

# THE İMRALI POST

YOU HEARD HIS NAME. LEARN HIS STORY. DEMAND HIS FREEDOM.

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## Contents

<b>Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan.....</b>	<b>2</b>
Activists from Toulouse take over Freedom for Öcalan Vigil in Strasbourg.....	2
Over a thousand lawyers write to Amnesty International demanding freedom for Öcalan.....	3
Letter sent to international organizations, calling for action for Öcalan.....	3
<b>Prisons in Turkey.....</b>	<b>4</b>
Imprisoned politician Sebahat Tuncel to join the hunger strike against the isolation of Öcalan.....	4
Hunger strikers in Antalya High Security Prison sentenced to 10 days solitary confinement.....	6
Prisoner suffering from cancer dies in prison.....	6
Prisoner on hunger strike says action will continue until isolation is lifted.....	7
Books in Patnos Prison confiscated.....	7
Political prisoners in Kürkçüler F Type Prison apply to be transferred to Imralı.....	8
Political prisoners in Turkey on day 39 of hunger strike.....	8
Political prisoner released after 30 years: We need to increase the struggle.....	9
<b>Military aggression and occupation.....</b>	<b>10</b>
KCK: Celebrating Christmas as part of conflict resolution in the Middle East.....	10
‘Turkish state has committed over 22,000 violations on Iraqi territory since 1987’.....	11
KCK: The guerrilla proved its superiority over the occupying Turkish army.....	11
KCK calls for increased struggle to demand accountability for the Roboskî Massacre.....	13
Roboski Massacre, the struggle for justice continues.....	14
Turkish attacks on North-East Syria killed 56 civilians, injured 77 others in 2 months.....	15
HSM publishes balance sheet of war for 2023.....	18
SDF announces the outcome of anti-ISIS operations in 2023.....	21
SDF: Turkish Intelligence claims responsibility for terrorist operation carried out by ISIS in Tabqa.....	23
Balance sheet of crimes and violations by Turkey and mercenaries against North-East Syria in 2023.....	23
Afrin and Shehba attacked 8,992 times in 2023.....	30
HRE releases balance sheet of their actions in 2023.....	30
289 mercenaries captured by the Internal Security Forces of North and East Syria in 2023.....	31
The Turkish state's strategy in guerrilla areas backfires.....	32
KCK calls for 2024 to be made the year of victory.....	33
<b>Femicide.....</b>	<b>35</b>
Kongra Star commemorates Paris martyrs.....	35
Body of YJA Star guerrilla handed over to her family after 6 months.....	36
KCDP: 315 women were murdered in Turkey in 2023.....	37
Pakize, Sêvê and Fatma, three pioneers of the women's movement murdered in Turkey in 2016.....	37
<b>Human Rights Violations.....</b>	<b>39</b>
At least 208 attacks against Kurds, Alevis and refugees recorded in Turkey in 2023.....	39

DFG report for 2023: 280 journalists stood trial, 57 journalists remain in prison in Turkey.....	39
<b>Local Elections in Turkey.....</b>	<b>41</b>
Ballıkaya: We want to regain both the usurped municipalities and the usurped women's gains.....	41
Ecology Union calls on parties to give prominent place to environment in local elections programs	42
New police operation against DEM Party and DBP.....	44
DEM Party in Van, Bitlis and Hakkari ready to defend people's will at 31 March local elections.....	44
DEM Party to hold primary elections on 13 and 14 January.....	45
<b>Interview.....</b>	<b>46</b>
Kalkan: 2023 was a year of great struggle - PART ONE.....	46
Kalkan: 2023 was the year of the guerrillas - PART TWO.....	50

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# Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

## Activists from Toulouse take over Freedom for Öcalan Vigil in Strasbourg

ANF | STRASBOURG | 28 DECEMBER 2023

The Freedom for Öcalan Vigil launched by the Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan Initiative on 25 June 2012 in Strasbourg, to demand freedom of the Kurdish People's Leader and end the isolation imposed on him, continues with a new group of activists from Toulouse.

The vigil is in its 600th week.

The group includes Hasan Kartal, Ferhat Karaağaç and Bedirhan Öz.

Activists called for the escalation of the international initiative launched for the freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the solution to the Kurdish problem, and condemned the Turkish state's attacks on Kurdistan, and in particular on Northern and Eastern Syria.

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## Over a thousand lawyers write to Amnesty International demanding freedom for Öcalan

ANF | 1 JANUARY 2024

Within the scope of the "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, Solution to the Kurdish Question" campaign, which was launched on 10 October in 74 different cities around the world, 1,025 lawyers in Northern and Eastern Syria and other parts of Syria applied to Amnesty International. Within the scope of the work led by the Syrian Lawyers Initiative to Defend Leader Abdullah Öcalan, 1,025 lawyers signed the petition in November and December. The collected signatures were sent to Amnesty International, along with a message prepared in English.

The signatures were also sent to Asrın Law Office, which provided the legal defense of Abdullah Öcalan.

The message said: "We are a group of lawyers and human rights activists who established an initiative with the aim of securing the release of Mr Abdullah Öcalan, who has been imprisoned for nearly twenty-five years.

Mr Öcalan is a political prisoner who fought for the freedom of the Kurdish people with the aim of resolving the Kurdish question in Turkey and in the region more generally."

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## Letter sent to international organizations, calling for action for Öcalan

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2024

Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan has been in solitary confinement on the prison island of Imrali since his abduction to Turkey in 1999. The last contact with him was a telephone conversation with his brother in spring 2021, which was interrupted after a few minutes. Öcalan last had contact with his lawyers from the Istanbul-based Asrın Law Office in August 2019. After an eight-year interruption, a hunger strike led by politician Leyla Güven, who has since been imprisoned again, resulted in a total of five visits by lawyers. The last family visit to the island was approved in March 2020. Since then, isolation in the high-security prison has been driven to the level of total incommunicado detention.

After the recent earthquake in Gemlik, from where all boats traveling to Imrali depart, the Kurdish people's concerns about the health and safety of Abdullah Öcalan are increasing.

The Initiative 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan' in Syria sent a letter to international institutions and organizations and called on them to fulfill their responsibilities.

In the letter sent to 11 international organizations active in the field of human rights and human rights law, attention was drawn to the aggravated isolation of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a call was made to fulfill their responsibilities in the face of his situation.

The call was also supported by the Initiative of Lawyers for the Defence of the Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the North and East Syrian Health Union.

The list of organizations to which the letter was sent includes DMME, Doctors Without Borders, Council of Europe, United Nations Committee on Torture, CPT, Human Rights Council, International Red Cross, WHO, Arab League and Amnesty International.

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## Prisons in Turkey

### Imprisoned politician Sebahat Tuncel to join the hunger strike against the isolation of Öcalan

ANF | 27 DECEMBER 2023

In a message sent through her lawyers, Sebahat Tuncel stated that she would go on hunger strike as of tomorrow and that the prisoners were trying to pave the way for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question.

Tuncel stated: "The Kurdish political movement and Kurdish women have been struggling for years for the solution of the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey. The anti-Kurdish policy of the government, which ignores the language, identity and culture of the Kurdish people and uses all means of force and violence against their existence both inside and outside the country, has made Turkey no longer a state of law."

Sebahat Tuncel stated that drugs, the mafia and violence are rampant, and society is suffering from moral and political collapse. Remarking that the AKP-MHP alliance is trying all kinds of methods to keep itself in power, she said: "The recent developments have once again revealed that they do not hesitate to sacrifice young people for their own power, that they lack ethical and moral values and social values to the extent that they turn the death of young people into election material. The people of Turkey need to see this reality. The way to put an end to this decay, corruption and economic-political crisis is to recognize the existence of the Kurdish people living in Turkey, and to take friendship and solidarity with the Kurdish people living in North-East Syria, Iraqi Federal Kurdistan and Iranian Kurdistan as a basis."

Sebahat Tuncel pointed out that the Turkish state is attacking Kurds and wherever Kurds have made gains, "Turkey is attacking wherever there are Kurdish gains. It occupies North East Syria and the Federal Kurdistan region. In Turkey's attacks on both Rojava and the Federal Kurdistan region, civilians are harmed

and the ecological balance of the Kurdistan geography is disrupted. We condemn the attacks and call on Turkey to abandon these policies."

Sebahat Tuncel stated that the Turkish state offers Kurds and other peoples nothing but war and death and said, "There is the option of fraternity, friendship and coexistence through promoting life. The way to do this is dialogue and negotiation. In this regard, the Kurdish People's Leader, Mr Abdullah Öcalan, said that he was ready for a solution and that he was looking for an interlocutor when he had the opportunity to address the public. It is not the Kurds who are running away from a solution, but Turkey. The policy of denial, annihilation and assimilation that has been implemented against Kurds for centuries is being updated and implemented by the AKP-MHP-Ergenekon fascist alliance."

Sebahat Tuncel continued:

"The response of the working class and laborers of Turkey to the calls for peace and solution coming from the Kurdish people, who are in favor of peace and solution, will force the government to take steps in this regard. Everyone should assume responsibility for peace. As Kurdish political prisoners behind bars, we assume this responsibility. However, what we can do in prison is limited. That is why we are putting our bodies on hunger strike, saying 'Freedom for Öcalan, Democratic Solution to the Kurdish Question'. We invite you to organize and struggle for peace and solution around hunger strikes. We can turn the darkness into light by raising the struggle from the inside with you, from the outside, and we can tear down this wall built between the peoples. As of 28 December, we are starting an alternating hunger strike in Sincan Women's Prison with Mekkades Kabak and Melek Kartal, with whom I share the same ward with. We take this opportunity to salute the ongoing hunger strikes in prison.

Another option is possible. Let's socialise peace and freedom through struggle and solidarity. We are entering a new year. It will be a year that will be welcomed by those who struggle for a new beginning by confronting and coming to terms with the realities of Roboskî, Maraş and the unsolved murders, against those who want to carry the burden of the past, the deadlocks, the politics of massacre and death into the future. Local elections will be determined as a result of this struggle. I celebrate all our people and women on the New Year."

## **Hunger strike in Turkish prisons**

Members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and PAJK (Party of Free Women in Kurdistan) imprisoned in Turkey went on hunger strike on 27 November in support of the international [campaign](#) "Freedom for Öcalan, A Political Solution to the Kurdish Question". According to the prisoners' representative Deniz Kaya, the hunger strike is to be carried out in alternating groups from 27 November to 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. Sick and elderly prisoners as well as prisoners with less than two years remaining on their sentence will not be included in the action.

Deniz Kaya announced that the prisoners will also publicise the campaign's demands by writing letters to foreign representations, human rights institutions, the media, political parties and non-governmental organisations, and will regularly ask the Turkish Ministry of Justice about Abdullah Öcalan's isolation on the prison island of Imralı. In addition, they will remind the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) of its neglected responsibility. The ongoing court proceedings will be used to de-

nounce the isolation in public spaces and raise awareness about it, said Deniz Kaya and called on the prisoners to act collectively and to refrain from individual forms of action.

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## Hunger strikers in Antalya High Security Prison sentenced to 10 days solitary confinement

ANF | ANTALYA | 27 DECEMBER 2023

Prisoners went on hunger strike in 104 jails on 27 November. Now the protest continues in 106 prisons with the slogan "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, solution to the Kurdish question". And together with the protest, the attacks on the prisoners also continue.

According to the information provided by the Çukurova Association for Assistance with the Families of Detainees and Convicts, all prisoners who continued their hunger strike in Antalya High Security Prison were sentenced to 10 days in solitary confinement.

It was learned that other prisoners were also subjected to oral searches and handcuffs while being transferred to the hospital, and those who did not accept this were taken back to prison without getting their treatment.

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## Prisoner suffering from cancer dies in prison

ANF | VAN | 31 DECEMBER 2023

63-year-old Naif Aybar, who was detained in Van T Type Prison for a criminal offense, died in jail on Saturday morning.

It was learned that Aybar was diagnosed with cancer a year ago and received treatment.

His body was brought to Dursun Odabaşı Medical Center for autopsy.

Aybar was not released despite all applications made to the hospital, the prosecutor's office and the Forensic Medicine Institute (ATK).

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## Prisoner on hunger strike says action will continue until isolation is lifted

ANF | URFA | 1 JANUARY 2024

The hunger strikes, which were launched in the prisons of Turkey and Kurdistan on 27 November with the slogan "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, solution to the Kurdish question", have reached day 36.

Prisoner Ethem Gökürk, held in Yozgat No. 2 T Type Closed Prison, said that he was on hunger strike in his weekly phone call with his family, and emphasized that they would continue their actions with determination.

Reiterating the demands of the prisoners, Gökürk said: "We will continue this hunger strike until the isolation imposed on Mr. Öcalan is not broken. There are 2 wards where political prisoners are held. Now 2 of our friends are on hunger strike. The isolation imposed on Mr. Öcalan is an isolation applied to all prisoners, in fact, to all people. We call on all sensitive people to be our voice."

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## Books in Patnos Prison confiscated

ANF | AGRI | 2 JANUARY 2024

Yasin Yılmaz, who is held in L Type Closed Prison in Agri's Patnos district, said in a telephone conversation with his family that an investigation has been opened against some prisoners. He said that some books allowed in by the prison administration were confiscated during ward raids.

Yılmaz said: "They opened an investigation into books they allowed in themselves. The investigation involved some 50 prisoners. As a result of the investigation, the release of several friends was held back. The books were confiscated and the investigation launched on the grounds that 'the books keep the consciousness of Kurdishness and Kurdistan alive'.

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## Political prisoners in Kürkçüler F Type Prison apply to be transferred to İmralı

ANF | İZMİR | 3 JANUARY 2024

The alternating hunger strikes launched in prisons in order to support the "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, solution to the Kurdish question" campaign carried out internationally for the freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan continues on its 38th day.

The prisoners staying in Adana Kürkçüler F Type High Security Closed Prison requested to be transferred to İmralı Island.

Ahmet Herdem (36), one of the political prisoners, said in the weekly phone call with his family that they requested to be transferred to İmralı Prison every week to break the isolation.

Herdem said: "There is isolation imposed on the leadership and there is resistance against it in every field. We are on hunger strike. We are going on a hunger strike for 5 days alternately. Like all our friends involved in different prisons, we request to be transferred to İmralı Prison in an attempt to break the isolation."

Prisoner Ahmet Herdem called for public awareness about the hunger strike.



## Political prisoners in Turkey on day 39 of hunger strike

ANF | 4 JANUARY 2024

Members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and PAJK (Party of Free Women in Kurdistan) imprisoned in Turkey went on hunger strike on 27 November in support of the international [campaign](#) "Freedom for Öcalan, A Political Solution to the Kurdish Question". According to the prisoners' representative Deniz Kaya, the hunger strike is to be carried out in alternating groups from 27 November to 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. Sick and elderly prisoners as well as prisoners with less than two years remaining on their sentence will not be included in the action.

Deniz Kaya announced that the prisoners will also publicise the campaign's demands by writing letters to foreign representations, human rights institutions, the media, political parties and non-governmental organisations, and will regularly ask the Turkish Ministry of Justice about Abdullah Öcalan's isolation on the prison island of İmralı. In addition, they will remind the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) of its neglected responsibility. The ongoing court proceedings will be used to denounce the isolation in public spaces and raise awareness about it, said Deniz Kaya, and called on the prisoners to act collectively and to refrain from individual forms of action.





## Political prisoner released after 30 years: We need to increase the struggle

ANF | BALIKESİR | 4 JANUARY 2024

Mehmet İldem (65), a 30-year prisoner held in Balıkesir Burhaniye T Type Closed Prison, was released. Detained in Adana in 1993, İldem was sentenced to life imprisonment by the State Security Court (DGM) for "disrupting the unity and integrity of the country".

İldem was welcomed in front of the prison by his family, Balıkesir provincial executives of Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) and members of the Aegean Association for Assistance and Solidarity with Families of Prisoners and Convicts (EGE TUHAY-DER).

Speaking after his release, İldem said that he was sad to leave his friends behind. Noting that he had been imprisoned for 30 years unjustly and unlawfully, İldem said, "Our cause is the cause of freedom. Freedom is not easy. Freedom is possible through struggle." Drawing attention to the ongoing hunger strike actions in prisons, İldem said, "Our struggle will continue until the demands are accepted. It is necessary to increase the struggle inside and outside of prisons".

İldem, who is one of the seriously ill prisoners in Turkey, said: "There are thousands of seriously ill prisoners behind bars. I will continue the struggle outside despite my illnesses. I was imprisoned for 30 years for the cause of freedom. I will work for freedom for another 30 years. I will continue my struggle until my last breath."

Members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and PAJK (Party of Free Women in Kurdistan) imprisoned in Turkey went on hunger strike on 27 November in support of the international [campaign](#) "Freedom for Öcalan, A Political Solution to the Kurdish Question". According to the prisoners' representative Deniz Kaya, the hunger strike is to be carried out in alternating groups from 27 November to 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. Sick and elderly prisoners as well as prisoners with less than two years remaining on their sentence will not be included in the action.



# Military aggression and occupation

## KCK: Celebrating Christmas as part of conflict resolution in the Middle East

ANF | 25 DECEMBER 2023

The KCK Peoples and Beliefs Committee issued a statement to mark the Christmas festivity in such a troubled time.

The statement reads as follows: "A few days after Christmas, our world will enter a new millennial year. On this occasion, we wish a happy new year to all humanity, especially the people of Kurdistan, and we want to express our hope that the year 2024 will be a year in which basic human problems are solved, the wars and conflicts in the Middle East and all over the world come to an end, and humanity attains a democratic and free life in peace, tranquility and health.

The Middle East, where Christianity was born and spread to humanity, is entering the year 2024 with intense war, isolation, torture and attacks that have reached the level of genocide. It is a reality that the societies of the Middle Eastern, especially the Kurdish and Arab societies, have suffered great damage as a result of these attacks, and that the unity and solidarity, trust, respect, love and brotherhood of the peoples have been damaged and hit. In such an environment, we believe that we can make it meaningful to celebrate Eid and to remember social sacredness by using it for solving the problems faced by humanity. Our hope is that this year's Christmas holiday marks the end of all these wars, the lifting of isolation, peace and brotherhood among peoples, and the attainment of health, peace, prosperity and abundance.

As the Kurdish Freedom Movement, we believe that the problems, crisis and chaos experienced by the Middle Eastern societies and the humanity of the world can be overcome through a struggle based on moral and political consciousness and through social organization. We know that the struggle for democracy and freedom to be waged by peoples, faith communities, women and youth is the only way out of the crisis and chaos in the Middle East and the world. Having this in mind, we call on all democratic forces and everybody in favor of human values to fight for this year's Christmas and the new Gregorian year to be a year in which the struggle to achieve the values of freedom and democracy for the coming years of humanity will grow.

We remind that religious holidays are a call to human and social values such as love, respect, peace and brotherhood, which are the common emphasis of all religions, and we would like to emphasize that these social and human values are needed more than ever in the period we are going through. In this sense, we call on humanity to participate more strongly in the organized struggle against colonialist, genocidal, fascist mentality states and governments in Kurdistan, the Middle East and all over the world in 2024. We would like to remind that in the New Year, as peoples of the Middle East and the world, we need to be in support and solidarity with each other more than ever. We hope that this year's Christmas will be a year in

which the peoples of the Middle East and the people of Kurdistan will further increase their struggle for a democratic nation and strengthen their feelings of unity, solidarity and brotherhood.

With these feelings and thoughts, we once again celebrate the Christmas feast of the entire Christian world, especially our Armenian, Assyrian, Assyrian, Syriac Chaldean peoples of Kurdistan, and wish everyone a year of love, peace and brotherhood."

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## ‘Turkish state has committed over 22,000 violations on Iraqi territory since 1987’

ANF | 25 DECEMBER 2023

According to RojNews, Ali Nime, a member of the Iraqi Parliament's Security and Defence Committee, spoke to Iraqi media about the invading Turkish state's attacks on Iraq and South Kurdistan.

Ali Nime remarked that the violations committed by the Turkish state in the Kurdistan Region continue, noting that it has carried out attacks up to 300 kilometres deep in Iraqi territory.

Ali Nime stated: "Turkey justifies its attacks with the absence of Iraqi forces in the Kurdistan Region. Since 1987, more than 22 thousand violations have been committed by Turkey on Iraqi territory. In response, Iraq has so far submitted more than 16 thousand petitions to the international community. However, the United Nations Security Council has not yet responded to any of them. The Iraqi government cannot respond to the attacks, but it can at least exert economic pressure."

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## KCK: The guerrilla proved its superiority over the occupying Turkish army

ANF | BEHDINAN | 26 DECEMBER 2023

The Co-Presidency of the KCK Executive Council released a statement about the latest actions of the Kurdish guerilla forces against the Turkish army in the south-Kurdish (Northern Iraq) regions Xakurkê, Metîna and Zap, also about the recent attack of the Turkish state on Rojava (North and East Syria).

The KCK statement on Tuesday includes the following:

“The Kurdish ‘People’s Defense Forces’ (HPG) dealt heavy blows on the army of the genocidal colonialist occupying Turkish state with the actions that had been carried out in the regions of Xakurkê, Metîna and Zap. That actions of December 22 and 23, 2023 had been part of the ongoing revolutionary operation

and inflicted great losses on the enemy side. We heartily congratulate and salute to all fighters and commanders of HPG and the 'Free Women's Units' (YJA STAR) for these successful actions and wish them continued success. We would also like to congratulate and salute the comrades who participated in the actions. Undoubtedly, it was those comrades who fought heroically and fell martyrs who made the actions to defend the people, the country and freedom successful and who ensure the defeat of the genocidal colonialist occupying enemy. We would like to once again respectfully and gratefully commemorate all the martyrs of the revolution and democracy, and we reiterate our commitment to the martyrs and our promise of success.

The guerrilla, against the attacks and threats of the anti-Kurdish fascist chiefs, went against the occupying army in the morning, evening and night and hit them. With these actions, the guerrilla once again inflicted a heavy defeat on the occupying army and proved its superiority over the occupying army. The people of Kurdistan and the Freedom Guerrilla of Kurdistan will never give up on their struggle for a free country and a free life. For this, they will resist all kinds of attacks and occupation to the end and realize freedom by defeating the enemy. The people of Kurdistan have proven this without taking a single step back from resistance and struggle. And the guerrilla proved this once again by inflicting another heavy blow on the invading army in Xakurkê, Metîna and Zap.

There is no doubt that the guerrilla will continue its actions within the scope of the revolutionary operation. It will go against the occupying army and will continue to strike. Everyone should know this and act accordingly. Unfortunately, the KDP has so far cooperated with the Turkish state and provided all kinds of support to the occupying army. The Turkish state is trying to realize its attack and occupation plans against Southern Kurdistan [Northern Iraq] based on the KDP. Although the KDP has been warned many times on this issue, it has not abandoned its position. This attitude serves the Kurdish genocide and is unacceptable. The Peshmerga must not accept this attitude either. We make the following call; The peshmerga should stay away from the positions of the Turkish army.

The Turkish state and the fascist AKP-MHP government are trying to hide their great defeat. It hides its defeat by attacking the Kurdish people more and more and committing massacres. It has become clear that the fascist AKP-MHP government has failed against the Kurdish people and the Freedom Guerrilla of Kurdistan. However, since it has not abandoned its anti-Kurdish mentality, it insists on its attacks, occupations and massacres. In this context, it increases its attacks against Rojava [North and East Syria]. By attacking Rojava and the peoples of Northern and Eastern Syria, it tries to both hide its defeat and realize its invasion plan. Many people have been killed and wounded in the attacks it has carried out for two days. People's settlements, shelter and production facilities have been targeted and hit. These attacks have once again revealed the true face of the Turkish state and unmasked the AKP-MHP government. It has been seen once again that what was done in Rojava is no different from what is being done in Gaza. With what they did in Rojava, it has been revealed how hypocritical and dishonest the Turkish state, the AKP-MHP government and Tayyip Erdoğan are about Gaza and Palestine.

The aim of the genocidal colonialist Turkish state is to liquidate the Rojava revolution by invading Rojava and to eliminate the status achieved by the Kurdish people. This is the main goal and purpose of the attacks. Against this, the people of Rojava and the peoples of Northern and Eastern Syria must continue their resistance by further increasing their resistance. The Kurdish people and their international friends also need to continue their solidarity with the people and the revolution of Rojava by increasing their actions and resistance everywhere."



## KCK calls for increased struggle to demand accountability for the Roboskî Massacre

ANF | BEHDINAN | 27 DECEMBER 2023

The Co-Presidency of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council about the 13th anniversary of the massacre of Roboskî, where 34 Kurds, mostly children, were killed in an airstrike by the Turkish state.

The statement said: "On December 28, 2011, the genocidal colonialist Turkish state brutally massacred 34 Kurds, mostly children, who were trying to make a living on the borderline of North [South-East Turkey] and South Kurdistan [North Iraq], by bombing them with attack planes. This massacre of the villagers of Roboskî has gone down in history as one of the countless massacres committed against Kurds under the name "Roboskî Massacre". We once again condemn this despicable massacre with great anger and violence. Also, we commemorate all the martyrs of the revolution and democracy, and once again reiterate our promise to the martyrs."

The statement added: "Although 13 years have passed since the Roboski Massacre took place, like all other massacres, the Roboski massacre has been covered up. The perpetrators of the massacre have not been held to account, and the massacre has not been found wrong and has been defended. As it is known, the fascist chief Tayyip Erdoğan, who personally ordered the massacre, openly defended the massacre and congratulated those who carried it out. By embracing the massacre and the mass murderers, Tayyip Erdoğan has revealed both his role in the massacre and the Turkish state's approach to the Kurds. The Roboski massacre is one of the countless massacres against the Kurds, and none of these have happened by accident. All took place within the framework of the Turkish state's plan for the genocide of Kurds. The Roboski Massacre was also like this. Today, the massacre policy and reality of the Turkish state continues."

The statement continued: "On the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the Roboskî Massacre, we would like to emphasize once again that justice cannot be expected from the state that massacres peoples, especially the Kurdish people. It is the struggle of the peoples that will bring justice and bring about a historical reckoning. The Kurdish people will continue to hold genocidal colonialism and mass murderers to account by increasing their struggle and realizing their freedom. The Kurdish people will definitely realize their freedom and hold all massacres to account. We are a movement and a people who have promised this. We must fulfill this promise by further increasing our struggle for freedom. On this basis, we call on everyone to struggle more intensely, in order to hold the Roboskî Massacre and all the other massacres to account."



## Roboski Massacre, the struggle for justice continues

ANF | 28 DECEMBER 2023

Twelve years ago today, 34 young people were killed in what has been known since as the Roboski massacre. None of those responsible for the air strike that killed the civilians has been brought to justice. Two of the victims' relatives are in prison, and 34 others are on trial.

On 28 December 2011, Turkish air forces bombed a group of mostly under 18 border traders in the northern Kurdish province of Şırnak. The dead border traders had loaded their mules with two canisters of diesel fuel, one kilo of tea and one kilo of sugar each. Suddenly, a rain of bombs fell on them.

All civil and military tribunals have closed ranks around the military. After all domestic legal channels had been exhausted, an application was submitted to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). However, as the lawyers for the victims' families had submitted missing documents two days too late, the ECHR rejected the application in May 2018.

The legal process for the Roboski massacre is emblematic of how the judiciary in Turkey works. None of those responsible has been held accountable. Veli Encu, who lost his brother Serhat in the air strike, and Barış Encu, who lost his brother Nevzat, are in prison for protesting the massacre. Proceedings are pending against 34 people because of the protest against the then District Administrator Naif Yavuz. They are accused of "propaganda for an illegal organisation, insulting the army and attempted murder". Another 16 relatives are under trial as they attended a memorial service. Dozens of family members have been fined.

Veli Encu has been sentenced to five years in prison. He has been in prison for two years and has been tried in five other cases. Barış Encu has also been imprisoned for almost two years; he was sentenced to over six years in prison for his posts on social networks.

### **Turkish Army: "An unfortunate mix-up"**

19 of the 34 victims of the Roboski massacre were under 18. Only four people survived the attack, all seriously injured. The young men between 13 and 38, whose families lived off the border trade, were returning from South Kurdistan when the bombing of Turkish fighter jets began at 9:37 pm. The bombing continued until 10:24 pm.

The Turkish General Staff later stated that since the group had taken a route also used by the PKK, the decision had been made to attack them. They were thought to be "terrorists". Hours before the first air strike, at around 6:39 pm however, drone images had already been watched and revealed clearly that the people were recognizable as border traders. The local military police (Jandarma) were also informed of every smuggler's activity, as they collected illegal customs duties.

In any case, it is known that the guerrillas do not use long routes like the border traders and do not move in such conspicuous groups and with mules. The responsible military in Ankara must have been aware of this too. The current head of state Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who was prime minister at the time, promised

to investigate the incident. However, it was Erdoğan himself who personally thanked the Chief of Staff for the bombing. Indeed, it was Erdoğan who gave the order.

As the KCK said in a statement on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Roboski Massacre, "We would like to emphasize once again that justice cannot be expected from the state that massacres peoples, especially the Kurdish people. It is the struggle of the peoples that will bring justice and bring about a historical reckoning. The Kurdish people will continue to hold genocidal colonialism and mass murderers to account by increasing their struggle and realizing their freedom. The Kurdish people will definitely realize their freedom and hold all massacres to account. We are a movement and a people who have promised this. We must fulfill this promise by further increasing our struggle for freedom. On this basis, we call on everyone to struggle more intensely, in order to hold the Roboski Massacre and all the other massacres to account."



## Turkish attacks on North-East Syria killed 56 civilians, injured 77 others in 2 months

**NUJIYAN ADAR | QAMISHLO | 28 DECEMBER 2023**

The attacks of the invading Turkish army against North and East Syria directly targeted the infrastructure. In the wave of attacks of 5-9 October, 47 people were martyred, and 59 people were injured. In addition, the targeting of places in the service of the people caused a loss of 1,270,201,782 dollars. In the latest attacks that started on 23 December, 8 citizens were martyred on 25 December and filmmaker and free art worker Mensûr Kerîmiyan from Rojhilat (East Kurdistan, Iran) was martyred on 24 December, and 18 citizens were injured until 27 December. In addition, 712 schools suspended education and 89,418 students were deprived of education.

### Results of attacks on 5-9 October

Between 5-9 October, the occupying Turkish army carried out 172 attacks on North and East Syria by warplanes, armed drones and heavy weapons. 172 locations were targeted 237 times. 157 of these attacks were carried out by heavy weapons and 24 of them by warplanes. These attacks targeted dams and power plants.

According to the statements of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria;

### Qamishlo

In Qamishlo, the villages of Dugirka, Til Xatûn, Girbawî and an ice factory were targeted. The power plant was shelled 3 times. In Tîrbespiye, Mizgeft Power Plant was shelled 4 times. In Amûdê, an academy in the vicinity of Til Hebeş was among the targets, as well as the villages of Mîra and Girê Moza were attacked. The electricity station was also bombed. A wheat silo and its surroundings were attacked 3 times.

## Derik

The Siwêdiyê Gas Station in Dêrîk was targeted 8 times. Attacks also targeted Xanê Serê Water Station and the corona hospital in Vira village. Infrastructure facilities in Merga Mîra, Girzîro and Teqil Beqil villages were among the targets of the Turkish aggression. Agricultural fields in Eyn Diwar village were bombed. The Martyr Nesrîn Academy of Internal Security Forces was also targeted, as well as the dam and power plant in Chil Axa and Al Qews petrol station.

## Heseke

Attacks on Heseke targeted a factory in the city centre, and the Serêkaniyê and Waşokanî Camps twice. In Mişêrfê neighbourhood, a vehicle was targeted. The areas of Ribta, Şêx Elî, Ribêat, Til Elwerd, Bubî, El Esediyê, Xîrbê Şîir and Dada Ebdal in the east of Zîrgan were bombed.

In Dirbêsiyê, attacks were carried out against a cotton field. A water station was hit in Til Temir. The villages of Guzeliyê, Til Leben, Um El Xêr and Um El Kêf in the east of the district were also bombed.

## Ain Issa

In Ain Issa, the Turkish state bombed the villages of Abu Sira, El Etşana, Abu Nîtona, El Êrîda, Zenubya, El Xalidiyê, Fatsa village and the town of Çelebiyê. A school, a water station, the Lava Water Company, the wheat silo in Gizelî and the houses of citizens living in the village of El Xalidiyê were among the targets of the occupying Turkish state.

## Kobane

In Kobanê, the villages of Çerxelî, Gultepa, Til Şîir, Zor Mexar and Şêxler were bombed. Other attacks were directed against the Corona hospital, Kaniya Kurdan Forest and a factory. The town of Sirîn town was struck by reconnaissance aircraft. The vegetable garden in Sirîn was shelled.

## Manbij

In Manbij, the villages of Kerhok, Koklî, Qert Wêran, Ewn Dadat, Cat, Şêx Yehya, Qerozaq, Muhsenli, Um Celûd, El Hoşeriyê, Toxar and Seyade villages were bombed.

## Shehba - Afrin

The villages of Soxanekê and Meyasa in Şêrawa district and the Merenaz village in Şera district were bombed. Til Rifet district and Zîwana village were among the targets struck by the Turkish state.

## 47 Martyred, 59 Injured

As a result of these attacks, 47 citizens, including 2 children and 29 members of the Internal Security Forces, were martyred. 59 citizens, including 11 women, were wounded.



1,270,201,782 dollars of material damage was caused by the wave of Turkey's genocidal attacks.

### **Tirbesipiye and Derik Attacked on 23 December**

On 23 December, the Turkish occupying state attacked Seîda Petrol Station and Ewda Petrol Station near Girdêm village in Tirbepiyê district of Cîzre Canton. Another attack targeted a plastics factory near the Şabo petrol station in the south of the district.

A citizen named Hisên Hemze Sadûn was wounded in the attack against Seîda petrol station. The village of Banê Şikefta in Dêrîk was also among the targeted locations.

### **31 Attackks on Qamishlo on 25 December**

On 25 December, the occupying Turkish army carried out 40 attacks on the Qamishlo region with 7 warplanes and 33 unmanned aerial vehicles. The attacks targeted the Satkop Station in Cîrnik neighbourhood, food warehouse, a factory in Alaya neighbourhood, 2 construction companies, Simav Printing House, Corona hospital, electricity station, feed warehouse, Dialysis Hospital, Oxygen Centre. 31 attacks were carried out against a ceramic warehouse near the Martyrs Junction, a petrol station, Aziz Garage, cement warehouse, Um Fursan village, a diesel warehouse in Alaya neighbourhood, Thursday market, a warehouse near Corona Hospital, Berfin Cleaning Products Factory and Botan Fuel Station.

### **9 Attacks on Amude and Kobane**

In Amûdê district, 3 attacks were carried out against Kerem Wedding Hall, wheat silo and olive warehouse. In Kobanê, a car garage, Miştenur Hospital supported by Doctors Without Borders, a chicken factory on the road to Termik village, a farm on Aleppo road, a car repair shop and Ehmed Temer's construction company were targeted by 6 attacks.

The warplanes of the occupying Turkish state also bombed radio stations in Qamişlo, Dêrîk and Dirbesiyê.

### **8 Citizens martyred**

8 citizens were martyred, and 18 others were wounded in 40 attacks carried out by the Turkish state on 25 December. 2,200 villages and towns were left without electricity. The names of the 8 martyrs are Bêrîvan Mihemed, Ferhan Xelef, Riyad Hemo, Ferhan Temê, Rênas Hisên, Hisên Ehmed, Faris El Faris and Aye El Sebawî.

### **Filmmaker Mansour Karimian martyred**

According to a statement made by Mesopotamia Democratic Culture and Art Movement (TEV-ÇAND) and Hîlala Zêrîn Women's Culture and Art Movement, filmmaker Mansour Karimian, who came from Sinê (Sanandaj) in East Kurdistan, was martyred in the attacks carried out by the Turkish state against the region on 24 December.

#### 4 Checkpoints targeted in Qamishlo, 6 in Amude and one in Kobane

On 26 December, the Turkish occupying state targeted the bulghur factory in the Girbawî town south of Qamişlo, the vicinity of the wheat silo in Gir Ziyaretê Çolê village west of Girkê Legê district, the wheat warehouse in Amûdê district, Tawîle village west of Til Temir, the railway station, Corona hospital, the houses of citizens named Hekîm Hac Bekir and Eşref El Kiya in Dirbêsiyê district, the construction company in Qamişlo and Alaya neighbourhood.

The Bêne village in Şêrawa district, the Merenaz village in Şera district, as well as the villages of Til Qira, Um Hoş, Semûqa, Til Çîçan, Til Medîq, Minix, Bêlûniye, Şêx Îsa, Hirbil, Wehşîye and the surroundings of Til Rifat district in Shehba were shelled.

According to the statement made by the Internal Security Forces of North and East Syria, Turkish attacks targeted 4 checkpoints in Qamişlo, 6 checkpoints in Amûdê and one checkpoint in Kobanê.

#### Approximately 90 thousand students deprived of education

According to a statement by the Education and Learning Board of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, 712 schools in Cizre, Euphrates and Afrin-Shehba Canton suspended education and 89,418 students were deprived of education as a result of the attacks of the Turkish state.

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## HSM publishes balance sheet of war for 2023

ANF | BEHDINAN | 29 DECEMBER 2023

The People's Defense Center (HSM) Headquarters Command announced the balance sheet of war for 2023, stating that the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla made 2023 a year of great resistance with historic epics.

The HSM statement on Friday includes the following:

The colonialist genocidal Turkish state and the fascist AKP-MHP regime aimed to finalize the genocide policy against the Kurdish people in 2023, the centennial anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic, and to enter the second century by completely liquidating Kurds and Kurdishness. In order to achieve this goal, within the framework of the "Decomposition Plan" since 2015, it has done everything in its power by mobilizing all the means at its disposal, war techniques and the support it has received from NATO, openly massacring our people, developing open genocide practices and committing countless war crimes. At the same time, in the last 9 years, it has claimed that it would liquidate the guerrilla by escalating the special and psychological warfare to the highest level, giving new numbers about our forces every year, telling lie after lie. For this purpose, the Turkish state, which has been in an uninterrupted attack in every province of North Kurdistan and the Medya Defense Zones, entered 2023 on this basis.

## **February 6 earthquake and the process of inaction**

The Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla, on the other hand, resisted these attacks, which exceeded the violence, duration and casualties of wars between states, with an Apoist sacrificial spirit and great revolutionary determination, and left its mark on history by exhibiting epic examples of resistance. The guerrilla welcomed the year 2023 with devotion to the Leader and martyrs, with great determination, belief in victory, clarity in tactics and locked on its goal. A major earthquake centered in Pazarcık, Maraş occurred on February 6, 2023, at a time when the guerrilla was planning and completing its preparations for comprehensive revolutionary operations against the occupying Turkish army.

In a process where tens of thousands of our people lost their lives, where they fought for their lives under the rubble for days, where the fascist AKP-MHP regime left our people alone with death, where millions of people were left homeless in harsh winter conditions, the leadership of our movement, the Co-Presidency of the KCK Executive Council, called for all our forces to adopt a position of inaction on February 9, 2023. Our People's Defense Forces took a position of inaction in accordance with this decision and perspective. However, the fascist AKP-MHP regime perceived this moral and humanitarian decision of our movement as an opportunity and weakness, insisted on the war policy instead of coming to the aid of earthquake victims, and continued its attacks in all areas, especially against our forces in North Kurdistan and Medya Defense Zones. A total of 32 of our companions were martyred in these attacks, despite being in a position of inaction. After June 13th, the period of inaction, which had become completely meaningless and had no practical effect, came to an end.

## **Turkey attempted to invade South Kurdistan with KDP support**

The elimination of the Turkish army's attacks in 2021 and 2022 with the new tactical expansion developed by the guerrilla, the failure of the invasion plans to achieve their goals and the enemy's blockage in the tactical field led to the fascist regime losing its legitimacy to a great extent and weakening. Therefore, the fascist regime, which had difficulty in developing the 2023 attack concept against the Kurdish people, tried to get support from the collaborator Kurdish line and foreign powers by making available and bargaining all the means of Turkey. On this basis, it launched an invasion attack on the Kurojahro area of Zap on July 14, on the Girê Ortê area of Metîna on July 19 with the overt support and cooperation of the KDP, and on the Girê Cûdî area of Şehîd Delîl West Zap on July 20. However, they could not realize their invasion plans here, and almost every day they received blow after blow from the guerrillas and suffered losses. In order to overcome this failure and blockage, the occupying army dismissed the command of the invasion operation, made new appointments and tried to spread the invasion attack from Girê Amediyê line to Metîna on September 9. As of October 7, it took another step in the invasion attack by settling in strategic places and depths of the Barzan region where our forces were not present. This step taken by the Turkish Republic has shown that its main concern is to occupy all of South Kurdistan, and the fact that the guerrilla presence is only a pretext. The KDP, on the other hand, has openly supported all these attacks, cooperated with the enemy, and in this process, has taken its partnership to a higher level.

## **The Apoist sacrificial spirit in Ankara**

The Kurdistan Freedom Guerrillas fought against the enemy attacks throughout the year with Yaşar Botans in Dêrsîm; Leyla Sorxwîn Amed, Rojbîn Dêrsîm, Mîrza Bargiran and Bengin Barmanîs in Botan; Hêjar

Zozan, Şoreş and Deyndars in Serhed; Canşêr Maku, Destan Botan and Gülbahar Mercans in Mardin; Alîşêr Întikams in Cilo; Xemgîn Serhat, Axîn Mûş and Dilgeş Gûzereşîs in Amed; Rêdûr Sîser and Ardem Ararats in Garzan, who were martyred in historic resistance epics and made 2023 a year of great resistance in North Kurdistan. In the Medya Defense Zones, Sinan Dijwar, Asya Kanîreş, Nûdem Sîdar, Rojhat Hebeş, Herekol Botan, Devrim Garzan and Doğa Viyanlar led the freedom struggle with heroic resistance. On October 1, 2023, comrades Rojhat Zîlan and Erdal Şahin, the fedayeens of our Battalion of Immortals, carried out a historic action in the very heart of Ankara, the capital of the Republic of Turkey, shaking the fascist AKP-MHP regime and destroying all the lies of the special war front, showing once again to friend and foe what the Apoist sacrificial guerrilla is capable of. Comrades Rojhat and Erdal made a very historic debut by carrying the Apoist fedayeen spirit to the top in Ankara, went down in the history of struggle as exemplary and symbolic pioneers of the period and left their mark on the process as Zîlan's successors.

## **2023 has shown that the Turkish state is doomed to defeat**

The historic action of comrades Rojhat and Erdal not only gave everyone great morale, will, strength and determination to fight, but also increased the action performance and determination of the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla, and our forces demonstrated a very serious level of war in October. As the winter period began, the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla carried out successful revolutionary operations in Zap, Xakurkê and Metîna in November and December in order to practice the new era of guerrilla struggle in every season and everywhere, regardless of summer or winter. The effective actions that continued uninterruptedly throughout the year, these revolutionary operations and the war performance exhibited during the winter period not only showed the correctness of the Revolutionary Strategy and period tactics we implemented under the leadership of Andok, Ciwan, Egîd, Welat, Memyan and Helmet, but also showed that the Turkish state was doomed to defeat.

Of course, it was not easy to bring about these results and to render the enemy inconclusive, which happened thanks to the heroic martyrdom of the most valuable and valiant sons and daughters of our people. In the struggle of 2023, 179 of our comrades were martyred, 75 in North Kurdistan and 104 in the Medya Defense Zones. The martyrdom of each of our comrades, whose identity and martyrdom information became clear, was announced to our esteemed families of martyrs, our patriotic people and the public.

The balance sheet of the 2023 war, which the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla developed with the Apoist sacrificial spirit, disrupted and failed enemy plans, and once again demonstrated that it is the invincible power and hope of freedom, is as follows:

### **Attacks by the Turkish army**

Attacks by fighter jets: 1580

Attacks with prohibited explosives and chemical weapons: 1038

Attacks by drones laden with explosives: 342

Attacks with tactical nuclear bombs: 9

**Our comrades martyred and taken captive**

Our comrades martyred: 179

Our comrades taken captive by the enemy: 2

**Actions by the guerrillas**

Ambush: 4

Assault: 6

Revolutionary operations: 6

Infiltration: 7

Coordinated Guerrilla Action: 31

Sabotage: 39

Assassination: 246

Actions with heavy weaponry: 766

Clash-strike-intervention: 607

Total guerrilla actions carried out: 1712

**Enemy casualties**

Number of occupiers killed: 919

Number of high rankings killed: 7

Number of counter-guerrilla members killed: 2

Number of occupiers injured: 128

## SDF announces the outcome of anti-ISIS operations in 2023

ANF | 29 DECEMBER 2023

The Media Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) announced the outcome of the anti|ISIS operations conducted by their forces since the beginning of 2023:

According to the SDF statement on Friday, SDF conducted many security operations against the remnants of ISIS terrorist cells during 2023, including large-scale operations, and others conducted in coordination and cooperation with the international coalition forces against ISIS.

“These operations resulted in the capture and elimination of dozens of terrorists, including ISIS Emirs and senior ISIS officials. These terrorists were involved in providing the ISIS cells with intelligence information, weapons, and military equipment, in addition to financing terrorist cells, transporting and smuggling their members and their families from prisons and al-Hol camp, as well as smuggling and moving cells between the Syrian Badia region and the areas occupied by the Turkish occupation, planning to carry out terrorist attacks against civilians and military and security forces, and destabilizing the security and stability of the north and eastern regions of Syria,” said the SDF Media Center.

The following is the outcome of the anti-ISIS operations conducted by our forces since the beginning of 2023:

– **The total number of operations:** /73/ operations, including three large-scale operations, namely: “Operation Al-Jazeera Thunderbolt”, “Retaliation for Raqqa Martyrs”, and “Operation Security Reinforcement in Deir Ezzor”.

– **Number of terrorists captured:** /352/ terrorists, suspects, facilitators, and collaborators, including /155/ terrorists captured in the “Operation Al-Jazeera Thunderbolt”, and /127/ terrorists in” Operation Retaliation for Raqqa Martyrs”, including also /5/ linked to Turkish intelligence.

– **Number of Emirs (senior ISIS officials) captured:** /6/ terrorists. Khaled al-Shami, deputy military commander of the so-called Wilayat al-Sham, Abu Hillel al-Fada’ni, head of operations in ISIS, Ahmed al-Hajji, financial official in Wilayat al-Sham, Abdul Gaphour Tabr al-Diab, emir of the Islamic Bank of ISIS and head of the Diwan of Tribes – Atallah al-Maithan, governor of Raqqa province.

– **The number of terrorist elements eliminated:** /12/ terrorists, including /4/ dangerous senior terrorists: Ibrahim al-Ali “Abu Mujahid”, the governor of the Eastern Province, Muhannad al-Sari al-Fadgham, one of the dangerous security men, Hamza al-Homsi, and Abu Obaida al-Iraqi, the leader of ISIS in al-Hol camp.

– **The areas where the operations were conducted:**

“Al-Hol – Tel Hamis – Tal Brak – Iraqi-Syrian border – countryside of Deir Ezzor – Hittin farm north of Raqqa – Sabkha in the eastern countryside of Deir Ezzor – the city of Raqqa – Darbasiya – Manbij – Tabqa – Shuhail – Karama – Mansoura – Jarnia – Sarrin – Theban – Tayana – Balqees village in Tel Hamis

– Tuwaymin – Rumaila neighborhood and Kurds neighborhood in Raqqa – Suar in Deir Ezzor – Al-Hajna – Salhabiya – Markada – Jdeidet Bakara – Al-Busaira – Dashisha – Sabkha in the countryside of Al-Shadadi – Al-Ezba – Albu Netal village of the town of Suar – Northern Syria – The western countryside of Raqqa.”

SDF stated that: “Our forces, which have made great sacrifices to eliminate the terrorist organization of ISIS and rid the world of its terrorism, confirm their commitment to continue their moral and national tasks to pursue and eliminate ISIS cells and dry up their sources. However, it is imperative to bring to the world’s attention the concerning actions of certain regional countries, notably Turkey. We assert that Turkey continues to provide logistical support and protection to ISIS leaders, particularly in the areas it occupies in northern Syria. These areas have transformed into safe havens for ISIS leaders, with the establishment of camps and hospitals for treating wounded terrorists. Turkey is also trying, through its repeated attacks on our areas, to tamper with security and stability and allow ISIS cells to move and prepare to attack prisons and camps that contain its members, which requires opening the file of Turkish cooperation with ISIS and facilitating its movements.”

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## SDF: Turkish Intelligence claims responsibility for terrorist operation carried out by ISIS in Tabqa

ANF | 30 DECEMBER 2023

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Media Centre said that, "in a statement released on Friday morning, Turkish state media reported about an assassination operation conducted by Turkish intelligence targeting a civilian, Omar Muhammad/Abdullah Aldaham, from the city of Tabqa in North and Eastern Syria, claiming that he was collaborating with the Syrian Democratic Forces and participating in operations against occupying forces."

The SDF added that "four months earlier, on 5 August, ISIS claimed responsibility for the same assassination in an official statement through its propaganda agency “Amaq”. Reputable media outlets initially reported the news based on information attributed to the Amaq agency."

The SDF Media Centre added that "the Turkish intelligence declaring their responsibility for the assassination indicates their clear collaboration with ISIS, aiming to disrupt the security and stability of the region and expose their alternating roles in targeting the civilian population."

The SDF Media Centre underlined that "the targeted civilian, Omar Muhammad/Abdullah Aldaham, has no affiliation with our forces and has not engaged in any military activities."

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## Balance sheet of crimes and violations by Turkey and mercenaries against North-East Syria in 2023

ANF | 30 DECEMBER 2023

The Media Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) announced the balance sheet of war crimes and violations committed by the Turkish state and allied mercenaries against North-East Syrian territories during 2023.

The SDF statement released on Saturday includes the following:

"Throughout the year 2023, the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries persisted in committing brutal violations against the regions of north and eastern Syria. They have carried out relentless attacks using various forms of aggression, employing a wide range of weapons, including warplanes, UAVs, heavy artillery, mortars, and tanks. These assaults resulted in the martyrdom of hundreds, including civilians, children, and women, as well as military personnel. The attacks deliberately targeted legitimate points of protection, causing extensive damage to civilian properties, including villages and densely populated cities.

The aggression launched by the Turkish occupation state on the 5th of last October and the 25th of last December was the most ruthless and hostile. Turkish occupation officials, with utter brutality, declared their intent to target our vital infrastructure, including gas fields, facilities, and service structures. This included oil fields, refineries, and storage tanks, as well as water and power stations, mills, schools, hospitals, and the homes of civilians. This blatant announcement indicated the ruthless targeting of all aspects of life in our regions and the insidious intentions of the occupation state to annex new territories in north and eastern Syria.

Furthermore, the attacks carried out by mercenaries affiliated with the Syrian regime in the eastern countryside of Deir Ezzor also resulted in the martyrdom of several of our fighters while confronting the attempted infiltrations. Some of the mercenaries infiltrated several towns in the eastern countryside of Deir Ezzor, looting the contents of water and power stations and causing destruction where theft was not possible. However, our forces dealt decisively with these mercenaries and swiftly restored order in the five towns, bringing back security and stability to these areas.

The attacks launched by Turkish occupation mercenaries on the areas along the contact lines in Shahba, Manbij, Ain Issa, Tal Tamir, and Zarkan, following the repulsion of the Syrian regime mercenaries' attacks in the countryside of Deir Ezzor, were thwarted through the resistance and steadfastness of our fighters on all fronts. The mercenaries and occupation forces suffered significant losses in both lives and equipment during these confrontations.

On their part, our forces carried out focused operations against the Turkish occupation forces in several areas within the framework of their legitimate right to self-defense. These operations inflicted significant losses on the mercenaries and occupation forces.



The following is a summary of the war crimes committed by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries during 2023:

**1-Total number of attacks: /798/ attacks, including:**

- Heavy weapons: /578/ attacks
- Warplanes and UAVs airstrikes: /103/
- Light weapons and sniper attacks: /25/
- IEDs and mine attacks: Two attacks

**2-Total number of martyrs: /111/ martyrs, including:**

- Military martyrs due to attacks by Turkish occupation, ISIS, Syrian regime mercenaries, and military accidents /173/martyrs.
- Civilian Martyrs: /39/ martyr including /11/ children.

**3-Total number of wounded: / 98/**

- Military fighters wounded: /15/ fighters
- Civilian wounded: /83/ civilians, including /5/ children

In addition to their attacks, the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries also committed other violations, including cutting off water coming from the Euphrates River. This act resulted in a significant environmental and humanitarian catastrophe in the north and eastern regions of Syria, which heavily rely on the waters of the Euphrates for irrigation, electricity generation, and drinking.

Turkish attacks after the earthquake:

following the earthquake disaster on February 6, The Turkish occupation inhumanely exploited the situation by launching 24 attacks against our regions using heavy weapons and tanks. Additionally, Turkish UAVs carried out two attacks against civilian targets. Turkish UAVs violated the region's airspace more than 348 times. Furthermore, Turkish warplanes and helicopters violated the airspace 27 times.

**Attacks coincided with Operation Security Reinforcement:**

In conjunction with the Operation Security Reinforcement launched by our forces on August 27th, the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries attempted to exploit our forces' engagement in countering armed mercenary groups in Deir Ezzor. The mercenaries of the Turkish occupation launched multiple attacks along the front lines, starting from the Shahba regions, passing through Manbij—where the attacks were most intense—then continuing to Ain Issa, and reaching Tal Tamir and Zarkan. They employed the same deceitful tactics used by the Syrian regime and its mercenaries, falsely portraying the attacking groups as

tribal fighters. However, our forces successfully repelled all attacks, inflicting significant losses on the mercenaries in terms of lives and equipment.

### **Water Disruption:**

In the initial half of March, the Euphrates River faced a critical decline in flow due to Turkey closing dams. This led to a substantial reduction in water entering the Euphrates Dam, causing power outages in multiple areas. The situation compelled residents in rural areas to resort to contaminated water sources, resulting in the proliferation of epidemics and diseases.

Simultaneously, the disruption of the Euphrates River water supply coincided with recurrent shutdowns of the 'Alok' water station in the occupied city of 'Serekaniye/Ras al-Ain.' This station serves as a vital source of drinking water for the city of Al-Hasakah. Despite the prevailing drought, escalating temperatures, and the scarcity of drinking water, the Turkish occupation abruptly cut off water to Al-Hasakah on June 27. This drastic measure involved suspending water pumping from the 'Alok' wells station in the countryside of 'Serekaniye/Ras al-Ain,' located north of Al-Hasakah.

### **October Brutal Attack:**

On the morning of October 5, 2023, the Turkish occupation launched brutal attacks using warplanes, UAVs, and heavy weaponry on multiple areas in north and eastern Syria. The main targets were critical infrastructure, including water and electricity stations, oil facilities, grain silos, schools, and public service facilities. The Turkish army carried out numerous airstrikes, tank and heavy artillery shelling, and rocket launches from their bases in the occupied territories. The attacks extended along the ceasefire line, affecting areas like Tal Tamir, Ain Issa, Manbij, Shahba, and the southeastern countryside of Afrin. Additionally, the Turkish forces, employing mercenaries, many of whom are sanctioned by the U.S. Treasury, and elements from the former terrorist organization 'Hayat Tahrir al-Sham,' executed infiltration operations.

### **Massacres against civilians:**

On April 2, 2023, the Turkish occupation forces shelled the village of "Ain al-Abd" in the countryside of the "Tal Tamir" district. This resulted in the Martyrdom of two sisters, and three other siblings sustained various injuries. Another brother succumbed later to severe wounds. Thus, the total number of martyrs in the massacre committed by the occupation against children from the same family reached three (two sisters and one brother).

On August 8, 2023, the Turkish occupation forces, using heavy artillery, shelled the village of "Al-Sharika, near Suluk district, south of the international highway (M4). This tragic incident led to the martyrdom of a woman and her two children, while another old woman and her grandchildren were injured as a shell hit their home.

The martyrs are:

Grandmother "Douza/60 years old."

The girl "Hiba Al-Khallawi/10 years old."

The boy “Abdullah/3 years old.”

The injured include:

The girl “Malak/12 years old.”

The girl “Tahani/5 years old.”

The mother of the children “Haya Omar/25 years old.” All of them belong to the family of “Al-Hadi Al-Khallawi.”

On September 1, 2023, the Turkish occupation carried out a heavy bombardment on Al-Muhsenli village in the northwestern countryside of Manbij. This ruthless attack resulted in the martyrdom of four innocent children:

1. Amer Khaled Al-Faraj/ 15 years old.
2. Amer Fahd Al-Faraj/ 10 years old.
3. Malik Fahd Al-Faraj/ 18 years old.
4. Zainab Fahd Al-Faraj/ 14 years old.

On September 6, 2023, the village of Tahna in the western countryside of Manbij province faced heavy bombardment by the Turkish occupation, causing injuries to three children from the same family:

1. Wi'am Al-Jassem/ 15 years old.
2. Ibrahim Al-Jassem/ 12 years old.
3. Jalal Al-Jassem/ 14 years old.

On August 23, 2023, a Turkish occupation UAV intentionally targeted a vehicle near the intersection of the village of Tal Sha'ir on the Qamishli-Amoda Road. The vehicle was transporting a group of journalists associated with Jin TV. This malicious attack led to the untimely death of one of the channel's employees, Najm al-Din Faisal Hajj Sinnan. Additionally, journalist Dalila Akid, also affiliated with the channel, suffered injuries in the same incident.

On October 8, 2023, the Turkish occupation, from its bases, targeted female laborers engaged in cotton harvesting in the village of Al-Bashiriya, situated on the outskirts of Derbasyia. The ruthless attack resulted in the severe injury of five female workers, namely:

1. Radsa Saleh Fawwaz, 50 years old.
2. Khadija Aidan Al-Tamr, 40 years old.
3. Farah Adnan, 25 years old.
4. Zeina Hammoud, 20 years old.
5. Jumana Hammad, who tragically lost her limbs.

On October 9, 2023, the Turkish occupation targeted the village of Mastur in the countryside of Ain Issa with artillery shelling, resulting in the martyrdom of two innocent children:

-Nadia Al-Iyash, 10 years old.

-Ali Al-Iyash, 9 years old.

On October 7, 2023, Turkish heavy artillery shelled Al-Khalidiya village in the western countryside of Ain Issa, resulting in the martyrdom of the woman Amsha Khalil Al-Bakkari (65 years old) and injuring her husband, Mohammed Al-Khalaf Al-Ali (70 years old).

On October 8, 2023, Turkish warplanes targeted a training center for anti-drug forces supported by the international coalition located in the village of Hamza Bak, south of the city of Derik, the airstrike resulted in the martyrdom of 29 members and the injury of numerous others.

On December 25, 2023, Turkish occupation UAVs ruthlessly attacked the 'Simaf' printing press in Qamishli. The assault extended to various critical locations, including the 'Sadkop' fuel station in the 'Jernk neighborhood, a goods warehouse, an industrial facility in the 'Alaya' neighborhood, two construction companies, a COVID-19 hospital, a power station, a fodder warehouse, a kidney dialysis hospital, and a medical oxygen plant. The indiscriminate targeting further affected the rear area of the Martyrs' Cemetery, a ceramic warehouse near the Transportation Roundabout, the 'Aziz' bus station, a cement construction warehouse, and the Thursday Market in the 'Alaya' neighborhood.

In Amuda, three separate attacks targeted the Karam wedding hall, a grain depot, and an olive oil warehouse. Meanwhile, in Kobani six attacks were reported. These assaults were directed at a car garage, the 'Mishtenur' hospital supported by the international organization 'Médecins Sans Frontières' (Doctors Without Borders), a company, a civilian chicken farm on the road to the village of 'Tarmik,' a civilian farm on the road to Aleppo, a car repair garage, and the 'Ahmad Tamr' construction company. Tragically, eight civilians lost their lives as a result of these attacks.

### **Targeting of Infrastructure and Service Facilities:**

The number of civilian facilities and oil-related infrastructure targeted by Turkish occupation aircraft reached 74. The details are as follows:

### **Targeting Oil and Gas Fields:**

The number of oil facilities that were targeted reached /18/ facilities, including:

- Zaraba oil station in Terpe Spi.
- Oil Tankers near Karadhol village, Terpe Spi.
- Oil station in al-Qus illage, Qamishlo.
- Sayda oil station in Terpe Spi. (was targeted two times)
- Oil wells in Tal Khatoun, Terpe Spi.
- Kharab Askar oil station in Terpe Spi.
- Ouda oil field in Terpe Spi. (was targeted two times)
- The stations of Skirika and Alian in Jul Agha.

### **Targeting Power Stations:**

Seven power stations were targeted, and the details are as follows:

1. Targeting the “Al-Sadd Al-Gharbi” power station west of the city of Hasakah.
2. Bombing the “Al-Sweidiyya” vital facility near the “Rmeilan” field and gas plant
3. The power station in the “Maysalon” neighborhood in the city of Qamishli near the “Al-Hazam” road.
4. The power station supplying the town of “Amuda.”
5. Targeting the power station in the village of “Takal Bakal” in “Derik.”
6. Targeting the power station in the village of “Sikirka Daraw”
7. The power station in the city of Qamishli.

### **Targeting Hospitals and Schools:**

Turkish airstrikes targeted schools and public hospitals. The “Dada Abdul” village school in the eastern countryside of Ras al-Ain was shelled, and the “Al-Fatisa” village school in the countryside of Ain Issa was sniped. Additionally, the “Corona Hospital” in Kobani, the field hospital supported by Médecins Sans Frontières, and the “Corona Hospital” in the village of “Kari Fra” in the countryside of Derik were destroyed. The “Corona Hospital” and the kidney dialysis hospital in Qamishli were also targeted.

### **Targeting Water Stations:**

1. Shelling the “Khana Siri” water station in the city of Derik.
2. Targeting the surroundings of the “Jal Agha/Al-Juwaydiyah” dam north of the town of Jal Agha, Qamishli.
3. Shelling the water filtration station in the village of “Al-Rukba,” south of Tal Tamir, al-Hasakah.
4. Targeting the water pump in the village of “Al-Fatisa” in the eastern countryside of Ain Issa.
5. Shelling the water tank in the village of “Jdeideh” in the western countryside of Ain Issa.

### **Targeting Other Service Facilities:**

1. The grain silos in the eastern countryside of Amuda.
2. Bombing grain silos in the center of the town of Ain Issa.
3. Targeting a construction site on the “Northern Belt” in the city of Qamishli.
4. Targeting a “car repair workshop” in the village of “Sarrin” south of the city of Kobani.
5. Targeting a cement factory in the countryside of Kobani.
6. Targeting the “Noroz” theater in Kobani.
7. Targeting a drone factory in the middle of Qamishli.
8. Grain factory in the village of “Um Farasan” affiliated with the city of Qamishli.
9. Grain depot in the town of Amuda.
10. Targeting Simaf Printing press in Qmishlo.

Turkish transgressions primarily revolve around the deliberate destruction of infrastructure, service institutions, and residential homes within the targeted population. These actions serve as a means to instill fear, undermine security, and destabilize the region. Such conduct is unequivocally recognized and documented as war crimes. It is imperative to emphasize that no international or regional entity should extend political cover for Turkey’s occupation of significant areas in Syria, notably “Serê Kaniyê, Tal Abyad, and Afrin.”

In light of these circumstances, we strongly urge international stakeholders, particularly the guarantor countries, to fulfill their obligations by intervening to halt Turkish crimes. Pressuring Turkey to withdraw from the occupied territories and facilitating the return of displaced individuals to their homes and lands must be prioritized. Concurrently, we call upon international human rights organizations and institutions to establish an impartial international committee tasked with investigating the offenses committed by the Turkish army and affiliated terrorist factions against the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Holding the perpetrators accountable and ensuring justice is served is paramount.

Simultaneously, we reiterate our commitment to our people, assuring them of the unwavering readiness of our forces to make additional sacrifices. This commitment is driven by our determination to shield them from the assaults of the Turkish occupation, thwart the objectives of terrorist forces seeking to occupy our areas, prevent population displacement, and create a secure environment impervious to the activities of terrorist cells associated with the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries."

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## Afrin and Shehba attacked 8,992 times in 2023

ANF | SHEHBA | 31 DECEMBER 2023

The Press Centre of Shehba Defence Forces published the balance sheet of the attacks carried out by the occupying Turkish state and allied mercenaries against Afrin and Shehba regions throughout 2023.

According to the balance sheet, the occupying Turkish state and its mercenaries attacked Afrin and Shehba regions with howitzers, mortars, tanks, missiles, grenade launchers, armed drones and kamikaze drones 8,992 times between January and December 2023.

### 15 soldiers of the Damascus government killed

One citizen was martyred and 13 others were wounded in the attacks, which also left 15 soldiers of the Damascus government dead and 79 others wounded.

### 11 villages destroyed

In the balance sheet, it was stated that 11 villages were completely destroyed and became uninhabitable and no one was left.

### The destroyed villages

The villages of Merenaz, Malikiyê, Şêwarqa and Tat Maraş in Shera district of Afrin.

The villages of Miniq, Eyn Deqnê, Belûniyê, Hirbil, Simuqa, Til Cîcan and Til Medîq in Shehba.

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## HRE releases balance sheet of their actions in 2023

ANF | 1 JANUARY 2024

The Afrin Liberation Forces (HRE) Command announced the balance sheet of the actions they carried out against the occupation forces in 2023.

According to the HRE, one civilian was martyred and 13 others were injured in the genocidal attacks carried out by the occupying Turkish state and its mercenaries in 2023. In response to the attacks, HRE carried out many actions in Afrin, Azaz, Marî, Bab and rural areas.

HRE pointed out that heavy blows were dealt to the occupation forces and 12 HRE fighters were martyred in the actions.

Stressing that the actions will continue until the occupied territories are liberated, HRE announced the balance sheet for 2023 as follows:

"Our forces carried out 34 effective actions in 2023. As a result of the actions;

-3 police officers and 19 soldiers were killed, 32 soldiers and 6 police officers were wounded.

- 70 mercenaries were killed and 58 others were wounded.

- 12 AK-47 weapons and magazines, 3 BKC weapons and bullets, 2 B7 rocket launchers, 4 grenades, 3 cell phones and 2 mercenary IDs were confiscated.

- Five enemy bases, an arsenal, a thermal camera, a night scope, 6 motorcycles, 9 vehicles, a panzer and a truck were destroyed.

- One drone was shot down."

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## 289 mercenaries captured by the Internal Security Forces of North and East Syria in 2023

ANF | 1 JANUARY 2024

The Internal Security Forces of North and East Syria announced the balance sheet of its operations against ISIS cells, the intelligence of the occupying Turkish state and the mercenaries affiliated to the Damascus government.

The Internal Security Forces announced on their official website that they dismantled 94 cells, 19 of which were affiliated with the intelligence of the occupying Turkish state, 43 of which were affiliated with ISIS, 14 of which were affiliated with groups affiliated with the Damascus government and 4 of which were affiliated with the Syrian National Army mercenaries.

As a result of these operations, 289 mercenaries were captured, and 121 explosive materials were neutralized. Of these explosive devices, 49 were neutralized in Cizire region, 30 in Raqqa, 17 in Deir ez-Zor, 18 in Tabqa, 2 in the Euphrates region and 5 in Manbij.

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## The Turkish state's strategy in guerrilla areas backfires

RONAHI BARAN | BEHDINAN | 2 JANUARY 2024

Guerrillas know their terrain well and reckon with all circumstances. They do not subject themselves to the seasons, but develop the ability to strike at any time, under the most impossible conditions. The recent revolutionary operations in the Medya Defence Zones, in which dozens of Turkish soldiers died, have shown this. The Turkish troops are shocked by this latest operation, because they had not expected that their invasion of South Kurdistan would actually put them in the hands of the guerrillas.

### 'The guerrillas represent the greatest obstacle to the occupation of Kurdistan'

The HPG (People's Defence Forces) continues to deepen their restructuring. This was already evident at the beginning of 2023 with the effective application of the new war strategies. In the current phase, as usual, the guerrillas represent the greatest obstacle to the occupation of Kurdistan by the fascists. With their new tactics and forms of action, the guerrillas were not only able to thwart the enemy's attacks, but also deal heavy blows.

It has been documented many times how Turkish colonial fascism has broken every law of war in its violent attacks over the past eight years. Attacks that took place under the names "Claw", "Lock", "Eagle" etc. were intended to achieve results. However, the invasion forces ended up helpless against the guerrillas and therefore used thermobaric bombs, phosphorus bombs, corrosive gases and chemical weapons, the use of which is prohibited by international conventions. According to the HPG Press Centre, chemical weapons were used against the guerrilla forces 367 times in 2021, 3,152 times in 2022 and 3,000 times in 2023 between 14 April and 14 October. Despite this, the occupying army failed to achieve the desired result and was encircled by the guerrillas.

### 'The Turkish army's strategy plays into the hands of the guerrillas'

Eight years ago, Turkish fascism began using a new strategy in its war of annihilation against the Kurdish people. The invasion of the Medya Defence Zones, described by the Turkish state as a strategy of "destroying terror at its source", is increasingly backfiring and causing tough times for the fascist Turkish mindset. The invading army was under the illusion that it would be able to neutralise or at least immobilize the



guerrillas. However, when developing its strategy, the Turkish state had not reckoned with the fact that it would find itself under siege. The surrounded invasion forces suffered shock after shock in the face of the effective blows they suffered at the hands of the guerrillas. It should not be forgotten that the guerrillas are an asymmetric force. I believe that the fascist army had already forgotten this fact when implementing the strategy of "destroying the source". Because this strategy of the Turkish army plays into the hands of the guerrillas.

### **"The guerrillas are everywhere and nowhere at the same time"**

So, what did the guerrillas do to counter the enemy's new strategy? Why did the guerrillas choose such a path and not leave the territories to the enemy? These are questions that need to be answered. We can define these questions as follows. While the soldiers tried to hit the guerrillas in their own areas, they actually made the worst choice for themselves by setting up positions in these areas. Because by settling in these areas, they literally fell into the hands of the guerrillas. In fact, the deployment of Turkish soldiers in some areas was very useful for the guerrillas. It should not be forgotten that the guerrillas know their own terrain well and take all circumstances into account. The guerrillas do not subject themselves to the seasons, but develop the ability to strike at any time under the most impossible conditions. It is not said for nothing that "the guerrilla is everywhere and nowhere at the same time." Yes, guerrillas are everywhere and nowhere at the same time. In accordance with the reality of war, the freedom guerrillas carry out actions that correspond to their war strategy, and these actions produce effective results. The guerrilla marches, summer or winter, to achieve its goal and does not stop until it achieves results. Because guerrilla means achieving the set goal.

### **'We will not let you stay on this land'**

The occupying army of the fascist state, which believed it had achieved success by deploying in the guerrilla areas, was shocked as usual when it encountered guerrilla forces. The heavy snowfall caused by the winter did not prevent the guerrillas from achieving their goal. In the footage of the revolutionary operations, the successful actions of the guerrillas despite the harsh winter conditions and all the adversities to reach their goal are seen. Despite the heavy snowfall and harsh winter conditions, the guerrillas cut through the barbed wire without a tremor and move agilely towards their target. The cold-bloodedness, courage and resilience of the guerrillas we see in these images are cause for great admiration for the guerrillas. The action in Xakurke clearly conveys the message: "We will grab you, summer or winter, at every opportunity, you will not get out of here." While the Turkish army, which suffered 88 casualties during these extensive operations, hid this reality from its own people, the guerrillas publicized this fact every day with the images of the invading troops killed, the identification tags with the names of the soldiers killed, and their bodies burnt by the military.

## KCK calls for 2024 to be made the year of victory

ANF | BEHDINAN | 2 JANUARY 2024

The Co-Presidency of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council released a New Year message calling on everyone, especially the Kurdish people, who are in favor of freedom and a world without exploitation, to make 2024 the year of victory by further expanding the struggle.

The statement by the KCK Co-Presidency includes the following:

“We have entered a new year of the Gregorian calendar, which is celebrated universally as a New Year’s holiday and which also means Christmas for the Christian world. On behalf of our movement, first of all, we congratulate the Christian world on Christmas. We also congratulate our people, the peoples of the Middle East and all humanity on the new year and wish that it brings freedom to the peoples, women, the oppressed and all humanity.

The year 2023 has been a year of great struggle against the genocidal, exploitative, male-dominated system of capitalist modernity all over the world and especially in Kurdistan. Peoples, women, laborers and all oppressed social groups have been in an uninterrupted struggle and have allowed us look to the future with more enthusiasm by raising the hope for equality, freedom and a world without exploitation. We sincerely salute all these struggles against the order of exploitation and share our feelings of solidarity with all the peoples of the Middle East and the world, women, workers, laborers and all oppressed groups.

One of the features that made 2023 different was the increased sense of solidarity among those struggling for freedom and the universalization of the struggle. This was embodied in the Freedom Campaign launched for the physical freedom of Leader Apo. The ideology of Democratic Modernity and the paradigm of a democratic, ecological, women’s libertarian society based on it, which Leader Apo developed against the ideology and lifestyle of capitalist modernity, have brought together all those who struggle and seek freedom and equality, ensuring the unity of struggle. This represents a new stage in the struggle for freedom. On October 10, 2023, the international Freedom for Öcalan Campaign was launched. On this occasion, we once again heartily congratulate and greet all friends, peoples, intellectuals, writers, workers, artists, ecologists, women, young people who have launched and participated in the Freedom Campaign, and express our respect and wishes for success.

The patriotic people of Kurdistan have been among those who have achieved the greatest struggle against the system of capitalist modernity and the genocidal colonialist order. The Kurdish people have been in an uninterrupted struggle in Rojhilat [Eastern Kurdistan], Rojava [Western Kurdistan], Bashûr [Southern Kurdistan], Bakur [Northern Kurdistan], Shengal [Sinjar], Maxmur and wherever they are abroad and have raised the hope of victory. In the face of genocidal colonialism’s oppression, arrest, occupation, massacre and execution practices, our people resisted with the slogan “to live is to resist” and “Jin, Jiyan, Azadî” and thwarted the enemy’s plans of genocide. With their struggle, the Kurdish people and Kurdish women have continued to lead the struggle for the freedom of the oppressed in the Middle East and the world, to instill hope in humanity.

Undoubtedly, it was the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla that resisted the attacks of capitalist modernity and genocidal colonialism the most. Through this, much was accomplished. The guerrilla has proved itself worthy of its title as the Guerrilla of Democratic Modernity by breaking all attacks with the Apoist spirit of sacrificial resistance. The guerrilla has increased our hope for victory, developed our determination to struggle, and made us, our people and all humanity victorious against the bloodsucking colonialists. On this occasion, we once again salute the guerrillas' resistance with the warmest feelings, congratulate the new year and wish them continued success.

The system of capitalist modernity, which is an enemy of society and nature, has become more exposed in the eyes of humanity with the war, massacre, exploitation, immigration, misery, plunder and all kinds of corruption it conducted in 2023, and the belief that this system must be overcome has increased. It has once again become clear from the events in Gaza that capitalist modernity is nothing but war, extortion and plunder. The war in Gaza was waged and endorsed in order to dominate energy and trade routes, exploit resources and make profit. All states, especially the USA, Israel and Turkey, approach the issue accordingly. They exploit the suffering of people and use this according to their interests. No state has approached the subject with the freedom of the Palestinian people at heart, which is the exact approach to the Kurdish people,

But the peoples of the world have shown solidarity with the Kurdish people and the Palestinian people, making clear that they do not want to remain under the rule of the system of capitalist modernity any longer. Because the Kurdish and Palestinian peoples are among the most exploited and annihilated peoples in the world order established by capitalist modernity. Neither the Middle East nor the world can be free without solving the problems of these two peoples.

In 2024, the historical responsibility that awaits us is to overthrow the genocidal colonialist fascist order, to push back capitalist modernity and to make Democratic Modernity more viable. We believe that our people and all the peoples of the world who completed 2023 by heightening the hope of victory even more, will turn 2024 into a year of victory. As the Kurdish Freedom Movement, we state that we will take such a stand, and with this belief, we call on everyone, especially our people, who are in favor of freedom and a world without exploitation, to make 2024 the year of victory by further expanding the struggle.”

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## Femicide

### Kongra Star commemorates Paris martyrs

ANF | 23 DECEMBER 2023

Emine Kara (Evîn Goyî), a pioneer of the women's liberation movement and member of the KCK Executive Committee, artist Mîr Perwer (Mehmet Şirin Aydın) and patriot Abdurrahman Kızıl were martyred in

an armed attack on the Ahmet Kaya Cultural Association in Paris on December 23, 2022. Kongra Star Assembly made a statement on the first anniversary of the second massacre in Paris.

The Assembly paid tribute to the three martyrs of the Kurdish people and stated that they all worked for the cause of Kurds, peace and democracy. It also saluted Martyr Evîn Goyî's resistance and struggle for women's freedom.

The Assembly noted that the French authorities have not revealed the perpetrators of the massacre of PKK founding member Sakine Cansız (Sara), Fidan Doğan (Rojbîn) and Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahî) in Paris on January 9, 2013.

The statement continued:

"It is now clear that these attacks and massacres were carried out by the Turkish state with NATO support. These are crimes of genocide against women and women's free will."

Commemorating all the martyrs of freedom in the person of Evîn Goyî and her companions, Kongra Star vowed to follow their path for freedom, democracy and peace.

Kongra Star called on France to fulfill its duty, to reveal the facts of these crimes committed on its soil and to hold the perpetrators to account, and urged women's organizations, lawyers and those advocating for democracy to take a stand.



## Body of YJA Star guerrilla handed over to her family after 6 months

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 2 JANUARY 2024

Selma Şavlığ, a guerrilla fighter in the ranks of YJA-STAR (Free Women's Troops) was martyred in a clash in the Besta region of Şırnak province in northern Kurdistan on 13 July 2023.

Şavlığ's body was taken to Şırnak State Hospital morgue on 13 July 2023. The family, who went to Şırnak in July, could not identify the body, which was then buried in the cemetery of the nameless. The family gave a blood sample at the hospital and waited for the results.

After 6 months, the Şavlığ family was notified by the Şırnak Security Directorate to receive the body of their daughter following the blood sample match. The Şavlığ family traveled to Şırnak where they took the remains from the cemetery of the nameless and set off for their hometown, Bitlis. According to reports, the body will be buried in Bitlis at night.

The Turkish state has been conducting a sort of *necro-policy* against Kurdish society since the 1990s by exploiting the bodies of the martyrs. Bodies are mutilated, dismembered or publicly displayed. After the

Turkish government abandoned the peace process in 2015, a new era began. Massive police operations have turned funerals of fighters, which were attended by thousands and often even hundreds of thousands before 2015, into small events surrounded by police in which a maximum of ten family members can take part.

At the same time, the bodies of the fallen guerrillas are often only delivered after a long period of time. The remains are often buried in cemeteries of the nameless and have to be exhumed, which represents further harassment for the families. However, the state goes even further by sending packages containing the bones of the fallen Kurdish fighters to their relatives or simply burying the remains in undignified places. This approach aims to break society's spirit of resistance.

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## KCDP: 315 women were murdered in Turkey in 2023

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2024

The platform "We will stop femicides" (KCDP) published statistics on femicides in Turkey in 2023. The platform, which was founded in Istanbul, has been collecting data on femicides since 2008. "In these 15 years, the only year in which femicides decreased was 2011, when the Istanbul Convention was signed. Since the debate on the Istanbul Convention began, there has been an increase in femicides and suspicious deaths. In this year that we have spent without the Istanbul Convention, there has been a sharp increase in femicides and suspicious deaths of women. Although it is so clear that many women could survive if the Istanbul Convention is actually implemented, the political power has withdrawn its signature from the Istanbul Convention," the women's organisation said.

According to the KCDP data, 315 women were murdered in Turkey last year, while 248 women died under suspicious circumstances. The statistics are based on media research and applications for support submitted directly to the organisation. Most femicides were committed in Istanbul, followed by Izmir and Ankara. 65 percent of the women were murdered in their own homes. 55 percent of the women were shot, 31 percent stabbed, six percent strangled and four percent beaten to death. 41 percent of the perpetrators were the husbands of the victims. In three percent of cases could the perpetrator not be identified, while all others were in a partner or family relationship or were ex-partners.

The platform pointed out that impunity gives criminals the courage to reoffend. In ten percent of murders of women in 2023, the perpetrators already had a criminal record. This means that these murders are committed by perpetrators who had a criminal record for another offence and were partially released from prison on parole. The platform called for a different approach to violence against women in the justice system and the effective implementation of existing legal mechanisms to protect women: "As long as impunity continues and protection and prevention measures are not implemented, femicides will continue to increase."

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## Pakize, Sêvê and Fatma, three pioneers of the women's movement murdered in Turkey in 2016

ANF | 4 JANUARY 2024

On 4 January 2016, during the curfew in the Silopi district of Sirnak, three Kurdish women politicians were murdered. Sêve Demir of the DBP (Party of Democratic Regions), Fatma Uyar of the KJK (Congress of Free Women) and Pakize Nayir, Co-Chair of the Silopi People's Assembly, were executed in cold blood. The three women had planned to move from the Karsiyaka neighborhood to the Yesilyurt neighborhood in order to actively help the civilian population there. A Turkish tank targeted these women and their bodies waited for hours for an ambulance to pick them up. The ambulance did not arrive, and they died as a result of serious injuries.

In recent years, a "restriction decision" has been taken on the file regarding the killing of the three women. It is reported that there are photographs and recordings of it, but the lawyers have been forbidden any access to the file, so it is always unclear whether a legal development is taking place.

### Pakize Nayir

Pakize Nayir was born on 13.04.1989 in the Silopi district of Sirnak. She spent her childhood and her whole life in Silopi. Pakize took over material as well as moral responsibility in the parental home at an early age. She started working in the textile industry at the age of 12 and accompanied her parents for seasonal work in the spring months. On the one hand, Pakize took care of her family and, on the other hand, she could not ignore the resistance struggle and was part of the Kurdish freedom movement. At a young age, she took part in women's work and political activities. She supported her family by opening a hair-dressing salon and at the same time, she took over any duties as co-chairwoman of Silopi.

### Sêvê Demir

Sêvê Demir was born in 1974 in the village called Sute in the district of Savur in Mardin, Southeastern Turkey. She had to emigrate to Manisa, Turkey, in the 90s due to the intensified repression of the state. Here she worked as an agricultural worker in fields for cotton, pepper, tomatoes and grapes. Later, Sêvê decided to leave Manisa as well, because she could not withstand the racist discrimination against her Kurdish identity. In her political work, she was first actively involved in women's work and carried out political work in Ankara, then in Diyarbakir, Konya and Mardin. She was also involved in the foundation of Tevgera Jinen Azad û Demokratik (free and democratic women's movement) in 2005. She was arrested in Nusaybin in 2009.

Sêvê, who was taken to the E-type prison in Diyarbakir, was also involved in the hunger strikes of 2012. These were initiated to improve the conditions of the chairman, Abdullah Öcalan, on the prison island. After her release from prison, she took an active role in political affairs as a member of the DBP in 2014. Also in this process, she took women's work and political struggles very seriously. During the self-government processes, she was also involved in party activities in the Silopi district of Sirnak.

## Fatma Uyar

Fatma Uyar was born on 28 August 1988 in the village of Duhok on the outskirts of Gabar as the second child of a family of 7 children. After Fatma's birth, her family moved to the centre of Sirnak, where they still live today. In the 2000s, Fatma got to know the political resistance movement there and joined it. She initially continued to work as an active member of the youth movement. In 2009, Fatma was arrested and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. One year after her arrest, her father Resit Uyar was also arrested and sent to prison. Fatma and her father Resit were in the same prison in Mardin until Fatma was transferred to Siirt prison after a year and a half spent there. Until her release, she spent 3.5 years in Siirt prison. After her release in 2010, she returned to political work and was most recently involved in the work of KJA.

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# Human Rights Violations

## At least 208 attacks against Kurds, Alevis and refugees recorded in Turkey in 2023

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2024

The Socio-Political Field Research Centre announced the report it prepared based on the press survey on "racist attacks against Kurds, Alevis and refugees" in 2023. In the report, it was stated that at least 208 racist/marginalising/ignoring news items appeared in the press during the year.

The report pointed out that there were many attacks based on the discourses of the government and the opposition, and there were racist acts against immigrants after the Maraş-centred earthquakes and discriminatory approaches against Alevi villages in the earthquake zone.

The report stated that many racist/marginalising/disregarding news about Kurds have been reflected in the press, from sports fields to prisons, from discriminatory statements against their mother tongue to acts of violence they are subjected to in metropolises with racist motives.

"Just like the families who had to hide their Alevi or Kurdish identity for many years, immigrant families today warn their children in this way and warn them not to speak their own language in public spaces. Amedspor in particular and many other regional teams are subjected to racist discourse and even violence on and off the field in many away matches. In addition, Kurdish is still defined as 'Unknown-X language' in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and racist attacks on bus companies belonging to the cities of the (Kurdish) region and political party buildings have become a routine of daily life."

In the report, it is stated that news items on at least 145 attacks/ignorance against Kurdish identity and language were detected, "It was observed that racist/marginalising/ignoring acts against Kurdish identity were mostly based on Kurdish language, regional football teams and political preferences. Furthermore, in the same period, news on at least 50 attacks against refugees with the aforementioned motives were covered in the press. Again, in the same period, news of at least 13 attacks were covered in the press with the mentioned motives against Alevis."



## DFG report for 2023: 280 journalists stood trial, 57 journalists remain in prison in Turkey

ANF | AMED | 4 JANUARY 2024

The Dicle Fırat Journalists' Association (DFG) presented a report on the violation of journalists' rights in Turkey in 2023 in Amed (tr. Diyarbakır). Hakkı Boltan spoke at the press conference in Kurdish and the co-chair of the DFG, Serdar Altan, read out the Turkish version. The report covers rights violations in 2023 and emphasizes the importance of struggle and solidarity.

### 120 journalists killed worldwide

Altan stated that the year 2023 paints a black picture and pointed to a statement by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) on 31 December, according to which 120 journalists and media professionals were killed worldwide in 2023, including eleven women. 68 per cent of the slain journalists and media professionals were killed in the Gaza Strip. In this context, Altan also referred to the case of Kurdish journalist Silêman Ehmed. The RojNews editor was arrested by KDP's security forces in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq on 25 October 2023 and abducted to an unknown location. He has not been heard from since.

### 25 journalists killed in earthquake

Regarding the situation in Turkey, Altan said that violence and repression against journalists did not stop in 2023: "Even in times of a major crisis like the earthquake, our colleagues who were following events on the ground were repeatedly prevented from doing so by law enforcement officers. Dozens of journalists were investigated for their reporting on the earthquake. Accurate and pragmatic journalism, which society needs in times of crisis, was prevented by the government and people's right to information was ignored in this way. On this occasion, we commemorate the 25 media workers who lost their lives in the February earthquakes last year due to failure to take precautions."

### Detentions and arrests of media professionals

In Turkey, dozens of journalists were affected by investigations, detentions and unlawful arrests during the year, Altan continued: "16 Kurdish journalists who were detained and arrested on 8 June 2022 as part of an investigation carried out in Diyarbakır were detained for 13 months. Nine Kurdish journalists who were arrested in the course of an investigation in Ankara on 25 October 2022 and released at the first



court hearing were also subjected to persecution. Journalists arrested on 25 April and 29 April 2023 as part of two separate investigations were also detained for months. Our co-chair Dicle Müftüoğlu is still unlawfully imprisoned. In addition to all these examples, Turkey also broke new ground in the arrest of journalists in 2023. Fırat Can Arslan, who was among the five journalists imprisoned on charges of 'targeting people who participated in the fight against terrorism', was the first journalist to be arrested on the basis of TMK 6/1 of 1991. Furkan Karabay, editor of Gerçek Gündem, was arrested in the last days of the year on charges of defamation and targeting a person involved in the fight against terrorism."

## **Censorship law**

Altan emphasized that one of the most controversial laws of 2022, the Disinformation Law No. 7418, was misused as a censorship law and Sinan Aygül was the first journalist to be arrested under this new regulation. Journalist Tolga Şardan, editor Dinçer Gökçe and reporter Cengiz Erdiñ were detained and Şardan was arrested under this law. "In the first year after the law came into force, at least 26 journalists were detained, arrested and put on trial. A total of 29 cases were registered. When we look at all these incidents, we realize that journalists spent most of their working time in court in 2023. 280 journalists appeared before a judge at least 821 times in one year," said Altan.

## **Attacks on media workers and freedom of information**

Altan stated that journalists were prevented from covering news and attacked dozens of times in 2023: "Sinan Aygül, who works as a journalist in Tatvan district in Bitlis and writes about alleged irregularities in the municipality, was attacked by a police officer and a municipality employee who works as a bodyguard for the mayor of Tatvan, Emin Geylani. As our data shows, many websites were shut down and access to thousands of news and virtual media content was blocked during the year."

## **57 journalists behind bars**

The report prepared by the DFG on rights violations in 2023 contains the following information, among others: "36 journalists were attacked, 43 journalists' homes were searched, 119 journalists were detained, 36 journalists were arrested. Over the course of the year, 64 journalists were mistreated, 38 journalists were threatened and forced to act as agents, 110 journalists were prevented from following incidents for their reporting, 37 journalists were victims of assaults in custody."

In connection with violations of journalists' freedom of opinion and freedom of expression, the report presented the following data: "75 journalists were investigated. While 66 journalists were prosecuted, 44 journalists were convicted. In total, journalists were sentenced to 48 years, 9 months and 14 days in prison and fined 147,486 TL. While the trial of 280 journalists continued, they appeared before the judge 821 times. The number of imprisoned journalists as of 4 January 2024 is 57. 58 journalists were dismissed, the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) imposed 84 penalties on 68 broadcasts, and 112 news items were banned from broadcasting. 83 websites were closed, 7,106 news items were blocked and 3,761 pieces of content on social media were banned."

# Local Elections in Turkey

## Ballıkaya: We want to regain both the usurped municipalities and the usurped women's gains

ANF | ANKARA | 23 DECEMBER 2023

Several Ballıkaya from the Women's Council of the People's Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) said that they set out to regain both the usurped municipalities and the usurped women's gains in the local elections to be held on 31 March 2024.

Ballıkaya told ANF that one of the priorities of her party, which will hold primary elections in 200 centers, is women's representation and added: "Women's exploitation is the first of all other forms of exploitation. It is not possible to gain social freedom without a struggle without women and without the liberation of women. Therefore, the organization and liberation of women is of primary importance."

### **We will struggle with determination**

The DEM Party Women's Council is working hard for the local elections, said Ballıkaya, adding: "We agreed to get the gains of women back. For this purpose, we expressed the determination to create a great line of struggle. On the other hand, deepening poverty affects women the most. Efforts to eliminate women's poverty and its consequences will be the important topic of the upcoming period. One of the most important tasks and goals set out in this process is the consensus on carrying out works that will include women in social life, against the government's desire to withdraw women from social life and imprison them at home."

### **We will get women's gains back**

The women's institutions have been targeted the most by trustees and have now set out to regain both the municipalities and the usurped women's gains, said Ballıkaya, adding: "One of the practices in which women's gains are most affected is the appointment of trustees instead of elected mayors and the seizure of municipalities. Activities for women by trustees in municipalities were terminated. The most important task of this election is to take back the municipalities and implement a local government model with a management approach with and for our people. Together, we will take what was taken from women and give it back to women. We want to manage our cities together with an understanding in which women have a say and authority. We are preparing to ensure the construction of cities suitable for human dignity and health."

Ballıkaya added: "The most basic founding elements of the understanding of local and decentralized governance are women. Our Women's Council claims to realize the construction of women-friendly cities. It is determined to strengthen, develop and bring to a conclusion the understanding of winning the municipi-

palities usurped by trustees and the primary election to be carried out with city consensus. For this purpose, in order to implement the principle of co-chairmanship and equal representation, we have decided to encourage women to apply for candidacy. We call on all women who do not bow to male-dominated power and demand equality, freedom and justice under all circumstances, to work together and win together."

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## Ecology Union calls on parties to give prominent place to environment in local elections programs

ANF | 25 DECEMBER 2023

In a written statement, the Ecology Union underlined that local governments are important for the construction of local democracy and called on parties that will run the local elections scheduled for 31 March to prepare climate and disaster emergency action plans.

The statement said: "It is very important that local governments be organized as local governments elected by the free will of the citizens, far from all kinds of domination, pressure and trustee policies, and that they take into account the demands of the people, ecology, women and labor movements."

The Ecology Union added: "Before the candidacy processes in local governments are closed and the lists are delivered to the Provincial-District Election Boards on 20 February, we call on our friends in the ecology movement to intervene in the local government processes and become independent candidates from the parties they support."

The statement issued the following demands to political parties:

- \* To be based on a perspective that is not only human-centered but also sees nature as a whole, including humans and all other living things,
- \* Prioritize the interests of the people and the benefit of nature, not the interests of capital,
- \* Practice social service municipality, not a municipality for profit,
- \* Prepare and implement climate and disaster emergency action plans,
- \* Establishing a 'climate change unit' in local governments,
- \* When preparing strategy plans, take into account nature protection, climate change, gender equality, and the needs of all disadvantaged groups in society,
- \* Implement employment-increasing projects for citizens and women in need in order to prevent poverty,

- \* Make all decisions through participatory, transparent and egalitarian mechanisms such as public assemblies and neighbourhood assemblies, make city councils functional and be open to audit,
- \* Opening free pre-school education institutions and health units organized from an ecological perspective,
- \* Open local markets that bring together ecological producers and consumers, social markets and cooperatives that will not reproduce capitalist relations, in order to meet the citizens' need for healthy and cheap food,
- \* Develop concrete policies on energy saving, energy efficiency and smart buildings to reduce energy consumption,
- \* In today's Turkey, where drought is increasing, local governments should protect the water resources, which are the source of life, and take the necessary precautions to ensure that water is delivered to all living things free and clean,
- \* Carry out local works to prevent the commercialization of water,
- \* Take concrete steps to protect our air, water and soil against projects that cause ecocide and to support the campaign to criminalize and punish ecocide.

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## New police operation against DEM Party and DBP

ANF | SIIRT | 29 DECEMBER 2023

Within the scope of an investigation launched by the Siirt Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Siirt (Sêrt) Provincial co-chairs Ferhat Başkurt, Muazzez Bulga, Democracy and Equality Party (DEM) Party central council members Maşallah Erbey and Ahmet İstek, DEM Party Central District co-chair Rahime Kaysi, DEM Party Siirt Provincial Organization executives Takyedin Alver, Kıymet Mut, and Siirt Municipality co-mayor candidate Elif Akan were detained following raids on their homes.

It was learned that those detained were taken to Siirt Provincial Police Department.

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## DEM Party in Van, Bitlis and Hakkari ready to defend people's will at 31 March local elections

ANF | VAN | 2 JANUARY 2024

Dem Party Van Provincial Election Commission Spokesperson Delil Aksoy said that the people of Van (Wan) will give the necessary response to the trustees in the next 31 March Local Elections.

Candidate applications were made to the DEM Party in the cities of Van, Bitlis (Bedlîs) and Hakkari (Colemêrg). In Van, the largest city of the Serhat Region, there were many applications for the position of municipal co-mayor and municipal council member. Many candidate applications were also presented to the DEM Party in Bitlis and Hakkari.

### A lesson for trustees

Dem Party Van Provincial Election Commission Spokesperson Delil Aksoy thanked the people of Van for the interest and support shown for the DEM Party. He said that the people of Van is ready to give a lesson to the state-imposed trustees who do not recognize the will of the people.

Aksoy said: "We received 105 applications from female candidates. Of these, 65 applications were for district and provincial municipality co-mayors, and 68 are for municipal council memberships. Three of our female friends applied for the Wan Metropolitan Municipality co-mayor position. A total of 706 applications were made by our male friends. Of these 706 people, 405 people applied for district municipal council membership and 135 people applied for the district municipality co-chair position. 9 of our friends also applied for the metropolitan municipality co-mayor position."

### The people's candidate will be our candidate

The DEM Party is the people's party, said Aksoy, adding: "All our candidates should work by taking into account the efforts made by our party. We will put the ballot boxes in front of our people on 13 January. We stated it from the beginning, and we continue to state it today: the candidates chosen by our people are our candidates. We have never made concessions on this issue, and we never will. This was our people's demand. We will fulfil this demand. In these ballot boxes, they will elect both municipal council members and municipal co-mayors. Success belongs to our people."

### Great support for the DEM Party in Bitlis

The DEM Party received great support in Bitlis and its districts too, said DEM Party Bitlis Provincial co-chair Fikret Birlik, adding: "118 people applied for the municipality co-mayor position and council membership. Many of the applicants are women. Bitlis is an important city for the DEM Party. We will achieve great success in Bitlis with the support of our people."

## Hakkari ready to repeat success of general election

One other important city in Kurdistan is Hakkari. Despite the government's dirty tricks at the last general elections, the people of Hakkari achieved great success and managed to elect all three deputies. Hakkari aims to achieve the same success in local elections. 47 people applied for the co-mayor position, 80 people applied for the provincial council position, and 130 people applied for the municipal council position in Hakkari and its districts.



## DEM Party to hold primary elections on 13 and 14 January

ANF | ANKARA | 4 JANUARY 2024

The People's Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Central Executive Board (MYK) convened under the chairmanship of co-chairs Tülay Hatimoğulları and Tuncer Bakırhan. At the meeting, important decisions were taken regarding the primary elections and city reconciliation.

### Primary elections

The meeting decided that the primary elections would be held in some 50 cities on January 13-14. The appointment of hundreds of party executives was also discussed at the meeting that decided that Party Assembly members, deputies, Women's Assembly members, Youth Assembly members, district administrators and representatives of civil society organizations would take part in the cities where the primary election will be held. The various delegations will hold preliminary information meetings to ensure that the primary election is held in a healthy and transparent way. Work has also been accelerated to complete the delegate lists to be included in the cities.

### Working for urban reconciliation

The DEM Party worked on a "Urban Consensus" plan to be clarified city by city. In order to do this, contacts with democracy forces, civil society organizations and political parties will be intensified in Hatay, Mersin, Istanbul and Ankara.



# Interview

## Kalkan: 2023 was a year of great struggle - PART ONE

ANF | 31 DECEMBER 2023

KCK Executive Committee Member Duran Kalkan said that "2023 was a year of great struggle."

*Now that the end of the year is approaching, how do you evaluate the year 2023? Where do you see developments, and what are your goals for the coming year?*

The year 2023, which we have previously defined as a year of hope and resistance, is coming to an end. It was indeed a year of great struggle, of total resistance on all fronts. Of course, there was also the earthquake on February 6. In this sense, it was also a year of pain.

But, first of all, I would like to congratulate all comrades, especially Rêber Apo (Abdullah Öcalan), our people and our international friends on the new year. I wish everyone who is waging the struggle for freedom and democracy great success in 2024. Also, I respectfully, gratefully and with love commemorate all our heroic martyrs in the person of our comrades Leyla Sorxwin and Axîn Mus, the great martyrs of 2023.

2023 was a year of great struggle. It also brought great gains and accomplishments. On this basis, we believe and hope that the year 2024 which we are now entering, will be a year of a broader, bigger and more comprehensive struggle. In all areas, on all fronts, the struggle for freedom and democracy will spread, grow, deepen and achieve greater gains. 2024 will be the year of revolutionary victory. It will be the year of victory for the struggle for freedom. In this sense, 2023 entrusts an important legacy to the new year. In 2023, we really resisted as a people, as women and as young people.

The year 2023 was, above all, a year of great struggle for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. It was a year of resistance on all fronts. The developments created by these resistances have also renewed and restored hope. The results of the struggle in 2023 clearly showed that an equal, free and democratic life is possible, that it can develop in every field, and that it is possible to create a new world on the basis of such a life. In this sense, we also call 2023 a year of clarification, a year of crystallization. Who is friend, who is enemy, who is right, who is wrong, who is narrow minded, who is progressive; these have been revealed. It was clearly seen that great gains can be achieved through struggle. All pessimism and despair were broken and destroyed. Instead, the hope, belief, will and assertion that resistance and struggle will always create great gains and bring about victories developed and strengthened more. It was a year of revolutionary claim and will, a year of revolutionary faith. It was a year in which all pessimism collapsed, a year in which we regrouped, gained hope, gained a deeper consciousness of freedom and democracy and embraced the struggle more strongly. Everyone evaluates this in their own way. But, of course, the revolutionary democratic forces should evaluate it the most, as well as our people, international friends, women and young people should. Because they lived the year to the fullest. They left their mark with their actions, their con-

sciousness and what they did. Therefore, they are the ones who understand the results of the year best. They are the ones who will make the most accurate evaluation.

We believe that Rêber Apo makes the most powerful evaluations. He definitely defines the year the best. Now we feel and understand this in our hearts and consciousness. But of course, the maltreatment on [the prison island] Imrali is known. In order to deprive all humanity, our people, everyone of Rêber Apo's correct and profound thoughts, a system of torture, isolation and genocide is being carried out on Imrali. But we can also understand and feel what Rêber Apo's evaluations would be. We are also waging a struggle. Therefore, we can make sense of what we are doing and what we should do. Rêber Apo taught us how to make sense of it, that we have the power to make sense and give meaning. If we are good disciples, we can define the year by giving it meaning, by looking upon its achievements. Accordingly, we can make accurate and adequate predictions for the following.

The year 2023 has already come to an end. We define it as a year of hope and resistance led by the resistance in Imrali. In every sense, it has been a year of great resistance against the torture and isolation system of Imrali, in order to destroy this system and in order to achieve the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. In all four parts of Kurdistan and abroad, the guerrilla, people, women, young people, our international friends, all patriotic and democratic forces participated in this resistance. The peak of this was 10 October, when the global campaign for freedom was launched. The campaign developed under the slogan of 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question' was the finale of this resistance. We can also say that the most meaningful and important mobilization of 2023 was the campaign of October 10, which also left its mark this year because it showed determination, a comprehensive goal, integrity, insistence, will and belief.

The campaign will surely bring about positive results. The assertiveness and determination is clearly seen in all our patriotic people, in the women and youth who are leading the action, and in all our democratic friends. There is not the slightest weakness or pessimism. Everyone is focused on this action and its success. They are saying, "The torture and isolation system of Imrali will be destroyed and Rêber Apo's physical freedom will be achieved." Two and a half months have passed. Every day for the past two and a half months, there have been demonstrations, new participants, new statements. There has been great participation in the last period as well. The hunger strike resistance of revolutionary prisoners, which started on 27 November, has completed its first month, which also added strength and motivation. The campaign was like a new beginning, it mobilized everyone. On the other hand, there are marches and rallies everywhere. The mass actions of the youth and women never stopped, as well as the statements and participation never stopped.

*There was also a reading campaign on December 10. It was called upon to read the books of the Kurdish people's leader, Abdullah Öcalan. What can you tell us about this?*

The aim of the reading campaign was to better understand the Rêber Apo. This was a very interesting action and a very important and meaningful action. It was an action to be carried out precisely for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. In other words, it was an action that corresponded to his reality. Because Rêber Apo means consciousness. Rêber Apo means a new mentality. Rêber Apo means a new lifestyle and way of life. Rêber Apo means the power of meaning. He defined himself as a power of meaning and described his point of view as "meaningism". He saw giving meaning to life as more valuable than anything else. And he



created such a perspective and philosophy. Consciousness and the power of giving meaning are essential attributes of Rêber Apo. He opened the door to everything.

In the struggle for the physical liberation of Rêber Apo, the effort to read his books, to discuss his thoughts, in other words, to educate oneself, to raise one's consciousness, to liberate one's mentality, is an effort that completely corresponds to the reality of Rêber Apo. In this respect, the campaign was correct and meaningful. Those who organized it must have understood the reality of him well. I can only add that this should be continuous. The days of reading Rêber Apo should be continuous, the time should be continuous. Everyone should read Rêber Apo, read the prison writings, study the new paradigm whenever they are in difficulty, are stuck, helpless, or left without a solution. They will find the solution to every problem there. The perspective of the solution is there, the ways and methods are there. All our people should read it, our international friends should read it. In this regard, I especially call on the young people.

*In regard to the struggle for the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan, how do you evaluate progress, and how great are the chances that you achieve your goal in the coming year?*

During a program last week, our friend criticized why the knowledge about Rêber Apo is weak in Turkey and weak in the Middle East. She was right. In fact, there is a misconception, a very dangerous one, as the friend pointed out, that because Rêber Apo is Kurdish, and we are Kurds too, we think we know everything that Rêber Apo knows. This is a very bad point of view. Those who say that the defense writings were "published in Turkish first, later translated into Kurdish, we have read and learned it before anyone else, we understood it well enough," are actually those who do not understand at all. Rêber Apo once said at the beginning of a lecture. "My criticisms concern mostly those who say 'these points are not for me'." Therefore, we can organize this saying as follows: those who understand Rêber Apo the least are those who think they understand him the most. I don't mean that he is incomprehensible. This should not be misunderstood. But he cannot be understood by simply reviewing and looking at his work. It requires constant reading and studying.

In this respect, reading and becoming conscious with the thoughts of Rêber Apo must be continuous. Those who need it should read more. Women need to read more, because they are the most fundamental force for freedom. They need freedom more than anyone else. Young people should read more. In fact, the Kurdish people should read more and present what they understand. Otherwise, they will be wrong. What they know is not enough. The peoples of the Middle East should read more. Our people in the north, young people, should read more. They must understand, study, and watch. Especially for the youth, I call for a mobilization to read constantly in order to understand Rêber Apo more deeply.

On the other hand, we also need to see that the physical freedom of Rêber Apo is necessary for all of us. The action for his freedom, is the action of liberating ourselves spiritually, emotionally, and intellectually, rather than the action of just providing physical freedom for Rêber Apo. The act of educating and organizing ourselves is the act of reaching a free personality on the basis of the sociology of freedom. The enemy tries to put obstacles between us, they put bans. There has been no news from Rêber Apo for a thousand days. No information can be received. All kinds of pressure, torture and cruelty are applied. It is indeed a center of genocidal coordination. The Kurdish genocide is organized, managed and carried out on the basis of the İmralı system. All this torture is not only to put pressure on Rêber Apo, it is actually to deprive us of Rêber Apo's thoughts because we need them so much.

Secondly, it is because of our inadequacies. If we were sufficient, if we understood correctly, if we fought successfully, if we were all Apos, as one philosopher put it, the torture and isolation practices on Imrali would have no meaning, they would only turn into personal revenge. They are trying to take revenge on Rêber Apo for making the Kurdish people, the women, the youth conscious, and the people conscious, for making them oppose this order, injustice, exploitation and oppression. It has a vengeful dimension. These repressions can only mean that. Our inadequacies actually cause these repressions to be prolonged, to take on more weight. So we are the ones who are insufficient. The isolation and pressure is actually being imposed on us. Everything is partly based on our inadequacies and weaknesses. Let us remove ourselves from this ground of weakness and inadequacy. Let us understand Rêber Apo more correctly. Let us implement our paradigm more successfully. In every field, in the field of ideological struggle, in propaganda, in agitation, in art, in literature, in social education, in organizing and guiding society, in war, in defense, in politics, in diplomacy, in economic and social life, if we apply it everywhere, and if it is seen, that everyone has become an Apo the torture system will have no meaning.

Rêber Apo has already said that wherever his prison writings are, there he is. Prison writings have spread everywhere. Therefore, everyone is reading and learning about Rêber Apo. The enemy tries to close the doors and tries to prevent even the slightest sound from coming out. But that has already been overcome. Rêber Apo has already broken the walls of isolation on Imrali with his prison writings. He shattered them and spread himself all over the world. Everyone is now educating themselves with the thoughts of Rêber Apo, reading Rêber Apo. They learn the truth about free life and the way of struggle from the thoughts of Rêber Apo. Therefore, Rêber Apo is everywhere. He is in the hearts and minds of all humanity all over the world. He is in the center and in front of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

In this respect, the torture system is being inflicted to prevent Rêber Apo. The forces of the international conspiracy hope that if they impose isolation, and prevent the thoughts of Rêber Apo from reaching the outside world, from reaching revolutionaries, patriots, the people, women and youth, they will weaken and narrow the struggle and ensure success and that we cannot do it. So let us approach this with great anger and reaction. Let's say we can do it and let's do it. Let's not just make an empty claim, let's do it. A global action campaign for freedom has been put forward. By joining it with all our strength we can achieve our goal, so let's all participate, let's participate everywhere. Let everyone be part of the freedom campaign all over the world with new and creative actions and forms of participation, deepen it even more, make it multifaceted. Let a great revolution of freedom, a struggle for freedom emerge. If we do this, this system of Imrali, torture, isolation and genocide will collapse. It will have no meaning anymore. Those who insist on maintaining it, cannot. So this is what we need to do. Now we are evaluating these once again on the occasion of this end-of-year-evaluation. We are questioning ourselves again and again on this basis. We understand more correctly.

We enter the year 2024 with a more accurate understanding of the reality of Rêber Apo and prepared for more successful implementation. 2024 will be a year in which the action campaign for the physical freedom of the Rêber Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question grows and develops much more and gains great victories by breaking the Imrali, torture, isolation and genocide system. 2023 was the most meaningful year of effective strategic action and 2024 will also be a year of victorious action. The absolute goal will be to bring the campaign for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the solution to the Kurdish question to victory. We do not and will not accept any goal other than this. We believe with all our hearts and minds that this will be realized, and to the extent that we develop the struggle on this basis, we will definitely be victorious. Everyone should believe and trust in this. 2024 will be the year of victory for the

struggle for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. With great faith, I call on everyone and the struggle to grow on this basis, and I salute everyone who takes action.

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## Kalkan: 2023 was the year of the guerrillas - PART TWO

ANF | 1 JANUARY 2024

KCK Executive Committee Member Duran Kalkan saluted the success of the guerrillas in 2023.

*To look at the guerrilla struggle, what can you tell us about the latest developments of the war? And especially now that there is a lot of talk about guerrilla features in the wake of the war between Israel and Hamas, what is your stance on it?*

We said 2023 was the year of the guerrilla, and it really was. At the beginning of 2023, there were glorious actions despite the most difficult conditions. After the earthquake of February 6, there was a period of ceasefire, or rather a period of inaction. The guerrilla clearly showed everyone how much it is connected to society, how it is a fundamental part of social life, with its decision and attitude of inaction. But many circles did not take this into consideration. There were many circles who had before openly and secretly said that if there was inaction, if there was a ceasefire, they would show support, “we would do this, we would do that” they said. When our movement and guerrillas got into such a position, there was no sound from these parties. We did not see any serious efforts. In fact, the AKP-MHP fascist administration perceived this as an opportunity, as if it was a weakness on our behalf, and wanted to increase its attacks and supposedly achieve results towards the goal of crushing the guerrilla. Against this, the guerrilla carried out great resistance in all the Medya Defense Areas [areas controlled by the guerrillas], especially in [the Southern part] in Zap, Avaşîn, Metîna and all over North Kurdistan.

In 2023, there was not a single guerrilla area, no guerrilla unit that did not take action or resist. All over North Kurdistan, from Serhat to Dersim. From Mêrdîn to Botan, from Amed to Xerzan, everywhere became a guerrilla action area. Not only in the mountains but also in the cities, the ‘Civil Protection Units’ (YPS) and militias carried out major actions. There were actions that seriously challenged the enemy and dealt fatal blows to AKP-MHP fascism.

A month ago, to greet and celebrate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party, the guerrilla came up with an action that dealt crushing blows to the AKP-MHP fascist hordes. And now, between December 23rd and 25th, there was a great offensive that dealt crushing blows to the Turkish army. First in Xakurkê, then on the Kurojahro mountain and to the west of the Amediyê mountain. There was an offensive that broke the back of the Turkish army and crushed it. On the first day they openly accepted that six soldiers were killed in Xakurkê and Metîna. Then, when the big attacks of the Amediyê and Kurojahro mountains took place, they immediately set a censure and closed it. The press has been reporting it for a few days; they say the morgues in Hakkari are full of dead bodies. How many were wounded? What happened to the rest of them in this snowy winter?

Last year, as we were going into winter, they made an assessment. They withdrew from some places. Now this year, a so-called commander came who overestimated himself. He was saying in the press, “I will stay and fight in the winter, I will strike this blow, I will strike that blow”. He stayed in the areas that they had withdrawn from last year. The ‘People’s Defense Headquarter’ (HSM) had a clear message for them: “Withdraw,” they said, “otherwise you will end badly. If you don’t withdraw, you will be crushed”. They didn’t listen, they didn’t want to understand. The result was the confirmation of what HSM said. Now they [the enemy] are in a panic, they are miserable. The commanders are all at the border trying to cheer their soldiers up. The commanders of the so-called Ministry of Defense are trying to save the situation.

There is also a questioning in Turkey as to why this happened. Why did these forces enter these areas? Why are they being kept like this in the middle of winter? This is true. In fact, Turkey needs to discuss more. What are these fascist hordes of paid goons being called soldiers doing in Zap? Then it was said that the guerrillas, that the PKK shot them. Of course, the PKK shot you, because you are occupying the country. You want to come and kill our people. Whoever wants to shoot must be ready to be shot. You are coming to our homeland. What are you doing there? What does Zap, Metîna, Kurojahro, Rojava [South Kurdistan/North and East Syria] have to do with you? Won’t people question this? But I guess the spear no longer fits in the sack.

They have been crushed, and if they persist any longer, it has become clear what the end will be. Who is responsible for all this? The current AKP-MHP policies, the policies of the Tayyip Erdoğan administration. But he still insists. He says: “We will not give the war barons and terror barons a chance.” But I want to ask him: Who is practicing more terror than you? Who makes more war than you? Who comes out in front of hundreds of thousands of people and says, “Do you know how much a bullet costs?” or “Do you know how much that gun costs?” They deceive Turkish society that they are domestic and national. None of these wars are domestic or national on their part. Their forces are all bought and assembled here and there. Let people examine and research, they will realize that this is the truth.

The fascist administration was being advertised so much. Why? To kill Kurds. There is such a fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality that has focused itself only in Kurdish enmity, Kurdish massacre and genocide. The current Tayyip Erdoğan and their so-called ‘People’s Alliance’ are responsible for this. Our HSM expressed clearly; “If they do not withdraw from here, they will die, we will not be responsible for their deaths.” Now we are not responsible for their deaths, Tayyip Erdoğan’s administration is. Whoever in Turkey is a democrat, whoever is patriotic, whoever loves their people, their young people, let them know that Tayyip Erdoğan and Devlet Bahçeli are to blame.

They are also using funerals to win elections. They have turned funeral ceremonies into rallies to win elections. They send the sons of society, kill them and make election propaganda over their corpses. They are so hypocritical and self-interested. They use everything for their own interests, even the dead. And they call them martyrs. Is that how you approach a martyr? Is a martyr your election propaganda?

In its 40th year, the guerrillas continue to strike crushing blows against the enemy by renewing themselves on the basis of the August 15 resistance. It continues its struggle for freedom at the most advanced level. The guerrillas are the strongest participant and the biggest force in our freedom campaign. These actions have overwhelmed the enemy, raised the hopes of the revolutionary democratic forces and comforted

them. Let those who are looking for guerrilla features in Hamas take a look to Zap, let them see the real guerrilla, let them watch and learn what real guerrilla action is like.

I mean, people should not look for it elsewhere. This is a mistake. What are real guerrilla features? How do the guerrilla fight, what is their style of striking, what are its target; the guerrillas of Kurdistan can be analyzed. The current actions have revealed this, they have shown it clearly.

Indeed, the guerrillas again put the final point in 2023. They showed that everything is in their hands. They have the initiative in this matter now. We were already saying that it was locked and deadlocked until now. Now a new solution is starting. This is the process of sweeping the occupier. It is the process of liberating occupied places. The current guerrilla action at this level is an action of crushing, an action of sweeping. Everyone needs to see and understand this. So, as the saying goes, the arrival of Thursday is clear from Wednesday; let's say that the arrival of 2024 is clear from 2023. It was the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla that demonstrated this in the best and clearest way. On this basis, in the name of the central committee of the PKK I greet everyone who participated and contributed to these actions, all the commanders and fighters of the 'People's Defence Forces' (HPG) and the 'Free Women's Units' (YJA-Star). I congratulate them on their great success, which gives everyone excitement and hope, hope for victory. I wish them greater success in 2024. I believe they will succeed.

Let everyone believe, let our people believe, let our international friends believe. As a singer once said, "trust in the love of your mountains". Everyone should trust in the guerrilla's love. They are worthy of this trust to the end. Therefore, people should not expect anything from elsewhere. On this basis, I congratulate all our guerrilla forces once again. I wish them success in the new year.

*To be continue.....*



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