

As a result, although actions have been observed in many instances, these actions have never been pursued seriously as deliberate initiatives. Instead, they have become entangled with other actions, leading to stagnation, ambiguity, or deviation rather than rational interaction. The uncertainty in action has even rendered individuals passive and neutral—neutralization that, over time, has become ingrained in psychological characteristics, leading to a state where mental and emotional conditions result only in passivity and reaction rather than initiative. Consequently, the ability to take action has gradually eroded.

This is despite the fact that action, in the sense of initiative, defines character and reveals one's spirit, interests, and motivations.

At best, our movement as an initiative might resemble the proverbial Chinese fish: We are like a great fish that has been taken out of the water or thrown out of it. This fish, with all its strength, struggles to return to the water. In such circumstances, it never asks where the next leap will take it. Its feeling is that the current situation is unbearable, and something must be done.

For this reason, the issue of the Kurdish nation has moved beyond the framework of a national issue and has turned into a policy of one step forward, one step to the

left or right, and one step back—steps that, without considering nationhood, have been spent in the realm of left and right clichés, wasting an entire lifetime. Or, fleeing from the term "nation," some have added the word "ethnicity" to everything named "Kurd" so that, instead of relying on logical reasoning that moves from one point to another, they deliberately or inadvertently keep a nation away from its true essence by resorting to seemingly logical terminologies or abstract factors, fabricating lies. Or, wrapped in well-articulated words, they submit to the self-defined "social Darwinism" with an externalized mindset.

There are truths that no theory has predicted, and there are truths that contradict all theories. The reality of the Kurdish nation might be one of those truths that necessitates its own inherent worldview. Being Kurdish is also an inherent identity; therefore, it cannot be attributed to "added philosophy" and placed alongside other subjects to be analyzed using philosophical tools that explain the beginning, end, origin, and purpose of that subject, imposing specific perspectives upon it. Kurdish identity is no exception to this because preserving it is equivalent to the question of being or not being—and being or not being ultimately means life or death.

The fundamental question here is:

Do we have the right to exist?

And do we have the right to equate freedom with the preservation of identity?

Undoubtedly, we possess such a right because the answer to the question of whether or not we have rights, in our thinking, translates to being or not being, survival or extinction.

If we accept the above premises, we must write to the Kurdish nation, address the Kurdish nation, define "Kurd," and not allow the Kurdish people and Kurdish identity—as representations of humanity—to be subjugated. For this reason, we must embed ourselves within concepts and define rather than merely describe who owns what. We must think and determine what we want, rather than sitting idly and watching what others want.

We must redefine the existence of the Kurdish human by creating new concepts. We must transform the tragedy of awareness into the logic of consciousness and, by resisting the heavy burden of the past and the anxiety of the present, find a deep and essential foundation for building a stable identity. We must replace myth with history and imitation with theory. Though we acknowledge that abandoning old

truths to respond to new realities is difficult, we must accept that it is necessary—and that we are capable of doing so.

Another crucial question is: In a world that no longer has a center of gravity, have we considered the critical moments of power?

In an era where nationalism is replacing dominant worldviews and the patience of oppressed nations has run out, have we reflected on the new reality?

As modes of thinking and decision-making evolve and transform, have we foreseen the transition from unstable balance to climbing the steps of an evolutionary process?

Now that the political map of the world is changing before our eyes, what are we doing?

In a time when the rules of the game are shifting from being imposed changes to structured planning, organization, and execution, have we thought about creating new tools?

Instead of sinking into a pit of unstable signs and symbols, have we considered connecting with our true identity?

How should we moderate and eliminate the pressures of forces that lead to decline?

How can we create a foundation for self-confidence, influence, and power?

What must be done to confront the nightmares of moral decay?—and many other questions.

The reality is that social and political truths are too complex to be explained through abstract thinking alone. The more significant reality is that the power of the human mind is now the guardian and determinant of a standard by which all commonalities across different perspectives can be measured.

Perhaps, in the simplest terms, the mission of the Kurdish intellectual is to create a worldview that aligns all forces in the same direction. The process, model, and theoretical foundations of this worldview must be structured in a way that its scientific achievements and practical results serve only one purpose: A shared national Identity.

One must not forget: A nation that plays on the defensive line will never be victorious because where it goes and what happens to it will not matter, as it is fundamentally incapable of provoking action. Therefore, it is necessary to create a new theory, establish new rules based on it, and develop a new strategy; a theory that opens a new horizon in the thoughts and freedom of the people and acts as a driving force for the fabric of knowledge, understanding, ideas, and the mind.

In this way, all dimensions of existence—including nature, character, ethics, free personality, human order, the laws of youth and old age, imperatives and prohibitions, war and peace, progress and decline, the lessons of history, and the meaning of life and death—will be encompassed and transformed into a thought within itself and for itself.

The "Self-Thinking Idea" is a thought for "self-liberation" and a theory of the Kurdish nation's leap toward evolution and freedom, which, in its entirety, stands out and leads the Kurdish nation to the true realm of absolute freedom:

"When individuals and nations grasp the concept of absolute freedom, nothing will have such an unstoppable power like it, simply because this concept exists inherently in the mind and its actuality." (Hegel 1770-1831)

Our theoretical foundation is an analysis of the current global situation based on a reasoning and process-based regime that leads to the future—a process that has begun and will gradually result in new living conditions in the world.

The writing style of this book is propositional rather than descriptive, in a way that creates an organized mindset in the reader, making the political transformations of the world comprehensible. One must not forget that transitioning from the current era will only be possible by formulating logical and realistic strategies.

Statement of the Issue: The Beginning of a Domination with an Injustice

1. Treaty of Zahab (1639): The First Partition of Kurdistan

Result: The emergence of two artificial identities:

Ottoman Kurdistan

Safavid Kurdistan

2. Treaty of Lausanne (1922): The Second Partition of Kurdistan

Result: The national fragmentation of the Kurds into:

Kurdistan (Turkey)

Kurdistan (Iran)

Kurdistan (Iraq)

Kurdistan (Syria)

Analysis of the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920)

Articles 62, 63, and 64 of this treaty recognized the sovereignty of the Kurds over their land as an independent entity. However, on November 25, 1922, in the city of Lausanne, Switzerland, Kurdish independence was nullified.

Article 64 of the Treaty of Sèvres: Recognition of the Kurdish people's right to self-determination.

Mechanism of the Treaty of Lausanne: A combination of force and imposition.

Goal:

Forcing the Kurdish nation into a role it does not want—subjugation.
Compelling the Kurdish nation to accept an agreement made against its will.
Forcing the Kurdish nation to renounce its right to self-determination.
Preventing the establishment of an independent Kurdish state.

Result:

Creation of structural injustice through borders that have never aligned with national geographic realities.
Forced annexation of different parts of Kurdistan into various identities.
Efforts to assimilate the Kurdish nation.

Challenge:

The inability of artificial borders to change identity.
The failure of assimilation policies against the Kurdish nation.

Effect:

The emergence of national liberation movements.

Reasons for the persistence of division and the failure of struggles:

Inability to comprehend the new global situation.
The beginning of the Cold War.
The dominance of grand worldviews in global politics.
Insistence on maintaining the status quo of international borders.
The necessity of preserving global balance.

(The continuation of this situation until the early 1990s and the end of the Cold War)

Effect:

The efforts of nations to free themselves from the imposed borders of "force" and "must."

New Formation:

The beginning of the era of unstable balance.

The most important causes of the era of unstable balance:

The collapse of ideological worldviews.

The breakdown of ancient social systems.

Ideological and technological conflicts.

The creation of defensive mechanisms against change.

The conflict between egalitarian foundations and the reality of inequality.

General characteristics of the era of unstable balance:

Failure to identify threats and opportunities.

The absence of a fixed point as a fulcrum for political leverage.

Constant and rapid changes.

The lack of international and global leadership.

Psychological weaknesses among global leaders.

A tendency to buy cooperation.

Step-by-step withdrawal from international responsibilities.

Instability on the International Stage

Imbalance in the International Arena

Geopolitical Characteristics of the Era of Unstable Balance:

Shifts in political borders

The tendency of countries to form regional alliances

Result: The global system is now on the verge of transformation.

Effect: The emergence of new conditions:

A new game
New rules
The rise of new players
New institutions
New methods of operation
New realities
New values

Consequences:

The discrediting of previous strategies
The establishment of new rules
Completely different games
The instability of old standards
The gradual disappearance of resistance
The creation of tools that were previously impossible to develop

Fundamental Questions:

In what kind of society do we live?
In what kind of society do we want to live?
What is the ultimate goal?
What is the final destination?
What choices do we have?
How should we move forward?
In what dimensions should we operate?
How should we organize our activities?
How should we define the foundational infrastructure?
How should we reflect, think, research, and act?

Macro Solution:

Choose the best position to open the way forward.
Compare resources with time.
Evaluate resources and time against quality.
Enhance the ability of "cultivated visualization."
Develop the ability to control irrelevant connections.
Attain the capability to manage chaos.

Standard Techniques for the Era of Unstable Equilibrium:

The theory of "One Nation - One State."

Historical borders and national issues as sources of challenge.

Nation-based states as a solution.

Formation of regional unions as a stabilizing factor.

Given the new conditions, the aspiration of oppressed nations is to initiate a new game based on "justice."

Justice that is founded on:

Fair distribution of property rights.

Fair distribution of "power."

Key Concept One: Justice

Respect for natural and contractual rights that are recognized for all individuals.

Key Concept Two: Right

Something that cannot be denied.

Conclusion: The right to self-determination is the embodiment of justice and truth.

Analysis:

In every part of the world, one or more regions exist that are transitioning from a period of unstable equilibrium.

In Kurdistan, the reasons are:

1. Unique geopolitical characteristics, including:

Continental geography.

Control over two major Middle Eastern water bodies.

A gateway to the East.

2. Unique geo- economic and geostrategic Characteristics:

Vast Oil and Gas Reserves.

Abundant Water Resources.

An Ideal Target for:

The Consumer and Technological Economy of the U.S.

The Production Economy of Japan.

The Production-Consumption Economy of Europe.

Three Unique Political Characteristics:

Political Fragmentation in Multiple Stages.

National Liberation Movements.

Experience of Repeated Repressions.

Dynamic and Intrinsic Driving Force.

Tendency Toward Political Reunification.

Aspiration for a System Where Everyone is Their Own Ruler.

Challenges Ahead:

The "Other" fails to recognize that the world has changed, and they are inevitably forced to adapt.

The "Other" is incapable of accepting the right to self-determination of a nation that has long been under its dominance.

The "Other" is unable to comprehend the political and economic realities of the modern world.

The "Other" cannot adjust to new realities.

The "Other" does not understand that the era of unstable balance is over, and the time for "forced movement" has arrived.

Conclusion:

National separatism is a distinct feature of the era of unstable equilibrium, and this era signifies a transition from rigid national borders to nation-states. It marks the beginning of new national geographical processes—a time when the shifting of borders in one part of the world legitimizes border changes elsewhere.

Many countries to which Kurdistan was annexed will disintegrate under the influence of the mechanism of “one nation, one state” as strong deterministic beliefs fade and the era of unstable equilibrium takes hold.

In this period, unities formed by the challenges of the twentieth century will give way to nation-states of the twenty-first century. Each nation will see itself as entitled to the benefits of a shared language, shared land, shared national heritage, and shared aspirations.

Group identity in this era will not be defined by border constraints or ideological conservatism but by national identity based on ethnic homogeneity. In the twenty-first century, identities will shape borders rather than borders shaping

identities. For this reason, Kurdistan, as a twenty-first-century challenge, embodies all the characteristics of the era of unstable equilibrium.

Thus:

The idea of Kurdism will be integrated into the Kurdish worldview.

The idea of Kurdism will transcend artificial borders and extend to the entirety of Kurdistan.

Ideological perspectives will be set aside in favor of Kurdism.

The universally valid principles of truth verification will be applied to Kurdish perspectives.

By granting ontological reality to Kurdish truth, the Kurdish nation will be guided toward the path inherently embedded in its Essence.

Kurdism Philosophy

In the philosophy of Kurdism, a true nation-state must necessarily be a humanistic institution and a civilized structure that establishes legal order and guarantees Human Rights in general and citizenship rights in particular. This humanistic creation is a "man-made structure" in which people can feel secure and responsibly participate in all spheres of life.

In this philosophy, politics is a unique human activity that provides a specific domain for human free action. National identity, as a defining element of the individual, emerges through interaction with others within a territorial and cultural framework, giving a distinct meaning to oneself and one's geography. Furthermore, the possibility of achieving "self-being" and national identity is based on membership in a human society where human rights and individual equality can be realized in the political sphere.

In Kurdism, the sense of shared identity, which arises through a common language and culture, leads to the formation of a national cultural identity and a national linguistic identity. This is the foundation of nationality and a key factor in fostering a strong sense of identity among all nations in general and among the Kurdish nation in particular. It also serves as the underlying framework for the legendary grandeur of independence.

Kurdism, based on the belief that every citizen, regardless of their political beliefs, is a citizen of the Kurdish nation rather than a member of the dominant states, defines its political, cultural, and economic rights based on its intrinsic necessities.

On this basis, it advocates for equal rights for all members of the nation while respecting the rights of other nations.

Kurdism seeks to restore a unified national identity to the Kurdish people by eliminating imposed values and divisions. By transcending fragmentation, it guides the people of Kurdistan towards the idea that the Kurdish nation should have its own country, founded on shared history, common heritage, traditions, language, aspirations, and collective psychological groundwork.

By defending the idea that Kurds belong to a single nation, Kurdism defines national identity within a specific geographical framework and connects all historical periods of the Kurdish nation through a common thread. In its struggle to define, expand, and solidify the questions of "Who is a Kurd?" and "What is Kurdishness?" it aims to conceptualize what gives meaning to Kurdish identity. Additionally, it seeks to bridge the gaps caused by the division of Kurdistan by creating a system composed of a central government and established administrative, legislative, and judicial institutions. The ultimate goal is to construct a unified nation-state and define an independent Kurdish country. In this sense, Kurdism is realized as the embodiment of the Kurdish nation within a Kurdish national state.

Kurdism blends the power of pride with a sense of mission and explicitly entails the emotional attachment of citizens to the nation-state. This sense of belonging, in various ways, shapes a collective readiness that values the nation-state highly, thereby compelling the members of the nation to make unconditional sacrifices for it. In essence, citizens feel that their happiness is intrinsically linked to and intertwined with the state.

The fundamental goal of Kurdism is the establishment and preservation of the unity, independence, and sovereignty of the nation-state. This is achieved by imposing national symbols such as the flag, national anthem, heroes, and more, leading to a particular rhetoric of nationalism. This process fosters the mentality of "we are distinct from them," which intensifies political nationalism. The creation of this "we are distinct from them" mindset is primarily based on an institutionalized form of civic nationalism, grounded in political principles such as legal and rational concepts of citizenship. Due to a shared intellectual and cultural heritage, inalienable rights, and the right to life, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness, this mentality emerges naturally.

In Kurdistan, the Kurd has a unique language, principles, and customs that they strive to preserve. They seek a distinct Kurdish identity through which they can convince all nations of the world that they act for "themselves" rather than for "others." Although in Kurdistan, the individual is perceived as a rational, independent, and free agent, they ultimately belong to society and are defined by the collective goals of Kurdistan. From this perspective, true and valuable moral independence is only realized through belonging to Kurdish society, and this serves as the distinguishing factor of the Kurdish nation from other nations. Kurdistan asserts that the national self must preserve its own society because the loss of society would endanger its independence and flourishing. The individual's duty to safeguard their society is akin to the citizen's obligation to defend their nation. In this way, collective solidarity transforms into national solidarity.

In Kurdistan, all domains serve to capture the national spirit, embodying the unique characteristics of the Kurdish nation. From this perspective, nations are shaped by the political, cultural, social, and economic activities of specific peoples who have participated in particular endeavors. The Kurdish nation and its manifestation in various domains form the foundation and cohesive structure of an independent Kurdish state, giving it meaning. These domains, in turn, contribute to maintaining the nation-state by fostering a unifying image of the nation and national identity. Kurdistan is rooted in the reality that every citizen shares a common image of themselves as part of a whole. Additionally, by creating an image of the nation and its accompanying national identity, Kurdistan cultivates loyalty, responsibility, and commitment among citizens. This process ultimately leads to the formation of an inclusive identity that transcends secondary differences and competing loyalties, such as ethnic or religious ties, which might otherwise fragment the national population and create division.

True Citizenship in Kurdistan

True citizenship in Kurdistan entails more than merely granting specific rights and duties to an individual. In a more complete sense, a citizen is someone who feels a sense of loyalty and moral belonging to their homeland and nation and is willing to sacrifice certain personal interests for the broader society. Kurdistan seeks citizens whose primary allegiance is to Kurdistan—those who recognize, accept, and commit to the Kurdish identity.

Kurdism, by manifesting "effective historical self-awareness" as opposed to mere "historical self-awareness," elevates the consciousness of the Kurdish nation, ensuring its existence and continuity throughout its destiny. In this way, the Kurdish people realize that long before they recognized themselves through self-evaluation, they had already understood themselves naturally within their family, community, and homeland.

From the perspective of Kurdism, Kurdistan is an integrated whole in which all its components—including land, people, culture, and language—are organically interconnected. Therefore, when Kurdistan is viewed as a unified whole, any action taken, any ruling issued, and any goal set must align with a specific worldview and perspective on life. This ensures the justification of values and methods, the assessment of conditions and necessities, and the coherence of actions and reactions.

From a political philosophy standpoint, Kurdism is not about Kurdish supremacy or seeking to suppress the rights of others in pursuit of vital Kurdish interests. Instead, it advocates for equal rights for all nations while supporting the protection of their cultures and the pursuit of their respective interests.

Kurdism upholds the ideals of people's sovereignty, political freedom, inner spiritual liberty, the pursuit of truth and spiritual freedom, the attainment of real justice, and the preservation of the Kurdish nation's national faith. Kurdism is a philosophy that gives meaning to the existence and essence of the Kurdish nation.

Kurdism and National Identity

Identity is the sense of personal distinction, personal continuity, and personal independence. While identity manifests in individuals' attitudes and emotions, its foundation is shaped within collective life. Identity consists of three main elements:

Cognitive Element: An individual's awareness of belonging to a group.

Value Element: Assumptions about the positive or negative value consequences of group membership.

Emotional Element: Feelings toward the group and toward others who have a specific relationship with that group.

Identity fundamentally involves recognizing the boundary between "self" and "other," which is primarily established through comparisons and differentiation from others. Additionally, identity refers to the quality of being identical in

composition and essence, as well as remaining the same across time and conditions.

From the perspective of Kurdism, identity is a concept, and concepts, before being defined, possess a historical dimension. This means that every concept is shaped in the struggle between reality and ideas, and its definition is essentially the history of this struggle between thoughts surrounding it and external reality. **"My identity is my history"**, meaning that identity consists of both what I have perceived myself to be (thought) and what I have presented myself as (reality) from the past to the present.

In the Kurdish perception, attaining, expressing, and committing to a specific identity leads to two outcomes:

Differentiation: When I recognize myself as an individual with a distinct Kurdish identity, I express it in front of others and remain committed to the behavioral aspects of that identity. This differentiates me from others, and even if I am not in direct opposition to them, I am at least no longer in complete alignment with them as before.

Integration: When I recognize myself as an individual with a specific identity, I express it and commit to its behavioral dimensions in front of others. Essentially, my (our) way of life gains distinct characteristics, which may still share commonalities with others.

Identity in Kurdism

From the perspective of Kurdism, identity is inseparably linked to difference, and differences always encompass power, which is constructed, maintained, and reinforced by society, government, and symbols. Therefore, having an identity means being distinct, remaining stable, and belonging to a collective. An individual perceives themselves as having an identity when they are assured of their lasting distinctiveness and inclusion within a group.

Place and space—or more precisely, geography—are among the most crucial factors in fulfilling this human need for identity. More clearly stated, the ability to establish and define boundaries (geography) provides a space where people, by feeling distinct, stable, and connected to a group, attain the security and peace necessary for life.

A homeland not only satisfies the need for distinction by enabling objective boundary-making through geographical features such as rivers, mountain ranges,

and seas but also facilitates identity formation by strengthening natural, social, and cultural boundaries.

A homeland serves as a highly suitable foundation for identity formation and continuity. Additionally, by limiting the scope of social interactions, it increases the density of direct and face-to-face relationships, fostering a strong sense of social cohesion and solidarity.

From the Kurdish perspective, the sense of continuity and stability over time plays a fundamental role in shaping identity, as the historical element structures identity formation and distinguishes individuals from others. Thus, identity derives meaning from belonging to a historical past.

According to Kurdism, the feeling of being distinct from others—an inseparable part of identity—creates a need for cohesion and solidarity, leading to the desire to establish and preserve a shared ideal among those who recognize themselves as distinct.

Kurdism asserts that every group sustains itself through history; therefore, a nation without history is doomed to extinction.

Humans have always constructed narratives of themselves to maintain their distinction from others, allowing them to perceive a unified identity. Identity, through a temporal continuum, links individuals to their past and grants coherence and significance to a Nation's Experiences in the form of History.

The Role of Culture in Identity and Kurdism

Examining the role and significance of culture in defining identity—and consequently in Kurdism—is essential. In Kurdism, culture is one of the most important and richest sources of identity. Individuals and groups constantly draw upon various cultural elements to shape their identity, as these elements have a remarkable ability to fulfill the human need for both distinction and integration within a collective. In other words, culture both creates difference and fosters cohesion.

Among cultural values, **language** holds a particularly significant position. It must first be elevated to the level of a written language, transformed into a carrier of Kurdish culture and national ideals, and used to instill respect for the Kurdish people among all nations. This, in turn, allows the Kurdish people to attain a more dignified position in the civilized world.

From the perspective of Kurdism, the Kurdish nation has achieved self-awareness through the **theory of mental liberation from domination** and the ideal of equality, justice, and independence. It defines the sum of its cultural values through **political independence**.

Kurdism, in relation to identity, is based on **the principle of difference and identity-centeredness**. To maintain its legitimacy, it employs a definite sense of identity, highlighting and intensifying even the smallest differences. It is these small differences that ultimately lead to a nation's victory.

From a Kurdish perspective, **national identity**, in addition to defining the boundaries of a political community, determines our historical position—particularly in societies where older sources of identity have weakened due to social and geographical fluidity. National identity grants nations their rightful place in the world, transforms them into significant collective units, and enables them to perceive the world in relation to their own creations.

With a **national consciousness**, the perception of oneself as a member of a national community becomes evident in several key dimensions:

A national community is based on shared beliefs. Nations emerge when their members recognize a collective connection and share a common desire to continue their collective life. Therefore, when an individual identifies with a particular nation, they acknowledge shared beliefs and mutual commitments with their fellow nationals.

An identity that embodies historical continuity. This leads nations to accept responsibilities and engage in collective efforts to fulfill them. Thus, a **historical national community** is a set of obligations and duties. The institutionalization of the idea that we were born into a nation creates a commitment to continue progressing toward the future, guided by the lessons of the past.

The Concept of "Active Identity" in national identity and the decisions made within the framework of the nation distinguish one national identity from another.

The connection between a group of people and a specific geographical location is another dimension of national identity. According to Kurdism, this territorial element establishes the relationship between nations and states. From this perspective, the state can be seen as a system of legitimate authority over a defined geographical territory.

The participation of the national community in determining its own destiny, which is expressed through the concept of national identity, leads to the definition of a national character and the creation of a shared public culture.

The psychological dimension in the concept of national identity is also of great significance. A national community that has gathered in a specific geographical space shares a common destiny and, through their shared characteristics, belongs to one another. They possess unique identity elements that distinguish them from others, have a distinct national character, establish a common public culture, and exhibit unity and inclusivity. Generally, at both the intermediate and broader levels, they share similar perceptions and social norms.

Through this process, a **shared psychological foundation** emerges, shaping them into a nation. **A common belief and mutual commitment, historical continuity, an active identity, attachment to a specific territory, and differentiation from other communities create a psychological dynamic** that fosters the perception and recognition of distinction among the members of the nation. Ultimately, this leads to the definition of national Identity.

A shared national culture aims to provide a suitable foundation for unity, essentialism, and the inward consolidation of national identity. National culture places itself at the highest level in the hierarchy of cultures, attributing and ascribing all virtues to itself in the first instance. However, this does not imply intolerance toward other cultures or an inability to coexist with them. National culture does not seek to suppress or limit other national cultures; rather, it embraces supranational cultures that elevate national unity and solidarity from a superficial level to a deeper dimension, thereby strengthening the national culture.

The goal of Kurdism is not to prevent cultural mixing or assimilation by purging the national culture but to enrich the reservoir of this culture by adorning it with cultural manifestations and ultimately enhancing its strength both quantitatively and qualitatively. Kurdism believes that the pluralizing effect of cultures in this historical era creates new opportunities and possibilities that can make national identity more fertile, diverse, and complete. It is within the framework of accepting this reality and the new possibilities emerging from the interactive dynamics of cultures that national identities find the opportunity to coexist and integrate alongside one another.

From a Kurdist perspective, Kurdish national identity represents the pure and authentic identity of a Kurdish citizen, standing in opposition to artificial and imposed identities. It serves as a dynamic and credible guide for all the needs of the Kurdish nation, its challenges, and everything that Kurdish society faces both domestically and abroad. The rational existence of the Kurdish nation is the product of a pure and efficient Kurdish ideology that provides the correct framework for judgment within a structured intellectual system. This system, by offering new thoughts and innovative actions to the Kurdish nation, serves as a guide for new arenas and all aspects of life. Kurdism is the ideology of establishing an independent Kurdish identity to achieve a balance in the Middle East and, consequently, in the world.

Another crucial point that requires clarification is the psychological and mental deviations concerning the issue of national identity. From a Kurdist perspective, even those who claim to be indifferent to national issues under normal circumstances will, in critical moments that affect the fate of their entire nation, quickly realize that their understanding and perception of identity inherently link their happiness to the well-being of their society.

Many individuals consciously suppress feelings related to national identity. They do so with what they believe to be justified reasons. The unpleasant or distorted forms of nationalism in some countries, such as chauvinism, fanatic patriotism, and racism, can be fundamental factors behind this attitude.

From the perspective of Kurdism, when the identity of an ethnic group is under threat or its legitimate political aspirations are at risk, if it does not perceive itself as a nation and does not express its aspirations through a nationalist lens, it has inevitably taken the wrong path.

Culture, in Kurdism, is the domain where intellectual and creative efforts take place. This theory seeks to break unconscious mental structures, guiding the Kurdish individual towards gradually overcoming superficial habits and beliefs and directing them toward a spiritual and creative realm.

From the Kurdist perspective, culture is a set of knowledge and values or, in other words, a collection of behavioral patterns, techniques, habits, and values that define the identity of a social group. This view also encompasses social heritage and shared culture, including a distinct language, beliefs, values, norms, ideology, customs, conscience, class consciousness, and lifestyle.

In cultural Kurdism, since all cultural structures are equally deserving, a dominant group has no right to claim any superiority. From this perspective, dominance is not allowed to present and impose its behavioral patterns as universal norms.

In cultural Kurdism, all cultures are equally legitimate, and no one should be blamed for their unique cultural identity. According to this viewpoint, every nation has its own cultural personality, every culture has its own moral values, every society has its own traditions, and every group has its own behavioral patterns. All efforts should be directed toward guiding cultural resources towards development and the universalization of Kurdish culture.

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Kurdism and Cultural Identity

In Kurdism, anything foreign or anything that has entered a nation's life without a fundamental reason leads to the nation's illness. If a nation wants to remain healthy, it must discard or modify such elements. The "aesthetic perspective of Kurdism" means that everything produced in the world is beautiful, but it is not inherently Kurdish. A Kurd can enjoy all artistic and intellectual works, but they cannot live by them because the more a nation's spiritual nourishment is derived from its own essence, the more it realizes itself and gains control over its identity. From this perspective, every masterpiece has a homeland, and Kurdish art cannot be compared to anything else.

"To regain the sense of unity and manifest the enthusiasm of collective identity, it is upon the jurists to honor traditional methods, customs, proverbs, and sayings—the results of collective effort and the spontaneous, unpretentious labor of the nation's spirit. It is upon poets and writers to defend the national spirit against the invasion of foreign ideas, to purify the language by replacing non-native words with authentic ones, to remove the dust of oblivion from the treasure of folk songs, and even in their works, to take inspiration from folk literature with its freshness, innocence, and the harmony in which the individuality of the nation remains intact and unified."

— (Herder 1774-1803)

Kurdism, while harmonizing individuals with society, strengthens national unity, ensures the integrity and cohesion of the whole community, and transforms individual spirit into collective spirit, thereby shaping cultural identity.

"Cultural identity is the vital core of both individual and social personality. It is a fundamental principle from which the most authentic decisions, behaviors, and actions derive their inspiration."

— (UNESCO Resolution, 1982)

In Kurdism, culture means the national spirit to which we belong.

Kurdism, with the conclusion that any rule leading to discrimination, being baseless and arbitrary, places justice and fairness derived from a national law against tyranny and injustice.

Kurdism believes that whether in the school of "Natural Rights," the school of "Historical Rights," or the school of "Acquired Rights," all people are human

beings with equal rights and responsibilities. Therefore, Kurdish identity replaces any characteristic that, under the pretext of known traits, serves to distinguish and separate one group from another.

In Kurdistan, the constitution is a set of laws that, considering the people, customs, religion, geographical conditions, political relations, wealth, and the virtues and vices of the Kurdish nation, is worthy of that nation. From this perspective:

Law, in its true and complete sense, is not a set of rules that have descended from the heavens for a nation. Rather, it should be seen as a collection of multiple and complex relationships that come into existence, grow, undergo transformations, and through them, individuals of a society come together. Law, in general, is something that gives a society a unique and distinct identity, making it different from other societies. (Montesquieu, 1689–1755)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, patriotism means that the citizen becomes aware of the reality that their needs are the same as the public needs and, furthermore, that they feel united with the state as the supreme guardian of these needs:

"The spirit is active only insofar as it recognizes itself, and the state, as the spirit of the nation, is both the same law that governs all relations within the state and, at the same time, dominates the behavior and consciousness of its citizens. Consequently, the constitution of any nation is generally based on the nature and expansion of that nation's self-awareness." (Hegel, 1770–1831)

Kurdism, by finding the necessary resources for its revival deep within itself through preserving the value system of the spiritual family and the values of the social family, mastering the chaos of desires, overcoming the constraints of personal interests, and fostering thoughtful reflection, brings forth the aspirations of "becoming."

Kurdism, by preventing the nation from falling into the trap of "confusion" and "moral deviation," while valuing enduring principles and striving to place the Kurdish nation within a unified value system, helps it break free from the constraints imposed in the name of certain values. Additionally, by integrating individual wills and safeguarding society from the distortion of its essence, Kurdistan not only restores the social characteristics of the nation but also binds

individuals to the collective identity, linking society to its origins and to one another.

Kurdism is the passion for a shared collective identity and the noblest idea for guiding the Kurdish nation toward the path of human civilization within the framework of an independent identity.

The core objective of Kurdism is the territorial geography where Kurds have lived—a group that feels a sense of belonging to a community and, beyond geographical borders, is also bound by laws enacted by themselves. The outcome of individuals adhering to laws is their acceptance and membership in the community as citizens. In fact, the social space created by law recognizes the individual's identity as a citizen within that community—an environment recognized as the home of all citizens, characterized by cultural homogeneity.

This means that elements of cultural homogeneity, the gathering of a group of people, and the rule of law create the necessity that a group of people with a shared culture must belong to one another, coming together as a single political unit based on the principle of consent. In this case, it can be said that a member of a nation belongs to the state, and an individual will have the opportunity to gain desirability from lawful membership in the nation of their choosing:

"Since the ambition for power has taken over the world, during the times of conflict and bloodshed that make up a large part of history, the consent of individuals in forming and maintaining societies has been less considered.

Thus, many have mistaken coercive force for the consent of the people and have assumed that conquest and subjugation are legitimate means of establishing a government. However, one must understand that establishing a government through conquest and force is as different from its proper formation as demolishing a building is from constructing one. In reality, forming a society in this manner requires the destruction of another preexisting one, but without the consent of the people, no true society can ever be created.

An aggressor who puts himself in a state of war with others and unjustly violates their rights can never, through such actions, establish any rightful claim over the conquered. This is a view shared by all who believe that thieves and robbers do not have the right to rule over those they can overpower or those whom they force into submission through coercion. If a thief breaks into my house and, by placing a dagger to my throat, compels me to sign a document transferring all my property

and wealth to him, does this act grant him any rightful claim or title? It is evident that such a person can only be considered a tyrant who, through force and violence, has compelled me to surrender.

Harming and committing crimes remain the same acts, whether committed by a crowned ruler or an insignificant commoner. The title of the aggressor and the number of followers he commands do not change the nature of his actions; they only amplify the extent of his wrongdoing. The only difference between them is that powerful robbers punish weaker ones to keep them in submission, while they themselves receive marks of victory because they are too strong for the feeble hand of justice to impose upon them their due punishment.

It is true that the conqueror, through his strength and the sword he holds against the defeated, often compels them to bow before him and submit to the government he desires. But the question remains: by what right can he do so? If it is argued that the conquered submit willingly and that this grants legitimacy to the usurper, then it must also be accepted that such a person necessarily requires the consent of the conquered to attain the title of ruler. But the real issue is whether the promises extracted by force—without any rightful claim—can be considered genuine consent, and to what extent such forced agreements obligate the people.

My answer is that such promises do not obligate them in any way, for whatever is taken from me by force, I have the right to reclaim at the appropriate time, and the usurper is bound to return what was unjustly taken. This is because the law of nature, which binds me only through its rightful principles, cannot impose obligations upon me through their violation. One clear example of such a violation is coercion. Therefore, a government that is imposed by force upon the conquered—without any rightful claim—does not create any legitimate obligation upon them."

(John Locke, 1632–1704)

Thus, one can validate the belief that:

"Whenever a nation is able to cast off the yoke of servitude and does so, it reclaims its freedom with the same right by which it was once taken away. If the act of those who initially deprived people of their freedom was legitimate and justifiable, then the act of those who later reclaim their freedom must also be justifiable. Since force creates no right, there is no reason to obey for even a moment. Every nation has the right to revolt against domination."

(Rousseau, 1713–1778)

Kurdism and Nation-State Formation

In order to achieve developmental status, Kurds must establish a union as a cohesive group and define a political index as a unifying factor within the nation-state framework. In the absence of institutions or other mechanisms that could facilitate this formation, Kurds adopt identity as a means of distinguishing themselves from others. From this perspective, identity consists of the characteristics of "birthplace" and "cultural origin" within a defined framework that creates the common attributes of "being Kurdish."

"Kurdism" is a movement toward forming a homogeneous group that has historically possessed a distinct political geography. The starting point of Kurdism is the collective or individual efforts of this homogeneous group to establish a "state" and expand it as an organic unit throughout the political geography of Kurdistan. In Kurdism, all elements of society align with state expansion; contradictory movements that could neutralize or destroy each other are absent. Instead, a harmonized ideology ensures that diverse preferences, entertainments, and activities, despite their apparent differences, contribute to collective growth and development, ultimately materializing as organized political action:

"Our task is to compensate for damages, reconcile, and balance. We gain the ability to unify various disorders and conflicting principles existing in people's minds and affairs into a cohesive whole. From this process, not only does a form of perfection in simplicity emerge, but something far greater—perfection in complexity."

—Burke (1729–1797)

Kurdism is defined as "entry into," "participating in," and "Identification with" a higher culture within a broad population space enclosed by a political unit. The social adhesive in Kurdism consists of a common language, shared aspirations, rights, laws, and education.

Kurdism is also based on national history as a normative factor, and its force is intensified by the power derived from history. Elements that, along with other variables, are considered constant factors in Kurdism include history, values, myths, and symbolism, which together form national traditions.

Kurdism is a "compulsory necessity" for the formation of a specific political community. It is both constructive and can serve as a fundamental driver of a society's movement toward development and evolution. In this regard, what matters is the permanent presence of Kurdish nationalism in the political life of society and its direct impact on the movement of the community. This permanent presence and direct influence are what define national identity.

National identity is the psychological reflection of a rational feeling in a "political" framework. Kurdism is a response to the internal and specific needs of a society, essentially addressing it as a psychological necessity. In this context, identity serves as the unifying factor that brings people together into a "society."

Kurdism is necessarily a mass, subtle, and dynamic movement that accumulates within society and manifests in governance. The bridge between society and governance in the accumulation and embodiment of Kurdism is the elite class, which determines behavior and relations in both mentioned domains.

However, the fundamental characteristic of Kurdism is its existence as a primary motivation that naturally develops in the process of societies' movement toward civilization and progress. It can even be said that Kurdism is a natural outcome of the evolution of thought in Kurdish society. In this process, identity, as the foundation of national consciousness, also naturally marks the political boundaries of a territory.

Thus, it can be said that Kurdism is an essential characteristic shared collectively among individuals. This very characteristic leads to the formation of the sphere of political culture and the political environment in a given territory, instilling a sense of ownership in its members.

Therefore, Kurdism, in addition to its internal impact, also manifests externally in the form of political culture, political territory, governance, and more.

Memories, values, myths, and institutions serve as distinguishing factors between societies. Any change in these elements or their interpretation can lead to a transformation of societal structures. On the other hand, these very elements play a fundamental role in motivating nationalism, setting goals for the process, and localizing it. Accordingly, these factors are ideally designed by elites within a society, given a logical framework, and organically shape the concept of a nation.

This approach enables the process of achieving the notion of "nation" in the shortest possible time. Nationality in Kurdistan is a process of "self-perception."

History plays a crucial role in Kurdistan. Therefore, it must be interpreted through a unique method and recreated through a distinct pathway, as history serves as the cover and singular memory of a people in a nation. This memory must be transformed into a unified consciousness. Hence, history is a vital element in Kurdistan and an effective tool for its followers. In Kurdistan, history is a space for examining the heritage of ancestors and a means for comparing nations and cultures.

History provides members of a nation with a tool to define a collective memory for the Kurdish people. This unified memory, or historical memory, plays a significant role in shaping and defining "national identity," acting as a crucial link between culture and the past. Without historical memory, identity would neither exist nor persist, and without identity, there would be no nation. Historical memory is the key to a successful nationalist movement. Through defining "identity," "community," and "nation," historical memory becomes an inevitable necessity for society, with its impact on all fields serving as an essential motivation in nationalism.

Historical memory directs identity, which in turn organizes the conceptualization of the nation. The continuity of this process leads to the creation of political entities and ultimately transforms them into nation-states. Historical memory, by guiding identity, brings history into the present. This history, brought into the present, is a positive or selective history of the past that contributes to the formation of the state. The architects of this formation are both the elites and the masses.

Kurdism links the past of the Kurdish nation to eternity, brings time into the present moment of Kurdistan and the Kurds, and connects the present to the future of Kurdistan. Kurdistan signifies the transition of the temporal page from the past to the present and from the present to the "future." Kurdistan considers the nation as a collective immortality and history as the focal point of this eternity.

From the perspective of Kurdistan, history is the collective and natural memory of a society, functioning as its driving force.

In this context, although identity presents itself, it is historical memory that institutionalizes it with the help of psychology. Historical memory, which thus

shapes identity, serves as a tool for the integration of any society. The unity of a society also requires a shared past. Moreover, historical memory is a subjective element in defining the concept of a nation.

The use of mother tongues as official languages is a crucial step toward national unity:

"Nations possess a collective spirit and a moral unity that shape them into what they are, and this unity is particularly manifested in language." (Joseph de Maistre)

The mother tongue as the official language signifies citizenship and membership within the framework of a nation. The alignment of the mother tongue with the official language implies the stimulation of Kurdism, which in turn represents an effort to design national unity. The promotion and institutionalization of the official language is essentially an attempt to politicize the masses. In today's world, the official language serves as the ultimate reflection of nationalism in nations. In other words, nation-states are recognized in international organizations and institutions not by their level of economic, social, and political development, but by their official language and their right to national self-determination.

National Self-Determination in Kurdism

National self-determination is defined as a fundamental principle in Kurdism. If we accept national self-determination as a formula, then the path toward nationhood is ensured, filling the void created by the absence of a clear theoretical framework in Kurdism.

The nations of the world have established their nation-states by granting political identity to their collective identity, transforming their demand for self-determination into a recognized political identity on the international stage. Similarly, Kurdism has placed national self-determination at the core of its agenda as the dominant cultural force within its territorial boundaries. It is based on the belief that the degree of complexity in societal changes determines a society's capacity for transformation. In this process, the relationship between culture and politics contributes to enhancing the complexity and capacity of a society. The intersection of culture and politics in Kurdism is where the right to self-determination is established—representing the pinnacle of societal transformation and aspiration.

Kurdism as a Nationalist Framework

"Kurdism" is the assertion of national identity within the framework of a nation-state. As a theory, it embodies a political vision that reflects the natural relationship between the individual and their collective identity. The suffix "-ism" in "Kurdism" signifies an action, a process of development, a movement, an adaptive and compensatory mechanism, and the active participation of both the masses and elites in the nationalist process.

Nationalism, as a modern term, refers to the social "self-identifying" of people who define themselves as a "distinct identity" within the framework of a "political unit," in a "geographical location," and with a "distinct culture."

This implies the existence of homogeneity within a political and cultural unit at a specific level of similarity, which is a necessary condition for the creation of a nation-state.

Kurdism is the reconstruction of the essential reality of the Kurds in thought and its realization in practice. Kurdism means a shared interest in benefits, thoughts, emotions, memories, fears, and hopes—where the heart, feelings, and mind perceive collectively.

Through Kurdism, we learn that Kurdish society requires a comprehensive transformation, and one of the prerequisites for this change is the fundamental reform of thought.

Kurdism is the transition from scattered mentalities to cohesive realities, from unstable normativism to the stable balance of Kurdish nationalism, and the effort to establish the political, social, and cultural reality of the Kurdish nation.

Goal-setting in Kurdism means searching for the objectives of the Kurdish nation and activating the Kurdish forces and resources to achieve them in a way that enables the enforcement of collective goals upon the actors of society. This approach facilitates the mobilization of individual and collective resources toward planned objectives, reaching common understandings and shared definitions so that the Kurdish people can recognize how to act in various situations.

Thus, through Kurdism, power in Kurdish society is accumulated, and by creating a network of boundaries—beliefs, thoughts, and religion—Kurdistan and the Kurds are distinguished from neighboring systems. This means that even seemingly stable

aspects such as emotions, forms of existence, and even forms of death are incorporated into the realm of "self," leading to undeniable homogeneity.

By integrating these shared values, which transform individuals' lives towards harmony and order, existing deficiencies will be eliminated, ultimately creating a unified, national, and cohesive society.

Kurdism: The Product of Self-Awareness and an Essential Part of Kurdish Thought

Kurdism is the product of self-awareness and an essential component of a Kurdish individual's thought. As a theory whose aspects exclusively encompass the political, social, cultural, and economic self-awareness of the Kurdish nation, Kurdism crystallizes the intrinsic tendency of the people toward completion, akin to an organism. Therefore, it can be said that Kurdism is the interpretation of the "self" in its own language, and only through it can the totality and reality of Kurdistan be explained, described, and analyzed.

In this theory, the "self" embodies the values, norms, and ethics of society that have been accepted and transformed into a form of thought, revealing the Kurdish nation's pursuit of perfection. The "self" in Kurdism also defines "difference from" (others) and "similarity with" (selves) in all three dimensions of "self-concept," "self-evaluation," and "self-presentation," with Kurdish identity at its core.

According to this theory, the Kurdish whole is indivisible and applicable to all of Kurdistan across all time periods. In the worldview of Kurdism, determining direction, purpose, and means leads to the realization of the Kurdish nation's true world, making it meaningful in an ascending spiral. It generates common meanings and definitions of a conceptual reality in the domain of knowledge and cognition that materialize as the Kurdish nation.

Thus, everyone and everything will move toward a unified and known goal, forming the firm structure of Kurdish society. However, with all these explanations, the purpose of Kurdism is not to worship the Kurdish individual but to nurture them toward perfection. This means that the Kurdish individual and nation deserve to be accepted, not worshiped.

For this reason, Kurdism, in the political sphere, is the defense of Kurdish national freedom, and in the cultural sphere, it is the education and establishment of equality in rights with other nations. Kurdism is the only "Kurdistan-inclusive theory" for the Kurdish nation.

Kurdism is the creation of a meaningful intellectual framework through which we can reveal the existential truth of the Kurdish nation to itself and the world around it. It instills in the Kurdish nation the consciousness and attraction of being no different from others, transforming a world afflicted by the illusion of fragmented wills into one of complete unity. It submerges the persistent inclination toward self-affirmation or the futile cultivation of kinship into the waves of national identity.

Kurdism is the embodiment of a unified existence within a single identity, the definitive affirmation of the Kurdish nation's authenticity, the learning of Kurdish truth, the nationalization of Kurdish thought, the acceptance of the collective self-awareness of the Kurdish nation, the alignment of the Kurdish nation with an ideal model, and its return to the core of its identity—a network of customs and states that constitute its true self. These customs and states are based on a distinct form, distinct thought, distinct emotions, distinct life, distinct feelings, and even a distinct death, which ultimately leads to the absolute differentiation of Kurds from others. Thus, a fusion of the "collective social spirit" and the "spirit of national thought" is achieved, creating a unified identity.

In this context, the order that can give meaning to the constituent elements of Kurdish society is one in which all units, structural components, and different sectors are harmonized and integrated. It is an order that views Kurdistan as a whole and considers it a functional entity.

In Kurdism, individual motivations ideally align with the values of the existing social system. The true self of a Kurd corresponds to their social role, and through the collective articulation of normative values, political, cultural, and social actions emerge, oriented toward shared values. The Kurdish nation will respond to what it has built for itself. Kurdism also seeks to define organization within a network of roles and responsibilities, ensuring the preservation of values, the stability and cohesion of characteristics, and the demarcation of systemic boundaries. It strives to safeguard fundamental cultural patterns, unify and integrate its members, achieve the goals of Kurdish society, and harmonize with its environment.

Kurdism is the harbinger of an absolute truth called Kurd, the power to think about the world through the tools of Kurdish language and thought, the rediscovery of the gods of the land, the customs of life, and the estranged intellect of the Kurdish nation. It stands against the fragmentation of humanity by "constructed external

borders" and rejects the imposed identities that others have drawn for the Kurdish nation—false masks filled with labels of animosity that target the true Kurdish identity and seek to construct an artificial identity from an external perspective.

Kurdism is the "expression of Kurdish national identity in the first-person plural" and the only logic that upholds the legitimacy of Kurds as they truly are, respecting their spiritual authenticity and honoring their cultural characteristics.

Kurdism is the doctrine of equal opportunities for the Kurdish nation in relation to all humanity and the only path to transition from childish rebellion, fleeting defiance, and futile whims toward rationality, justice-seeking, truth-seeking, and the pursuit of freedom for the Kurdish people.

Kurdism means placing Kurdish thought in its unique position, elevating it beyond the constraints of artificial borders, and evaluating Kurdish thought based on the timeless principles of truth verification. It restores the true essence of the Kurdish individual to its rightful place, dismantles seemingly real but false constructs, and guides society back to the fundamental path inherent in its nature.

Kurdism is the reflection of the pride of the Kurdish nation—the restoration of national pride to the Kurdish people, the reclamation of the unparalleled existence and authenticity of the Kurds, and the rediscovery of a sense of unity. It rejects “othering” as a tool for political and social mobilization in encounters with the non-self-nation, defends the national spirit against external invasions, and provides a definitive cure for Kurdish subjugation against ideological treatments prescribed for every situation. These ideologies, under the guise of so-called rational theories, alienate the Kurdish people from their own culture, stripping them of both their creative energy and the unique character of Kurdish society. By doing so, they have drained (and continue to drain) all Kurdish potential to corrupt its spirit, ultimately betraying Kurdish national identity in favor of an illusory idea and a completely imaginary whole.

For this reason, Kurdism stands in opposition to transient modes of thought that, under the name of Kurd, attempt to extend themselves into eternity:

"When men attach themselves to a group or faction, instead of identifying their interests with those of the whole society (of which these groups and factions are merely parts), they come to equate their well-being with that of their specific faction. The state of France in the years before 1940—what must be called the period of France's downfall—is a good example of this. The French saw

themselves primarily as socialists, communists, and republicans; their French identity came second. In this way, their national unity was destroyed."

—W.T. Jones

Kurdism theorizes Kurdish philosophy in all its aspects, rejecting vague humanistic generalities filled with colorful yet hollow slogans. It dismisses arbitrary interpretations of Kurdish identity in favor of a more structured and substantive understanding.

Now that Kurdish history has been stretched across the vastness of dispersion and fragmented to the extent that we can no longer seek our reflection in our ancestors, Kurdism seeks to neutralize these divisions by linking the past, present, and future. Kurdism aims to extract the Kurdish nation from historical aimlessness and align past, present, and future along a single trajectory—establishing the Kurdish nation within time and space. It is also the chain of thought connecting forebears to descendants, molding the centuries and epochs of the Kurdish nation into their true form, and discarding perspectives that put the national heritage up for auction.

Kurdism is not merely the reclamation of the past but also the attainment of the future. Therefore, in this doctrine, time becomes meaningful.

For people searching for identity in the vast ocean of this world, the closest, most obvious, and at the same time, most attainable reality is their own nationality.

Kurdism, by attributing authenticity to the word "nation," derives this term from its Latin root, considering it as stemming from birth. From the perspective of Kurdism, the nation is the foundation of thought and the underlying structure that shapes the conscience of individuals and represents the collective will of the national entity. Therefore, it manifests as the collective intellect and is defined as follows:

"It will be an extensive solidarity that arises through the sacrifices its members have made or are willing to make. It necessitates a past but is essentially summarized in the tangible present reality, which is the clear expression of the desire and consent to continue a shared life. The existence of a nation is based on daily consensus and the everyday collective vote to remain together."

— Ernest Renan, 1880

In Kurdism, a person becomes aware of their existence when they recognize their belonging to a nation. This belonging is reflected in their actions, emotions, and

sentiments, signifying the transformation of individual rationality into shared values within a human collective known as a "nation."

Kurdism equates the Kurdish nation with other nations and constructs knowledge and power within the framework of a collective identity called a nation. Kurdism is shaped by the experiences of the Kurdish nation, evolving and becoming richer over time.

From the perspective of Kurdism, domination and monopoly impose a one-sided direction on human relations. According to this theory, since all cultural and societal structures are equally worthy, domination has no right to claim superiority or impose its methods and behaviors as universal norms.

Kurdism is the absolute rejection of the "Big Brother" philosophy in politics and ideology. It denies both the superiority and inferiority of the Kurdish nation, dismantles the preconceived and pre-constructed images imposed by domination, rebels against the humiliation of being Kurdish, and seeks to restore the lost identity of the Kurdish nation. It also transcends ideological dogmatism— which is nothing more than replacing one set of chains with another— striving to break all bonds and preparing to create the most distinctive political and social achievement in history for liberation from the oppression of the "other" and the rightful defense of the "self" against occupation.

Kurdism stands for the protection of thought against the misuse of power, devalues any existence that does not belong to the Kurdish nation, and seeks a transition from the tyranny of domination to self-determination. It replaces the degrading imitation of domination with self-acceptance and transforms Kurdish existence into a source of pride.

From the perspective of Kurdism, the Kurd is the living embodiment of the oppression they have endured, and nationalism is the tangible image of liberation from this embodiment. Kurdism rejects the fragmentation of the Kurdish nation, nullifies agreements made about it without its consent, and resists the imposition of policies, dreams, vanity, and ideologies of domination.

In Kurdism, the Kurdish nation is no longer a minor or blind entity that requires domination to act as its guardian or vision. The goal is to liberate the Kurdish nation from the condition in which, thanks to colonialism, it has been given ancestors of another kind.

Kurdism seeks to erase the disgrace of being labeled "noble savages" and claims the right to discard the garments of servitude and slavery. It declares to domination:

"Even though you have subjugated Kurdistan, you will never conquer the hearts of the Kurdish nation."

Kurdism is the cry of long-suppressed pain and anger from centuries of oppression against the Kurdish nation and the struggle for national liberation.

The Right to Self-Determination and Kurdism

What is known in political literature as the right to self-determination is the unconditional right to participate in governance and influence the political, cultural, and social future of a specific society. The right to self-determination ensures that all individuals have the right to economic, social, cultural, and political development, guaranteeing sustainable progress.

The right to self-determination is also synonymous with the concept of justice in international law: "The free choice of a way of life based on the consent of an individual or a specific community."

Self-determination is a fundamental international principle, included in the Charter of Human Rights, and is recognized as a civil right in various fields of the humanities.

Theory of Self-Determination

This theory is a grand model of human motivation and personality that manifests within the framework of society. The focus of this theory is on the degrees of human behavior, including actions and reactions, aimed at maximizing opportunities for choice. However, self-determination is based on the assumption that, from the outset, humans are recognized as active entities with psychological growth tendencies and a desire for prominence in society, aligning all social characteristics with their sense of "self."

These natural humans do not act automatically; rather, their behavior—both actions and reactions—is influenced by the social environment. However, psychological characteristics are considered the most significant driving factors. In the theory of self-determination, from a social psychology perspective, human beings organize their behaviors, perspectives, and thoughts by positioning themselves between the two extremes of "individual active existence" and "active social influence," thereby continuing their developmental process.

Self-determination is a psychological need that exists independently of group or cultural affiliation, influenced only to a limited extent by ethnic factors. From the

perspective of social psychology, the theory of self-determination is considered a fundamental need and an indicator of psychological well-being in humans. A lack of inclination toward self-determination is regarded as a psychological disorder and is defined as a behavioral pathology.

This theory examines human motivation by considering psychological needs for achieving personal autonomy. Social psychology and self-determination suggest that human behaviors stem from a psychological foundation aimed at achieving specific goals. Motivation theories refer to such behaviors as psychological value-oriented goals. The theory of self-determination emphasizes how individuals, by centering their personality autonomy—which arises from a balanced psychological state—consistently focus on goals that ensure and maintain their independence. This perspective is rooted in a psychological necessity.

With this in mind, self-determination represents the highest level of human psychological development, guiding individuals toward personal autonomy.

The Nature of Needs in Self-Determination

From a psychological perspective, the nature of needs in self-determination emphasizes the prominence of needs aimed at growth, differentiation, and survival. In its social phase, it manifests through three primary goals: **competence, relatedness, and autonomy**. Therefore, "growth," "differentiation," and "survival," which in a qualitative sense result from motivation, desire, and goal-setting within the theory of primary needs—essential for sustaining life in the natural environment—progress **vertically** towards "competence," "relatedness," and "autonomy" in the theory of secondary needs. These secondary needs, which are processed through rational intelligence, prepare an individual's potential capacities for actualization within a social group. The most fundamental outcome of secondary needs—autonomy—is the driving factor behind the inclination toward self-determination in a natural human being.

Self-Determination as a Political and Legal Concept

Self-determination is recognized as a fundamental concept in the **Charter of Human Rights** and is acknowledged as a framework for humanity's attainment of **freedom and peace**. Therefore, any claim of supporting human rights must first be grounded in the recognition of people's right to self-determination. This right reflects the significance of **communities, groups, ethnicities, and nations** in the

global society and affirms their equality based on their inherent human dignity. Moreover, by emphasizing the need to protect the cultures of communities, groups, ethnicities, and nations, self-determination ensures (rather than merely guarantees) their freedom in making political, social, and cultural choices.

Self-determination also acknowledges the **racial, national, and ethnic distinctions** among human groups and calls upon governments to **recognize this right** by granting their citizens **freedom in political, social, economic, and cultural aspects without any restrictions**.

This principle firmly asserts that **no individual has the right to impose their power upon another under any pretext**. Additionally, it recognizes the **struggles of racial, ethnic, or national groups against any form of domination** and considers **freedom in choosing "territory," "sovereignty," and "citizenship" as integral aspects of self-determination**.

Furthermore, **self-determination unequivocally rejects all forms of colonialism**, as colonialism inherently represents **the political, economic, and cultural domination of a superior group over a subordinate one**. Therefore, within the context of **colonialism, self-determination translates into the necessity of decolonization**.

Divisions of the Right to Self-Determination

The right to self-determination is divided into "external self-determination" and "internal self-determination." External self-determination arises in situations of colonialism or occupation, where a territory or national group is directly affected by attempts at secession, expansionism, or identity alteration by a dominant group. In such cases, external self-determination acknowledges the right of the oppressed group to independence and legitimizes all possible means of resistance against the dominant group to regain independence and counter efforts of secession, expansionism, or forced identity change.

Internal self-determination, on the other hand, comes into play when a government uses its power to impose a specific framework on groups under its rule, stripping them of their true identity. The primary targets in this scenario are racial, ethnic, or national groups within a country that differ from the ruling class in terms of these characteristics. In this case, internal self-determination considers factors such as "self-governance," "coalition," and "independence" as legitimate options for these groups if the ruling class engages in illegitimate coercion.

Internal self-determination also applies in the face of various forms of discrimination, such as educational, religious, cultural, and economic discrimination. Initially, it requires the elimination of discriminatory practices, and if the discriminating party fails to comply, the discriminated group is granted the freedom to choose its own course of action. Self-determination is an inherent right, a continuous process, and a perpetual opportunity for people to choose their form of government and social system and to change them when necessary.

Self-Determination in the Context of "People"

In a general sense, self-determination pertains to people who, for any reason, are dissatisfied with their current situation and seek the right to determine their future in pursuit of a better condition. However, in a more specific sense, "people" may refer to a group of individuals sharing a common history, race, ethnic identity, cultural identity, linguistic identity, religious identity, ideological identity, psychological identity, or an economic lifestyle.

Among these factors, the most comprehensive and defining concept in the context of self-determination is the notion of a **Nation**, which integrates shared history, territory, language, and aspirations within a group of people, thereby distinctly shaping the domain of "people" and facilitating the exercise of the right to self-determination. For this reason, it is often said that the most general and specific representation of "people" is the concept of a nation. Consequently, it can be concluded that concepts such as **state, country, and sovereignty** have less capacity to examine self-determination compared to the concept of a **Nation**.

The Right to Self-Determination in the Territorial Domain

In the territorial domain, the right to self-determination recognizes a territory whose characteristics are defined beyond international political borders. The legal independence of this matter reflects the influence of colonial powers or international imbalances on the process of establishing or re-establishing certain countries within specific space-time contexts. In this way, power may determine the quantity and quality of population settlement in a particular territory, while that specific territory may not naturally determine the quantity and quality of its inhabitants. Another argument concerns the impact of power on limiting a territory's scope and affecting its peace and security under the pretext of influence and dominance.

Principles of the Right to Self-Determination

Based on the above, the key principles of the right to self-determination include:

The right to choose how to live.

The ability to make decisions regarding needs and their fulfillment.

The ability to establish connections for participation and security with the aim of survival.

Possessing value and respect as a recognized entity in the international community.

The ability to choose and participate in a society while preserving one's identity.

Individual effectiveness as a person and the capacity for dialogue at all levels.

The ability to create and accept responsibility in decision-making processes.

The capacity of individuals to choose at all levels.

The ability to exert influence to achieve one's chosen goals.

The organization of human and non-human resources, both formally and informally, to assist individuals in achieving their objectives.

The establishment and acceptance of value-based roles in structuring and executing actions aimed at achieving goals, emphasizing the importance of leadership in this process.

Since the right to self-determination is an inherent and natural process, the most crucial factors for its realization include the existence of free individuals with the ability to make independent choices and engage in political and social participation. Respect for cultural values, national and cultural plurality, economic diversity, recognition of ethnic and national identities, and respect for territory, communication, and resources—as dimensions of political, social, economic, and cultural characteristics—are also essential factors in the right to self-determination.

The right to self-determination of the Kurdish nation, in the framework of **Kurdism**, guides the Kurdish people toward the realm of free will and national sovereignty.

Citizenship Rights and Government System in Kurdism

It is often claimed that democracy and nationalism are two major competing ideologies in the world. What this claim overlooks is that both ways of thinking share historical and ideological roots and are committed to the fundamental principle of the French Revolution—that all political power originates from the people. Nationalists' belief in the right of people to make independent decisions

within their national borders is closely tied to the democratic principle that nations should independently decide their own affairs.

With this definition, Kurdistan, within its own borders, does not seek to impose its values, culture, traditions, and customs on non-Kurds. Therefore, Kurdistan cannot be regarded as an exclusivist ideology opposed to democracy, nor can it be accused of denying the citizenship rights of non-Kurds living within Kurdistan's borders.

Another important point is that national will in Kurdistan will never be in conflict with democratic rights. Above all, it seeks to provide optimal solutions for achieving the common rights and legitimate aspirations of all human beings, whether within Kurdistan's borders or beyond. Recognizing both human and national rights together is the ultimate goal of Kurdistan.

National Status and Citizenship Rights

A person's national identity defines their citizenship rights within society. In Kurdistan, citizenship rights are granted by the government to the members of the society, and the governmental system is based on democratic nationalism. Kurdistan adopts democratic nationalism as its governing system, considering that modern democracy, from its very inception, has been a theory based on national sovereignty. According to this view, democratic governance is embodied in the phrase "universal national consent." From this perspective, nationality requires an ancestral homeland, while democracy necessitates a civil society.

A nationalized democracy is not defined based on abstract personal laws and has no connection to individuals' personal and private lives. It is strictly a product of historical participation. People who lack the power and ability to establish their political participation within an "accumulated national tradition" will not have the capacity for nation-building and acceptance of democracy.

From the perspective of Kurdistan and within the framework of democratic nationalism as a model of governance, the national community is built through mutual beliefs and commitments. It is a historical phenomenon in which past and future generations are connected in the present, bound to organize and commit their members within institutions, and linked to a specific territory. In this definition, the nation is distinguished from others by its national culture and is defined based on its unique characteristics. Furthermore, under conditions of national self-governance, the state must necessarily embody a democratic system. Democratic nationalism in Kurdistan is the foundation for establishing political

participation within an "accumulated national tradition" in the form of "national collective consent."

Citizenship is a legitimate identity, a legitimate right, and a social identifier.

Territorial nationality, participation in governance, and resistance against external forces are the results of civil nationhood, all of which are achieved based on the "principle of consent" in society. The principle of consent is considered one of the essential pillars of Kurdistan. Therefore, citizenship "choice" determines nationality, and consequently, acceptance of territorial nationality entails the obligation of "participation in governance" and "resistance against the other."

Although the foundational elements of Kurdistan, such as nationality, nation, and territory, existed in pre-modern times and were part of national consciousness, modern citizenship is the active and fundamental pillar of political and social participation in Kurdistan. In its modern sense, citizenship is equivalent to "nationality," the foundation of participation in power and governance within a nation, and an essential component of nationalism.

Kurdism, in terms of definitions such as unity, kinship, citizenship, and shared responsibility among all members of the nation, assigns equal duties. Based on the "both-and" perspective, it is grounded in both "legitimate codes" and institutions while adhering to the concepts of "nation," "nationality," and "territory." Citizenship, in this sense, means participation in the destiny of a community, fostering a sense of "brotherhood" among its members, and granting legal privileges and associated benefits to a political member of society. These benefits and privileges include civil liberties, legal protection, the right to vote, and more.

Principles of Democratic Nationalism in Kurdistan

Democracy is defined as the equality of political rights for all citizens. In Kurdistan, the concepts of citizenship, freedom, popular sovereignty, and equal rights are interconnected. The people are the source of power, and a free individual is one who is part of the people.

In Kurdistan, **liberalism and democracy are not synonymous**. Democracy is a form of government and a method of exercising political power, whereas liberalism is an ideology aimed at limiting political power. The foundation of democracy is **popular sovereignty**, while the foundation of liberalism is **individual rights**.

The fundamental principle of democracy in Kurdistan is that the people enjoy political rights based on **universal national consent**. Equality of rights does not

imply the equality of human nature. Rather, it means that all individuals, as **national citizens**, possess equal rights, allowing them to participate in public affairs.

In Kurdistan, **all citizens have equal political rights**. These equal political rights do not stem from an inherent, inalienable human entitlement. Instead, they arise from an individual's **belonging to a nation**. In other words, a person has political rights because they are a citizen of their own country. The foundation of democracy is **a community of citizens and historical heirs** who are committed to continuing their history and moving toward a shared destiny.

Democracy in Kurdistan means a nation's participation in determining its own fate. Political participation in Kurdistan involves every citizen's right to engage in public affairs, particularly by selecting rulers and expressing agreement or dissent. Thus, democracy is not merely about democratic institutions but about the **people's active participation** in these institutions. **Maximum democracy** does not equate to **maximum freedom** or **maximum equality** but rather to **maximum participation**.

Resorting to the principle of majority rule is the result of consensus on the concepts of **the general will** and **popular sovereignty**. Kurdistan considers **pluralism of opinions legitimate** as long as it aligns with the definition of the nation. However, the extent of pluralism must be **limited to ensuring the common good**.

The principles and methods of democracy in Kurdistan focus on utilizing all means that bring the people closer to their rulers and expand local democracy. This means **enhancing public participation** in rural councils, professional organizations, and referendums while **stimulating initiative and improving qualitative forms of public consent expression**.

Democracy in Kurdistan is the **power of the people**, meaning the **power of a cohesive community** shaped by history and recognized as a nation. A political system that leads to **the fragmentation, destruction, or erosion of national consciousness**, depriving people of their sense of belonging to a unified entity—a nation—is **undemocratic**.

The Concept of Self and Other in Kurdism

Kurdism defines the boundaries between “**in-group**” and “**out-group**”, establishing a **distinction between “self” and “other”** as the foundation of a society’s identity.

But why is distinction necessary?

Kurdism explains the **natural relationships among members of a society and their interactions with the external world**. It clarifies how societies function and define themselves. **Distinctions always emerge as separating factors**, but at the same time, they contribute to **organic unity**, fostering a continuous movement toward **national cohesion**.

By shaping a **cohesive structure**, these distinctions create an **organic national culture** and define national identity, ensuring the unity and continuity of the society in question.

The active aspect of civil society from the perspective of Kurdism is to create a society that, due to its inherent potential, is less vulnerable to changes. The force linked to society within civil society signifies the ability to establish a balance between society and the state as an autonomous unit. Society must possess awareness or have access to it and be capable of understanding the political conditions of the community. This implies a system of public education and the capacity to build a society independent of the state.

Civil society is a continuous quality and a non-governmental division based on institutions strong enough to create a balance between the state and society, preventing state dominance and the atomization of society.

One of the most significant objectives of Kurdism is the politicization of culture. Kurdism, based on the definition that culture is the raw material and structure of nationalism and a precursor to the formation of nation-states, believes that culture, when politicized, can generate nationalism. The theory of state-building in Kurdism creates a paradigm that explains the development of the nation-state in social, political, and (especially) cultural domains, as well as transitional centralization. The role of the state in expanding itself into all areas within a territorial region ensures political geographic stability and preserves cultural homogeneity.

The politicization of culture means that what was previously considered pure culture is now connected to politics and society, encompassing the economy and society. The politicization of culture also signifies the interconnected

transformation of people's methods and behaviors within society. A political culture serves as the core of political society, influencing all social groups that are part of the nation and uniting them as a single entity.

In Kurdistan, interconnections are dynamic, and within the dual framework of culture and politics, political culture always holds the potential to emerge. Kurdistan is the result of a set of social and political conditions arising from the transition from a static culture to a dynamic culture within the formation of political culture. Given the influence of this belief on culture, its impact is not limited to political decision-makers or elites but extends to every individual in society, bringing all members of the community closer together. The relationship between Kurdish identity and nationalism is the outcome of this process and interaction.

Kurdism is a social necessity based on a specific social and cultural structure in the contemporary era. From this perspective, a nation is an ethno-cultural community formed through shared history, lifestyle, common aspirations, and a specific geographical location, which is reflected in the identity of its inhabitants. In Kurdistan, national belonging means achieving a collective rationality that influences and is significant to all members of society. The acquisition or learning of “national identity” and the process of “national formation” are not merely irrational emotional reactions but entirely rational processes based on a social covenant.

Kurdism presents a fully rational argument regarding the reality of the Kurdish nation, demonstrating that what is satisfying from the perspective of true reason must be realized in the world.

The Kurdish Right and National Organization

Kurdism raises the fundamental question: **What are the rights of the Kurdish nation, and what does it deserve?** By laying the foundation of agreed-upon principles and establishing a common linguistic system, Kurdistan directs national demands, perspectives, and interests through a shared language and common concepts in all four stages of **leadership, strategy, organization, and guidance**. Through rational-based methods, it aligns thought with demands and balances available resources with aspirations, organizing the Kurdish nation's struggle to secure its rights. This process fosters **intellectual, spiritual, and ideological unity** among Kurds.

Kurdism, through the birth of a new ideology and the creation of a methodology of thinking, strives to **escape the crisis of alienation and marginalization**. Ultimately, it establishes the political, social, and cultural reality of an independent identity known as the Kurdish nation. The goal of Kurdism is to **standardize the thoughts, beliefs, emotions, and behaviors of the Kurdish nation** while prioritizing and focusing on the existing **potential** of the Kurdish people to create and establish a defined framework called **Kurdistan**.

Freedom, Equality, and Human Rights in Kurdism

Kurdism defines the rights of freedom and equality in **dignity and rights** for the Kurdish nation. It recognizes the **theoretical and practical right of choice** for individuals in all areas and paths, as long as their actions do not violate the rights of others or disrupt order and morality. Kurdism upholds **freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of choice** in all aspects of life, considering these freedoms legitimate for both the Kurdish nation and humanity as a whole.

Kurdism, while recognizing **political, economic, social, and cultural rights** for all humans as fundamental rights of development, extends this principle to the **development rights of the Kurdish nation**. It asserts that the goal of development rights is to create conditions in which people can realize and maximize their **potential capabilities**. Kurdism regards this principle as a **standard for measuring respect for humanity** and, consequently, for the Kurdish Nation.

Kurdism, by rejecting the values, behaviors, and ideologies of the "other" occupier against the "self," based on segregation, restriction, claims of superiority, and exclusion due to fundamentalism—resulting in hostility, suffering, injustice, and hatred—while using factors such as class status, political beliefs, and religious perspectives as pretexts to arbitrarily magnify group and individual differences, creates racial, religious, and intellectual intolerance. By doing so, it prepares the ground for conflict against the Kurdish nation. Kurdism considers the right to life, freedom, and security as natural and legitimate for the Kurdish nation.

Kurdism rejects and condemns all doctrines based on superiority and discrimination, both scientifically and ethically. Kurdism is the school of freedom and equality of the Kurdish nation in relation to all the nations of the world.

Kurdism, by recognizing freedom of religion and belief, acknowledges the right of individuals to choose and adhere to any religion, to have faith, express their religion, articulate their religious beliefs, perform religious rites and practices,

receive religious education, and propagate religious teachings within society. It believes that religious freedom is only realized when a person's religion or sect does not lead to the deprivation of their individual, social, or national rights.

Focusing on the ability to mobilize resources such as historical territory, shared myths, historical memories, public culture, a common economy, and common legal frameworks, Kurdistan generates and sustains political opportunities through political and social movements. By establishing balance in all domains and forming internal dependencies, it directs political, cultural, and social movements—alongside civil laws and free participation—toward polarization and the formation of an independent identity.

The process of leading toward an independent identity consists of three stages: **"accumulated identity formation," "group cohesion," and "political commitment."** Through expansion into all layers of society, it provides the necessary foundation for collective participation in identity building. Political parties, schools, universities, unions, religious centers, media, cooperatives, and other institutions serve as the pillars and target cells of this process.

Kurdism plays a role in providing intellectual and psychological security for the activist when confronted with the positive tangible images of "the others." It leads to a focus solely on self-produced outcomes, creating a mental barrier between "self" and "the other," thereby paving the way for social and political movement and subsequent action for the Kurdish activist.

Kurdism is an entity defined by "self-action." As a dynamic and fluid movement, it fosters collective thinking among people to achieve a shared goal with collective responsibility. It interacts reciprocally with elites, competitors, and power structures, producing, reproducing, and refining itself throughout the process. This paradigm of development enables the formulation, expansion, and mobilization of political and social movements, facilitating engagement and dialogue with "the other."

The rapid dissemination of movement across various social layers, due to its non-static and self-activating nature, along with continuous innovation in movement forms, perpetual renewal of collective action, the emergence of organized and unorganized participation, and the capacity to mobilize people in opposition to "the other" are fundamental characteristics of Kurdistan theory.

From the perspective of Kurdism, what has historically occurred under the name of nationalism—sometimes yielding severe consequences—is not nationalism itself but rather chauvinism or "fanatic patriotism." The primary characteristic of chauvinism is "enemy creation," defining superior and inferior groups, and establishing a target cell for an "extremist politicized society."

These elements, acting as a focal point, create false consciousness, particularly in the absence of civil society, and exert the greatest influence in achieving objectives. The suppression of civil societies in various countries and the self-deification of their respective regimes have resulted in a reflexive turn to the past and the adoption of a phenomenon known as fanatic patriotism. This very factor has led to devastating catastrophes mistakenly attributed to nationalism.

The most significant driving force behind chauvinism has been the return to what was once prevented.

In fanatic patriotism, the "non-self" is always identified as the enemy. This results in group members denying all civic, political, economic, and often human rights manifestations of "the other."

Chauvinistic views today resemble the ancient Roman perspective of a "civilized Rome versus barbaric non-Romans" held by Roman citizens during the Empire era. The ruling group uses ethnic nationalism as a tool for social and political mobility, but this is only desirable in its reductionist form. Ethnic nationalism is perhaps a double-edged sword—it serves as a useful instrument for the ruling group while simultaneously becoming a tool for the destruction of others under chauvinism.

In reality, those who employ ethnic nationalism as a tool unconsciously use it in the service of fanatic patriotism. Chauvinism is often part of a deliberately designed strategy to mobilize groups, formulated by the ruling class to create an artificial condition—such as false consciousness—to achieve mostly extreme objectives.

From the perspective of Kurdism, while this phenomenon emerged under the name of nationalism throughout much of the twentieth century, its true nature is not genuine nationalism but rather a deviationist form of ethnic nationalism.

The ethno-nationalistic nature of chauvinism initially focuses on national superiority: the supposed immortality of nations in the face of enemy conspiracies and a continuous desire to worship a national past. The obsession with fostering suspicion, directing governmental policies toward radicalism, instilling an exclusionary spirit by creating an artificial "self," generating radical ideologies, and cultivating a glorified past—all plant the seeds of exclusion and even genocide within a group. This ultimately leads to mass violence perpetrated by radicalism. Additionally, ancient ethnic animosities, disguised as fanatical patriotism, manifest in political radicalism.

Chauvinism is engaged in the irrational expansion of an imaginary map constructed from its own fabrications. Therefore, chauvinism cannot be considered nationalism. Rather, it is a reaction to the inflation caused by periods of stagnation, using ethnicity as its primary tool.

The fiery obsession with identity that leads to chauvinism is fundamentally different from nationalism, whose defining characteristic is steadfast commitment to identity-seeking. It could be argued that the Kurdish people have been, more than any other nation in history, victims of chauvinism and the dominant group's supremacist patriotism.

In Kurdistan, the individual is synonymous with the nation and homeland—a nation that represents a moral law, binding individuals and generations within a tradition and mission that transcends the mere instinct for survival and pleasure-seeking. Instead, it creates a higher form of existence, independent of temporal and spatial limitations, in the framework of duty. This higher existence is realized when an individual sacrifices personal interests and even their own being, thereby actualizing a complete existence that affirms their value as a human being.

In Kurdistan, the individual consistently adheres to three fundamental ideals as prerequisites for personal freedoms, striving for their realization:

Citizenship

Competence

The right to choose

From this perspective, the formation of a national homeland—even in the form of a libertarian state—is, in a profound sense, a prerequisite for individual freedoms.

As long as national discrimination persists between the nation to which an individual belongs and the dominant group, they will not truly experience freedom, even if the existing laws claim otherwise. Likewise, as long as an individual does

not perceive the state—of which they are theoretically a citizen—as their own, they will be unable to attain the positive freedom of political participation. If political participation in our era is an integral part of the overall concept of freedom, then national freedom is undoubtedly a necessary component or an inevitable stage in its realization.

Kurdism in Practice

From the perspective of Kurdism, the state has specific obligations toward its citizens. If it fulfills these obligations satisfactorily, it can expect the continuation of peaceful coexistence. Conversely, if the existing state fails in this regard—exploiting and oppressing members of a particular group or enforcing hierarchical superiority in political, social, economic, and cultural interactions—then that group has the right to safeguard its interests by establishing its own state and pursuing its demands through any possible means.

However, a crucial issue in Kurdism is the conceptual confusion surrounding "nation" and "state." From the Kurdist perspective, a nation refers to a community of individuals who aspire to political self-determination, while a state is a set of political institutions that, within a defined territory called a country, seeks to monopolize legitimate use of force successfully. This confusion has, at times, led to severe consequences for the Kurdish nation, whose majority is scattered across four different countries. In reality, the state ultimately unifies the nation politically. With this introduction, we can delve into the concept of "Kurdism in practice." From the Kurdist perspective, the Kurdish national resistance movement is a historical movement that has manifested itself with fluctuations and periodic struggles from 1639 to the present. Depending on specific conditions and circumstances, each era has been influenced by various ideals, ideologies, and struggles, adopting their characteristics while clothing its historical demands in their form. In our view, the Kurdish national resistance movement has been an extensive and commendable but uncoordinated effort to achieve Kurdish national freedom. Though continuous and goal-oriented, this movement has been decentralized and fluid. It has lacked a cohesive structure, a unified leadership, or a well-defined organization capable of adopting strategic approaches to political interactions. Instead, it has consisted of scattered and uncoordinated activities by various groups and parties, which have so far failed to establish a defined

mechanism, a clear program, or a unified objective to realize an independent political framework called Kurdistan.

From the Kurdist perspective, the key conditions guiding the Kurdish nation toward forming an independent national identity include, in positive terms, the fundamental right to self-determination. On the negative side, they include the occupation of Kurdistan by dominant powers, severe violations of citizens' rights, the failure of dominant powers to secure legitimate political and economic interests, and their refusal to engage in explicit or implicit negotiations to recognize essential Kurdish rights and interests.

Kurdism, based on the belief that movements and their dynamics emerge from within society and through the turbulence of social interactions and exchanges, provides a foundation for opportunity creation and harmonic mobilization. This includes professional movements, students, teachers, workers, and women, enabling them to support each other while moving toward a common goal. With this perspective, Kurdism integrates and organizes political parties, student struggles, labor protests, professional demands, the teachers' movement, the women's movement, and all layers of society toward achieving an independent identity.

Accordingly, Kurdism, after addressing key questions such as:

What is the configuration of intellectual and political forces?

What is our geopolitical weight and position?

What are our capabilities and limitations?

What are we pursuing?

What is our proximity or distance from established forces and power structures?

At what stage are we currently?

What is the next stage ahead?

Where is the scope of our activities?

What are we analyzing?

And by what method?

It introduces its practical strategies as follows:

Playing a role within the identity of resistance.

Playing a role within the identity of power.

Unifying and organizing social and political forces around the central point of national identity.

Establishing and sustaining intra-group discourses.

Considering micro-politics while thinking macro-politically.

Movement alongside organization.

Striving to create a chain and, subsequently, an equivalent network.

Forming projects and programs within the framework of organizing a bloc and centralizing togetherness and interconnection.

Expanding horizontal relations while striving for vertical advancement through organization and institutional structures.

Prioritizing a nationally recognized identity.

Institutionalized activism.

Strengthening "self-national" power.

Defining Kurdish national identity in alignment with global interests.

New production, new audience, new compositions, new organization, and new leadership.

Reconstructing mental ideals and striving to create a new political and social reality through the adaptation of the mental and objective spheres.

Kurdism believes that the Kurdish nation has now achieved effective self-awareness—meaning the existence of an internally coherent and logically structured image—and has risen to confront the political structures and forces that have either denied them their national rights and cultural identity or have acted as obstacles in their pursuit.

To create shared awareness and common consciousness about its concept and meaning, knowledge system, worldview, and value system, **Kurdism** has placed its ideological goals within the domain of independent national identity in thought, Kurdistan itself, and in practice, the construction of knowledge and capability to define Kurdistan and the Kurds in a global context. Without any hesitation, it considers independent identity as the foundation of the recognition and acknowledgment of the Kurdish nation in all fields:

"My friends! Love your homeland. Our country is our home; a home that the Creator has bestowed upon us, housing a large family that loves us, and we love them in return. A family with whom we sympathize more than any other and whom we understand more quickly. This family, being concentrated in a specific region and consisting of homogeneous elements and components, is predisposed to a unique type of activity. Our homeland is our collective workshop."

"When we work hard for our homeland based on the right principles, we are working hard for all of humanity. Our country is a fulcrum and leverage that must

be used for the common good. If we lose this fulcrum, we risk becoming useless not only to all of humanity but also to our own homeland.

Before people can form solidarity with the nations that make up humanity, they must first have a nation of their own. There is no true solidarity except among a nation and its equal individuals. It is only through our own identity that we can have a recognized collective existence.

Do not abandon the banner that God has given you. Wherever you are, in whatever nation circumstances have placed you, always be ready to fight for the freedom of that nation. But fight in such a way that if blood is shed, it represents the greatness of your nation and not merely yourselves. Do not say 'I'; say 'We.' Each of you must strive to embody your homeland and nation within yourselves. Each of you must see yourself as responsible for your fellow countrymen and must conduct yourself in such a way that your homeland and nation will be loved and respected because of you.

Your nation is a sign of the mission entrusted to you to fulfill your duty toward humanity.

The abilities and strengths of all the children of the nation must be dedicated to fulfilling that mission. A true homeland is a community of free and equal people who are united by a fraternal pact to work towards a common goal. You are obligated to act accordingly and to preserve your nation in this state."

"A nation is not a mere sum of individuals but rather a solidarity and a community. Therefore, without a singular and equal right, no true country exists. When the unity and equality of that right are violated by the existence of classes, privileges, and inequalities, there is no real country. When part of an individual's abilities and strengths are suppressed, dormant, or silenced, when there is no common principle recognized and accepted by all, there will be no true nation or people—only a random mass of individuals brought together by circumstance or force, which may just as easily disperse them.

Any privilege that entails the surrender of power, inheritance, or any special right beyond the common right shared by all is an act of usurpation and injustice, and you are obligated to resist and eradicate it.

Let your homeland be your sanctuary. If you do not wish to dishonor your country and nation, accept no other rule and no other moral law. In the name of the love you bear for your homeland and nation, you must tirelessly fight against all forms of inequality.

Your laws must be aimed at gradually organizing your life according to the application of that supreme law. To this end, it is essential that all of you participate in shaping those laws. Laws created solely by a small fraction of citizens can never be anything more than a reflection of the thoughts, aspirations, and desires of that fraction—representing the will of only a third or a quarter of a group or region, rather than the entire nation."

Here is the English translation of the passage:

"Laws must reflect the general and collective will and advance the common good. Laws should be like the heartbeat of the nation. The entire nation must legislate, either directly or indirectly. By entrusting this mission to a small group, you replace the interests of the whole country with those of a particular faction.

A country is not merely a piece of land; the true nation is the idea that gives it life. A country is thought, love, and a sense of unity and community that binds all its children together.

As long as even one of your brothers is unable to play a role in the national progress through his right to vote, as long as even one person remains in ignorance while others are educated, as long as even one capable and willing individual suffers in poverty due to lack of work, then you do not yet have a nation in its true sense—a nation for all and by all.

Never deny the existence of other nations. Commit yourself to advancing the life of your own nation in beauty and strength. A country must be free from fear, hesitation, and doubt, built upon its people, and empowered by the unified strength of all.

And as long as you are ready to sacrifice your life for your nation, the life of your homeland will be eternal."

— Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872)

Kurdism *is the endless struggle of a nation to attain the essence of freedom—to live freely, to think freely, and to remain free.*

Kurdism *is our destiny, and it will shape our fate.*

Concepts of Kurdism

As stated, the theory of Kurdism, by conveying truths within a defined framework, can lay the groundwork for a nation's self-awareness in the form of a nation-state.

Kurdism is the affirmation of national identity within the nation-state framework. As a theory, it presents a political vision that reflects the natural relationship

between the individual and their collective. The "ism" in Kurdism signifies an action, a process of development, a movement, an adaptive and compensatory mechanism, and the active participation of the masses and elites in the process of Kurdish nationalism.

Kurdism is the transition from scattered mentalities to cohesive realities, from unstable normativism to the stable balance of Kurdish nationalism, and the effort to solidify the political, social, and cultural reality of the Kurdish nation as an independent identity. Kurdism is the product of self-awareness and an essential component of Kurdish thought. As a theory whose dimensions are exclusively the political, social, cultural, and economic self-awareness of the Kurdish nation, it crystallizes the internal tendency of the nation toward completeness as an organism.

Thus, it can be said that Kurdism is the expression of the Kurdish individual in their own language, and only through it can the wholeness and reality of Kurdistan be explained, described, and articulated.

Kurdism is the narrative of a nation's journey toward greatness, power, and freedom. (1)

In its simplest definition, Kurdism is the love for the Kurdish nation, which, by establishing its foundation on normative, cognitive, and institutional processes, elevates the mass participation of people into a nationalist mentality. (2)

Kurdism, as a framework of reasoning, strategy, and tactics, integrates aspects of interrelated cultural, political, and economic realities, ultimately aiming to achieve a unified entity known as Kurdistan. (3)

Kurdism is the product of the Kurdish nation's struggle against domination, which, from a historical-methodological perspective, encompasses a 400-year period of international Occupation and colonialism. At a minimum, it includes the following characteristics:

A national and collective territorial struggle.

A national and common language.

A national and shared culture.

A national and collective unity.

A national and shared history.

A national and collective understanding of belonging, referred to as social solidarity.

A shared psychological background. (4)

Kurdism is a distinct form of political identity rooted in the community known as the Kurdish nation. (5)

In essence, Kurdism represents the legitimized contemporary expressions of the Kurdish nation's identity in the form of dynamic actions and reactions, emphasizing institutions, behaviors, and perceptions. These elements are involved in the normative commitments, interests, and institutionalized policies of this domain. (6)

Kurdism defines national identity based on ideals of citizenship, participation, and democracy, reinforcing nationalism as the foundation for identity, citizenship, and solidarity. (7)

In the realm of national ideals, Kurdism seeks to achieve the following goals:

Achieving the political independence of the Kurdish nation through the adoption of Kurdism.

Establishing the dignity and status of the Kurdish nation as a free nation.

Realizing the principle of national sovereignty and equality for the Kurdish nation in relation to other nations. (8)

Kurdism recognizes the national sovereignty of the Kurdish nation under the banner of popular sovereignty. (9)

Kurdism, through the concept of "national liberation above all," directs Kurdish nationalist sentiments and perspectives toward an independent identity. (10)

Kurdism legitimizes the culture of the Kurdish nation as the dominant culture within the geographical region of Kurdistan. (11)

Kurdism not only directs our minds toward the significance of direct historical and structural contexts but also demonstrates that any discussion of nationalism cannot be separated from deeper claims regarding human consciousness and identity. (12)

Kurdism represents the recognition of a nation that has been historically misrepresented or subjected to erasure. From the perspective of Kurdism, any concept of identity must incorporate these demands as part of its understanding of the concept itself. (13)

Kurdism, as a discourse, performs three main functions:

It continuously recognizes, affirms, and expresses the various ways of producing and reproducing knowledge. **(Epistemology)**

It continuously recognizes, affirms, and expresses the various aspects of existence. **(Ontology)**

It continuously recognizes, affirms, and expresses different empowerment processes. **(Politics)** (14)

Kurdism asserts a unified and homogenizing ideological sovereignty over the Kurdish nation, insisting on the unity of the Kurdish people and transforming internal differences into a homogeneous structure. (15)

From the perspective of Kurdism, what is labeled as separatism is actually an attempt to secure an independent position, arising from the perception of a sense of difference from the "non-self other." This can equally be seen as a reaction to exclusionary terms imposed by the dominant discourse on the Kurdish nation. (16)

According to Kurdism, religious differences among Kurds should never lead to the formation of a boundary between "us" and "them." In Kurdism, the boundary between self and other is defined as "Kurdish self" and "non-Kurdish other." (17)

Kurdism rejects any religiously divisive deviations within its principles, deeming them invalid and illegitimate. From the perspective of Kurdism, all those who live within the territorial and intellectual geography of Kurdistan constitute the Kurdish nation. (18)

Kurdism is the "national unity ideology" in response to questions of identity, sovereignty, and citizenship while individuals belong to various communities. (19)

Kurdism is the transfer of territorial sovereignty to a homogeneous community called the Kurdish nation in a geography known as Kurdistan. (20)

Kurdism is the realization of the alignment between national state borders and the complex identity lines of Kurdish citizens, known as "citizenship of the Kurdish national state." (21)

Kurdism, emphasizing the ideal that the nation is the source of legitimacy, believes that the right to participate in independence must be a function of identity discourse. (22)

Kurdism, as an ideology, is an expanding political norm of homogenization aimed at achieving an independent identity within a comprehensive Kurdistan-centered order. (23)

Kurdism instills a sense of national pride and calls the Kurdish nation to struggle for liberation in order to secure its rightful place in history as a great nation. (24)

The Kurdish nation's self-awareness movement is a philosophy based on the united resistance of all Kurdish people from Kurdistan against domination, seeking to end oppression through the right to national self-determination. (25)

Kurdism aspires to an ideal that seeks to eliminate the borders imposed by domination, with the goal of establishing an independent Kurdish state. (26)

Creating a sustainable national consciousness in education and culture is the fundamental ideal of Kurdism in consolidating national unification. (27)

Kurdism, as a belief, is the foundation of national character and the driving force of solidarity and unity among the Kurdish nation as a fundamental value. (28)

Kurdism is a legitimate political program for the Kurdish nation concerning history, fundamental values, and identity, with a direct emphasis on the existence of a distinct national character. (29)

Kurdism, as a liberation nationalism, directs its struggle against the domination that has subjugated the land of Kurdistan. (30)

The ultimate goal of Kurdism is to define national identity, dismantle the system of domination, and bring to life an independent Kurdish state. (31)

The ideology of Kurdism refers to the principles, values, and aspirations that guide and encourage the establishment and consolidation of an independent Kurdish state to achieve common goals through justice, equality, and order. (32)

National mobilization in Kurdism refers to uprisings, revolts, or struggles formed and organized by the Kurdish national group seeking recognition. (33)

Civic culture in Kurdism consists of shared practices, rituals, and traditions of citizens aimed at enforcing loyalty and defending the nation-state. (34)

The national goal in Kurdism is the self-awareness of the people of the nation-state and the rediscovery of cultural authenticity through national arts and folk traditions. (35)

The duty of defining borders, determining sovereignty, defending territorial boundaries, and achieving international recognition constitutes the external aspects of Kurdism. (36)

The importance of internal organization within the national community lies in addressing issues that ensure self-sufficiency and political legitimacy. Additionally, the implementation of necessary institutional means to unify the nation falls within the framework of Kurdism's unifying objectives. (37)

Cultural identity in Kurdism reflects the historical memory and the essential vitality of the nation in the past, present, and future. (38)

Kurdism values the essence of the Kurdish nation as a legitimate source for establishing a distinct and independent existence and identity. (39)

The goal of Kurdism is to actualize the pragmatism of popular struggles to create an ideological model in the pursuit of independence. (40)

Three collective factors that Kurdism must give great importance to in its pragmatism:

Drafting a constitution.

Electing a representative government.

National support for the constitution and the elected government. (41)

Kurdism, by avoiding ideological polarization, aims for national attainment of political power through the inclusion of all groups, thoughts, and ideologies within the political framework of an independent Kurdistan. (42)

Kurdism, viewing the territorial integrity of Kurdistan as a spiritual ideology, calls on all segments of society to engage in patriotic participation for national unity. (43)

In Kurdism, intellectual elites emphasize the authenticity of the nation by preserving and fostering ideas, thoughts, art, literature, painting, and music. (44)

Kurdism, believing that mass education formally creates a tool through which the advancement of a civilized and free society becomes possible, helps people share similar experiences, pursue common goals, and adopt shared models. (45)

Kurdism, by cultivating a homeland-centered culture based on love for the homeland and a sense of defending the land and nationality, manifests this culture through rituals, commemorations, movements, and ceremonies. (46)

Kurdism rejects the imposition of collective identities in the name of the nation by ruling groups. (47)

Kurdism is a philosophical and political theory that defines, explains, and establishes the Kurdish nation as having equal value to other nations, grounding its moral foundation on national liberation. (48)

The principle that the political and national unit must be compatible and proportionate forms the foundation of Kurdism as a theory. (49)

Kurdism holds that the disregard for this principle and the inconsistencies arising from it have been a major cause of many national-based bloodsheds in the twentieth century. (50)

From the perspective of Kurdism, the relationship between nationalism and national identity is dialectical and logical. While nationalism serves as an

expression of a nation's identity, it simultaneously contributes to the formation and definition of that identity. (51)

Kurdism is the expression of affection for the homeland and the reflection of deep emotions that the Kurdish national community expresses toward a meaningful and conventionally recognized homeland. (52)

Kurdism represents the convergence and unification of the Kurdish nation within a political community, whether through institutional integration, self-awareness, or an intrinsic feeling derived from historical events and reflected in them. (53)

Kurdism believes that governments derive their legitimacy solely from the people they represent. Therefore, it is essential to strengthen and solidify the sense among the people that they should identify with and consider themselves part of the national community. (54)

Kurdism seeks to ensure that the Kurdish nation recognizes, pursues, preserves, and defends its national interests. (55)

In Kurdism, irredentism refers to efforts to reclaim territories that are ethnically, culturally, and historically interconnected but have been subjected to dominant rulers due to division. (56)

From the perspective of Kurdism, since Kurds share a common historical origin, they fundamentally constitute a unified nation of interconnected people and should, therefore, be politically united. (57)

Kurdism, by defining the criteria of national belonging and identifying differences and distinctions, guides and organizes the Kurdish people's struggle toward national independence. (58)

Kurdism, in the field of psychology, considers two factors:

First: The repression of a sense of inferiority that stems from backwardness, marginalization, and victimization.

Second: The rationalization of the exaggerated pride of the Kurdish people regarding their traditions and national achievements. (59)

In Kurdism, the concept of "nation" offers, alongside other definitions, an understanding of patriotism and collective identity. (60)

In historical Kurdism, the Kurdish nation, possessing origins and authenticity in the sense of having an identity, has had national institutions, territory, and historical continuity. Ultimately, based on these foundations, it will regain its national independence. (61)

The period of national awakening in Kurdistan is based on cultural-linguistic elements and national sentiments, which, through the realization of capacities, will lead to full national consciousness. (62)

Kurdism considers three crucial factors in national liberation: national thought, national identity, and national rights. (63)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the national spirit manifests itself uniquely in art, music, customs, and traditions—that is, in culture in the broadest sense of the word. (64)

Linguistic unity, historical unity, and cultural unity of the Kurdish nation must ultimately manifest politically through national solidarity and cooperation, leading to the establishment of an independent political entity. (65)

Kurdism and the ideology derived from it inherently unify the Kurdish nation and possess the potential to integrate with liberalism and democracy. (66)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the land of Kurdistan, beyond being a territorial geography as the homeland of the Kurdish nation, also has its own unique linguistic and cultural space, distinguishing it from the "other" or the "non-self." (67)

In Kurdistan, the concepts of popular and national sovereignty mean that the people's right to democratic participation in choosing their desired form of government, the guarantee of national identity, and the right of the Kurdish national state to freely regulate its internal and external affairs are inviolable. (68)

One of the most important goals of Kurdistan is the fundamental restructuring of political and social relations in a democratic direction to achieve true national sovereignty or governance. (69)

Kurdism is the central framework for the political legitimization of the Kurdish nation's sovereignty over its own destiny. (70)

In practice, Kurdistan involves the establishment of institutions, national symbols, a flag, an anthem, and other national emblems. (71)

By defining criteria such as the stability of institutions that ensure democracy, the rule of law, the guarantee of human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, and support for an active economy, Kurdistan guides the realization of national self-determination towards national prosperity. (72)

Kurdism, in the realm of ethics, systematically redefines values and symbols while organizing moral patterns based on national authority. (73)

Kurdism, in connection with its stimulating environment, namely the land of Kurdistan, analytically and comparatively examines the links emerging from Kurdish society and prepares the groundwork for the establishment of Kurdish sovereignty within the framework of Kurdistan. (74)

From the perspective of Kurdism, an independent Kurdish land is a moral ideal and a criterion by which the children of the Kurdish nation measure themselves, believing that Kurdistan is the only land where the Kurdish nation can achieve its ultimate destiny. (75)

Kurdism is the feeling of being Kurdish, a tangible and unique Kurdish identity, and the redefinition of sentiment in the sense of national identity. (76)

The civic criterion for national membership in Kurdism is the freedom of each individual within the framework of Kurdish national identity, and it is endorsed as one of the legal pillars since the nation is defined as an individuality. (77)

Kurdism means achieving a political entity belonging to the Kurdish nation. In this sense, Kurdism also involves the merging of state-building and centralized governance. (78)

Kurdism, by awakening collective awareness of a shared destiny, seeks to achieve a collective goal that manifests in the form of a nation-state. (79)

Kurdism is transcending local group consciousness and voluntarily embracing a national identity. (80)

From the perspective of Kurdism, many of the failures of Kurdistan's liberation movements in recent decades, which have rendered them incompetent in engaging with the concept of true revolutions, stem from their inability to bring about meaningful social and political transformations and their failure to create a strong sense and perception of a shared goal rooted in national identity. Based on this, Kurdism, within a structured system of class, status, and power, defines a political community that, with a fundamental approach to national identity, not only establishes a superior political and social organization but also becomes a driving force for achieving the ultimate goal at critical historical junctures. (81)

Kurdism strives to emphasize the significance of conscious motivations in assessing the true importance of concepts such as national identity, nation, the right to national self-determination, and independent identity. (82)

Kurdism, in response to the ideological policies of dominant groups—who often use such policies as tools to distort reality—seeks to mobilize existing favorable

perspectives and, when necessary, alter perspectives to organize national thought and transform Kurdish nationality into a fundamental political vision. (83)

Kurdism is about giving meaning and structure to the political world of the Kurdish nation and reflecting national identity in the thoughts, speech, and actions of its members. (84)

Kurdism is a movement of action that aims to create or reinforce a particular feeling among specific groups of people—those who truly constitute the Kurdish nation. This feeling is best described as national sentiment. (85)

From the perspective of Kurdism, the goal of nationalist movements is to create or revive a sense of nationhood, which is considered essential for the existence of a nation. This nation must have its own government or, at the very least, enjoy full cultural independence. (86)

From the perspective of Kurdism, when nationality is simply recognized as a reality, every nation—large or small—has the unquestionable right to exist as itself and to live according to its own nature. (87)

Kurdism believes that globalization, although it may limit certain forms of nationalism, will undoubtedly create other forms. This is because globalization, by strengthening and homogenizing cultural interactions, generally provokes a localist response among those who cherish and defend their national culture. (88)

From the perspective of Kurdism, a nation must be a specific type of modern territorial state. This means that there should be an achieved or desirable harmony between the national and political units. (89)

Kurdism encompasses explanations related to the way identity is understood, social relations of power, society, and culture, emphasizing the nation as the central element. (90)

Kurdism is the way the Kurdish nation exists within the world of nations, influenced by national identity while also impacting other identity-seeking components. (91)

The discourse of nationhood in Kurdism assumes that every nation, among past, present, and future nations, has a unique destiny and is, in this sense, distinctive. The people of each nation share a common origin, historical experiences, interests, and culture. Language and religion are sometimes included as elements of that culture. This discourse also presents the emergence of nations as a universal phenomenon. (92)

The discourse of nationhood in Kurdistan exclusively attributes sovereignty over the people and political representation to nations. It holds that when a group of people comes together as a nation, they become eligible for independence. The moral-political claim of the national discourse is that whenever a nation wills it, it has the right to establish a government, and a legitimate government is one that represents the nation. (93)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the history of every nation contains a continuity filled with accounts of courage, greatness, sacrifice, oppression, and severe endurance. The ultimate success of any nation lies in establishing governance and uniting within its homeland. (94)

According to Kurdistan, nations are social and political units that have formed based on specific criteria of their essence. Their formation is founded on the assumption that cultural communities must transform into political communities and that individuals belonging to such communities have the right to self-governance or, at the very least, to choose their rulers. (95)

The ultimate aspiration of the Kurdish nation in Kurdistan is to establish a state and government or to take control of an existing country and government, transforming it into a national state. (96)

The ideological mindset in Kurdistan is that the Kurdish nation is in no way inferior to other nations. The subjective aspect refers to the effort to mobilize forces in pursuit of equality for the Kurdish nation, ensuring that it enjoys the right to development on par with other nations. (97)

Kurdistan affirms that uneven development in the real world has led to the imperialist domination of the center over the periphery. In response, peripheral regions have inevitably exhibited a dual reaction—resisting domination while simultaneously attempting to utilize its driving forces for their own benefit. This has only been possible through political idealism and ideological mobilization of forces, relying on their own national resources. (98)

Kurdistan is the myth of the solidarity, continuity, and revival of the Kurdish nation. (99)

Kurdistan is an ideology that promotes the spirit of nationality, a strong sense of collective identity, and broad communal solidarity based on shared language, culture, heritage, religion, or national citizenship. (100)

In Kurdistan, a nation is a group with a shared foundation that claims political-territorial power based on a common belief in its unique culture and

establishes its political community on the concept of citizenship and popular sovereignty. (101)

While the existence of a common linguistic community is considered a necessary condition for nationhood, a more important condition is the internal sense of belonging to a community of people with a shared destiny—one shaped by common experiences and memories—as well as a geographical community where people have mutual spatial and territorial attachment. (102)

The purpose of defining a national myth in Kurdistan is not only to justify the Kurdish nation's right to the land of Kurdistan but also to define the Kurdish nation's special mission concerning other nations and to provide a rational basis for its claim to political and cultural equality with other peoples. (103)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, shared historical memories and collective experiences are among the most crucial factors in shaping nations as cultural communities with a common political destiny. (104)

Sociologically, Kurdistan represents a form of social solidarity that connects members of a cultural community. (105)

The national ideology in Kurdistan pursues four key components with a primary objective: national unity, promotion of national progress, formulation of a national mission, and the aspiration for national independence. (106)

In Kurdistan, culture is a set of stable preferences for solidarity based on shared values, which become internalized through socialization. By linking to common channels of communication, these values, habits, and traditions form the foundation of national existence. (107)

Kurdistan claims inalienable rights for all members of the Kurdish nation in all political, cultural, social, and economic aspects, alongside other human beings and nations. (108)

In Kurdistan, the nation is regarded as the highest form of socio-cultural unity. The emergence of national solidarity signifies the existence of a shared intellectual and symbolic system, as well as common behavioral patterns that connect the members of a nation. (109)

Kurdistan is the most acceptable foundation for the political legitimacy of the Kurdish nation and represents a fundamental and decisive step in the transformation of Kurdish thought and action towards rationality and wisdom. (110)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the primary element in the formation of a nation is the shared meanings, understanding, and awareness that individuals within the nation have regarding their collective experiences and interactions with other groups. Once these shared meanings and experiences are defined, they are passed down from generation to generation, encoded as memories, symbols, and values, and ultimately transformed into the foundational myths of the nation. These foundational myths consist of several components: a common name, a shared myth, a collective historical narrative, the perception of possessing a unique and immutable culture, attachment to a specific homeland, and an internal sense of belonging and solidarity. (111)

One of the core ideas of governance in Kurdistan is the sense of belonging to a unified nation and the presence of a centralizing force aimed at fostering national unity. (112)

All systems and institutions that a nation believes in—including the national flag, national anthem, historical memories of the past, principles of the dominant religion, widely accepted economic regulations, and the established social hierarchy—are, in Kurdistan, integral parts of the sense of belonging to Kurdistan as the national homeland. (113)

Territorial nationalization in Kurdistan refers to the socialization of the population with the homeland to create a shared sense of identity through images of the homeland and the nation, forming part of the broader nationalization project. (114)

The central role of place and place-making in the interactive formation of ethnic-national identity in Kurdistan's geographical perspective highlights the significance of nationalist geography as the intersection of place, power, and identity. (115)

From the viewpoint of Kurdistan, the geographical role in defining territory, nations, and the boundaries between "us" and "others" is a technical discourse that explains the realities of the natural-cultural environment and how they should be managed. (116)

Kurdistan seeks to awaken love for the homeland with the goal of fostering a shared understanding of one's birthplace and fulfilling national duties. (117)

The construction of a national political, social, cultural, and economic space is one of the objectives behind territorial nationalization. Kurdistan utilizes the necessary mechanisms that define a distinct national image of Kurdistan as a birthplace, homeland, and territory to establish national identity. (118)

Border-making and the construction of social space are fundamental aspects of identity-building in Kurdistan. From this perspective, borders function both as institutions and as expressions of the relationship between power and social structures. They become part of everyday life through the differentiation of institutional practices. Borders are both the creators and the products of identity. (119)

According to Kurdistan, the sense of identity with one's immediate and local environment expands rather than diminishes. Based on this principle, national identity is strongest in places where national identities have a secure and stable foundation. (120)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, attachment to the land is as old as human society itself. There is little evidence to suggest that the strong ideological bonds linking political identity and territory have weakened over time. (121)

Kurdistan teaches us that the only shared principle forming the foundation of every nation is its members' belief that their nation is moving toward a common destiny and their commitment to their collective unity as the essence of the nation. (122)

The history of domination in Kurdistan is a history of efforts to undermine the national dignity of the Kurdish people. The ruling powers have consistently portrayed this nation as passive, in need of guardianship, incapable of self-sufficiency, overly emotional and hot-tempered, undisciplined, and even savage—all to justify continued domination and repression. (123)

The principles recognized in Kurdistan as the foundations of national principles and the justification for political action are as follows:

The right to national self-determination for all nations, including the Kurdish nation, is an undeniable right.

Like all other nations in the world, the Kurdish nation has the right to political independence and to have its own independent state.

If a nation lacks a state, it has the right to struggle for independence by all possible means.

All nation-states in the world have the right to determine their domestic and international policies without the interference of other countries. (124)

The most significant outcomes that Kurdistan brings are:

Membership in a national identity provides individuals with the promise of liberation and freedom from individual oblivion, signifying their belonging to a collective entity that influences their lives.

The legitimacy of a nation offers individuals the hope of renewal and reconstruction through the revival or rebuilding of the nation.

It assures individuals that they all share an equal status as members of the nation. (125)

The powerful sense of "being us" in Kurdistan is the primary tool through which people collectively recognize their identity. (126)

Kurdism is a political philosophy that believes the nation should be the primary factor in defining and establishing political institutions, forming a state as a defined territorial government, and enabling reciprocal relationships. (127)

All nations have the right to independence and, by virtue of this right, they can freely decide their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. (128)

Kurdism recognizes the right of every individual to enjoy their own culture, freedom of religion, the right to use their language publicly and privately, the right to establish institutions and associations, the right to maintain connections, the right to effective participation in cultural, economic, and political life, and the right to non-discrimination and equal treatment for all nations. (129)

In Kurdistan, the nation is the most prominent collective identity for political organization. (130)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, minorities and ethnic communities in any country are full and equal members of the societies in which they live. (131)

Kurdism calls upon the nation to unite and come together as an organic political unit in the form of an independent state through the promotion of a shared identity and loyalty to the national homeland. (132)

Kurdism nurtures a love greater than reason and stronger than will—a love that is fueled by the belief that this destiny is the sacred destiny of a nation whose passion for freedom drives its existence and endurance. (133)

Kurdism is both a political practice and a form of discourse that, in every domain, creates, maintains, and reproduces identity definitions and concepts as a discursive formation governed by national and conventional rules. (134)

Kurdism is more of an expandable concept than a limited one, and as such, it encompasses a wide range of motivations that find meaning in relation to national identity. (135)

Kurdism is the only common paradigm across theoretical approaches and perspectives that can actualize the Kurdish nation's identity aspirations within the framework of an independent identity. (136)

Kurdism is a doctrine that affirms belief in freedom across various dimensions—economic, political, religious, and cultural—for the Kurdish nation, enabling it to govern itself through the exercise of these different aspects. (137)

The goal of Kurdism is to unite all members of Kurdish society, regardless of their particular affiliations, by emphasizing shared loyalties, symbols, and institutions. (138)

In Kurdism, a nation is a recognized human community that inhabits a specific territory, maintains economic unity, and ensures equal rights and responsibilities for all its members. (139)

From the perspective of Kurdism, nationality is not only a political entity but also a social one that has formed over time, distinct from the structure of legal governance. (140)

Kurdism holds that if a sense of nationality exists with any degree of strength, it provides a justified reason for all members of the nation to unite under a single government and to have their own independent state. (141)

By embracing democratic nationalism, Kurdism affirms that the citizen of a modern democracy experiences both a distinct sense of identity and agency, as well as a shared national identity. (142)

Kurdism places the origin of individual identity within the nation, which holds sovereignty, serves as the primary center of loyalty, and is regarded as the foundation of collective solidarity. However, at the same time, it grants citizens the right to possess various forms of identity within a public sphere known as civil society. In Kurdism, citizens are expected to derive their identity from their nation. (143)

Although Kurdism upholds the right of citizens in a modern democracy to participate in activities independent of the state, through which they can express a sense of identity different from their political identity, the hierarchy of social loyalties—where the nation is necessarily positioned at the highest level for all individuals—is an inescapable and absolute principle. (144)

From the perspective of Kurdism, political nationalism, when combined with democracy, can serve the purpose of integration rather than obstruction by laying the groundwork for a global federation that accommodates both cooperation and

local control and accountability. This largely depends on whether political nationalism, backed by democracy, can overcome the allure of extreme patriotism and chauvinism. The modern democratic ideal provides a solid foundation for a federation of nations, as it is based on the belief—often summarized under the concept of rights—that all people should enjoy the right to self-determination as a means of achieving greater well-being and prosperity. (145)

As a movement, Kurdistan is a political endeavor justified by the principle that a nation called the Kurdish nation exists, that political loyalty primarily belongs to the nation, that the nation must have political autonomy within its national territory, and that the claim to power within this autonomous political organization is based on its national legitimacy. (146)

Kurdism, as a unifying nationalism, is a political opposition movement that considers the occupied parts of Kurdistan as part of its national territory and, as a result, seeks to unify Kurdistan through the establishment and consolidation of a national state. (147)

The concept of authenticity in Kurdistan refers primarily to an objective condition—belonging to a place, being engaged in time, and striving to seize existing capacities. (148)

Through Kurdistan, the Kurdish nation can claim ownership of its own destiny and be the guarantor of both its paradise and its hell. (149)

The Kurdish individual, within Kurdistan, evaluates their temporal position point by point and line by line, and with curiosity, incorporates every new factor into their calculations, leading to more informed conclusions. (150)

In Kurdistan, the national state is regarded as the supreme institution and the center of loyalty, reinforced through the media, control of education, temporal policies, and the guidance of political, economic, cultural, and social development. (151)

In Kurdistan, the term "national" becomes a defining characteristic of daily life, providing the strongest foundation for a widespread sense of national identity. (152)

Kurdism believes that when a nation strives according to its true principles, it is striving for humanity as a whole. From this perspective, the nation serves as a pivotal lever that must be used for the greater good of all. (153)

By awakening the theory of nationality, Kurdistan transforms its long-suppressed right into an ideal and invites all nations to struggle for their national freedom. (154)

Kurdism seeks the soul and mission of the nation in its pursuit of freedom and equality, relying on its own strength for national liberation. (155)

In another sense, Kurdism can be synonymous with national consciousness, encompassing a set of concepts and emotions that shape the conceptual framework of national identity. From this perspective, national identity can be regarded as a fundamental identity—one that is believed to encompass all spheres of social, political, cultural, and economic life more comprehensively than any other identity. (156)

From the viewpoint of Kurdism, national identity is an evolved identity—an advanced form of identity in the precise sense of the word—emerging from a systematic and directed social evolution process for the Kurdish nation. (157)

An identity with broad applicability, or what is termed a fundamental identity, is perceived to define the essence of its bearer, shaping behavior across various situations. This identity also reflects the image of social order or the social consciousness of a given society, effectively encapsulating this image on a smaller scale. This reality establishes the framework of fundamental identity in the modern world as the foundation of modern social consciousness, signifying that in the modern era, social consciousness takes the form of national consciousness. (158)

Kurdism serves as the cultural framework for the mechanisms of social integration, social structure, and the cognitive system of order creation, giving meaning to our social reality and consequently shaping it. (159)

Two fundamental principles in Kurdism are the "principle of popular sovereignty" and the "principle of fundamental equality" in the political and social structure. Based on this, the state is one of the necessities of the principle of popular sovereignty, and the power exercised by the state originates from the nation. The principle of equality, based on the comprehensive quantity of national identity, is the key structural necessity that defines the nature of social stratification. (160)

The Kurdish national identity in Kurdism is the primary identity in the hierarchy of identities and the main reference element for all members of the Kurdish nation. National identity provides an organizing principle that is applicable in various contexts, gives them meaning, and transforms them into specific identity elements. (161)

As a political principle, Kurdism asserts that the political and national unit must align with each other. From this perspective, Kurdism can be considered a theory of political legitimacy, which dictates that ethnic boundaries should not intersect

with political boundaries. In this sense, Kurdistan is the "politicization of identity."
(162)

The mental image of Kurdistan regarding society must encompass two elements: the nature of the nation as a whole and the nature of the individuals who constitute the nation. The nature of the nation as a whole represents a unified and collective existence formed through the bond among individuals. The nature of the individuals who constitute the nation includes the direction of their will, interests, and goals in pursuit of national aspirations and ideals. (163)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, just as a human being cannot live without any of their vital organs, they also cannot survive without nationality. Every person is born with a specific nationality and is expected to manifest their sense of belonging and devotion to the nation. (164)

Kurdistan is a reflection of a collective existence, a symbol of the people's general transcendence, a new political and social order, and a structural reality for the Kurdish nation. (165)

In its practical manifestation, Kurdistan is the political mobilization aimed at achieving national territorial sovereignty, consolidating this sovereignty, and preserving it. This manifestation is the product of our goal, collective memories, language, culture, religion, and connection to a specific territory for forming a national political community. (166)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, language is a reservoir of historical layers and values embedded within a nation, and for this reason, it best represents the intrinsic national spirit. (167)

In Kurdistan, a human being is not subjected to slavery—neither their race, nor their language, nor their religion is enslaved. (168)

According to Kurdistan, a large assembly of people with a healthy spirit and a warm heart creates a moral conscience, which is called a nation. From this perspective, a nation is also a voluntary spiritual and ideological gathering. (169)

Kurdistan is the sentiment of a group or a collective of people who live in a contiguous territory, use a common language or closely related dialects as a means of transmitting shared thoughts and emotions, have diverse religious beliefs, and possess institutions, traditions, and customs that have been acquired and exchanged throughout a shared history. They cultivate a common aspiration for unity and harmony. (170)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the national movement consists of organized efforts to attain all the attributes of a complete nation in every aspect. (171)

The demands related to the enhancement of national culture, the emphasis on the importance of language, the establishment of a comprehensive social structure including the intellectual elites of society, the attainment of equal civil rights, and the right to national self-determination are among the objectives of national movements in Kurdistan. (172)

Kurdism is the philosophy of legitimizing ideas and beliefs related to the sovereignty of the Kurdish nation, human rights, national governance, and the nation-state through the creation of a shared culture based on a unified national language. (173)

Kurdism is a nation's effort to revive its national identity under a nationalist banner, seeking recognition as an independent actor by the international community, states, and international organizations. (174)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, independence, security, and legitimacy can only be achieved in a world dominated by nation-states, through attaining the status of a nation-state. (175)

According to Kurdistan, Kurdistan will be a political entity where the borders of the nation align with the borders of the state, and the legitimacy of the state's borders is derived from encompassing the nation. (176)

The shared core in Kurdistan means that all members of the Kurdish nation have conceived and experienced their national identity. (177)

Kurdism, by aligning means with objectives in an objective reality, interprets the mutual recognition of national members and the nation through the self-awareness of the acting individual. Based on this, not only does the idea of justice drive behaviors toward improving one's status, but there is also an inherent feeling within every member of the nation that compels citizens to enhance their position in all dimensions and elevate it within the conceptual framework of the nation. (178)

The goal of the educational system in Kurdistan is to transform traditional values and ethics, creating new values and ethics that align with national character and correspond to the needs of the nation. (179)

Kurdism is the manifestation of that national will in which all members of the nation must easily participate because, as members of the nation, there is no

alternative but to partake in this national will. This very national will is what turns Kurdistan into the embodiment of nationalism for each national member. (180)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, people who, for any reason, feel that they belong to a community to which their primary loyalty is directed have the right to determine their supreme interests and organize their lives accordingly. The ideal form of this is a political organization and a national state of their own. They also have the undeniable right to determine the form and rules of this organization if they deem it necessary. (181)

Kurdism is a socio-political phenomenon that, at a given historical moment, in a specific geographical region called Kurdistan, will emerge in response to a unique combination of issues faced by Kurdish society. (182)

Kurdism is Kurdish nationalism, shaped around legal principles, rationality, the acceptance of general and universal principles, and love for the nation and its institutions. In this model, while considering customs, language, religion, and kinship, there is also an emphasis on the importance of a shared civic culture and the legal and political equality of all members within a defined territorial space. (183)

Culture in Kurdistan encompasses the domain of thoughts and ideas, symbols, myths, values, and discourses through which nations of the world understand themselves, become familiar with the necessary actions within it, and introduce themselves to the world. (184)

Kurdism places the Kurdish nation in a decisive struggle that defines its value system as a nation among other nations and its identity as a national identity within the framework of an independent homeland. (185)

The fundamental principle of Kurdistan's political theory is based on the assumption that the foundation of legitimacy is rooted in the "principle of the right to self-determination of nations" as a fundamental issue. (186)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, sovereignty over the Kurdish nation is inherently embedded within the existence of the Kurdish people, and no group of people, no individual, and no government or state can exercise power that does not originate from it. (187)

Kurdism is a part of the soul and spirit of the Kurdish individual, giving meaning and creativity to their essence and having deep roots in the culture of their nation. Kurdistan ingrains national consciousness into the collective mindset of the Kurdish people. (188)

From the perspective of Kurdism, a nation is a community with a shared mentality, based on a common language, culture, and national character, representing the highest form of unity or social cooperation. (189)

Kurdism aims to establish a nation-centered system that embodies the values of the people and lays the foundations for an efficient independent territory, known as the independent Kurdish state. (190)

The most important and fundamental issues related to Kurdism are:

"Identity", which ensures the creation of a sense of national belonging.

"Legitimacy", which recognizes the authority of the Kurdish system.

"Participation", the process through which members of the nation engage in political affairs.

"Influence", which concerns the capability and authority in managing internal affairs within society. (191)

In Kurdism, institutions are utilized to create frameworks for social actors. Symbols act as a productive and constructive force in the life of the Kurdish individual, generating meaning and fostering connections among actors within specific social groupings. (192)

The characteristic of Kurdism as a dominant ideology is that it can place its unique ontology and reasoning at the core of its position. In this context, ideology, through the ontology embedded in the traditions it presents, can unify diverse meanings across time and space. Based on this, Kurdism is the logical outcome of cultural or ontological diversity, shaping patterns of behavior and beliefs over time. The logic of Kurdism is rooted in the habitual practices of everyday realities of the Kurdish nation. (193)

Rather than being a simple dimension, Kurdism constructs and processes reality in a way that resonates among the masses, thereby providing a compelling framework for social and political conditions. (194)

Kurdism requires a creative imagination regarding Kurdistan and the Kurdish people. Myths and legends can bestow a legal and sacred dimension upon the Kurdish land and nation, turning Kurdish nationalism into something akin to a religion for the Kurdish people. (195)

From the perspective of Kurdism, there is something intrinsic in "being Kurdish" that all Kurds share. The fundamental common denominators of Kurdish identity include: a shared language, shared history, shared culture, a common psychological

framework, a shared mindset, and a collective vision—elements that define the national identity of the Kurds as Kurds. (196)

Kurdism is a political movement whose ultimate goal is to establish a Kurdish national state and to create the necessary mechanisms for achieving equal power and decision-making abilities alongside other nations of the world. (197)

According to Kurdism, national communities must create favorable political conditions for their continuity and free development. When a freedom-seeking nation elevates the value of individual rights and freedoms, it logically entails democratic arrangements. Therefore, Kurdism can serve as the foundation of a liberal democracy. (198)

From the perspective of Kurdism, nations form a part of human identity, and identity deserves respect. Consequently, all individuals are obligated to respect and recognize the aspects that constitute others' sense of identity. (199)

In Kurdism, the nation-state is considered the most acceptable form of political organization. The nation-state is not only a prerequisite for true freedom but also the foundation for modernization and economic development. (200)

Kurdism is the political manifestation of collective and fundamental emotions that stem from the intrinsic value of participation. Kurdism represents the collective right of the Kurdish nation to freedom. (201)

Kurdism provides the moral foundation for the nation's right to national independence, explains the past and future goals of the nation, and defines the legitimate political expressions that all patriots must respect. (202)

Kurdism serves as the means by which the Kurdish nation's unique identity is asserted in contrast to other nations or states, declaring the right of this nation to preserve and advance its identity in the international sphere. (203)

Culture in Kurdism is the collection or pattern of behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, values, institutions, symbolism, iconography, art, and styles of artifacts that are shared among the members of a nation. (204)

Art in Kurdism is a unique supporter of the Kurdish nation, particularly in contrast to the identity of other nations. National art, accordingly, is the creation of works that embody the identity, nationality, and right to freedom of the Kurdish nation. Hence, a national artist is a creative individual whose work supports the moral and national continuity of their society and homeland. (205)

From the perspective of Kurdism, if a nation can preserve and protect its history and culture, it will not be forced to relinquish its identity along with its

independence to other nations. Therefore, preserving all the elements that constitute a nation's culture—including behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, values, institutions, symbolism, styles of artifacts, and shared art—can ensure the continuity and survival of a nation. (206)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the ability to assert one's self-identity and national identity depends on belonging to a society where human rights and individual equality can be realized in the political sphere. (207)

Kurdism, as a nationalist and pro-independence ideology, stands in opposition to domination and paves the way for what is described as the "framework for mental liberation from the constraints of domination" and subsequently the "framework for objective liberation to achieve national freedom." (208)

By emphasizing national consciousness, Kurdistan reminds its audience that, whether we like it or not, we must accept and come to terms with the independence of nations as a reality. The entry of all oppressed nations of the world into the active international arena as independent countries will herald a new era in world history. (209)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, both "the right to internal self-determination" and "the right to external self-determination" are respected, valid, and legitimate for all nations of the world, and the right to access all levels of the political system and legal rights is recognized for all human beings. (210)

According to Kurdistan, the right to self-determination is the right to seek happiness, and therefore, it entails the right to life and the right to freedom. This is an inalienable right that cannot be transferred to others, nor can it be negotiated or compromised. (211)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, national literature is the product of the cultural activities of individuals who have participated in the national movement. A nation and its cultural expression in literature form the foundation and completion of the political structure, giving it meaning. Literature, by invoking and indeed creating a unifying image, strongly contributes to national sentiment, national identity, and the preservation of the nation-state. National literature is one of the means of reinforcing the emotional bond that connects a country and its population. Literary expression helps create shared imagery and interpretations of the relationship between a people and their country. National literature also serves as a space for competition and the refinement of national identities through the integration of groups and ideas. (212)

One of the fundamental roles of national literature in Kurdistan is to create an image of the nation and its associated national identity that can inspire the loyalty and commitment of its citizens. (213)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, national literature, in addition to its internal role in nation-building and the formation of national identity, also carries an important responsibility in the international community. National literature is recognized as an inherent characteristic of newly established nation-states. In today's global perspective, possessing a national culture has become one of the standard indicators of nationhood. (214)

When national literature is an essential requirement for a fully-fledged nation-state, the nations of the world must have and safeguard their own national literature. (215)

Kurdistan necessitates open struggles to create an inclusive identity that encompasses secondary differences and sacrifices, such as ethnic or religious ties, which may compete with each other and cause divisions and conflicts within national populations. (216)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, true citizenship entails more than merely granting individuals specific rights and duties. In a more complete sense, a citizen is someone who feels a sense of loyalty and moral commitment to their land and country and is willing to forgo certain aspects of personal gain for the sake of the broader society. (217)

The fundamental mission of Kurdistan is the realization of popular sovereignty, internal and external political rights, inner spiritual freedom, the pursuit of truth and liberty for the Kurdish nation, and equality with all the nations of the world. (218)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, without equal and uniform rights, a real nation cannot exist. Where this equality and uniformity of rights are violated by sectarianism, privilege, rent-seeking, religion, or inequality, a real nation does not exist. (219)

Kurdistan views the flag as the officially designated representation of a nation. This symbol presents crucial information about a nation's history, affiliations, and future goals and aspirations. The national flag also embodies the collective mentality of a nation and materializes its identity. Ultimately, the national flag is the final manifestation of a nation. (220)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, every nation has a unique language that binds its members together and enables their participation. Language is the embodiment of a nation's collective experience, the manifestation of its distinct humanity, and the means of its realization. (221)

The national anthem, according to Kurdistan, is the musical representation of a nation's self-image, its positioning on economic, political, geographical, and cultural maps, the official symbol of patriotism, and the embodiment of a nation's essence, reflecting its emotions, desires, and objectives. (222)

From Kurdistan's perspective, all nations and cultures must be recognized as equally valuable and unique. Denying nations this recognition is detrimental not only to those nations but also to humanity as a whole. (223)

According to Kurdistan, women must align their national identity with their political and social identity as women. Women struggle both as nationalists to achieve national identity and as women to secure their rights within various contexts. Kurdistan sees nations and nationalism as inherently gendered, as indicated by the common reference to a country as the "motherland." Consequently, women's bodies and behavior are viewed as protectors of the nation and subjects of national protection. Kurdistan expects women and their movement to validate Kurdish nationalism by actively participating in political and critical spheres, challenging existing power relations. (224)

Kurdistan identifies the Kurdish nation as the primary source of individual identity, serving as the ultimate object of loyalty and the foundation of collective solidarity. (225)

Kurdistan acts as a central framework connecting the concepts of the Kurdish nation, Kurdistan as a country, and a Kurdish national state, instilling a sense of national identity among the people of Kurdistan. (226)

Kurdistan also promotes democracy by advocating the idea that Kurdistan belongs to its Kurdish citizens, and that ultimate power should rest with the Kurdish nation, while politicians should function merely as tools and true servants of the people. (227)

Kurdistan represents the sphere of identity, solidarity, and resistance for a nation striving to achieve the essence of freedom. (228)

In Kurdistan, identity is not only rooted in the past but is also defined in relation to the present and the evolving future. The interpretation of identity under such an approach should be proactive rather than reactive and passive. (229)

Kurdism believes that identity based on artificial borders has never held legitimacy or validity among the Kurdish nation. (230)

From the perspective of Kurdism, every nation requires a set of specific institutions to collectively make decisions regarding matters related to its members. In this sense, the issue manifests itself in the form of the right to self-determination. Accordingly, an independent national state becomes the ultimate goal of self-determination, and the Kurdish nation must necessarily adopt this as its guiding principle. (231)

Kurdism holds that nations have the fundamental right to make decisions for themselves, and these sovereign rights must be exercised. These rights can be reasonably and legally transferred to the representatives of the Kurdish nation. (232)

In Kurdism, respect for the independence of all nations is essential. Respecting national independence includes recognizing them as responsible for decision-making regarding the utilization of economic growth resources, environmental preservation, and other key matters. (233)

Kurdism believes that the process of globalization, by bringing cultures closer together, positions them in such a way that they are compelled to engage, interact, merge, adjust, exchange, and integrate powerfully in new circumstances, thereby enhancing their capabilities and ensuring their continued existence. According to Kurdism, selecting and adopting cultural elements, adjusting one's own culture, sometimes deviating from it, and actively participating in the cultural arena of today's globalized society is inevitable. (234)

From Kurdism's perspective, an individual can maintain the possibility of coexistence and cultural exchange in the process of globalization while preserving their national identity and characteristics. Kurdism prioritizes "glocalization"—thinking globally while living nationally—over globalization and bases its interactions on this principle to make them meaningful and practical. (235)

Kurdism is the awareness of difference, not superiority; the mental prominence of that difference, not dominance; and mobilization based on this difference. In this theory, Kurdish identity takes shape when a Kurd says: "I am a Kurd because I share my Kurdishness with my group." It is evident that the term "group" in this statement refers to the concept of "nation." (236)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, Kurdish nationalism can be seen as a form of culture, a norm, a language, myths, symbolism, and consciousness that seeks to achieve four major objectives:

Transforming a passive ethnic group into an active national political community.

Organizing communal culture and creating a high-standard, official culture.

Converting a community into a nation with cultural homogeneity.

Attaining territorial sovereignty and establishing governance for that nation. (237)

The practical goal of Kurdistan is to achieve a superior position in the process of liberation through power engineering. Therefore, organizing forces, developing a knowledge-based system, and forming social, political, legal, security, and military structures within the framework of power engineering serve as a logical approach to achieving this objective. (238)

Kurdism represents the political and cultural particularism of a nation in pursuit of an independent identity within the framework of independent governance. (239)

Kurdism is fundamentally oriented toward principles, values, and standards that apply to all members of the Kurdish nation, regardless of location. Self-determination, freedom, peace, security, and sovereignty are among these core principles. (240)

Kurdism asserts that political, social, and cultural relations, positions, and interactions are based on national identity, and all engagements take shape according to the meaningful recognition and reinforcement of this identity. (241)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, just as a human must have a nose and two ears, they must also have a nationality. In this sense, national discourse is both a cultural and identity-forming force. (242)

Kurdism believes that history does not mean that at every point and moment we stand in history, we find ourselves facing multiple crossroads that history can logically and rationally pass through. Rather, history is the realm of opportunities, and it creates those opportunities. When these opportunities are well utilized, they lead to desirable outcomes. Therefore, history can be the product of planning. (243)

From the perspective of Kurdistan, the history of our movements and parties has often been a history of internal contradictions within their ideals, which have prevented the practical realization of their goals. (244)

Kurdism asserts that the right to self-determination is the most fundamental and self-evident human right of all nations. (245)

According to Kurdism, traditional culture constantly accuses individuals and whispers in their ears that they are incapable and must remain paralyzed forever. This is a culture that continuously instills a sense of helplessness, convincing people that they cannot stand on their own, think with their own minds, or feel with their own bodies—thus forcing them to buy their intellect and emotions from others. (246)

From Kurdism's perspective, a person cannot simultaneously consider themselves German, British, French, American, Kurdish, Persian, Arab, or Turkish. Belonging to a nation and having such a sense of identity is an inseparable part of oneself and a source of legitimacy in understanding and declaring one's position in the world. (247)

Kurdism does not mean that we only have duties and responsibilities toward our own nation; rather, it means that our responsibilities on a broader scale differ from those we have toward other nations in the strictest sense. From this perspective, and through a proper examination of ethics, national boundaries gain greater significance. However, this does not mean ignoring the interests of humanity. Kurdism, while respecting the right to self-determination of nations, fully acknowledges the legitimate demands of other nations on an equal basis. (248)

Our political claim in Kurdism reinforces and insists on both the identity claim and the moral right of the Kurdish nation to attain a distinct and specific framework separate from other nations. (249)

When all nations have the necessary mechanisms for self-determination and commit to this pursuit, the world will undoubtedly become freer and more peaceful. The right to self-determination is the most peace-seeking idea for the world. (250)

Kurdism believes that historical consciousness and the relationship between the past, present, and future must be carefully extracted, piece by piece, from the history of this nation and gradually reconstructed. (251)

Kurdism holds that throughout the history of domination, the Kurdish nation has been caught in the dual wrath of religious authorities, who have legitimized the occupation of Kurdistan through the combined forces of "religious power" and "political power"—using jihad against infidels and militarism as their tools. (252)

Kurdism represents the physical, logical, and true form of freedom for the Kurdish nation, granting individuals the power to be free, to become free, and to remain free. (253)

Kurdism provides the Kurdish people with the opportunity to enter the global human competition as individuals, free from imposed limitations, while preserving their identity. (254)

According to Kurdism, the right to self-determination, by recognizing the importance of human understanding of one's nature and destiny, teaches humanity that the legitimacy of a nation's claim to truth should not be met with denial. The right to self-determination fosters such an epistemological endeavor. (255)

Kurdism: Towards Aestheticizing the Reality of Kurdish Nationalism

It can be boldly claimed that there are few theories regarding the Kurdish nation that have anticipated the expectations shaped by the socio-political and cultural conditions of their time.

By examining the factors of "place," "time," "language," and, of course, "possibility," and by exploring the causes and questions that arise—both explicitly and implicitly—from events related to the Kurdish nation, a historical and socio-political framework emerges. At the core of this framework lies the alignment of knowledge with philosophy and ethics.

Alongside these factors, all the phenomena—including the challenges encountered in the path of modernity, such as "urbanization," "industrialization," and "political democracy"—interact with the outcomes of knowledge (reality), philosophy (truth), and art (ethics). Moreover, the ruling political systems in Kurdistan, grappling with crises stemming from delayed modernization and a return to restrictive traditions—often inherently anti-modern—require a totalitarian state formation. This has led to mechanical disruptions in their engagement with global transformations, rendering them incapable of responding adequately to the social, political, cultural, and even economic expectations of their time.

Failure to acknowledge the diversity and differences in thought, the inability to break free from the prevailing and often traditional cultural state, excessive infatuation with the mythical history of ancestors, a lack of understanding of human freedom as an unconditionally autonomous individual, and most importantly, a complete disregard for the modern relationship between freedom and beauty have led to a profound rift between knowledge as theory and behavior as practice. This division has entirely deprived the authoritarian state systems,

entangled in crises and mechanical dysfunctions, of the ability to conceive the necessity of "re-centering to a new focal point" and discovering dynamic new forces in their interactions with the Kurdish nation.

Kurdism introduces factors and phenomena into the framework of nationalism that possess at least the following characteristics:

It strives to break free from historical backwardness.

It brings forth a response that aligns with the social and cultural expectations of its time.

In a world increasingly inclined toward individualism, it embraces diversity and differences in thought to achieve "alignment," "harmony," "solidarity," and "coexistence."

It channels intellectual and projective activities toward a focused and purposeful direction in terms of both nature and content.

It seeks answers to fundamental issues in accordance with the spirit of the time and contemporary thought.

It tends toward the idea that "aesthetics" must be given due attention and sufficient focus so that it can serve as a foundation for escaping the current cultural condition.

Thus, the aesthetics of Kurdism can be the meaningful link that must be grasped—a process that will rescue the Kurdish individual from reductive and overly individualistic approaches. It will grant their life an authentic and universal meaning, shield them against "self-alienation" (political, cultural, social, and sectarian), and assist in re-centering their existential core, ultimately leading to a rediscovery of their social identity.

This very movement and endeavor can serve as the source of answers to many cultural and social issues faced by the Kurdish nation within the framework of Kurdism.

The most crucial aspect of establishing a connection between Kurdism and aesthetics, at its first stage, is related to two fundamental issues:

Understanding human freedom as an unconditionally autonomous individual.

The connection between the Kurdish individual and freedom.

The aestheticization of the Kurdish nation's reality begins precisely here.

Reflecting on the outcomes of these two fundamental issues compels the Kurdish individual to dedicate their efforts to linking new concepts such as existence, imagination, truth, and beauty—concepts that ultimately lead to the realization of

the concrete idea of "the beautiful." As Schiller wrote to Gottfried in 1792: "*A concept that, in itself, is worthy of establishing taste.*" Schiller later named this concept "*freedom in phenomenon*" and, based on it, elaborated on the reciprocal relationship between *beauty* and *freedom*.

From this perspective, it can be inferred that human beings—and consequently, the Kurdish individual—are truly free when they naturally exert influence.

But does this unconditional autonomy of the Kurdish individual inherently bring about aesthetics for them? In my view, until the emergence of a phenomenon known as the *free Kurdish individual*, the concept of *the beautiful*, and consequently, the aestheticization of the truth of the Kurdish individual, will not materialize.

In other words, the aesthetics of the Kurdish individual can only attain tangible and objective existence in connection with the concept of freedom. Thus, it can be said that from the moment the purposeful actions of the Kurdish individual take on a concrete form, aesthetics is born within the very movement toward their goal.

"*Towards Freedom*" in the Kurdish individual is a phenomenon that, in its transition from *mind* to *reality*, constructs a continuum from *meaning* to *essence*. With a delay inherent in the growth process—moving from the unconditional autonomy of the Kurdish individual to the *free Kurdish individual*—it nurtures and cultivates ethics within itself. In this way, from *freedom in phenomenon* and *the beauty of freedom*, it forms a new conceptual synthesis known as "*freedom as the symbol of beauty*" for the Kurdish individual.

It is evident that the ethical element that matures in this process—if we wish to perceive and sense it—is the very *moral message* that strengthens our *moral feeling* and brings us a sense of fulfillment through the phenomenon of the *free Kurdish individual*.

The most crucial point that *Schiller* emphasized in his time—a time when his homeland, much like today's Kurdistan, was not merely divided into four but into a hundred fragments—was the introduction of an idea with the premise that *beauty has a unifying nature*. Beauty, according to him, is the manifestation of the unity between *phenomenon* and *freedom*, and in this sense, it possesses an *objective* quality. He states:

"*In other words, beauty is the concrete alternative of this unity and can bring together separate and distinct domains into an equivalent and internally balanced recognition.*"

In other words, the defining characteristic of beauty can:

Reduce tensions within conflicts.

Create harmony among phenomena.

Transform into unity beyond discord.

Establish an ideal state in which all contradictions eventually dissolve, giving way to an internal order.

Beauty is both a worldly phenomenon and an intrinsic quality of the world and its manifestations. For this reason, anything lacking beauty is, in its aesthetic sense, considered a deficiency. Beauty connects proportions, fosters harmony among structures, internalizes existence, and guides it toward improvement.

Beauty, in another sense, is a form of the transcendence of reason alongside emotion. In a different expression, it is the frozen music of existence—the pure manifestation of truth without distorting it into the frame of reality.

In beauty, rigidity, stagnation, and the mechanical form of fragmented elements find inner harmony. As all disharmonies between structural paradox and semantic paradox fade, the soul of structured meaning emerges. In its most complete form, this soul of structured meaning represents the rationalization of emotion and the emotionalization of rationality in its highest expression—an expression that grants meaning to humanity, nurtures the complete human, leads them to their true self, and ultimately brings them closer to freedom and happiness.

Thus, beauty can be seen as the objective unity and inherent belonging of phenomena to the universe. The external beauty of the essence of phenomena, in its simultaneous nature, is both this and that, rather than merely this is that.

With this perspective, it can be said that within Kurdism, an interconnected structure is formed between ontology and coexistence, between beauty and the cosmic world, and between beauty and freedom. This synthesis guides the Kurdish individual toward the full realization of their being in all dimensions and aspects.

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***I have used artificial intelligence tools in translating the book into English.*

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