

THE IMRALI POST

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Issue № 84 / 13 January 2024 ★ Contact: imralipost@freeocalan.org

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Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

Campaign to send postcards to Abdullah Öcalan from Europe kicks off

ANF | 9 JANUARY 2024

The international initiative launched by the friends of the Kurdish people on 10 October is growing with various events.

As part of the initiative, a postcard campaign promoted by the Congress of Democratic Societies of European Kurdistan (KCDK-E) started on 8 January.

KCDK-E co-chair Zübeyde Zümrüt said that the postcards had been prepared and distributed, and announced the official start of the campaign.

The postcards, prepared in different languages including Kurdish, English and French, demand the freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and include excerpts by Öcalan, in particular about women's freedom, environmental freedom and solutions to global crises.



35th group takes over Vigil for Öcalan in Maxmur

ANF | MAXMUR | 10 JANUARY 2024

The Vigil for Öcalan was launched almost 6 months ago in the Martyr Rustem Cudi Refugee Camp (Maxmur) to demand freedom for Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the end of the isolation imposed on him continues with determination.

The vigil action entered its 175th day on Tuesday, and was taken over by the 35th group of citizens.

The vigil was handed over at a ceremony held at the Martyrs' Families Institution in the evening. Ali Bilehî made a speech on behalf of the 34th group at the handover ceremony of the action.

Bilehî condemned the isolation imposed on Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and said: "There has been no news from our Leader for almost 3 years. We have the right to take action to get news from him. Now is the time for our leader's freedom."



Legal and human rights organisations apply to the CPT for action against isolation in İmralı Prison

ANF | 12 JANUARY 2024

Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım and Veysi Aktaş have been held in absolute isolation in İmralı for nearly three years without any news.

Rights and legal organisations applied to the the Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) regarding the prevention of the İmralı prisoners' meetings with their lawyers in violation of Turkey's international commitments.

The bar associations of Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Mardin, Batman, Muş, Şırnak Urfa and Van, the Association of Lawyers for Freedom, Progressive Lawyers' Association, Association of Civil Society in the Penal System, Foundation for Society and Legal studies, Human Rights Association, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey submitted the application, which states the following:

"Esteemed members of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,

We are writing to you concerning Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım and Veysi Aktaş, who are held in İmralı F Type High Security Prison where they have been prevented from seeing their lawyers in violation of Turkey's international commitments.

We are writing to you regarding the prevention which keeps Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım and Veysi Aktaş who are held in the İmralı F-Type High Security Prison, from seeing their lawyers in a way which violates Turkey's international commitments. While no positive response has been given to the requests of Abdullah Öcalan's lawyers to visit their client since 7 August 2019, Veysi Aktaş, Hamili Yıldırım and Ömer Hayri Konar have not been able to see their lawyers even once since their transfer to İmralı Island in 2015.

The ban regarding visits to Abdullah Öcalan by his lawyers has been in effect for 8 years, from 27 July 2011 until 2 May 2019. In 2019, there were 5 visits by lawyers and then the uninterrupted ban was resumed after the last visit by lawyers on 7 August 2019.

In fact, since 15 February 1999, a special and discriminatory form of isolation/solitary confinement has been applied in the İmralı Prison, causing serious damage to the physical, mental and social integrity of the prisoners. As a matter of fact, this severe regime of isolation/solitary confinement is reflected in the report published on 5 August 2020 regarding your Committee's visit to the İmralı Prison on 6-7 May 2019. While there are many findings of violations in your report, in paragraph 51, in relation to the lawyer and family visits, it is expressed that: "The CPT urges the Turkish authorities to take the necessary steps to ensure that all prisoners at İmralı Prison are effectively able, if they so wish, to receive visits from their relatives and lawyers.

To this end, an end should be put to the practice of imposing a ban on family visits for 'disciplinary' reasons. Further, the Committee requests the Turkish authorities to provide – on a monthly basis – an account of the visits which all prisoners held at İmralı Prison have received from their family members and lawyers." After your report, it was expected that there would be an improvement in the İmralı Prison in line with your recommendations, but new disciplinary punishments were imposed on the prisoners and new banning orders were issued by the Judgeship of Sentence Enforcement against the prisoners. Moreover, according to the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules), prisoners subjected to disciplinary punishments have the right to apply for judicial remedies and to see their lawyers during this process (Article: 41/4-5), but the inmates of the İmralı Prison are not able to exercise this right.

On 14 March 2021, speculations about Abdullah Öcalan's health began circulating on social media and raised serious concerns among the public. The families were then granted the opportunity to communicate with their relatives in the İmralı Prison by phone on 25 March 2021. However, Abdullah Öcalan's phone call with his brother was terminated within 3-4 minutes, and Ömer Hayri Konar and Veysi Aktaş were not able to talk to their families at all. Abdullah Öcalan's brother shared with the public that in the short phone call, his brother had clearly and unambiguously expressed his wish to see his lawyers.

On 26 May 2021, 768 lawyers, including active members and executives of many bar associations and law and human rights organisations in Turkey, made a public declaration regarding the ban on lawyer visits in which they criticised the severe degree of isolation in practice in the İmralı Prison. Furthermore, on 10 June 2022, 775 lawyers affiliated to 29 bar associations in Turkey applied to the Bursa Chief Public Prosecutor's Office with a certificate of authorisation and requested that lawyers be granted access, but the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office did not respond to this application.

Likewise, 350 lawyers from 22 countries, especially European countries, applied to the Ministry of Justice on 14 September 2022 and 756 lawyers from different countries in the Middle East applied to the Ministry of Justice on 19 September 2022, requesting access to the İmralı Island Prison for a visit. No response was given to these applications either.

It is not possible for us, law and human rights organisations, which conduct visits to many prisons, write reports and make statements in order to identify and prevent rights violations in prisons, to visit the İmralı Prison due to the special execution regime in practice, which is also included in the reports of your Committee.

The ban on lawyer visits which is in practice in the İmralı Prison is in clear contravention of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules), updated in 2015, the recommendations of your Committee and the Law on the Execution of Sentences and Security Measures (Law No. 5275). We would like to kindly remind that states have an obligation to ensure that persons held in prisons enjoy their rights regardless of their identity, political opinion, religious and ethnic identity, gender, sexual orientation, and the nature of their conviction.

In the meantime, in view of the persistence of severe isolation/solitary confinement conditions and the lack of any news from the İmralı Prison, the Human Rights Association, the Civil Society in the Penal System Association, the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, the Association of Contemporary Lawyers and the Association of Lawyers for Freedom submitted an application to your Committee in September 2021, requesting that a visit to the İmralı Prison be undertaken.

On the other hand, upon the application of the lawyers of Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım and Veysi Aktaş, the United Nations Human Rights Committee decided in September 2022 to request for an interim measure to be taken so that the applicants can meet with the lawyers of their choice without any restriction, but Turkey did not fulfil the requirements of this decision either. In January 2023, after the lawyers had informed the United Nations Human Rights Committee of the continuing absence of information, the Committee reminded Turkey of the request for an interim measure, but Turkey failed to comply with it.

The CPT last visited Turkey on 20-29 September 2022. It was communicated that this visit also involved an ad-hoc visit to İmralı Prison. However, the 32nd Annual General Report, published in March 2023, does not include any detailed explanations regarding this visit, but simply notes that “particular attention was paid to the communal activities offered to the prisoners and contact with the outside world.”

It is known that your Committee has made 11 separate visits to the İmralı Prison since 1999. Your Committee, which is the only international mechanism that has so far been able to conduct interviews in the İmralı Prison, is also the closest witness to the deterioration in the conditions of execution during this period of more than 24 years. However, we have the impression that the fact that the Committee did not make any public statement about its 2022 visit, and that it has not executed any procedures against Turkey despite the fact that the violations identified in its reports were not eliminated later on, encourages Turkey to carry on with its practices that contradict its international commitments.

At the current stage, due to the fact that Turkey’s practices in the İmralı Prison have become chronic, that the prisoners’ incommunicado state has aggravated with every passing day, that there has been no change

in the conditions in the İmralı Prison since the CPT's report of 5 August 2020, that not a single lawyer visit has taken place since August 2019, and that the inmates of İmralı Prison have not been heard from since the short phone call in March 2021, we believe that it would be meaningful for the Committee to consider executing the procedure stipulated in Article 10 § 2 of the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Concerning the aggravation of the inmates' prolonged incommunicado detention in the İmralı Prison and the lack of any change in their conditions, we, the undersigned legal and human rights organisations, request the Committee, in line with its mandate and responsibility under the Convention,

- 1- to conduct an "urgent" visit to the İmralı Prison and disclose the findings and reports to the public;
- 2- to ensure that lawyer visits take place immediately and that these visits continue, and that they are no longer restricted through unlawful court decisions;
- 3- to ensure that family and legal guardian visits take place and that these visits continue, and that they are no longer restricted through unlawful disciplinary penalties;
- 4- in parallel to the establishment of the right to receive visitors, to ensure that the applicants are able to exercise their right to communicate by phone on a routine basis;
- 5- to ensure that all restrictions on means of communication with the outside world and with the prisoners' lawyers, such as letter, telegram, and fax, are lifted;
- 6- to ensure the end of de facto restrictions and unlawful practices regarding access to newspapers, magazines and books,
- 7- to take necessary steps for the Committee's report and findings regarding its last visit to the İmralı Prison to be shared with the public as soon as possible,
- 8- to take the necessary measures to eliminate the conditions of torture and other inhuman and ill-treatment and the prisoners' incommunicado detention and to execute the procedures set out in Article 10/2 of the Convention in the event that the request mentioned in the previous point is not met."

Prisons in Turkey

Letter written by a prisoner to Öcalan sent to İmralı after some sentences were crossed out

ANF | URFA | 5 JANUARY 2024

The letter written by political prisoner Selami Çiftçi, held in Urfa No. 1 T Type Prison, to Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, who is held under heavy isolation conditions in İmralı F Type High Security Prison and has not been heard from for 34 months, was seized.

The Prison Letter Reading Commission decided to seize the letter and not send it to İmralı, claiming that it was "objectionable".

Prisoner Çiftçi then appealed to the Urfa Execution Judge, who evaluated the request and decided to accept the objection, thus cancelling the decision taken by the Administration and Observation Board. The judge ruled to cross out the objectionable parts and send the letter to the specified address, i.e. to İmralı.

A campaign has been launched internationally to send postcards to Öcalan in İmralı. Thousands of people have started sending postcards from different European countries.

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Mothers of prisoners at Justice Vigil in Amed: We will break isolation

ANF | AMED | 5 JANUARY 2024

The international campaign "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question" launched on 10 October is also carried out with actions in North Kurdistan, despite serious threats of repression. For 34 months there has been no sign of life from Öcalan, who is held in total isolation on the prison island of İmralı. On 27 November, the PKK and PAJK prisoners began a hunger strike. At the same time, the relatives of the prisoners began justice vigils in six cities, organized by the Solidarity Association of Families of Prisoners TUAY-DER.

Isolation cannot break the will of prisoners

In an ANF interview, the mothers of political prisoners who took part in the vigil in Amed spoke about their motivation and demands.

Meryem Soylu, the mother of political prisoner Amine Kaya who is in jail in Istanbul, in Bakirköy, said: "What keeps the prisoners alive in prison is their struggle and their morals. I was in prison myself for nine years, so I know the conditions there very well. The isolation imposed on prisoners is extreme. But because of the prisoners' determination and fight, the enemy cannot break their will. The prisoners are determined and have a clear goal, which keeps them alive."

Soylu added: "Our role models are Mazlum Doğan and Kemal Pir, who broke the chain of cruelty and turned the jails into academies. Today the enemy imposes a very heavy isolation on the prisoners. Yet, everyone should know that the freedom of the Kurdish leader, Abdullah Öcalan, is the key to peace and freedom. As long as the Kurdish leader is not free, neither the peoples of Turkey nor the Middle East will be free. Today, everyone is isolated. The people cannot remain silent. As Kurdish mothers, we stand against all oppression. From here I appeal to the Kurds who serve the system and the enemy: You will be the next to be affected by today's persecution measures. Those who betray their own nation, their identity, their country and their mothers will one day face this persecution. I appeal to all humanity: join forces with the Kurdish people, be united, let us end this oppression together."

If there is justice, everyone will be free

Esmâ Seydaoğlu said: "As a Kurdish mother, I am here to show my solidarity. I came here to stand up for humanity, peace, justice and freedom. I call on the entire Kurdish people to support the prisoners. The Kurdish people must support each other for justice. Let us support this resistance with a strong voice for all of Kurdistan. Our resistance stands for justice. If there is justice, everyone will be free."

We will continue until the isolation is broken

Sülhiye Saruhan is the mother of a seriously ill prisoner. She said: "The prisoners' only request is that we support them. Their goal is to break the isolation imposed on Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] and the other prisoners. The isolation directed against Rêber Apo has spread to the entire Kurdish people. Our children are arbitrarily denied release and placed in solitary confinement. As mothers, we want justice and equality. We haven't heard from Rêber Apo for three years. Our only wish is to hear from him and break his isolation."

Aklime Hanas emphasized that the protest will continue until Öcalan's isolation is broken: "We are here today to break total isolation. Our leader is totally isolated. That is the situation. We don't accept that. We want Rêber Apo to be released. Our children use their own bodies in resistance in prisons. They also have rights. We want all the prisoners' demands to be met."

DEM co-chairs visit politicians in prison

ANF | 6 JANUARY 2024

The co-chairs of the DEM party, Tülay Hatimoğulları and Tuncer Bakırhan, visited imprisoned politicians in Kandıra and Edirne. In Kandıra high-security prison near Kocaeli, the DEM co-chairs visited former HDP co-chair Figen Yüksekdağ as well as politicians Gültan Kışanak, Semra Güzel and Nurhayat Altun. A conversation with former HDP co-chair Selahattin Demirtaş and politician Selçuk Mızraklı took place on Friday in Edirne High Security Prison.

As Hatimoğulları and Bakırhan announced after their visit to Kandıra, they had an exchange on political developments in Turkey and the region with Figen Yüksekdağ, Gültan Kışanak, Nurhayat Altun and Semra Güzel. “We are in a time of multiple crises with political, economic and social dimensions and have sought opinions and suggestions from our comrades on our party policy and the upcoming local elections,” said the DEM co-chairs. “Our comrades said that they will continue to resist and send greetings to all peoples of Turkey.”

During the visit to Edirne, the co-chairs of the DEM party said that they had expressed their condolences to Selahattin Demirtaş on behalf of their party, the people, the alliance forces, civil society organizations and all friendly circles. Demirtaş had just lost his father. The former co-chair thanked the two party leaders.

Hatimoğulları and Bakırhan said: “We had an exchange of views about the necessary steps for a solution to the historical and political problems of Turkey, and in particular the Kurdish question. We also talked about the hunger strike in the prisons and our strategy for the local elections. Our comrades have made a strong contribution to our party with their suggestions and will continue to do so.”

The two co-chairs ended their statement by saying that “the comrades we visited in both prisons are in good morale and are determined to fight. In order to define our party policy for the coming period with a common understanding, we will hold further discussions with our comrades. Our fight for their freedom will continue.”

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Hunger Strike Monitoring Coordination in Van says prisoners are subjected to violations of rights

ANF | VAN | 10 JANUARY 2024

The report prepared by the Van Bar Association, the Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD), the Human Rights Association (İHD), the Van Association for Assistance and Solidarity with the Families of De-

taineers and Convicts (TUAY-DER), the Van-Hakkari Medical Chamber and the Health and Social Service Workers' Union SES, all members of the Hunger Strike Monitoring and Follow-up Coordination.

According to the report, prisoners on hunger strike in Van F Type, Van High Security, Patnos L Type, Ahlat T Type, Erzurum Oltu T Type, Erzurum Dumlupınar No. 1 and 2 High Security, Samsun Bafra T Type, Samsun Kavak S Type, Giresun Espiye L Type, Trabzon Beşikdüzü, T Type and Rize Kalkandere L Type prisons are all facing violations of their rights.

The report said that daily health checks were not carried out by the infirmary doctor in some cases and vitamins B1 and B12 were not given to the prisoners.

The report added that because of the hunger strike, the prisoners were given disciplinary punishments. For example, they were "denied cultural and sports activities" and had restrictions on "communication".

Prisoners on hunger strike are subjected to different treatments in different prisons and face disciplinary investigations.

Lawyer Mustafa Özoral said that the prisoners on hunger strike demand freedom for Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the solution to the Kurdish question, and added that isolation is a violation of the right to life.

The lawyer also underlined the demand to allow Abdullah Öcalan and other prisoners in İmralı Prison to have lawyers and family visits and to lift the isolation.

Özoral requested the prison administrations to provide health files created by prison doctors, as well as ensure daily health checks, provision of vitamins in line with the demands of the prisoners, and the withdrawal of disciplinary investigations.



Political prisoners in Turkey on day 45 of hunger strike

ANF | 10 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 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 or-

ganisations, and will regularly ask the Turkish Ministry of Justice about Abdullah Öcalan's isolation on the prison island of Imrali. 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.



Mother who received son's remains by post in prison for eight months

ANF | AMED | 11 JANUARY 2024

Halise Aksoy represents the struggle and suffering of Kurdish women and especially mothers. She became known when she received the remains of her son, guerrilla Agit Ipek, in a package sent to her by post. She did not remain silent about this outrageous action and went public. She was subsequently subjected to reprisals and has been in custody since 25 April 2023, despite major health problems.

Her trial, in which she is to be sentenced to a long prison term for “membership in a terrorist organization” and “harboring and aiding terrorists” based on the testimony of a key witness, will continue on Friday before the 10th criminal chamber of the Diyarbakır Assize Court. The key witness has already served as a tool for indictments against around 800 people targeted by the regime.

“Conflicting statements from key witness”

Halise Aksoy's lawyer Zeynep Karayılan commented on the proceedings and said: “Based on the statements of the key witness, Halise Aksoy was charged with harboring and supporting the members of an illegal organization. However, there were serious contradictions between the statements of the key witness in the indictment and via the video link in the trial. The court not only ignored these contradictions, but also refused to release my client on the grounds that there was another secret witness beyond the key witness and that he had to be heard. Of course, this decision to keep her in jail has no legal basis.”

“Enemy law is applied”

The lawyer criticized her client's continued detention and said: “Pre-trial detention is intended as a last resort. Since the beginning of the trial, however, Halise Aksoy has been treated as an enemy. The Code of Criminal Procedure was *de facto* scrapped. There are three witness statements on the record, and all three are irrelevant. Neither statement supports the other. In addition, the indictment also included the situation of her son, whose bones were sent by post. This alone shows that the proceedings against Halise Aksoy are improper. Halise Aksoy has been in detention for nine months and is chronically ill with diabetes and high blood pressure. She also suffers from numerous other illnesses. She was hospitalized several times during her detention. She underwent multiple eye surgeries before her arrest and also has a stomach disorder. In our last conversation she said that her symptoms had increased.”

Lawyer Karayılan called on people to follow the hearing closely. She appealed: “We call on all women’s organizations and democratic institutions to show solidarity with Halise Aksoy.”

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Two prisoners released after 30 years from prison

ANF | 11 JANUARY 2024

Lokman Laçın and North and East Syrian Kamuran Reşit Bekir were held in Turkish prisons for 30 years. They were released on Wednesday. In addition to their families, the prisoners were welcomed in front of the prison by Marmara Assistance and Solidarity Association with Detainee and Convict Families (MATUHAYDER) co-chair Mehmet Şafı Erol and the association executives.

'None of us is free unless Öcalan is free'

Lokman Laçın said that the Kurdish people have been subjected to great oppression for years, and added: “None of us will be free until Mr. Öcalan is freed. I had friends who lost their lives in this process. I remember them with respect and will try to be worthy of them.”

Kamuran Reşit Bekir was taken first to İzzet Baysal State Hospital by the police for control and then to the Repatriation Center. Finally, he was taken to Bolu Provincial Police Department.

Lokman Laçın was detained in Mardin on 24 September 1993, remanded in custody by the State Security Court (DGM) and sentenced to life imprisonment on the charge of "disrupting the unity and integrity of the state". He was deported to more than 7 prisons during his detention. He was finally released from Bolu F Type Closed Prison.

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Military aggression and occupation

KCK: Erdoğan’s administration is responsible for the ISIS attack in Kerman

ANF | BEHDINAN | 5 JANUARY 2024

The Co-Presidency of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council released a statement about the twin bombings that killed dozens in Iran’s southeastern city of Kerman two days ago. The heavy explosions on the fourth anniversary of the death of Iranian General Ghassem Soleimani took place along

a route leading to the grave of General Qassem Soleimani, as people had gathered to mark the fourth anniversary of his death. The first blast occurred 1.5km away from General Soleimani's burial site. The second one took place at a 2.7km distance from the site. ISIS claimed responsibility for both "suicide attacks" on Thursday.

According to the latest balance sheet announced by the state television, 89 people, including women and children, were killed in the attack. At least 12 of the dead were reported to be Afghan citizens. The victims from Kerman were buried in the "cemetery of martyrs" near the grave of Qassem Soleimani. Others will be sent to their hometowns.

In a written statement on Friday, KCK accused the Turkish state and Tayyip Erdoğan's administration for leading ISIS to attack Kurds and other peoples in the Middle East, especially such massacres.

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

"On January 3, 2024, an attack was carried out against the people who went to the cemetery to commemorate Qasem Soleimani in Kirman, Iran, and a horrible massacre took place. Dozens of people lost their lives and hundreds were injured in this attack. On behalf of our movement and our people, we commemorate the massacred people with respect and offer our condolences to all Iranian peoples, especially to the families of those who lost their lives, and we wish a speedy recovery to the wounded. We strongly condemn this massacre, which was obvious from the beginning that it was carried out with the ISIS mentality and is now stated to have been carried out by ISIS.

This attack targeted not only the peoples of Iran, but all the peoples of the Middle East and was carried out with the aim of deepening and spreading the war in the Middle East. Some of the forces that pitted Hamas and Israel against each other, but did not get the results they expected after this happened, want the conflicts in the Middle East to deepen and the war to spread throughout the region and they are working for this. These forces have been trying to bring the Iranian state into conflict with Israel and the United States for a long time. The fact that this attack was carried out in Iran and coincided with the commemoration of Qasem Soleimani and his friends reveals such a purpose and plan. With this attack, the true faces of these forces, which try to present themselves as if they are against the war in Gaza, have been exposed.

The fact that this massacre was carried out by ISIS reveals the reality aims of them and the forces behind them. ISIS was supported by the powers that wanted to deepen the war in the Middle East and attacked all peoples, especially Kurds. Now the same forces have attacked through ISIS for the same purposes. Those who stood behind ISIS before, they are the ones who stand behind ISIS today. The Kurdish Freedom Movement and the people of Kurdistan fought against the brutality and fascism of ISIS, which was unleashed on the peoples in order to deepen the war and conflict in the Middle East and to turn the Middle East into a bloodbath and graveyard. And the Kurdish Freedom Movement saved the Middle East and the world from a great scourge by defeating ISIS. Our movement and our people will continue to fight against ISIS and the forces behind it, and to stand against all attacks of ISIS. This attack is similar to the attacks against our people and revolutionary democratic groups in many places including Northern Kurdistan, Rojava and Turkey, which resulted in massacres. Just as in the Kerman attack, people were directly targeted in these attacks and hundreds of people were killed and injured.

It was the Turkish state and Tayyip Erdoğan's administration that led ISIS to attack Kurds and other peoples in the Middle East, especially led them to carry out such massacres. It is the Turkish state and the Tayyip Erdoğan administration again today that supports ISIS and directs it for its own purposes. They want the war in the Middle East to deepen. The fact that it attacks Kurds everywhere and carries out attacks against Rojava at a level that targets the entire infrastructure and superstructure clearly reveals this fact. This must be known and understood by everyone. War with the Kurds means the deepening and spread of war in the Middle East. It is unthinkable for those who have plans for peace and non-conflict in the Middle East to be at war with the Kurds.

We strongly condemn the Kerman massacre, which was carried out brutally. We pay tribute to those who lost their lives in the attack, wish a speedy recovery to the wounded, and share the deep sorrow of the Iranian people."

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Replacing the operation command center cannot save the occupiers

PIRDOGAN KEMAL | BEHDINAN | 7 JANUARY 2024

When armies fail in military operations, they tend to blame those who are responsible for coordination and leadership. They believe that they can prevent losses and succeed by changing personnel. Such changes can be used as a tactic in conventional warfare, i.e. when regular armies of relatively equal strength fight each other, but when it comes to guerrilla warfare, this tactic leads to no result. On the contrary, the new level of command can put its soldiers in dangerous situations under impossible conditions to show their power and prove themselves. An example of this is the situation in the Medya Defense Zones in southern Kurdistan. When the Turkish army suffered major defeats and losses in 2022, it devised a way out by replacing the operational command in 2023 and expanding the boundaries of the operation. This new command willingly sent its own soldiers to die against the guerrillas to show its power and please its masters. There are many reasons for the resulting losses.

Mobile guerrilla teams wear down the enemy

The restructuring into a guerrilla of democratic modernity, successfully applying the doctrine of revolutionary warfare under the most difficult conditions, has proven and shown everyone the level of struggle that can be achieved. The Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla is raising the bar of struggle by becoming more tactically professional with each passing day. They demonstrate this in the war zone against the enemy's most advanced techniques and technological equipment. Enormous successes are achieved through professionalization in various sectors. The guerrillas use various tactics to carry out result-oriented actions, from snipers to sabotage to heavy weapons. These tactics are used both alone and in combination.

This style is practiced in two main areas. The first area is the guerrilla teams in the battle tunnels and the second area is the mobile teams that move around the terrain. The resistance in the battle tunnels represents a culmination of the struggle developed in the last century. We continuously observe that the Turkish

occupation state uses all modern techniques against the guerrilla tunnels in addition to conventional weapons. There is great resistance against this form of aggression in the tunnels. The resistance consists not only of passive defense, but also of attacking the enemy before it gets close and retreating into the battle tunnels without suffering casualties. The style of the mobile guerrilla teams in the field is the one that wears down and hits the enemy troops the most. With this style, the guerrilla teams camouflaged according to the terrain can observe the enemy from one moment to the next, bring them under control and unexpectedly strike and destroy them at the most opportune moment.

Psychological effects

The Turkish army was not prepared for such a style, and as the invasion grew longer and more extensive, the conditions of war, apart from the guerrilla attacks, hit its own troops hard. Also, from a psychological point of view, the presence of the guerrillas in the tunnels, even when they are not carrying out attacks, and the constant presence of mobile guerrilla groups, which they cannot predict where and when they will encounter them again, has a great demoralizing effect on the enemy soldiers. The resistance in the battle tunnels in Sîda and Girê FM in the Zap region, which has lasted almost two years, is one of the best examples of this. The occupying army has deployed the entire arsenal in its inventory against the tunnels, but the guerrilla resistance continues nonetheless. The guerrillas have the great advantage of knowing the terrain.

Despite uninterrupted control from the air, the guerrillas are still mobile. In order to interrupt the connections between the areas, the guerrillas' strategic lines of passage are constantly bombed. However, the guerrillas suffer no casualties from these bombings. The reason for this is the tunnels built by the guerrillas and the experience they have gained in recent years.

Revolutionary guerrilla operations turned the situation on the ground upside down

The occupiers stepped up their attacks with a new style in 2023 to make up for the defeat suffered the previous year and compensate for their losses. They thought they could achieve success by changing the level of command in the operation. However, the heavy blows they received during the year have put this new command to shame. The revolutionary guerrilla operations in the last two months have turned the situation on the ground completely upside down. The more the army tended to expand on the ground, the more this situation favored the guerrillas. Above all, its approach of underestimating the guerrillas has shown in practice what a mistake it has made. With the decision of the so-called new command center, it was decided not to withdraw from some areas this winter as in previous years. This wrong decision was the beginning of a heavy blow for the occupiers, as the guerrillas have largely eliminated the negative effects of seasonal differences on their fighting ability due to their reorganization.

Only the guerrillas can survive here

They thought that they could easily take the Medya Defense Zones and especially Zap. However, in winter, these areas become hell for those who don't know them. The conditions there are so harsh that you can feel nature's war against humans down to your bones. Only the guerrillas can survive here. The snow is meters high in winter, snowstorms and storms are never far away. The guerrillas have been fighting against these conditions for years, but the occupying army cannot withstand them.

This is a dimension related to the human will. The Apoist spirit of sacrifice sustains the guerrilla even under the most impossible conditions and circumstances and increases the determination to fight. For the guerrilla pursues the sacred goal of fighting for freedom until there is not a single occupier left. This will allows people to do things they normally cannot even dream of. Despite the difficult conditions, the guerrillas paralyzed the occupying army with their revolutionary operations on December 22 and 23. In dense fog and snow, they infiltrated enemy positions, demonstrating once again the effectiveness of professional guerrilla warfare. The enemy cannot harm the guerrillas, even if they change hundreds of command levels. We have seen this in concrete terms.

Erdoğan regime continued to send its soldiers to their deaths

Last year, the Turkish occupying army suffered over 900 deaths. This was made public by the guerrilla forces, sometimes with specific images. In many cases, the names of the soldiers killed, their identification tags and the equipment taken from them were published. Nevertheless, the Erdoğan regime continued to send its soldiers to their deaths and concealed its losses in order to avoid public pressure. It is now obvious that there is a major deadlock in domestic politics. The economic problems of the people of Turkey have reached an all-time high, and although a utopian picture is being painted, society is no longer falling for these lies and is beginning to question. At least a certain section has started to question.

Therefore, the fascist Erdoğan regime has once again found a means to spread fascism and propaganda about the death of soldiers. It is obvious that the announcement of the death of twelve soldiers after the latest guerrilla operations serves to shift social perception back in an anti-Kurdish direction and prevent the public from questioning the existing problems. The Turkish army is suffering one loss after another on the ground and the system is collapsing. In light of all this, it is important that society's perception sees through these dirty games and takes a stand against the Erdoğan regime. The occupying army will not succeed no matter what is done against the guerrilla struggle. The burden of war falls on Turkey's entire society. Soldiers are blinded by the litany of fatherland and nation and sent to their deaths to maintain the regime's power.

The occupiers have two options

As Murat Karayılan, commander of the headquarters of the People's Defense Forces, has said, the reality on the ground shows that the occupying forces have two options: Either they withdraw and leave the guerrilla areas completely or they stay and are annihilated. The invaders have no other choice against the guerrillas. They have probably realized better after these last blows that their technical equipment cannot save them. If they don't realize it, the guerrillas will make them do it with effective blows. There is no doubt about that.

HPG reports ongoing Turkish attacks on guerrilla areas

ANF | BEHDINAN | 7 JANUARY 2024

The Press Center of the People's Defense Forces (HPG) released a statement providing information about continued attacks by the Turkish army and actions by the guerrillas in the guerrilla-held Medya Defense Zones in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) from the 4th to 6th of January.

According to the statement, the guerrillas continue to actively resist the Turkish army's occupation attacks, and one soldier was killed in the Zap region in a sabotage action to repel an attack on a guerrilla position.

On the other hand, the Turkish air force has bombed the guerrilla areas 22 times in the past two days, and used unconventional explosives, drones loaded with explosives and artillery. According to the HPG, the guerrillas have not suffered any casualties in the air strikes.

Şehîd Delîl, Western Zap

In the Girê Cûdî resistance area, the Turkish troops took action to blow up a guerrilla position on January 4. The guerrillas prevented the operation with a sabotage action that killed one soldier.

On the same day, two Turkish positions were shelled with heavy weapons and damaged. Shortly afterwards, the YJA Star (Free Women's Troops) guerrillas with heavy weapons stopped an attempted advance by the Turkish army.

Also on January 6, two attempted advances in the area were stopped by the guerrillas with heavy weapons. In the afternoon, a Turkish position was damaged as a result of strikes by the guerrillas.

In the Girê Amêdîyê Resistance Area, guerrillas fired on a truck of the occupying forces on January 4.

Turkish attacks with banned explosives, chemical gas and drones loaded with explosives

* On January 4 and 6, the battle positions of the guerrillas in Girê Cûdî Resistance Area in the Western Zap region were bombed 2 times with banned explosives and 3 times with drones loaded with explosives.

* On January 4, the Şehîd Diyar battle position of the guerrillas in the Zap region was bombed 2 times with drones loaded with explosives.

Attacks by the Turkish army

* On January 5 and 6, the Turkish army carried out 8 airstrikes on the areas of Bêşîli, Şêlazê, Serê Metîna in Metîna region; 6 airstrikes on the areas of Ava Lolanê, Sinînê, Kolît in Xakurkê region; 4 airstrikes on the areas of Girê Amediyê, Girê Bahar Resistance Area in Şehîd Delîl Western Zap region; 4 airstrikes on the areas of Girê Casûsan, Balayan in Qendîl region. The guerrillas suffered no casualties in these bombardments.

* The regions of Zap, Şehîd Delîl Western Zap, Metîna and Xakurkê were bombarded with artillery.

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Internal Security forces seize weapons intended for ISIS near Raqqa

ANF | 8 JANUARY 2024

During a check on a connecting road between Deir ez-Zor and Raqqa, forces from the Asayîş (internal security forces) seized various weapons and ammunition in a truck. The weapons were apparently intended for sleeper cells of the Islamic State.

The Asayîş officials had pulled the truck as it was traveling near Raqqa and subjected it to an inspection, according to a statement issued on Sunday.

The driver said that he had only loaded cotton. When checking the driver's cab, the Internal Security forces found a pistol. When asked, the man and his companion confessed that there were more weapons hidden in the truck.

The weapons and ammunition then appeared in cotton sacks on the trailer of the vehicle: two Kalashnikov machine guns (AK-47), twenty matching 30-round magazines and around 1,000 rounds of extra ammunition, a hand grenade and fifteen separate impact detonators, an RPG-7 anti-tank rifle and twelve matching grenades, and a universal machine gun of the MG PK type as well as more than 2,500 projectiles in caliber 7.62×54 mm R.

The Asayîş seized all the military equipment and arrested the two men. Proceedings were initiated against them on suspicion of supporting a terrorist organization and violating the weapons law. The Justice Council of Northern and Eastern Syria will take over the further investigation.

ISIS cells still active

In 2014, ISIS took control over large parts of Iraq and Syria and installed a reign of terror. The jihadist militia declared a “caliphate” across state borders. In August 2014, ISIS committed genocide and femicide in the main Yazidi settlement area of Shengal in north-west Iraq. More than 10,000 people were murdered. ISIS was driven out of Iraq in 2017 and out of Syria two years later. Despite the dismantling of the terrorist militia's territorial control in March 2019, ISIS sleeper cells are still active and are carrying out attacks. Shortly before the end of the year, a high-ranking member of the terrorist group was killed in a joint operation by the SDF, Asayîş and the international anti-ISIS coalition in the Hol camp.

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Access to Mount Gabar banned for another 15 days

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 10 JANUARY 2024

Mount Gabar, located within the borders of Şirnak center and Güçlükönak district, was declared a "Temporary Special Security Zone" for 15 days by the governorate. The ban will continue until January 25.

Şirnak Governorate had previously banned access to Mount Gabar from December 26, 2023 until January 10, 2024.

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Turkish fighter jets bomb two vehicles in Amadiya, South Kurdistan

ANF | AMADIYE | 12 JANUARY 2024

According to a Rojnews report based on local sources, the occupying Turkish state bombed two vehicles in the Dêreşê village in Amadiya district of Duhok in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) on Friday.

It is reported that the vehicles targeted by fighter jets were completely burnt.

No information has been received yet on possible casualties as a result of the attack. Authorities in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq have not made an official statement on the attack.

Local sources stated that the targeted vehicles could not be reached due to the ongoing warplane activity in the region.

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HPG: 14 soldiers were killed, 4 positions, 3 cameras and 1 radar system were destroyed

ANF | BEHDINAN | 12 JANUARY 2024

The Press Office of the People's Defence Forces (HPG) reported in a written statement on Friday that at least fourteen members of the Turkish army have been killed in the latest actions carried out by the guerrillas in the guerrilla-held Medya Defense Zones in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq).

According to the statement, eleven of the soldiers were killed in a multi-front attack on Girê Cûdî on Thursday. The mountain massif is located on the strategic western front of the Zap region, where the war in the Medya Defence Zones has been focused for some time.

Regarding the details of the approach at Girê Cûdî, HPG stated that the multi-front attack was carried out using a combination of infiltration-ambush-sniper tactics. In addition to sniper rifles, other medium-weight weapons and hand grenades were also used. The various wings of the attack targeted guard posts, several positions and two military containers. Four positions, three surveillance cameras and a radar system were destroyed, and two containers were damaged.

HPG described the action as a serious defeat for the Turkish military and pointed out that the Turkish army, as usual, concealed the actual extent of the losses from the public. The army has only acknowledged the death of one soldier, while the names of the other ten soldiers killed have been concealed.

Further actions at Girê Cûdî

HPG also provided details of further actions at Girê Cûdî, which were carried out against Turkish occupying forces on 10 January. In one of the actions, a military position was shelled with heavy weapons. In another action, guerrillas from the Free Women's Troops (YJA Star) prevented an enemy advance and thwarted attempts by Turkish soldiers to establish new positions in the area surrounding the massif. In addition, one soldier was shot dead in a sniper action.

Metîna region

The guerrillas also struck the occupation forces in the Metîna region, targeting the military movements of the Turkish troops centred on Girê Ortê. On 9 January, guerrillas targeted occupiers in open terrain twice with heavy artillery. On 11 January, two positions were shelled and heavily damaged.

Xakurke region

On 11 January, the invaders in Girê Şehîd Kamûran were targeted by the guerrillas first with heavy weapons at 16:00 and then with a coordinated action at 16:15. The first arm targeted two positions of the invaders and hit them from close range. The second arm effectively hit the invaders with assassination tactics. As a result of the actions carried out by YJA Star guerrillas, 2 invaders were killed and 2 positions were damaged.

Attacks by the Turkish army

On 8 January, the battle positions of the guerrillas in the Sîda Resistance Area in Zap region were bombed with banned explosives.

On 9, 10 and 11 January, the areas of Dergelê, Bêşîlî, Serê Metîna in Metîna region were bombed by fighter jets 6 times; the areas of Girê Bahar, Girê Cûdî in Şehîd Delîl Western Zap region were bombed 4 times, and the area of Ava Lolanê in Xakurkê region was bombed 6 times.

The regions of Zap, Şehîd Delîl Western Zap, Metîna and Xakurkê were bombarded with artillery.

The occupying Turkish army attacked the guerrilla positions in the Sîda Resistance Area in the Zap region between 7 January and 10 January and tried to drill tunnels and destroy them with diggers.

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Feminicide

KJK sends a message to Paris rally: Our revenge will be the women's revolution

ANF | PARIS | 6 JANUARY 2024

The Kurdistan Women's Community (Komalên Jinên Kurdistan-KJK) sent a message to the rally organised by the Kurdish Women's Movement in Europe (TJK-E) in Paris to demand justice for Sakine Cansız (Sara), Fidan Doğan (Rojbîn), Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahî), Emine Kara (Evîn Goyî), Mîr Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl, who were martyred in two massacres carried out in the heart of the French capital on 9 January 2013 and 23 December 2022.

The message of the KJK Coordination reads as follows:

"We greet all women, our patriotic people and peoples who are walking on the road to a free life with the enthusiasm of our revolution that started with Sakines, became an army and turned into an international women's revolution with Evîns and is today rising from Botan to Zap.

Firstly, we commemorate our comrades Sara (Sakine Cansız), Rojbîn (Fidan Doğan) and Ronahî (Leyla Şaylemez) with deep respect, love and gratitude on the 11th anniversary of the 1st Paris Massacre on 9 January 2013. Our comrade Evîn Goyî, one of the pioneers of the Kurdish Women's Movement, who led the protests against the tenth anniversary of the first massacre at a time when it was covered up and not brought to light, was treacherously murdered in front of the Ahmet Kaya Kurdish Cultural Centre, along with the artist Mîr Perwer and esteemed patriot Abdurrahman Kızıl.

The French state should not cover up this massacre for the second time but should definitely clarify its internal and external political connections. It should carry out a fair trial on the basis of the fact that this massacre is not a judicial case but a political massacre. To us, the perpetrators and instigators of both massacres are clear!

The orders for both massacres were given by the fascist dictator Erdoğan, put into practice by MIT (Turkish intelligence service) and Hakan Fidan, and a MIT agent named Ömer Güney and a fascist named William were given the task of triggerman. History has once again shown that the laws of all European countries, which they claim to be based on principles such as human rights, justice and equality, do not work when it comes to Kurdish people. When it comes to political interests, the French state has even

turned its back on its own laws, which have a history of more than two hundred years, and has been a partner in the second Paris massacre by not shedding light on the first one, although 10 years have passed since. As long as the French government does not shed light on these massacres, France will be written in history as a dirty stain and a partner of massacres.

However, during the 11 years that have passed, the Kurdish people and their friends, especially the Kurdish women, have never stopped and have worked with all their might for the elucidation of the massacre and the prosecution of the murderers by claiming the martyrs of Paris. Sara, Rojbîn, Ronahî and later comrades Evin, Mîr, Abdurrahman made great efforts to spread the Kurdistan Freedom Struggle and the Women's Freedom Revolution all over the world. Now, on the 11th anniversary of the massacre, the results of this historical endeavour are evident. With the struggle against the massacre, the consciousness of Kurdish and women's freedom and the organisation developed further gained more strength. The slogan 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî' (Woman, Life, Freedom) developed by Leader Abdullah Öcalan has become the basic slogan of the 21st century revolutions. Women and peoples created this power of struggle with the claim of being the successors of Saras and Evîns.

The Kurdistan Women's Freedom Movement has laid its foundation with the participation, courage, labour and sacrifice of our friend Sara, and has grown stronger on this solid foundation. Our comrade Sara was the creator of many firsts and fought in every field she was in. For this reason, Leader Öcalan said, 'Sara's struggle is the struggle of the women's liberation movement'. As a matter of fact, the persistent march of Comrade Sara, who created firsts, led to thousands of women seeking liberation to rise up, become conscious, organize and become an army. Evîn Goyî was also one of our comrades who pioneered the consciousness, organisation and command of free women. In her 34 years of struggle, she created great values and shared these values with her comrades, our people and women. The targeting of our comrade Evîn in the second Paris attack is therefore aimed at destroying the women's revolution, the reality of liberatory Kurd and women and the women's freedom struggle that has become universal around the philosophy of 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî'. Again, all these attacks also target our freedom movement, our leader and our freedom goals.

The massacre of our comrades, who were determined and strong pioneers in the way of becoming free women and free people against the Kurdish genocide plan, is not detached and independent of the Kurdish genocide policies and its most important pillar, the Imrali coffin system, and the international conspiracy.

A solution to the Kurdish question against the genocide policies and the prosecution of the perpetrators of the Paris massacres can be possible through the immediate ending of the detention of Leader Öcalan in the Imrali torture system without any legal basis and the physical liberation of Leader Öcalan.

We, as comrades in the struggle, reiterate our promise that we will always carry the torch of free life that we received from Saras and Evîns, and we call on all women to claim the memories of these precious martyrs. True devotion is only possible by realising their dreams and goals. All Kurds, women in the first place, can prevent these massacres and conspiracies and hold the conspirators to account by organising their self-defence wherever they are, whether in Kurdistan or Europe, by working hard in the construction of a democratic, ecological and free life paradigm based on women's freedom and by strengthening their organisations. Women, youth and all our people should stand up in Europe, Bakur, Bashûr, Rojava and Ro-

jhilat against the conspiracy of 9 January and 23 December until both massacres are brought to light and the murderers and instigators are put on trial.

The day is the day to hold the mass murderers to account!

The day is the day to struggle like Sara and Evin!

Meeting with the Free Leader in the Free Country is closer than ever!

Our revenge will be the women's revolution!"

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Paris rally: 'Lift the state secret on massacres, free Abdullah Öcalan, delist the PKK'

ANF | PARIS | 6 JANUARY 2024

Tens of thousands of people gathered in Gare du Nord Square against the Paris massacres and marched to Republique square in Paris today to demand justice for the PKK founding member Sakine Cansız (Sara), Fidan Doğan (Rojbîn) and Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahî), who were murdered by the Turkish state in Paris on 9 January 2013, and for the three victims of the second Paris massacre, which claimed the lives of Emine Kara (Evîn Goyî), Mîr Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl on 23 December 2022.

Speakers addressing the crowd in Republique Square at a rally after the march demanded the lifting of the state secret order on the massacre cases, the removal of the PKK from the list of terrorist organisations and the freedom of Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan.

TJK-E Spokesperson Ayten Kaplan thanked the participants of the march and rally and pointed out that those who ordered the massacre were protected. Kaplan said, "You did not accept France keeping this case in the dark. We appeal to the French state, we want justice to be done finally in this case. This massacre cannot remain in the dark. The killers are clear. Those who gave the instruction are clear. France must hold those responsible to account. Dirty games, dirty negotiations, dirty politics are being conducted. There are negotiations over the genocide of Kurds. These plans are being carried out by keeping Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the Kurdish people, on Imrali Island. We will not stop. Our search for justice will continue. We will be on the streets. We will march until the end by claiming the legacy of the martyrs, and we will say justice until the end. Jin Jiyan Azadi!"

After Ayten Kaplan's speech, Hélène Bidard, a senator from the Communist Party of France, took the stage with the senators and addressed the crowd, stating: "The three women killed in the massacre represented three different generations. The massacre was carried out by Turkish intelligence. We want light to be shed on this incident. These women were feminists and were fighting for all women. 10 years later, three more Kurds were murdered in Paris. Evîn Goyî fought against ISIS. She was murdered in Paris just like her friends martyred 10 years ago. I would like to commemorate Jina Amini here. She fought for the

Kurdish women's feminist struggle and for the women of the world. On behalf of the French Communist Party, I call for the lifting of state secrecy. We want the Anti-Terrorism Court to deal with the matter. The French state is protecting the criminals in the massacre. France must clarify its position for the freedom of Kurdistan. On behalf of the FKP, I also call on the European Union to implement the judgments of the ECtHR. France must protect the Kurds in the country. We are with you against the dark forces".

İbrahim Bilen, speaking on behalf of the families of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan, Leyla Şaylemez, Evin Goyi, Mir Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl, said: "We bow with respect in front of all our martyrs. If we can speak our language freely today, it is thanks to our martyrs, Leader Öcalan and those who resisted on the war front. We are here thanks to those who fought for this cause. Claim your martyrs. We are here thanks to our leader. We will not step back. We exist, we will exist. We are bigger than dungeons and chemical weapons."

After the speech on behalf of the families of martyrs, Evin Goyi's little nephew Meles Bilen sang a song dedicated to all the martyrs of Paris.

Pascal Torre, co-chair of the Coordination Nationale Solidarité Kurdistan (CNSK), emphasised in his speech that the massacres cannot be brought to light until the state secret order on the case files is lifted. Torre said: "Those who were martyred in the massacre were murdered by Turkish intelligence. For 11 years, the CNSK has been with the CDK-F. We are in solidarity with them. However, no steps have been taken to shed light on the massacre because of the 'state secret' decision. Erdoğan is responsible for the massacre, the embassy is guilty. A crime has been committed against the Kurds. Why didn't the French state lift the state secret? The French state works in harmony with Turkish intelligence.

We want those who planned the massacre to be brought to justice. We condemn the Turkish state. We must work for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan. The PKK must be removed from the terrorist list. We condemn the bombing of Shengal by the Turkish state. France should support the Kurds.

Know that we will stand with you as the French committee of solidarity with Kurdistan. Long live the solidarity of peoples."

KCDK-E Co-President Zübeyde Zümrüt stated the following: "I bow with respect to the martyrs of the revolution in the person of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan, Mîr Perwer and Evîn Goyî. As a Kurdish woman, I am grateful for their legacy. 11 years ago, Sakine Cansız, the pioneer of the Kurdish society, Leyla Şaylemez, the youth pioneer, and Fidan Doğan, a diplomat of the Kurdish people, were targeted. Kurdish women were targeted. For the second time in 10 years, we were murdered. We know our killers. The Kurdish people handed over those who played a role in both massacres to France. But the French state did not shed light on the massacre. We will not give up the search for justice. We will increase our struggle as much as our hatred. The French state closed its eyes. It swept the files under the carpet with state secrets. We will remove these secrets through people's struggle. We will be in action until we liberate Leader Öcalan."

Speaking after, KCDK-E Co-Chair Engin Sever said that the strongest response to the massacre would be the freedom of the Kurdish people's leader: "We have been massacred in Paris twice in 10 years. They wanted to keep the Kurdistan Freedom Struggle down. Leader Öcalan gave the greatest answer to them with the liberation of Rojava. In response to the second massacre, we will give the strongest response by

liberating Leader Öcalan in 2024. These massacres were carried out by the Turkish state. The French state also has a hand. Both states are NATO members; it seems that there is a NATO finger in it. France is an EU member, there is an EU finger. Therefore, we must turn every area in Europe into a site of resistance."

Mathilde Panot of the French Non-Submission Movement said in her speech: "I am a member of the Paris parliamentary group. The parliamentarians of our party are with us. Justice and truth have still not emerged. The Anti-Terrorism Court must be involved in this attack. We want to learn the details of this investigation. We support your struggle. We appeal to the French government. Lift state secrecy! We don't want people to be slaughtered in this city. We do not want this regime to commit massacres in Paris or elsewhere. The Kurdish people fought ISIS for the sake of all humanity. That is why every Kurd needs to be protected in this country. The Turkish state is using blackmail. We demand the release of political prisoners in Turkish prisons. We condemn the Turkish state's bombing of Rojava, where a democratic, ecological, women's libertarian system is being formed there. Our struggle for justice and truth will continue."

Senator Remi Féraud, speaking on behalf of the municipality of Paris, also called for the lifting of the state secrecy on the massacre cases and stated: "I speak on behalf of the municipality of the 10th district of Paris and the municipality of Paris. I commemorate Sara, Rojbin, Ronahi once again. The state secrecy on the massacre cases must be lifted. These are political massacres committed in the centre of Paris. On behalf of the mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, I say that we do not want such massacres to happen in Paris. This should be labeled as a terrorist attack and an Anti-Terrorism Court should hear the case. We are in solidarity with Rojava and we are with the Kurdish people. We stand with all Kurds in the struggle for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan. We are fighting for justice and for the truth to be revealed."

KCK Executive Council member Zübeyir Aydar emphasised that the French state did not conduct an effective investigation into the massacre cases: "We are in search of justice. Last year, 3 more Kurds were massacred here. 11 years have passed but justice has not been done yet. This case has been covered up until now. The French state has not taken a positive step in this matter. It did not carry out an investigation. It was MIT that carried out this massacre. There are voice recordings, there is evidence; but still no case has been opened against the Turkish State. Once again, we do not accept it. We appeal to the French state. You are also responsible. Kurds will follow their cases. We will follow these cases."

Aydar further spoke about the isolation of Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan, the "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question" campaign initiated worldwide on 10 October, the hunger strikes started in Turkish prisons and the guerrilla resistance against the Turkish state attacks in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

"We are going through a very important process. We have not heard anything from Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of our movement and our people, for 34 months. No one is allowed to meet with him, neither his family, nor his lawyers, or anyone else. Our friends started a campaign on 10 October for freedom for Öcalan and a solution to the Kurdish question. We call on our people to embrace this campaign because the freedom of Leader Öcalan and the freedom of the Kurdish people are interconnected. On the other hand, thousands of prisoners are on hunger strike for over 40 days. We must take our place in this process. We must fulfil our duty towards the prisoners in Iran and Turkey. I salute them. In addition, let the friend and foe know that the caravan of freedom is marching. The caravan of freedom that set out 50 years ago is today marching to freedom in the north, south, east and west. That is why thousands of Kurdish youths are fighting in the mountains of Kurdistan in these cold days to protect the values of our people."

Speaking on behalf of the National Women's Movement, Suzy Rothman stated the following: "In the first massacre which took place in 2013, and the second in 2022, we know that the Kurdish women's movement was targeted in Paris because the target was Kurdish women pioneers. These women were exiled to France because they struggled against the mentality of power, and they were murdered here. The Kurdish women's movement is a feminist movement, and we take to the streets together on 25 November and 8 March, fighting for the women of the world. We must show solidarity for the realisation of the democratic society project developed in Rojava. Our struggle is up-to-date. And we want the truth to be revealed. We want light to be shed on the massacres. We are with you for truth and justice."

Jean Christophe Sellin, National Coordinator of the Left Party, then took the floor and said: "For truth and justice, we demand the lifting of state secrecy on these cases. We support the YPG and YPJ fighters in Rojava. We are with you against the Paris massacres. We want the PKK to be removed from the terror list. We will continue our struggle for truth and justice."

We want the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan, Apo. And we believe that only Öcalan can develop a solution for the Kurdish people. The PKK and Kurdish parties are developing their project for democracy and ecological life. AKP is against this. We are with the Kurds in Rojava and with the Palestinians in Gaza.

Macron should lift the state secrecy on the case files and shed light on the Paris massacres. He should host the families of martyrs and do what is necessary."

Oliver Besancenot, spokesperson of the New Anti-Capitalist Party, stated: "We must put pressure on the French state so that the state secret on the massacres is lifted. We send our greetings to the families of the martyrs. We stand with the Kurdish people. We are inspired by the project of democratic confederalism. We must fight together. Right-wing fascist governments are developing everywhere, in France too. These governments are not against Erdogan. France must do what is necessary to remove the PKK from the list of terrorist organisations. Political prisoners in Turkey and Öcalan must be released."

After the speeches, the message sent by the KJK Coordination was read to the participants, after which Denis Gravouil from the CGT union took the floor and said: "On behalf of the CGT union, we see very well that Kurdish people were murdered twice in Paris. These 6 people were murdered because they defended the Kurdish cause. We know that a fascist was responsible for the 2nd massacre, but he was used for other purposes. For this reason, the state secret on the massacres should be lifted and the Anti-Terrorism Court should hear the cases. The communes of the Kurdish people must be protected and those responsible must be put on trial. As CGT we want to show our solidarity. We demand truth and justice."

Jerome Gleizes, a member of the Paris Council for the Ecologists, said: "11 years ago Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan, Leyla Şaylemez were murdered in Paris. A year ago, Evîn Goyî, Mîr Perwer, Abdurrahman Kızıl were murdered in Paris. We want you to know that ecologists are on the side of the Kurds. Erdoğan's Turkey is behind these massacres. Courts must be functional for truth and justice to emerge. Ecologists are with the Kurds. The Treaty of Lausanne, which has just marked its hundredth year, is a betrayal of the Kurds. There can be no solution without recognizing Kurdish rights. I believe that in the future we will find realistic justice."

René le Mignot called for a dialog with Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan for a democratic solution to the Kurdish question. "Leyla Şaylemez was fighting for Kurdish youth. Fidan Doğan was conduct-

ing diplomacy for the Kurdish people. Sakine Cansız was a founder of the PKK and was fighting for the freedom of her people. That is why they were murdered. We have been calling for truth on this massacre for 11 years. All the evidence shows that the Turkish state is involved. Why wasn't the killer ever tried? If the killer was sick, why wasn't he out on trial earlier? We know that Erdoğan and the Turkish Embassy are behind this massacre. We reiterate our call upon the French state to lift the state secret on the massacre file. Because 10 years later another massacre was committed at a time when 60 Kurdish women activists were set to gather at the CDK-F. This attack was not a racist, but a terrorist attack. The Turkish state's war continues in a similar way in Rojava, Iraq and Iran. We know what the Kurdish people's leader is fighting for in the Middle East. Abdullah Öcalan, Kurdish politicians, and Selahattin Demirtaş must be released. We want the PKK to be removed from the list of terrorist organizations. As stated in the human rights convention, when the state attacks people, the people have the right to defend themselves. For a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, there must be dialogue between Abdullah Öcalan and the state," said René le Mignot and ended her speech with a victory sign.

Lila Ayahalaa, on behalf of the Union Communiste Libertarie (Libertarian Communist Union-UCL), also called for the lifting of state secrecy on the massacre cases. In her speech, Lila Ayahalaa said: "Comrades, our organization stands with you today. The state secret on the 2013 attack must be lifted for the truth to be revealed. It is a political attack against the Kurdish people, against the peoples of Kurdistan. The strategy of the occupying Turkish state is the same. It attacks the Kurdish people everywhere. The enemies of women know very well that women's struggle brings revolution. Democratic confederalism inspires peoples all over the world. The PKK is waging a struggle of self-defense against fascism. Therefore, Abdullah Öcalan must be released. Revolution is universal."

The rally ended with a concert by TEV-ÇAND artists.



Kongra Star: Let's make 2024 the year of justice and revenge for the martyrs

ANF | 8 JANUARY 2024

Kongra Star, the umbrella organization for women in North-East Syria released a statement on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the triple murder of Sakine Cansız (Sara), Fidan Doğan (Rojbîn) and Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahî) by the Turkish state in the French capital Paris on January 9, 2013.

Kongra Star also paid tribute to the victims of what is called the second Paris massacre, in which Emine Kara (Evîn Goyî), member of the Executive Council of the KCK, Mîr Perwer (Mehmet Şirin Aydın) from the Kurdish cultural movement and long-time activist Abdurrahman Kızıl were murdered in front of the Ahmet Kaya Kurdish Cultural Centre on 23 December 2022.

The statement by Kongra Star Assembly drew attention to the struggle of the martyrs of both massacres in Paris, saying: "We promise that we will avenge the martyrs by defeating the racist and fascist forces. We will always resist the massacres in Paris and all kinds of massacres against our people and our pioneers, and

we will carry our struggle to the highest peak. We will avenge our companions. We must fight with all our strength with the awareness that the line of resistance is the line of life. As women, we need to achieve great political and social gains. Women's revenge is the strengthening of political women's consciousness."

Kongra Star Assembly appealed to all women's organizations, initiatives and movements, saying: "Let's make 2024 the year of justice and revenge for the martyrs".



PAJK: We will overcome all darkness with Comrade Sara's Apoist militant attitude

ANF | BEHDINAN | 9 JANUARY 2024

The Coordination of PAJK (Party of Free Women in Kurdistan) released a statement paying tribute to PKK co-founder Sakine Cansız (Sara), Fidan Doğan (Rojbîn) and Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahî) who were murdered in Paris by a contract killer of the Turkish secret service (MIT) on 9 January 2013.

In the statement published on its website, the PAJK Coordination said the following:

"We will turn 2024 into a year in which great developments will take place in terms of women's freedom and the physical freedom of Leader Apo (Abdullah Öcalan) will be achieved. No power and conspiracy will prevent us from achieving these lofty goals."

"We commemorate comrade Sakine Cansız, the symbol of resistance of our struggle, who was murdered in Paris on 9 January 2013 by a despicable conspiracy, and our friends Rojbîn and Ronahî, militant cadres of our women's movement, with love, respect and gratitude on the 11th anniversary of their martyrdom. We also commemorate with respect the Kurdish artist Mîr Perwer and our esteemed patriot Abdurrahman Kızıl and Evîn-Emine Kara, one of our pioneers, who were martyred in the second Paris massacre, and we reiterate our vow to hold these massacres to account. We promise that we will definitely expose this dark conspiracy against the rare pioneers of our struggle. We bow with respect before the memory of our great martyrs and once again condemn the massacres in Paris.

While the massacre of our comrade Sara-Sakine, a founding member of our party PKK, and the living history and pioneer of our women's struggle, along with Rojbîn and Ronahî still hurt our hearts, we experienced the second Paris massacre. Since 2013, the people and women of Kurdistan have been resisting on the streets for the elucidation of the Paris massacre in all its aspects and have been struggling to reveal the truth.

Instead of shedding light on the inhuman massacre committed by the Turkish state, the French authorities almost paved the way for the second Paris massacre on 23 December. While everything is very clear and the perpetrators are obvious, the confidentiality order imposed on the file was intended to cover up the dirty accounts and relations in these massacres.

It is not accidental that Sakine Cansız, who took part in the grouping and establishment of our party, Fidan Doğan, who carried out diplomatic work, and Leyla Şaylemez, one of the pioneers of the youth, were chosen. At a time when the dialogue with Rêber Apo on a solution was being developed, the targeting of three women representing three generations of the women's liberation struggle, especially Sakine Cansız, who had become the symbol of free women's identity with her resistance and struggle, which Rêber Apo called "my biggest project", was carried out on the basis of a conspiracy. The aim was to hit Rêber Apo in the strongest and most crucial place. From the first years of the struggle to becoming a party, from becoming an army to paradigmatic change and the construction of the Democratic Confederalism system, comrade Sakine walked with Rêber Apo without hesitation and always expressed her belief in the development of the democratic system. In a sense, this massacre was a decision to eliminate the path to a democratic solution and to put the denial-extermination policy back into operation in all its dimensions.

It is noteworthy that from that day until today, the policy of annihilation-denial has been implemented in the most intensive manner and fascist practices have been put into practice with a recklessness incomparable to any other period. The isolation imposed on Rêber Apo has been aggravated as never before, and methods that have no place in Turkey and international laws have been put into practice. While the planners and executors of the Paris massacre were not exposed, attempts were made to drop the case by eliminating the shooter and to make the perpetrators forgotten in the eyes of the public.

The fascism against our people and women pioneers in Kurdistan was ignored by the same power centres and the same policy still continues in full swing. The same conspiratorial groups played deaf and dumb while resilient women were massacred, unlimited attacks against everything sacred to the Kurds developed and chemical weapons were used against the guerrilla. Our relentless struggle against this mentality, which normalizes the massacres in Paris and tries to make them forgotten, will continue at any cost. Our struggle will continue uninterruptedly under all circumstances to expose the Turkish State and its supporters who carried out these massacres and to hold them accountable before history.

The fact that the shooter of the Paris massacre is dead (or somehow eliminated) will not be enough to close the case. It has been revealed by documents that the shooter was a Turkish state intelligence officer and carried out the massacre in an organised manner in cooperation with other institutions and forces. The effort of the French judiciary to close the file reveals its complicity in this massacre.

As the Kurdistan Women's Freedom Party (PAJK), we will not forget this massacre and will not let it be forgotten. The Kurdish people, women and their friends will definitely shed light on this dark reality with the stance of struggle they have and will put forward.

Leader Apo did not describe the Paris massacre as "the second Dersim massacre" for nothing. Because in the person of comrade Sara, our Leader, our Kurdistan women's liberation struggle and the values it created were targeted. At a time when the women's movement was waging a very effective struggle against the male-dominated system in four parts of Kurdistan and abroad, it was wanted to be prevented and liquidated through such a massacre. At a time when Kurdish women met with the women of the world and created excitement with their struggle, the second Paris massacre was carried out on 23 December 2022 on the basis of the same dirty aims and objectives. These massacres were carried out with the NATO-ratified Gladio's partnership with the AKP-MHP fascist regime. It is clear evidence that there is a great fear of our women's liberation struggle and that the international conspiracy mechanism against it is committed through the Turkish fascist state.

The Paris massacres have caused deep pain and great anger among women, our people and friends. Our comrade Sara, the living history of our struggle, became legendary among our people for her stance against the torturers. She spat in the face of the executioner and insisted on the struggle until the end. She engraved the invincibility of the will in golden letters in our history. With her stance representing the values created by Besê, Zarife and many other women who paid the ultimate price, she has become a universal value of freedom for the women and peoples of the Middle East as much as the people of Kurdistan. She has become an immortal source that unites women not only with her life, which will be the subject of epics, but also with her martyrdom. She became a legendary pioneer who devoted her life to the struggle for truth and did not submit to the oppression of the tyrant. This reality has become an indispensable principle in our women's freedom struggle.

In this sense, the reality of Sara-Sakine Cansız has been the invincible essence and guiding principle of our Women's Freedom Movement, the Kurdish Freedom Movement. For this reason, Sakine Cansız means life and freedom! It means fighting in the most glorious way to build a new life with women's consciousness in the land of goddesses. Thousands of women who have taken over this legacy are fighting in the mountains of Kurdistan, raising the struggle in the plains, cities and all over the world with the same spirit and claim.

Sara-Sakine Cansız, who has become a monument of resistance, is a call for all women seeking freedom. It is an invitation to struggle and to contract with life on the basis of freedom. It is our basic perspective of struggle to fight like Sara, to shout freedom courageously in the face of fascism, to build a free life in the homeland of goddesses. We will surely overcome all darkness and conspiracies with Comrade Sara's Apoist militant attitude. The will and proud resistance of the Saras, Evîns, Rojbîns, Ronahîs, Sêvê, Fatmas and Pakizê invite us, their successors, to a greater war. On this basis, all women who have a passion and claim for freedom against fascism and the male-dominated system must embrace the struggle with a spirit of mobilization. We have great reasons for a historical reckoning. We are stronger and more organized than ever to succeed and crown the dreams of our comrades with victory.

We will enhance with all our strength the legacy left to us with great sacrifice by our martyrs who condemned the enemy to defeat by the invincible Apoist spirit. With this determination, we will turn 2024 into a year in which great developments will take place in terms of women's freedom and the physical freedom of Leader Apo will be achieved. No power and conspiracy will prevent us from achieving these lofty goals. Just as our comrade Sara spat in the face of the oppressor's cruelty and betrayal in the Amed dungeon, brought the enemy to his knees with her resistance and condemned him to defeat! Victory and freedom will definitely be for those who resist, fascism and conspiratorial mentality will be defeated!"

Violence against women and femicide on the rise in South Kurdistan

ANF | 12 JANUARY 2024

While violence against women is increasing all over the world, the deaths as a result of this increase are defined as femicide. One of the places where violence against women is most common is the Federal Kurdistan Region, northern Iraq. While the current policies of the KDP government do not prevent violence against women, as a result of these policies, the rules of the tribes known for their patriarchal structure are valid in the region rather than the laws.

In the Kurdistan Region, where violence against women increased by 33 per cent between 2016 and 2023, thousands of women were subjected to violence in 2022 according to official data. While the exact number is unknown due to the government's failure to record the incidents of violence, 75 femicides were reported by the press. In the first 9 months of 2023, 64 women were recorded as murdered. Suspicious deaths of women in the region are defined as "suicide" and recorded as such, while the deaths of women driven to suicide are not investigated.

Gulizar Evîn, a member of the Free Women's Movement of Kurdistan (Rêxistina Jinên Azad ên Kurdistanê-RJAK), spoke to MA on the reasons for the femicides in the Kurdistan Region and the role of the KDP government in these massacres.

64 women murdered in the first 9 months of 2023

Stating that violence and massacres against women in the region are not prevented and increase every year, Evîn said, "South Kurdistan is one of the places in the Middle East where women are massacred the most. The reason for the increase in femicides is the perspective of the society and the policies of the government. Today, women are being massacred under the name of 'honour' and this situation is legitimised. The system here paves the way for femicides. 75 women were murdered in 2022. In 2023, according to the data we have, 64 women were murdered in various ways in 9 months. Hundreds of women were subjected to violence by those closest to them, namely their father, brother, boyfriend, or husband. Here, women are subjected to violence not only at home but also on the street. Therefore, the women's organisations here need to carry out joint and serious work. If we do not carry out a joint struggle, one woman will be missing every day."

'Women do not trust official institutions'

Noting that the policies of the government are behind the causes of violence against women, Evîn said, "KDP's policies on women pave the way for femicides by both families and patriarchal tribes. Even the human rights institutions in many cities here act with the mentality imposed on society. That is why women cannot go to these institutions. These institutions do nothing to solve women's problems. Women here do not trust official institutions and, therefore, they are silently murdered."

'Most of the perpetrators are KDP members'

Stating that the judiciary also acts with a male mentality, Evîn said, "Most of the murderers of women are members of the ruling party, and this causes them to be acquitted by the judiciary. These men see this as an armour. That is why the judiciary is not allowed to act independently. The judiciary here operates under the shadow of the male mentality. The judiciary legitimises the femicides under the name of 'honour'. For this reason, women's organisations and human rights institutions do not examine this problem much and do not approach it with courage. The lack of courage of the institutions here causes women's deaths."

Criticizing the judicial system in the region, Evîn said, "The judicial system here works in the same way as the judicial system in Turkey. There is no system to prosecute the murderers of women. Even if men with concrete evidence are sentenced, they are released after a few months as if they did nothing. The judiciary applies the decisions of the tribes. They execute a person who commits a minor offence but release the murderers of women."

'The government hides the real number'

Stating that the government hides the number of murdered women and does not share the truth with the public, Evîn said: "The saddest thing is that the society and human rights organisations remain silent on femicides. These massacres cannot be stopped with a low voice. We are facing a government that hides the real number of femicides and shares false data. This is why we need to organise. The state, the government and the judiciary are behind this mentality. Therefore, the solution against violence against women and femicide is the organised struggle of women."

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Local Elections in Turkey

DEM Party launches preparations for local elections in Amed

ANF | AMED | 11 JANUARY 2024

Local elections will be held in Turkey on 31 March. The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) has taken over from the HDP, which is under threat of being banned, and advocates decentralisation of the political system of government and consideration of regional characteristics. The DEM party is going into the local elections with the demand to solve the Kurdish question and to put the general question of democracy in Turkey back on the agenda in order to overcome the numerous crises in the country. A corresponding roadmap of the party was published in December.

Unlike in previous elections, the DEM party wants to have the local population decide on the candidates for mayoral offices and seats on city and municipal councils by consensus this time. This decision is a con-

sequence of the parliamentary elections in May last year. The loss of votes at that time was not explained by the massive repression; instead, a months-long process of criticism and self-criticism took place in all committees and with the party base. One of the points of criticism was the lack of consideration given to the local associations when selecting candidates.

In Amed (tr. Diyarbakır), the selection of candidates is to take place at a people's assembly on Sunday. This was announced by the provincial association of the DEM party today in Koşuyolu Park. The co-chair of the provincial branch, Pınar Sakık Tekin, invited people to the meeting and said: "Hundreds of candidates are preparing for the primary elections as a celebration of democracy. They not only want to run for office, but also want to take a stand against the fascist mentality. In the local elections, we will reject the trustees and end the dark period that is a nightmare for our people."

Tekin pointed out that the ruling parties want to influence the local elections by registering voters in the Kurdish provinces. In recent weeks, such cases have become known in many places. The DEM party had already publicised in December that over a thousand people with the same address were registered in Iğdır. The police headquarters in Iğdır is the registration address of 743 men who are eligible to vote. In Van, eighty AKP-affiliated families from other provinces have moved into flats for earthquake victims and do not have to pay rent. In Hakkari, numerous military personnel from cities such as Tokat and Rize have been registered.

In this context, DEM politician Pınar Sakık Tekin spoke of a "usurpation of the will of the voters" and explained that the practice introduced by the Turkish government in 2016 of having elected mayors arrested and appointing state trustees in their place followed a hundred-year-old tradition and was intolerable for the population: "Our people will not accept the trustee administration and will not capitulate to this mentality."



Human Rights Violations

ISIG: 154 workplace homicides recorded in December

ANF | ISTANBUL | 5 JANUARY 2024

The Health and Safety (ISIG) Labor Watch released the occupational homicide report for the month of December.

According to the report, a total of 154 people, 4 women and 150 men, lost their lives in workplace homicides in December. Among those who lost their lives were 5 children and 6 refugees.

The report underlined that the rate of deaths in the construction and road sectors was 29 percent, in transportation 12 percent, in agriculture and forestry 11 percent, in trade and office 9 percent and in the metal

industry 8 percent. As to the causes of death, crushing and collapse accounted for 22 percent of the accidents, traffic and shuttle for 21 percent, and falling from heights for 19 percent.

Istanbul was the city with the highest number of workplace homicides.

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Three taken into custody in Silvan, Amed

ANF | AMED | 5 JANUARY 2024

Anti-terror police carried out raids in the Silvan district of Amed (Diyarbakır) early Friday morning.

Three people were taken into custody during the house raids; Murat Aslan (26), Selman Aktaş (19) and Cihan Almaz.

According to reports, Murat Aslan has been released from prison only recently. His father, Halis Aslan, stated that the police stormed the house in boots covered with mud, saying: "They don't have a shred of humanity."

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6 women journalists on trial: We will continue to defend our Kurdish colleagues

ANF | ISTANBUL | 10 JANUARY 2024

The first hearing of the lawsuit filed against journalists Serpil Ünal, Yadigar Aygün, Pınar Gayıp, Eylem Nazlıer, Zeynep Kuray and Esra Soybir, who gathered in Kadıköy on April 29, 2023, to protest the operations against free press workers in Amed (Diyarbakır) and were beaten and detained was held in Istanbul on Wednesday.

The hearing of the journalists, who are accused of "participating in unlawful assemblies and marches without weapons and not dispersing spontaneously despite a warning" was held at the 22nd Criminal Court of First Instance at the Anadolu Courthouse. All journalists except Esra Soybir were present at the hearing. Many personalities from the press and legal organizations followed the hearing.

Gayıp: We were subjected to violence

Pınar Gayıp, editor of Etkin News Agency (ETHA), who made her defense after the identification, stated that the police chief she met before the protest told her that there was no ban order. Pointing out that they learned about the banning order at the protest site, Gayıp said that they were prevented on the grounds of "blocking the road". She stated that they were subjected to swearing and violence by the police and said,

"The reason for the ban was our call for solidarity with Kurdish journalists because the mainstream media labeled our fellow journalists as 'terrorists' at the time."

Kuray: Solidarity is being criminalized

"The police deliberately allowed us to gather and detained us," journalist Zeynep Kuray said. Emphasizing that professional solidarity is not a crime, Kuray said, "I was going to join the protest. Pınar told me it was 'forbidden'. At that moment, the police surrounded us. I went there to stand up for my colleagues. I did not accept these bans and I unfurled the banner 'Free press cannot be silenced'." Kuray emphasized that solidarity with the Kurdish press was being criminalized.

'If there is a criminal, it is the police'

Stating that journalists were beaten, Kuray said, "Anyone can make a press statement for journalists. Why is this forbidden to us? We also faced unlawfulness during the 'FETÖ' era. They are in jail now. We face the same lawlessness every time. I am proud to stand in solidarity with my colleagues. I will never give up solidarity with them. If there is a criminal here, it is the law enforcement, the police."

Aygün: We will defend Kurdish journalists

Gazete Patika reporter Yadigar Aygün said that she was handcuffed behind her back even though she stated that she has a heart disease. "The AKP targeted the Kurdish press before the elections and carried out operations against the Kurdish press. This detention was arbitrary. There are still protests there, no one interferes. Also, the decision was taken very suddenly. I was harassed, slapped in the face. Why aren't those who sued us being prosecuted? We will always defend Kurdish journalists. Many of them are in prison, I will continue to defend them. The real criminals are those who filed this case unjustly and unlawfully."

Ünal: We were detained through torture

Serpil Ünal, a reporter for Mücadele Birliği newspaper, said, "We were detained with very heavy torture. When they tried to pull me up, I fell to the ground. When my friends intervened, the police attacked them too. We filed a complaint against them. Our hands were bruised due to the tightness of the handcuffs. We demonstrated for the release of Kurdish journalists because they were detained for reporting news."

Nazlier: I will continue to defend my colleagues

Evrensel newspaper reporter Eylem Nazlier stated that it was not a coincidence that they were put on trial on January 10, Working Journalists' Day, and described the violence they experienced. Nazlier stated that during the prevented demonstration, they were going to say that "the reasons for the detention of our friends were their professional activities and that journalism cannot be put on trial".

Nazlier continued: "Journalist Metin Göktepe was tortured to death in detention on January 8, 1996. We were being murdered in the darkness of the 1990s, and now we are being intimidated through detentions and arrests. I work at the newspaper Göktepe had worked for, a newspaper that paid a price. I know the weight of this very well. I participated in the protest that day because I know this. We come from the tra-

dition of journalist Metin Göktepe. I do not accept what the police told me: 'You will learn to shut up'. I will continue to defend my colleagues and my profession."

Request for acquittal

Ümmühan Kaya, one of the journalists' lawyers, recalled the articles in international conventions and the constitution and said that her clients had not committed a crime. Kaya said, "They met with the police and the police said there would be no problem. But at the last minute they detained the journalists. It alarms me that our clients were beaten and detained in this way. How can the police behave so unlawfully? Journalists are being tried here today despite being subjected torture. I demand the acquittal of our clients."

Hearing adjourned

The lawyers demanded that the footage of the detentions and the Kadıköy Governorate's "banning" order be included in the file. The court accepted the lawyers' demands and adjourned the hearing to April 16.

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German police search Kurdish houses in Hanover

ANF | HANNOVER | 10 JANUARY 2024

According to information received, the homes of many Kurds living in the city of Hanover and surrounding towns were raided by German police on Wednesday.

Among the houses raided is that of artist Ciwan Çewliq. It has been reported that a press release will be made tomorrow, Thursday, regarding the searches carried out by the Lower Saxony state police.

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Three people, including DBP provincial co-chair and MEBYADER representative, jailed in Adıyaman

ANF | ADIYAMAN | 11 JANUARY 2024

Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Adıyaman Provincial Co-Chair Aziz, Mahmut Elçi, Adıyaman Representative of MEBYADER (Association of Assistance, Solidarity, Unity and Culture with the Families of the Disappeared in the Cradle of Civilizations), and Bedriye Polattaş, who were detained in house raids in Adıyaman centre on January 8, were remanded in custody after their referral to a court for allegedly "being members of an illegal organization."

Akdağ, Elçi and Polattaş, who exercised their right to remain silent at the gendarmerie station during three days of detention, were brought to Adıyaman Courthouse this morning. Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Adıyaman Provincial Co-Chair Aziz Akdağ, who was present with his lawyer at the prosecutor's office, said that after he was taken into custody, he was taken to a room by the gendarmes who forced him to give his statement there. When Akdağ said that he would not give his statement without a lawyer, the gendarmes insulted him by saying "You idiot, your blood is worthless".

In his statement to the prosecutor's office, Akdağ was asked about his speeches on Ronahi TV during the earthquake and election process. Akdağ was asked about his referring to PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan as "Mr." in the TV programmes. In response, Akdağ said that he believed that the ongoing isolation of PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan should be lifted. Akdağ was then asked, "Do you consider the PKK an armed terrorist organisation?". Akdağ's lawyer, Yusuf Özperçin, stated that the question was not in conformity with the Constitution and was therefore undue.

Mahmut Elçi, the Adıyaman Representative of MEBYA-DER, stated that when he said that he would not give a statement without his lawyer, Yusuf Özperçin, at the gendarmerie station where he was detained, the gendarmerie said, "Not him, he is a terrorist".

After giving their statements at the prosecutor's office, Akdağ, Elçi and Polattaş were referred to Adıyaman 2nd Criminal Judgeship of Peace. Following the procedures here, Akdağ, Elçi and Polattaş were sentenced to be arrested on the grounds of "being members of an illegal organisation " on the grounds of making a declaration in front of the poster of PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan with the slogan "Şehid namirin, Bijî Serok Apo" (Martyrs are immortal, long live leader Öcalan) and the statements of a person named Ahmet Kaya who benefited from effective remorse.

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Unemployment on the rise in Turkey

ANF | ANKARA | 12 JANUARY 2024

The Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) has released new data showing that unemployment has increased for the first time since June.

The number of unemployed individuals aged 15 and over increased by 115 thousand people to 3 million and 116 thousand people in November 2023 compared to the previous month.

The unemployment rate also increased by 0.4 points, reaching 9 percent. While the unemployment rate is estimated at 7.5 percent for men, it is 11.8 percent for women.

In November 2023, the number of employed individuals decreased by 236 thousand compared to the previous month, and measured at 31 million 611 thousand people. The employment rate also decreased by 0.4 percentage points to 48.2%. This rate is 65.4% for men and 31.3% for women.

The labor force also decreased by 122 thousand people in November 2023, reaching 34 million 726 thousand people. The labor force participation rate decreased by 0.2 percentage points to 52.9%. The labor force participation rate was 70.7% for men and 35.5% for women.

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Racist group attack students twice at Ankara University

ANF | ANKARA | 12 JANUARY 2024

A racist group from MHP attacked students twice at Ankara University (AU) Cebeci Campus. Students waiting in front of Ankara University Faculty of Communication (ILEF) to take the exams were attacked on Thursday morning by a racist group.

Approximately three hours after the first attack, the racist group gathered once again and came to the campus, this time attacking students sitting in the cafe in front of the Faculty of Communication.

Students built a barricade in self-defense against the racist attacks.

The students said that the people from the mob attacking them were not even taken into custody.

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Peace in Kurdistan

Kalkan underlines the important role of Abdullah Öcalan for a genuine peace/democratization process

ANF | 6 JANUARY 2024

In an extensive analysis, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, addressed the issue of the solution to the Kurdish question and the associated democratization of the Middle East. In particular, he underlined the important role of Abdullah Öcalan in a genuine peace/democratization process.

The analysis is as follows:

We are facing a fascist regime armed from head to toe, and we see that it is trying to turn every aspect of life into a part of the psychological special warfare. Society, people from 7 to 70, faces such a total attack of the fascist special war 24 hours, every day. This has a serious ideological, political and military meaning. On this basis, the will of the Kurdish society and revolutionary democratic forces is wanted to be broken.

The nerves of Kurdish society and its international friends are being played with. The attack continues on the point they are most sensitive to, the point they consider the justification for war and peace, namely Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan]. This is a very dangerous attack, a serious incident, a situation that cannot be approached lightly or taken lightly in any way. It is a completely planned, organized and purposefully developed psychological special warfare attack.

It should not be forgotten that Imrali is the place where the war is the most intense and fierce. There are attacks of fascist-genocidal special warfare and psychological warfare every second. All of life takes place as resistance against these attacks. The harshest and deepest struggle is taking place on Imrali. The system of isolation and torture on Imrali continues, and it is being tried to be continued by aggravating it. The events clearly show us this reality. Also, we see that the mentality and politics that led to this is trying to continue its planned and organized attacks and sovereignty. There should not be any misconception here either.

Now, not only the Kurds, but all revolutionary democratic forces, women, youth and peoples of Turkey, as well as all the progressive, democratic and socialist forces of the Middle East and the world clearly see that the solution lies on Imrali, that the power of solution is Rêber Apo, and that the solution of the Kurdish question can be realized on the basis of the theoretical paradigmatic and policy developed by Rêber Apo. Everyone has realized that there cannot be a solution without Rêber Apo. If the Kurdish problem is to be solved and on this basis a Kurdish-Turkish peace is to be realized in this world, everyone now clearly sees and understands much better and more deeply that this can only be realized under the leadership of Rêber Apo and that only Rêber Apo is the power to achieve this.

In the past, Rêber Apo and our Party used to express this in various ways. Over time, the women and youth of the Kurdish people have grasped this reality and have turned to expressing it and taking action on this basis, but this is no longer an event that is limited to the Rêber Apo, the PKK or the Kurdish people, it has now become a phenomenon that has extended far beyond them to the peoples of Turkey and has drawn in the libertarian democratic forces of the Middle East and the world. Everyone knows the issue now. Everyone knows the reality of Rêber Apo much better now. Therefore, they know the Kurdish problem. 'Who created the Kurdish problem, what does this problem mean, what kind of interests do they gain from the existence of the so-called Kurdish problem? Who wants to solve the problem, how can it really be solved, what does the reality of Rêber Apo mean in this context?' They have reached a position to give very accurate and effective answers to these questions. For this reason, the eyes and ears of everyone who wants freedom and democracy, who wants peace and stability are on Imrali. The question is whether or not Rêber Apo's path will be paved and he will be able to live and work freely.

On this basis, the focus is on the revelation of whether a solution to the Kurdish problem is wanted to be developed. This situation continues to spread and deepen, it does not diminish. On this occasion, it would be useful to mention again the declaration issued by Rêber Apo in 2019 and the will he put forward in the meeting on May 2, 2019. At that time, there were many people who appreciated Rêber Apo's evaluations, who said that this was a great opportunity and advantage, and that this opportunity must be used correctly without delay and without wasting it. Because they saw the importance and significance of the matter. They once again saw and understood the resolving power, will, seriousness and responsibility of the reality of Rêber Apo.

Despite all kinds of slander, lies, deceit, confusion and obfuscation by the special psychological warfare, Rêber Apo revealed a reality that clarified and illuminated everything again with the attitude he put forward. He made all those games of obfuscation and obscurity futile and unsuccessful. He once again offered an opportunity and possibility to all those who are passionate about freedom and democracy and see this in the solution of the Kurdish question. They received courage, morale and strength to work in this direction. On this basis, Rêber Apo's call was a call for awareness, organization and action.

Another important message is that in the past, in order to find a solution at such a point, Rêber Apo always warned the circles that created the Kurdish problem and made it unsolvable. Rather than warning the circles that created the Kurdish problem and made it unsolvable and asking them to change themselves, this time Rêber Apo addressed those who are outside of them, those who want a solution to the Kurdish problem, those who want the freedom of Kurds and the democratization of Turkey and the Middle East, and laid out what they should do. He said, *"If you insist on this demand, then you will do the daily ideological, political and active work that this requires. Even though I am being held alone in a cell like this at this age, I am working 24 hours a day, I am concentrating on the solution, I am researching, I am in search of a solution 24 hours a day. So, if you really want a solution, you will also work 24 hours a day in this direction like me, you have more opportunities, more possibilities. Therefore, you will use them, raise your consciousness, organize yourselves and become a real force of solution. You will overcome and defeat the forces that impose insolvency, that are obstacles to a solution, and you will increase your will and strength."* This was important. On this basis, he called on everyone to struggle against the Imrali isolation, and thus for everyone to fight harder for their own freedom and democracy. *"Imrali isolation is isolation for everyone. Everyone must struggle to break their own isolation. Everyone must fight for their own freedom and democracy, then the Imrali torture and isolation system will be broken, and freedom and democracy will come to Kurdistan, Turkey and the Middle East,"* he said and thus called on those who want freedom, democracy, who want a solution to the Kurdish question, who are against the Imrali torture and isolation system, not to leave it in words, but to transform it into more consciousness, organization and joint action, to create greater power.

He said that the sovereign powers have united their forces in two blocs, one in the form of the so-called 'People's Alliance' and one in the form of the so-called 'Nation's Alliance', so that they mutually hold the administration and power in Turkey, but that this is a two-legged seesaw of power that cannot turn into a table, so a third leg is necessary, and that the forces that want the freedom of Kurdistan and the democratization of Turkey should be able to unite around a democracy alliance and form this third leg. He said that only if the equation of Turkey can become a table like this, if it turns itself into a third pillar, then the libertarian and democratic forces can become the power to solve all economic, social and political problems, especially the Kurdish problem, the women's problem, the problem of Alevis, the problem of workers and laborers, and called on them to work on this basis. It called for more intense struggle and more effective unity.

Undoubtedly, he cared about the existing ones, did not despise them, and greeted them all with respect. He said, *"I salute everyone who struggles against the Imrali isolation, who takes to the streets"*, he saluted the press, he saluted democratic politics. He showed that he cares, that he considers what is being done important. In order to overcome the current power blocs and thus to reveal a sufficient level to eliminate the Imrali torture and isolation system, we need to become more conscious, more organized, more united, more powerful. The movement for democracy must develop and grow more, and draw the society into the ranks of democracy by raising more awareness, organizing and educating them. It has revealed that it is necessary to enlighten the people who have been deceived, deceived by the ruling blocs, the fascist special warfare

forces, who have been deceived and bought by lies, and to draw them into the forces of democracy, into the movement for democracy. This was very important. It is indeed a call for awareness, organization and action. It is once again a clear demonstration that this is where the solution lies. In this way, Rêber Apo criticized the approaches and attitudes that do not raise consciousness, do not organize, do not unite, do not struggle more, always waiting for someone else, waiting for the fascist government, waiting for the CHP bloc. He has once again clearly expressed and demonstrated that no results and success can be achieved with that attitude and approach.

He pointed out that propaganda work should be further developed as an educational work for society. In essence, he stated that democratic politics should be enlarged, strengthened and gradually turn itself into the strongest candidate for power. Rêber Apo has once again shown that such a level can definitely be achieved by resisting and struggling despite all kinds of pressure, arrests, persecution and hindrances. This is what needs to be understood. On this basis, he said to everyone who wants a solution to the Kurdish question, who wants to free Turkey and democratic Kurdistan, *“the solution lays in your hands, you are the power of solution, if you become conscious, organize and struggle, you will turn yourself into the power of solution, the solution is in your hands, you will create the solution. So don't wait for others, don't be pessimistic, become more conscious, organize more and wage a more effective struggle. That is when you will win.”*

Everyone should know this fact very well: After 25 years of resistance against the torture and isolation system on İmralı, Rêber Apo is not doing these things because there is a good life there. Let's be careful, there is no good life there. What is there? There is 24 hours of oppression, torture, cruelty, material and moral domination. Psychological pressure and attack is in question every moment of the 24 hours of the day. Therefore, one cannot live on İmralı under normal conditions, one cannot resist the pressure on İmralı, one cannot survive on İmralı. Rêber Apo has demonstrated this in the most concrete way many times, both in the talks and in his prepared prison writings.

Despite all this, why and how does Rêber Apo resist? He said that he *“resists for a great purpose”* and expressed the following: *“If there are no lofty goals and if there is no commitment to them at the level of tuktu, one cannot survive a day here, one cannot live 24 hours a day, one certainly cannot endure this isolation, torture and persecution. However, the existence of lofty goals makes one able to resist such persecution, gives one the strength to resist and succeed.”* He made this clear. So what does this lofty goal mean? Of course it includes the freedom of the Kurds, the democratization of Turkey, the democratic unity and brotherhood of the peoples of the Middle East. It means the freedom of women and the preparation of a free and democratic future for the youth. He struggles for the elimination of all kinds of fascist capitalist systems of oppression, exploitation, oppression, harassment, rape, massacres, fascist terror, exploitation to the bone. One cannot struggle for anything else, one cannot endure on İmralı. Let's be careful, there is no beautiful life, no material life on İmralı. One cannot achieve anything for oneself by resisting on İmralı. Therefore, Rêber Apo is not resisting to create a good life for himself. He is resisting for freedom and democracy to win. He is resisting for the end of fascist oppression and terror. He resists for the liberation of humanity from capitalist oppression and exploitation. He resists and struggles for women to become free, equal and strong-willed subjects of life. This point is very important. How is Rêber Apo resisting on İmralı? How should this resistance be understood, how is this 'superhuman', miraculous attitude and stance shown? It is very important to answer these questions correctly and understand them in depth.

First of all, this point must be clearly known: Why is there resistance, what is the purpose of that resistance? How is it resisted, what are the methods? How can such resistance be sustained? Here we see the

level of the reality of Rêber Apo and his commitment to the historical society and to a free and democratic existence. We see the great will for freedom, the will for democracy. Otherwise, one cannot easily resist there for individual interests, for material life. Against such an intensified and refined system of oppression and torture, one cannot keep one's spirit, emotions, thoughts intact, one cannot keep one's behavior under control, in short, one cannot resist. What is it that gives Rêber Apo the strength to endure and enables him to win by finding the right methods and resisting? This is the reality he calls 'lofty goals'. As a result of his dedication to the free and democratic lives of women, youth, laborers, all oppressed people and peoples, and not wanting anything for himself, such a reality of resistance emerges. If we say, 'Let the torture and isolation system on Imrali be overthrown, let Rêber Apo live and work in free conditions, let fascism be overthrown, let the Kurds be free and Turkey be democratic', then we will find the will, the consciousness, the style, the passion to realize this. This is Rêber Apo's will and way of resistance. We will learn these from the reality of Rêber Apo's resistance on Imrali. The only way of struggle that will break the Imrali torture and isolation system, defeat the conspiracy, overthrow fascism, make Rêber Apo live and work freely, make Turkey democratic and Kurdistan free is Rêber Apo's way of life and resistance.

In 2024, in order to fight against the Imrali torture and isolation system, first of all, it is necessary to reach this consciousness and depth, to have such a belief, and on this basis, to turn to organized struggle. Everyone should understand better and wage more organized struggle. Everyone should do their best. It must be known that the aggravated isolation and torture on Imrali is the aggravated isolation and torture that is applied to everyone in Turkey and Kurdistan. All oppression, cruelty and exploitation draw strength from the existence of the Imrali torture and isolation system. The peoples of the Middle East and the world, humanity is threatened by such a fascist colonialist-genocidal mentality and politics. Therefore, the way out of all this is to fight against the Imrali torture and isolation system. As long as Imrali torture and isolation exist, there will be no freedom, no democracy, no one will be able to live free and democratic lives. There will be isolation, torture, fascism, massacres, harassment, rape and genocide everywhere. Therefore, democracy and freedom can only be realized by breaking the Imrali torture and isolation system. There can be no freedom and democracy for anyone in Kurdistan or in Turkey until the Imrali torture and isolation system is broken and Rêber Apo is able to live and work freely. The struggle against the Imrali torture and isolation system has become the basic essence of the antifascist struggle for democracy. On this basis, it is necessary to raise the struggle even more. Rêber Apo drew attention to this and called for it. *"Become more conscious, organize more, unite more strongly and fight more intensely. Everyone should be able to fight on the basis of utilizing whatever opportunities they can, wherever they are."* This is the basic perspective. It is a perspective for those who call it a perspective, an instruction for those who perceive it as an instruction, a request for those who accept it, but a call for everyone to antifascist, libertarian and democratic resistance.

Especially Kurdish women are everywhere, slogans were chanted in Kurdish all over the world saying "Jin, Jiyan, Azadî". No matter how much fascism tries to make us forget Kurdish within the borders of the Turkish Republic, women all over the world now speak Kurdish, chant slogans in Kurdish, everyone is learning Kurdish. The oppressed, workers, civil servants, peoples, all oppressed segments are inspired by the Kurdish Freedom Struggle and march towards the struggle for freedom by understanding and assimilating the philosophy of Rêber Apo, believing that they will achieve their own liberation. The Kurds have created a freedom struggle that leads and inspires so many oppressed people. They have made the oppressed, all of humanity, speak Kurdish, the language that the genocidal capitalist modernity system wanted to ban and destroy. What could be greater and more beautiful than this?

On the other hand, the enthusiasm, will and endurance of women are at the highest level. It reveals that humanity is the closest of all times to living freely on the basis of women's liberation. Quantitatively millions are being reached, the enthusiasm is at the highest level, the demands are concrete and women want freedom and equality. They are demonstrating the will to create a development in which all kinds of male-dominated mentality and politics are broken and destroyed, and women's freedom is achieved on the basis of revolution.

This means that we must not narrow our agenda, and we must not have narrow emotional approaches. There should be no distancing and narrowing from the struggle. We must carry out our struggle for freedom and democracy with a more creative and richer understanding and style that sees and understands the target more accurately and knows how to neutralize it. We must organize and develop new moves of struggle. We must be able to utilize every opportunity and possibility in this regard. We must be extremely creative and strong-willed.

In this framework, we will definitely create a result in 2024 that breaks the isolation, destroys fascism, makes Kurdistan free and Turkey and the Middle East democratic. We will fight stronger and win bigger. On this basis, I congratulate the New Year of all our people and democratic humanity and wish them great success.



Artists in Turkey: Let us be a voice for peace

ANF | ISTANBUL | 7 JANUARY 2024

In an urgent appeal to the public, hundreds of artists from Turkey called for negotiations on a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. The declaration "Let us be a voice for peace", signed by 564 personalities, was presented today at the Taksim Hill Hotel in Istanbul. Among the signatories are prominent names such as musician Cevdet Bağca, writer Ayşegül Devocioğlu, art critic and painter Feyyaz Yaman, author Fırat Cewerî, director Haşım Aydemir, actress Jülide Kural, musician Mikail Aslan, documentary filmmaker Nejla Demirci, photographer Özcan Yaman, painter Sevinç Altan, author Şanar Yurdatapan and director and DEM deputy Sırrı Süreyya Önder.

Writer Ayşegül Devocioğlu read the declaration, the full text of which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned people of art and literature, would like to share with the public our objection to the obstacles preventing the Republic from attaining a democratic, populist and libertarian character in its second century. Concerned about the future of Turkey, we wish to be a modest voice in this environment of multiple crises. If we remain silent today, there may be no one left to speak tomorrow.

We, the people of art and literature, who will not stand by and watch Turkey waste another century, propose to weave together a future in which all ethnic, religious and cultural identities live freely and are not oppressed or subjected to pogroms.

We have the responsibility to speak a new word, to form a new sentence in this muddy ground where the legislature is under the pressure of the government, the independent judiciary has lost its independence under the 'one man regime', secular and free education has fallen behind the times, trustees have been appointed to universities and people's municipalities, women are subjected to violence, brain drain has reached an extreme level, and youth are leaving the country out of fear for their future.

We believe that we need a new way of looking and seeing in this atmosphere of deepening social and economic crises, where democratic possibilities are excluded in solving problems arising from denial and assimilation, and violence is constantly updated as a policy.

For a hundred years, many humanitarian demands for rights, especially the democratic demands of the Kurds and the freedom of belief of Alevis, were postponed, not resolved, and consolidated by the governments as a phenomenon of separation between our peoples. The divisions between peoples and cultures have been deepened.

Pressurized by multiple crises, public opinion is under heavy manipulation by the government. Those who govern Turkey are distracting the public from the real agenda with secondary agendas. Isolation practices have turned into a management apparatus in the hands of the autocratic government. Society is under an ideological and political siege. Isolation and war policies deepen social and economic crises.

Thousands of people are unlawfully imprisoned for their political views and are almost political hostages. Practices in prisons that violate human rights are increasing day by day. Thousands of political prisoners are currently on hunger strike against isolation practices. The demands of political prisoners on hunger strike must be listened to and resolved through negotiations.

We believe that Turkey's problems should be solved through negotiation. Starting in 2013, the 'Resolution Process', which created great hope for reconciliation among the people, was a valuable experiment. Negotiations with Abdullah Öcalan, one of the interlocutors of the issue, created the possibilities for peace. With the consent of a large part of society, the process can start again. Society must be courageous for peace. It should not be afraid to dialog and talk.

It is our open call to everyone in the position of interlocutor; the conditions set forth by universal law and human rights need to be fulfilled without hesitation by the political representatives of the time. The government must abandon the politics of oppression, isolation and war. We believe that these ideas and suggestions by people of art and literature will be embraced by all those who desire the construction of social peace."

Speaking at the meeting, Feyyaz Yaman from Karşı Sanat (Counter Art) said that they came together to "protect peace". Yaman said, "But while doing this, our framework has been in the field of art. Art has never experienced such an environment of violence, victimization and injustice as today. Its voice has never been silenced like this. In each of these situations, we see that this silence is not only due to the economic difficulties experienced by artists. Artists cannot perform, writers cannot write their books. The real reason for this whole crisis is that the social consensus has also broken down at the legal level. This silencing environment we are experiencing all over the world today prompts us to seek our rights. If art is to speak a critical language, then it must first weave rights and the coexistence of peoples. We invite artists to stand together against those who continuously impose a process of extermination and to claim this need.

We have something to do for this, we need to produce a process of real dialogue. We have to bring together and defend the injustices we have suffered in this environment of differences on our common ground of righteousness. As those who believe in the power of art, we invite everyone to re-establish this peace."

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Artists in Amed join the campaign "Let us be a voice for peace"

ANF | AMED | 7 JANUARY 2024

In a declaration "Let us be a voice for peace", 564 personalities from the art and cultural scene in Turkey called for negotiations on a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. The declaration, which was presented in Istanbul earlier today, was endorsed by artists in Amed (Diyarbakır).

Many personalities, including musicians, art critics, writers, directors, directors, actors, painters, dengbêj and art academics in Amed also presented the Kurdish version of the declaration, titled "Li hemberî tecrîdê em bibin dengê aşîtiyê".

Many people participated in the press briefing at the Dicle Culture and Art Association building in the central Sur district.

Kurdish PEN Co-President Ömer Fidan read out the declaration, which was followed by the slogan "Jin, Jîyan, Azadî" (Woman, Life, Freedom).

Among the signatories of the declaration are prominent names such as musician Cevdet Bağca, writer Ayşegül Devecioğlu, art critic and painter Feyyaz Yaman, author Firat Cewerî, director Haşim Aydemir, actress Jülide Kural, musician Mikail Aslan, documentary filmmaker Nejla Demirci, photographer Özcan Yaman, painter Sevinç Altan, author Şanar Yurdatapan and director and DEM deputy Sırrı Süreyya Önder.

"We, the people of art and literature, who will not stand by and watch Turkey waste another century, propose to weave together a future in which all ethnic, religious and cultural identities live freely and are not oppressed or subjected to pogroms," say the signatories, calling for negotiations to solve the problems experienced in Turkey, including the isolation and war policies that deepen social and economic crises; unlawful imprisonment of thousands of people for their political views; ongoing hunger strikes joined by thousands of prisoners; the Kurdish question that can only be resolved through negotiation, and the government's politics of oppression, isolation and war.

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French artists and intellectuals: Let us be a voice for peace

ANF | MARSEILLE | 11 JANUARY 2024

Amid general indifference, the Turkish power is accelerating its enterprise of destroying the Kurdish people. The "Voice for Peace in Kurdistan" collective is organizing a conference in Marseille on Saturday, 13 January.

121 personalities from the cultural and intellectual world have signed an appeal, carrying among the signatories Annie Ernaux, Edgar Morin, Ariane Ascaride, Patrick Chamoiseau, Joseph Andras, Gérard Chaliand, Ernest Pignon Ernest, Sepideh Farsi, Patrick Baudouin, Françoise Cotta, Rony Brauman, Didier Fassin, Valérie Manteau, Jean Ziegler, Robert Guédiguian, Gilbert Mitterrand, Alice Mogwe, Olivier Weber, Elie Guillou.

The appeal said: "On 13 January we will come together to make louder the voice of calls for peace coming from Turkey. Recently, 78 Kurdish and Turkish journalists, artists, intellectuals and human rights defenders launched an appeal to draw attention to the urgency of a peaceful solution. We recognize their courage, as the situation in Kurdistan continues to become tense, and the previous call for peace ("We will not be complicit in this crime", in 2016) was described as terrorist propaganda by the Turkish government and caused the persecution of its signatories. We intend to support, protect and amplify their voices."

The text continues: "In a context marked by militarist policies, by the trivialization of all horrors, centers of extreme violence continue to multiply in the Middle East. After the ethnic cleansing of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh in the indifference of the international community, we are helplessly witnessing the unleashing of violence and the massacre by militarist powers of the Israeli and Palestinian populations.

The centers of extreme violence that are igniting the Middle East are not isolated, neither from each other, nor from the rest of the world. They are caught in the net of globalized militarism and are links in a chain of nationalist ideologies that are hopelessly similar. Let's not let the chain grow and close. Let's not let one massacre hide another. We must do everything we can to break the vicious circle of violence and hatred, before it is too late. Before horror is added to horror. In resonance with other voices raised around the world to call for a ceasefire and peace in Israel-Palestine, we raise ours so that the Kurdish people are not forgotten."

The text added: "Today the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES) reports that between October 5 and 9 the Turkish army carried out massive operations in these regions – 580 air and ground strikes were carried out, causing dozens of deaths among the civilian population and systematically destroying not only the infrastructure which provides water and electricity to millions of people, but also schools and administrative buildings.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the border, several tens of thousands of political opponents, especially Kurds, and mainly women - including deputies and mayors - are locked up in the prisons of the authoritarian regime. Turk who wants to stifle every voice of peace. The Turkish government is deliberately fueling the anger of the Kurds by keeping Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the Kurdish movement who played a

key role in the peace negotiations in 2013 and 2015, in prison in total isolation, with no sign of life for 30 months."

The appeal end with the following call: "On 13 January, taking seriously the alarming signals of another war that risks spiraling out of control, we will come together to say that it is not too late. We will come together to prevent the annihilation of a people and to raise loud and clear the voices of peace that come to us from Turkey and around the world."

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Interview

Kalkan: Turkey is hostile to every Kurd - PART THREE

ANF | 2 JANUARY 2024

KCK Executive Committee Member Duran Kalkan said that "the Turkish army is hostile to every Kurd, hostile to every patriotic Kurd."

After the lethal actions of the guerrilla, the Turkish state attacked infrastructure in Rojava. How do you evaluate these attacks?

The statement that the enemy attacked Rojava after the guerrilla actions is not right. This may have been the timing, but the guerrilla war in the Medya Defense Zones has nothing to do with Rojava. There is a war happening. It is not correct to say that the Turkish army is attacking, burning and destroying Rojava because of the guerrilla actions. The Turkish army is hostile to every Kurd, hostile to every patriotic Kurd. In fact, they are attacking less than they otherwise could because of the guerrilla. If the Turkish state was not afraid of the guerrilla, it would not only occupy Afrin and Serekaniye but would also occupy its way to Qamishlo, Hesekê and everywhere. They cannot because they are afraid of the guerrilla. That is why there are fewer attacks because of those guerrilla actions. They already have plans. If they find the opportunity, if they can afford it, they will carry out invasion attacks. But because of the fear of the guerrilla, they can't do it, so they carry out air strikes. First of all, we must understand this correctly. We must approach it correctly. Corrections are necessary. I mean, the people of Rojava, the North East and Syria have already understood this. They took to the streets to celebrate when the guerrilla carried out actions. They celebrated the guerrilla. They know very well that guerrilla action is the strongest act of self-defense. They are attached to the guerrilla with their souls and everything. Let's see this in this way. On the other hand, the Turkish state is brazenly attacking Rojava and Northeast Syria whenever it has the opportunity. This man, Hakan Fidan, has already come out and openly said that we will hit and break everything. We will destroy all living spaces, service areas, infrastructure and superstructure, and they attack and destroy whenever they have the opportunity. These attacks are completely based on this. We see and understand this.

Our people of Rojava, the people of Northeast Syria, have given martyrs. I commemorate their martyrs with respect. The people took to the streets, claiming a free life and democratic system. This clearly expresses that the people will develop resistance and grow. This is the right attitude. But we need to see this. The current AKP and MHP governments are attacking all patriotic Kurds wherever they find them. Everyone should know this well. The current attacks are all directed against the living spaces of society, against the service areas. They are hitting hospitals, railways, schools, workplaces, production centers and roads. By hitting all areas of life and service, they actually want to bring social life to collapse. This is such a brutal, aggressive and genocidal attitude. If they could, they would invade and occupy. Everyone should see this.

If we pay attention, there is not much condemnation, not much noise. There are those who oppose Israel's attacks in Gaza because such an occupation and genocide is going on. Right, we are also against it. But what about the situation in Rojava? Why didn't anyone speak out when Hakan Fidan announced that they would strike? Why are they now sitting silent while the people of North and East Syria are being bombarded so much?

I mean really, the sensitive circles in Turkey should expose this situation better. Those who are democrats cannot be partners to these attacks. This is the measure of democracy. We said that the stance in İmralı, the stance against genocidal attacks, the stance against the Kurdish people's rights to freedom is the litmus paper. The litmus paper of democracy. This is the reality. Therefore, one can never be a democrat without opposing these attacks. Everyone should know this. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a great democratization struggle against this fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality and politics. Turkey's revolutionaries and democrats have not emphasized this much. Everyone should try to explain this. There is nothing acceptable about this. It is a very despicable situation. The Turkish state is massacring civil society. There is no crime against humanity more serious than this. Because these are all genocidal attacks, genocidal practices.

Of course, I share the pain of our people in Rojava and the people of Northeast Syria. So there are difficulties, there are pressures. But I would like to say the following: there is no other way to achieve a free and democratic life. It is the enemy we are facing. Everyone should know it well. The Turkish state is fascist, colonialist, genocidal. It is the enemy of Kurds, the enemy of peoples, the enemy of freedom and democracy. Wherever there are Kurds, wherever there are peoples who want to live free and democratic lives, the Turkish state attacks and massacres them. This is the truth. So everyone should know and understand this. Such attacks should not intimidate or discourage us. In particular, no one should leave their land. I mean, they are already doing this to make people flee, they are doing it to make people evacuate. Then they bring their mobs and settle them in those areas. We have seen this being done on our lands. Everyone should learn a lesson. There should not be even an inch of regression or leaving the land. But, of course, only staying is not enough. Therefore, the people must prepare themselves, train and organize themselves according to the requirements of this war and attacks. In other words, they must develop a lifestyle, a system of life, develop its infrastructure, develop its measures. In short, it is necessary to develop resistance, to retaliate, to really take revenge. Such attacks cannot go unanswered. It is unacceptable for patriotism and revolutionism to leave attacks unanswered. Measures are necessary. Everyone should take measures. Measures can be taken. We should not say there are none. This means that a free and democratic life will be based on defending ourselves against all kinds of attacks. We will develop our defense system. We will establish our self-defense. Every North and East Syrian woman, youth, child, elderly person is a freedom fighter. They are a defense force, they are obliged to defend themselves, their places, their homeland. This must be their

consciousness. On this basis, they must educate and organize themselves, and do whatever is necessary in the name of education and organization. This is the right thing. If we are like this, all these attacks will be broken. Once again, I commemorate the martyrs of our peoples of Northern and Eastern Syria with respect and gratitude. I salute their resistance, their attitude, their resistance. I also call on them to organize and defend themselves more strongly.

How do you evaluate recent discussions between the Turkish and Iraqi state on a possible energy route?

The fight over the energy route is one of the biggest fights of this year. It is said that the Tayyip Erdoğan administration is forcing the Iraqi administration to create a common energy route. What they want is to reorganize the old route through Iraq, which was developed by England in the early 1900s, and then tried to put it into practice on the basis of the German-Ottoman alliance, but was prevented and failed because of the First World War. It was rumored that there is such an effort. There were supposedly negotiations for this. If there are such things, this has come to naught. Because there is a war and this war is being waged by the Turkish state. The AKP and MHP are waging it with their Kurdish hostility and by committing a Kurdish genocide. Neither the Kurds are responsible for this, nor the PKK.

As long as the current Turkish state remains in politics with this mentality, that route will always be a battlefield. In a war zone, how would they expect to transport energy? If there was such a plan, it has all fallen apart. I guess the Iraqi state understands this. The fascist AKP administration declare war, go to the UN, say that they will seize 30 kilometers away from its borders, and then they say 'come and make profit here'. I mean, are these capitalists so unwise? If they were that unwise, they wouldn't have taken over the world.

So those who are expecting this energy route to work are unwise. They haven't understood the logic of the capitalist system. We hope that the Iraqi state and the political forces in Iraq will learn from this. No one can free themselves from a well with the rope of Tayyip Erdoğan and the Turkish state. They cannot win anything. Therefore, they should not be deceived. We believe that there will be no such deception. There will be pressure from the Iraqi administration, whatever happens. But then there was a statement from Iraq. They said that the Turkish state violated Iraq's borders 22 thousand times. They violated the rules of war. It entered the Iraqi state, crossed its borders without permission. So if Iraq is a state, it must protect its sovereignty. They say that they have no water, but this is not the way. This water is Kurdish water. It is neither moral nor conscientious to use Kurdish water to destroy the Kurds. So it shouldn't be like that. We believe it will not be like that.

It has become clear that there is no point in Turkey bragging about how it is "strong like this" and "strong like that". Turkey is actually on the brink of collapse. It is in the process of collapse, trying to scare everyone and survive by attacking left and right and committing brutal massacres, but it can and will not survive. This should not be too surprising. Therefore, the countdown has started for the Tayyip Erdoğan administration. This is the process of collapse. That was already seen in the elections.

Also, the Iraq elections took place the other day, and we saw the results. Where was the best outcome? It was in Kirkuk. What was revealed in Kirkuk? The results of the war in Zap were revealed. If you attack so much, if you try to occupy Kurdistan and expel Kurds from their homeland, Kurds will react. Kirkuk gave that reaction. Both with its participation and the patriotic result. I congratulate all the people of Kirkuk on their success. A similar situation happened in Şengal. These results are actually results against these occupying attacks. They are results of a reaction. Let's analyze the results well. Let everyone learn lessons.

Who lost? The KDP lost. Why? Because it rode on Tayyip Erdoğan's horse. You cannot go anywhere on the horse of Tayyip Erdoğan's occupying, colonialist, genocidal mentality and politics. I guess those inside the KDP see this too. They will understand why this happened to them. They overestimate themselves so much, they have lost so much, and they changed as a result of the policy they followed. What has emerged? Those who bowed down to the Turkish Republic, those who collaborated, those who served, lost. Those who opposed and stood against the Turkish occupation in Iraq and in the Kurdish regions won great victories. The areas and segments that the AKP-MHP administration tried to crush with attacks achieved great success in the elections. It is clear that these results are as such. Everyone should see this then. Everyone should see the truth. This is a good reaction. We understand it.

What will happen in the end? Of course, we want these reactions to become more organized. We want it to be clearer. Everyone should take courage from this. There is nothing to be afraid of. The era of the Turkish state's rule in the Middle East is over. In the past, yes, it had power and the world was behind it. The system had given the Turkish Republic the task of keeping the Middle East under control. It was made a gendarme of the Middle East. Accordingly, it was given support. That support no longer exists. The strategic position of the Turkish state has disappeared. It no longer has any function or role in the Middle East. Therefore, Kurdish politics should see this well. All other parties, organizations, Iraqi politics should see it well, everyone should see it well. That old era is over. So there is no need to be afraid. The existing state of power is already being revealed in its defeat.

More of this defeat is to come in the future, and we will see what will happen. They (the Turkish army) will run full speed without looking back. Or they will be crushed like in the past few days. There is no remedy for them, there is no way. Our Central Headquarters Commander made this clear. Then everyone should learn from this. Those were not empty words. In this respect, we must be stronger, we must act with more will, we must be more courageous. Let us take a more effective stance against these colonialist, genocidal, occupying attacks that do not recognize Iraqi sovereignty. Let society take a more effective stance. I call on the people of the South [Bashûr] to do this. I call on the women and youth of the South. Especially the youth, the revolutionary patriotic stance in the South must be more dynamic, more effective. They must go against the occupiers.

There were martyrs of this resistance. I commemorate comrades Helmet, Welat, Memyan and Hüseyin with respect, love and gratitude. Comrade Helmet was a valiant son of the people of South Kurdistan. He dealt the heaviest blow to the occupiers in Tepê Amediyê. This is the standard, the patriotic standard of the South. This is the right line. Therefore, especially the youth of South Kurdistan should take Comrade Helmet as an example for themselves as a whole. They should struggle on this basis, fearlessly and organizationally oppose the occupier and genocide. And we believe this will happen. This is developing. The time is coming when the Turkish state will be expelled not only from Bashûr but from all of Kurdistan. Step by step, we are moving towards that process. Everyone must see this. Therefore, everyone must embrace their patriotic duty and responsibility to clear the Turkish state out of South Kurdistan. Our call is on this basis. We also salute all these resisting forces.

Kalkan: Conflict arising because of internal contradictions within capitalist modernity - PART FOUR

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2024

KCK Executive Council member Duran Kalkan analyzed the internal contradictions within capitalist modernity.

How can the global geopolitical developments of the past year be assessed – especially with a view to the ongoing armed conflicts? In particular, the new alignment of energy routes is currently being discussed a lot and appears to be hotly contested.

There is a conflict arising because of the internal contradictions within the system of capitalist modernity. It started in the early 90s with the Gulf War. After the US attacked Afghanistan and Iraq (following the twin tower bombings), and since 2010 with the so-called Arab Spring. Succeeding the withdrawal from Afghanistan, the war in Ukraine was launched. It is this war which has left its mark on history. The system's internal relations, contradictions and conflicts continue. There is no change in this regard. But what is the determining aspect of 2023 in this environment of contradictions and conflicts? The Ukrainian war has not come to an end. New things happened there. It was called a war between Ukraine and Russia, but it turned out to be a war between the US and Russia over Ukraine. The US dragged NATO into this war. Russia also tried to get war support from its allies. As a result, Russia suffered in many ways. It could not fully achieve what it wanted, unlike America who gained important results. With the accession of Sweden and Finland to NATO and the prevention of European trade with Russia, the US increased its economic and military influence over Europe, making them dependent on America. It put Europe in a position of weak will. I can state this clearly, America has never been able to establish this level of influence before. This influence had developed during the so-called Cold War, but it had never reached this level.

Russia, in its own way, tried to eliminate its own surpluses with this war. Just as the Ukrainian war was intended to warrant, some parties were purged. What happened? The Russian-Chinese alliance's attempt to open an energy route to Europe through Ukraine was sabotaged and frustrated. NATO reshaped itself on this basis and new conflicts emerged. Following the G20 summit in India, it was announced that an agreement was reached on the energy route between India, the Gulf, Israel, Cyprus and Greece. What was the reaction of the Tayyip Erdoğan administration? Firstly, the war in Karabakh. Supposedly, Azerbaijan was going to take Karabakh, then they were going to take the Zengi Strait and connect a highway to Turkey. Thus, they were planning to reconnect Central Asia to Europe overland through Turkey. The Armenian community was massacred in Karabakh, a genocide was committed. But neither Iran nor Israel allowed this to go further. Turkey's plan was thwarted. Then, the Gaza war was brought onto the agenda in order to sabotage the path that was wanted to be organized under the leadership of the USA. In fact, the opponents wanted to sabotage it by turning it into a war zone. And those who wanted to open the routes wanted to eliminate forces like Hamas that posed a threat. In other words, the interests of both sides converged in this war. A war situation emerged, which was initiated by Hamas under the guidance of Tayyip Erdoğan, and which the US and Israel expected and wanted. In other words, the Gaza war marked the end of the year. Israel burned Gaza to the ground with more than 20 thousand civilian deaths being anticipated. Ceasefires are agreed on from time to time and supposedly this is being done for captives. Causing

the death of 20 thousand people in order to release 50 captives is incomprehensible and inexplicable. There are those who see this as a success. This is not the case. So, on this occasion, I respectfully commemorate the victims of this war, the civilian victims. I share the pain of the Palestinian people. I also share the pain of the Jewish civilian people. There is a war of site clearing for the construction of an energy route. Both sides are covertly fighting over the route. On this basis, this war was brought onto the agenda.

What will be the result? On one side there is Hamas and Tayyip Erdoğan... sub-rosa, it is actually Turkey that is waging the war. Turkey is more involved in the Gaza war than Hamas. The Turkish press is already conducting the war to a large extent. It's obvious, and the intentions are clear. The Tayyip administration have already met with Iraq to make them a party to the alternative route. The global capital system will not allow this. The Jewish capital is the dominant power within the global capital. Will Israel ever accept it being excluded from such a route? They used Tayyip Erdoğan in this framework. In fact, this situation showed us why they kept Tayyip Erdoğan in power again during the May elections. All along, the plan was to use him here because no one but Tayyip Erdoğan could have led Hamas to such an attack. Formerly, the jihadist gangs were on their way to Damascus when Tayyip Erdoğan turned them back to attack Kobane. Tayyip Erdoğan's relationship with such organizations is based on interest and the global capital system uses this relationship. So they are actually using Tayyip Erdoğan. They hired him for this. Like a provocateur. In fact, they keep him in power without him realizing it, but others are also using him for their own interests.

The Tayyip administration does not have any contradiction or conflict with the US system, the global capitalist system of modernity and imperialism. Words implying otherwise are all lies being used to deceive the people of Turkey and some foreign circles, especially the dogmatic leftists. In fact, leftists in some areas have fallen for it. They have almost gone so far as to see Tayyip Erdoğan as anti-imperialist. Those who call Tayyip Erdoğan anti-imperialist should come to Kurdistan and see the truth. Therefore, we know who is what very well. We also know what these wars mean. No one can understand the suffering of the Palestinian people more than the Kurds. No people can share a relationship of empathy more than the peoples of Palestine and Kurdistan. This has been proven by their experiences and joint struggle. It was as such yesterday, and it is as such today.

What is the result now? In other words, Tayyip Erdoğan and Hamas claim that they will defeat Israel. They say that they are creating a contradiction between the state of Israel and the US, and they are propagandizing this to the people of Turkey. This has nothing to do with reality. Just as the US established control around the Gulf during the war in 1990 by landing troops in Saudi Arabia, it has now brought its warships to the Eastern Mediterranean and established control over the route. They are trying to neutralize Hamas. This is their goal. They are inflicting this war as a way to clear the site from threats. Then they would probably create a route through Lebanon, Syria and Cyprus. China is not in contradiction with this, it is as if they are in agreement. It seems China had agreed to this route by the US when there was no Ukrainian path.

Iran is also involved, evaluations regarding US – Iran conflict have fallen into void. Therefore, one should not speak by rote. Theory does not mean repeating memorized things. Those leftists who repeat what they memorized in their youth will continue to say “Lenin“ until they die. You shouldn't be that kind of leftist. In other words, it is necessary to be able to see and understand developments, to see change, to experience a change of thought. In this respect, there is no antagonism with Iran as before. On the contrary, there is partnership and harmony. This is why there are not many problems regarding the route about Lebanon.

We don't know if there will be a conflict with Russia in Syria. Russia has not reacted much regarding Israel. Russia is also involved. If that is overcome, it will be Cyprus and Turkey's turn. Turkey will once again square up with the system of capitalist modernity of which it is a part, in a way similar to the world war a hundred years ago. That looks almost certain. It will have a punishing effect on Turkey.

What effect does this have on the policy of the Turkish state?

The Silk Road is a great trade route that is thousands of years old. It used to pass through Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Iran and reach China, but that route was cut off. The Berlin, Baghdad, Basra (more precisely the Europe, India trade route) line established in the early 1900s. After the First World War was fought on this road – the route was disrupted and cut off. That route passed through Turkey. In the Second World War, fascist Hitler sought a way to keep Turkey out of war for this route. Turkish politicians say that the genius Turkish administration and rulers politically managed the situation allowing Turkey to stay out of war. This has nothing to do with reality. Turkey had been tried but it failed. The Hitler administration did not want to try again and risk losing the route. They failed in the past and they fail again in the present. Now they have frustrated Turkey's path to Ukraine. The one Turkey wanted to develop with Azerbaijan has come to naught. In the current situation, they actually wanted to pass this road through Northern Syria. Turkey sabotaged and opposed it. The US allowed Turkey to stay Jarablus, they put troops in Afrin, they officially declared war on Syria and officially entered Iraq. When this place became a war zone, the capital did not find it stable for investment. As a result, the capitalist circles made an alliance on the current path and they have excluded Turkey. Of course, it also excludes Kurdistan in some way. But Kurds have other channels. The main thing was the exclusion of Turkey. Until now, Turkey was a bridge between Asia and Europe. Turkey was called a strategic position. Based on this, they created Turkey, the Turkish state, to keep the Middle East within the system of capitalist modernity, the nation state system. Now all these functions have disappeared. Kurdish hostility has led to this.

In other words, Tayyip Erdoğan won and stayed in power, but Turkey lost as a result. Turkey was excluded from the system. Why was it excluded? Why couldn't this route happen? Because of the war. Because of the anti-Kurdish fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality and politics that the AKP-MHP fascism and the Turkish state in general have been pursuing over the last hundred years. Tayyip Erdoğan's administration has excluded Turkey from the system. They brought Turkey head-to-head with the system. It has led to the loss of its advantages within the system. In exchange for what? In exchange for his remaining in power. Therefore, Tayyip Erdoğan's interests and Turkey's interests are not the same. Turkish society, revolutionary democrats, everyone should see this well.

Our allies in the United Revolutionary Movement of Peoples (HBDH) did not understand this well, and they should explain it better. They should explain and show the public how Tayyip Erdoğan is leading Turkey to disaster, how its resources are drying up. Turkey is now in this situation, what will happen? Either it will settle for what it has. It will settle for being excluded and living in a weak position. If they engage in conflict, this could actually lead Turkey to internal conflict. Years ago, 10 years ago, 15 years ago, how many times did Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] evaluate and make calls. He said don't do it. If you do this, it will lead to disaster. They will take you to disintegration. They will take everything away from you and exploit you.

We could not make the Turkish society understand, and the current administration did not believe in this and did the opposite. It actually saw its own interest in implementing the opposite. In fact, Rêber Apo's

evaluations are now being confirmed. It is no longer possible for Turkey to become effective in the system and to have a strategic position with its position as an occupying warrior in Kurdistan. Therefore, a developing Turkey can only be a democratic Turkey if it solves the Kurdish problem and recognizes Kurdish freedom. This has been clearly revealed and seen today. We have made so much effort for this, in fact, we have struggled. We have formed alliances for the democratization of Turkey, for the solution of the Kurdish question in the field of democratic politics, in the field of revolutionary struggle.

In fact, as the HBDH, we also waged a very important struggle against this. In order to prevent the AKP-MHP fascism from causing Turkey to fall into such a state of exclusion and consuming its own resources in war. But if we pay attention, it did not yield results. Our efforts were too little. We need to struggle more, we need to understand better. In other words, we need to see what the anti-Kurdish, fascist, genocidal mentality and politics of the Tayyip Erdoğan mentality has brought to Turkey, how it has caused such a crisis in Turkey, and we need to save Turkey from this mentality and politics. It is absolutely necessary to save Turkey from the Tayyip Erdoğan administration. Otherwise, this administration has nothing to offer Turkey but oppression, exploitation, exclusion and disaster. If this continues more insistently, there will be worse consequences. Everyone must come to their senses. Rêber Apo's warnings were very important. We see and understand them very well now. Therefore, those who love Turkey should see this and oppose it absolutely.

In 2023, there was no such approach that everything would be fixed with the elections. But the election was also an important opportunity for antifascist struggle. This opportunity was partially utilized. In fact, it was evaluated well in terms of understanding, it was put forward, it was seen. By developing a new method of struggle – or precisely by broadening the current methods – anti-fascist struggle was strengthened. We did this by developing the struggle in revolutionary alliances and guerrilla warfare. Democratic politics tried to do this. Women's and youth struggles tried to do this. Overall, an important struggle was waged. The importance of the election was also seen. But there was also this. I mean, how shall we say, were the elections always wrong? Not exactly like that, actually. How much the election was an election is debatable. There is no such thing as a fair, equal election. Whether there was even an election is debatable because those who assigned Tayyip Erdoğan to lead the international conspiracy still want to use Tayyip Erdoğan. That was made clear. The opposition tried to create some alternatives and they also created some hope with Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's "Six Table", but it was the AKP-MHP fascism that best waged the Kurdish war. It was the Tayyip Erdoğan and Devlet Bahçeli administration that responded to the needs of the system to the detriment of Turkey. For this reason, internal and external circles of interest wanted to keep Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKP-MHP alliance in power and use them a little longer. As the saying goes, when crossing a bridge you don't change horses. They did not want to change horses. They considered it inconvenient and harmful for themselves. Therefore, the end of the election was planned in advance.

How fair was the election? Whether these votes were actually taken is a matter of debate. Nobody knows. There are many who say it wasn't like that. And that is the right thing to do. But the outcome is important. What did they do after that? They used Turkey both in Karabakh, in the Central Asia-Turkey line and in the Gaza war. They used the Tayyip Erdoğan administration in line with their own wishes, they became tools. Tayyip Erdoğan speaks against them. And everyone believes him. It has not been revealed how big a fight he has with them. Even during the Gaza war, the country with the most commercial relations to Israel is Turkey. And the children of Tayyip Erdoğan and those in the AKP administration are doing this. These have been publicly announced and exposed. Everyone must see this. Therefore, the truth of the matter is that Tayyip Erdoğan is being used. It is not very clear where else they will use Tayyip Erdoğan

and what will happen. So the elections and the post-election process showed this. Tayyip Erdoğan won the election. The so-called life of the government had been extended, but Turkey was marginalized, it lost its strategic position. Turkey lost many things as a result of this. I repeat, no one should see Tayyip Erdoğan's administration and Turkey's interests as the same, they are opposed. If Tayyip Erdoğan wins, Turkey loses. Turkey will win only when Tayyip Erdoğan loses. The post-election process has shown this very clearly.

So what will happen and where will this situation lead? We can say that the countdown for Tayyip Erdoğan has already started. There is now a process of collapse. Will they use him for internal or external interests, we don't know. Is there really any value left to be used? It seems not much. In that sense, Tayyip Erdoğan's administration has no future, it is coming to an end. There is a process of dissolution and collapse. Everyone must see this. Those who say that they will make progress, do business and make gains based on the current Turkish government, AKP and MHP fascism are wrong. They will no longer be able to make gains. The dirt and rust is already showing every day. It is being revealed how much crisis and chaos this administration has created, how much dirty work it has done, from all kinds of marijuana and heroin trafficking to black money and collapse. Economic crisis, political crisis, social collapse and decay are developing under this administration. These are very clear. In that respect, the end of the road is in sight. We can say that. We don't know exactly when and what will happen. We hope that 2024 will be the year of the total collapse of this administration. It will be the year of the collapse and defeat of fascism. This is our hope and wish. Our struggle will be on this basis. As the Kurdistan Freedom Movement, as the Democratic Forces of Turkey and as revolutionary democratic forces, we will always struggle on this basis. I can express the following. If not to accelerate this destruction, to bring it closer, to realize it if possible, that is, the other process seems to be more imminent. Because there are elections in 2024. Its results will show many things. It is obvious how difficult the current situation is for the AKP administration.

It seems that the general elections will be lost, there are also local elections but it is not easy to achieve the same level of effectiveness as in the past. On the other hand, there are also elections elsewhere. The year 2024 is also an election year for the US in terms of many things. From now, it is not clear whether such an energy route will mean everything for capitalism or whether it will be even be carried through with. If it does be constructed, will it really be able to withstand the Third World War? Or will it alleviate the crisis and chaos?

On the contrary, fascism is on the rise in Europe and America where right-wing neo-fascist movements are becoming more prominent and coming to power. They are candidates for power though they cannot become a solution to problems. On the contrary, they will deepen the contradiction and conflict. Is it possible that a solution arises from fascism? Democratization could only do that. What will really happen? It looks like 2024 will pass with some preparation, but the aftermath bears important changes. There can definitely be very serious political developments and changes in the world and in Turkey in the coming year and beyond. Of course, we will fight with all our strength to realize this in Turkey in 2024. We want everyone to see and believe this. Especially the society, intellectuals, politicians, artists, revolutionary democratic forces in Turkey really need to see this, to become conscious, to organize and to develop a common antifascist struggle on this basis. If we do it this way, we will definitely win. Everyone must believe in this. We can make 2024 the year of victory of the anti-fascist democratic revolution in Turkey. This is our goal. We will fight for this. We call on everyone to fight with this belief and attitude.

The current system of governance in Turkey should not be seen as a political system or a political change. Rêber Apo said, "The coup mechanism is working". Everything happens on the basis of coups and provo-

cations. Especially the current AKP-MHP fascist alliance, Tayyip Erdoğan and the 'People's Alliance' administration use this in many ways. They use everything. They are trying to win the local elections over the blood of the people of Gaza. They turned it into election propaganda. They have no support for the Palestinian people or the people of Gaza. Yes, they are trying to save Hamas. Because one of the leaders of Hamas is Tayyip Erdoğan. AKP and Hamas are left in a fix. They were defeated in other areas. Now Hamas is being crushed. Then it will be AKP's turn. Tayyip Erdoğan is already fighting for his life. Look at his demeanor, it is the demeanor of a person struggling between life and death. With a provocation, 21 thousand Gazans were killed. In order to keep Hamas alive or for Tayyip Erdoğan to win re-election, they have driven so many young people out of Turkey's borders. Tayyip Erdoğan bought those people like they are for rent, using the money of others. They are driving those people against the Kurds and guerrillas, to destroy them. If one of them dies here in the snow during the winter, they try to turn this into election propaganda. You saw what happened in Amasya. What did they do to the CHP administration? I mean, I expressed it before, is this the way to approach the situation? If they really believed that those people were martyrs, would they have turned a martyr into a tool for election propaganda? But this is what the Tayyip Erdoğan administration, the AKP and the MHP administration have become.

The Sheikh Said issue is also a provocation. Some people say out of the blue that Hezbollah, the new ally of the AKP, wants this. Supposedly the trustee administrator of Amed is implementing this. So they are doing it themselves. Someone is cursing, someone is affirming. There is such a provocation. A very shameless provocation. AKP is at one end of this and Hezbollah is at the other. The mob called Hüda-Par is a contra. Everyone should see this. We must be very careful in this regard. Everyone must be careful. Especially the Kurdish people and patriotic circles should be very careful. They will do anything for their own interests. They can turn it into a tool, they can use it as an instrument. Since they used a historical figure like Sheikh Said, they will definitely use anything.

In this regard, especially Sheikh Said's close circles, family circles, those who love Sheikh Said should be very careful. They had someone insult them. They made a despicable attack. Some people are trying to capitalize on the basis of the insult. Supposedly, they will get votes from Diyarbakir or from those who love him, they will win local elections. This group called Hezbollah is also doing this. These circles should be very careful. We should definitely not be a tool in this. Let's not forget Sheikh Said, a historical figure. He is one of the vessels of the Kurdish national resistance. He cannot be used for such things, that is a despicable attitude. All Kurds, patriots, those who love Sheikh Said must take a stance, they must answer accordingly in the elections. The leaders of the Kurdish national resistance, their bloodlines cannot be used in such a way. They continue to live through the struggle for freedom, they live in the resistance of the guerrilla, they live in the struggle of our people and the Kurdish freedom movement. They constitute its historical foundation. Neither this manipulation by the collaborators nor the despicable attacks of the fascist genocidal diminish the importance of these historical figures. We have not allowed this until now, and we will not allow it in the future. We hope that those who love and admire Sheikh Said will also take such an attitude. Those who try to profit from this will be given the harshest lesson during this election process.

Kalkan: The women's struggle went global in 2023 - PART FIVE

ANF | 4 JANUARY 2024

In the final part of this long interview, KCK Executive Council member Duran Kalkan, analyzed the women's revolution that dominated 2023 and talked about the opportunities of the struggle in 2024.

Looking at the year 2023, the popular uprisings in Rojhilat [Eastern Kurdistan] and Iran come to one's mind. How do you evaluate women's struggle for freedom in 2023? Also, the struggle of young people has evolved this year.

The women's struggle went global in 2023. The "Jin Jiyan, Azadi" revolution spread from Rojhilat and Iran from mid|September 2022. It marked the first half of 2023. In fact, it spread to the whole world. It used the slogan "Jin Jiyan, Azadi" developed by Rêber Apo. It turned out to be a great power and resistance. It also found an important echo in the world. It resonated with women, revolutionary patriotic circles, and was embraced. Of course, the ruling, statist, male-dominated mentality and politics did not embrace it.

On this basis, women's struggle was everywhere. They also held meetings all over Kurdistan and in many parts of the world. On this basis, what did this show? In fact, it has already been revealed in 2023 that the 21st century is the century of women, that women's liberation is a revolution of freedom, and that this creates consciousness, organization and action on the basis of Jineoloji [the science of the free women] developed by Rêber Apo. In other words, it has become crystalised that there is now a global women's liberation revolution. The women's struggle is a reality that frightens and alarms all kinds of reaction by the male-dominated mentality and politics.

We see this well, as this develops the male-dominated mindset and politics attacks more. Would this be described as a reaction or is it the product of fear? We follow the media. The killing of women is on the agenda everywhere, and these are being committed by the people closest to them. Those committing these killings are the husbands and brothers. This aspect must be followed up closely, it must be exposed and struggle against everywhere. And this is not something that only women should struggle against. Those who call themselves democrats, patriots or pro-freedom, they must also join the struggle. In fact, men should struggle more. How is it possible that on the one side love is being mentioned while on the other hand there is a despicable betrayal and massacre. What kind of love is this, what kind of partnership is this, what kind of sibling are you? It has come to a stage where love and betrayal are two sides of a coin. This is very dangerous and of course we need to expose these killings but the most important thing is we target the mentality and politics behind these killings. Only then could we save people. This is a very important struggle and it has become a duty. Especially Kurdish society and men should act sensitively on this issue, we should leave aside the old backward dominant understanding and approaches, and everyone should take the mentality and model of life being revealed by our women's freedom revolution.

Especially Kurdish society and men should act sensitively on this issue, we should leave the old backward sovereignty understanding and approaches aside and take the mentality and life measures revealed by our

women's freedom revolution developed by our freedom struggle as a basis for everyone. Others are definitely not from us. Those who try to implement a male-dominated mentality and politics on women cannot be patriots. They cannot be in the Kurdish freedom movement. No matter how patriotic they call themselves, we cannot count them as such.

Women and youth are the leading forces of the new paradigm of democratic modernity. In 2023, the youth has demonstrated that it has reached a consciousness and organization that will fulfill such a pioneering task both in Kurdistan and at the global level. The Paris World Youth Conference declared this. With great enthusiasm and excitement on the basis of demanding the physical freedom of Rêber Apo, it has indeed brought new hope and excitement to humanity. In an environment where the male-dominated, fascist, genocidal mentality and politics of capitalist modernity overwhelmed and narrowed humanity, the conference became a moral force, creating enthusiasm and excitement. In this sense, the youth is experiencing a new consciousness and a new process of struggle in all areas, in all societies.

The youth is leading the development of the revolution of democratic modernity. Just like the youth revolution of 1968. Then, the paradigms of the youth were inadequate, their theoretical analyses were inadequate. They had not been able to overcome the effects of real socialism. Now the paradigm developed by Rêber Apo paves the way for the youth to the fullest. Therefore, the struggle of the youth is developing on the basis of a new revolution and leadership with the paradigm of democratic modernity. The Kurdistan wing of this is important as they are leading the way.

The 'Youth Community' [Komalêl Ciwan], the Party's youth movement has been spearheading this in 2023. The resistance of guerrilla is also a part of resistance of the youth. The youth as one of the vanguards of the universal freedom movements are spearheading the uprisings. The youth are doing this in all four parts of Kurdistan and abroad. They organize by mobilizing the general public and with their own actions. In Turkey, they are organizing on the basis of developing the struggle in North Kurdistan. They have gained important results. If we pay attention, the fascist, genocidal mentality and politics attack whoever opposes them. The attack on women is the result of this. How many women have they arrested? The Turkish state are oppressing. They also attack the youth. Lately, they have been practicing special warfare more intensely. They want to neutralize the consciousness of young people by encouraging prostitution, drugs and through other methods. They try to prevent young people from getting organized and joining the struggle, from becoming patriots and revolutionaries, putting pressure on those who become conscious of this.

During the last meetings held by the youth, the Turkish state arrested many of them. The youth with radical, libertarian, revolutionary belief is not afraid of this. Apoist youth is not afraid at all. Youth who have acquired the consciousness of freedom and action are certainly not afraid of such attacks. On the contrary, these young people develop their consciousness and action more, they sharpen themselves more. We believe in this. It is also clear that this will be the case. Within this framework. By participating more in the mobilization to read Rêber Apo and educating ourselves, and by leading the anti-fascist struggle against such virtual attacks, by disrupting all the games of special warfare, we will definitely lead our struggle for freedom and revolution to victory.

The youth will recognize the reality of the enemy well. They will recognize the reality of the collaborators who are tools of the enemy. They will also oppose the political obstructions of the family. Youth should also be sensitive about this issue. If what is called 'familism' diverts young people from the revolutionary

struggle, from the struggle for freedom, they must be vigilant and fight against this. Without struggling against 'familism', it is not possible to gain revolutionary consciousness, to break away from the system, to become a youth waging a struggle for freedom, to become Apoist youth. In this respect, they should evaluate all their relations well. Families should also pay attention. Those who prevent the youth from participating in the struggle are doing wrong. As a result, they are bringing harm. No matter what they have done with their own lives, they should not prevent young people from freedom. The families must stop, if they continue, we will expose them. I can express this very clearly.

But the main attitude is of course the youth's. The youth can't allow others to tell them what they should do, in other words, no one will break the youth. The youth will be themselves. They will put forward the consciousness and the will to struggle themselves. They will educate and renew themselves and join the struggle by making revolutions in their own personalities, achieving a revolution of mentality and conscience. We believe that, on this basis, 2024 will be the year when both the women's struggle develops more and the leadership of the youth in the struggle develops more.

Kurdish youth in four parts and abroad will participate more in our struggle for freedom, our party struggle, our guerrilla struggle, our peoples' resistance. Participation will increase many times over, we will grow the organization. On this basis, I wish them success and call on everyone to participate more strongly in the struggle for freedom. The mountains, the guerrilla ranks, the ranks of our party are waiting for young people.

December is a heavy month for the Kurdish people and the Kurdish Freedom Movement. A lot of massacres have taken place in this month. What do you want to say about them?

In 2000, there was a massacre on 19 December. It was heavy. We know about the Maraş massacre. It came to the agenda twenty five days after the first congress of the PKK. Rêber Apo said it was an attack by the fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality against our congress, against the establishment of the PKK. These were always important. Then there were the Paris massacres, the massacre of Evîn, our friend, and other friends in Paris on 23 December last year. We also have 9 January coming up. 9 January 2013 is the anniversary of the massacre of comrades Sara, Rojbin and Ronahi, one of the founders of our Party. This marks the 10th anniversary. There are already protests against these massacres everywhere.

France really cannot deceive the Kurds in other ways. They should know this. The struggle to push France to reveal the truth is a proper struggle. We need to pursue this till the end, follow it through and reveal the truth. Tayyip Erdoğan and his friends will be behind it, they had the massacre in Paris 10 years ago carried out as well as the massacre last year. They had already confessed to the shooting of our friend Sara. Both Tayyip Erdoğan and Mehmet Ali Şahin confessed, we listened to them at the time. In other words, they made statements in the press and those statements are a confession, they confessed to the massacres.

Now the 28 December Roboski massacre in 2011, this marks the 12th anniversary. That was also carried out per Tayyip Erdoğan's orders. First he said "we didn't shoot civilians". Then he forgot and tried to change his words. Finally he said "I gave the order because Bahoş Erdal was passing by", and he claimed that too. With warplanes, they slaughtered 34 young people from Roboski, some of them were children. Now what does this show? The AKP, MHP and Tayyip Erdoğan administration is a massacre administration. An administration of genocide. This is how Kurdish enmity emerges. They do this inside Kurdistan.

They arrest and they massacre. They carry out massacres whether it be at the border or whether it is abroad. It spends all its means on Kurdish massacre. We have seen this reality well.

Nevertheless, we should understand better by evaluating all these, bringing them to consciousness, not forgetting them, not letting them be forgotten. On this basis, I commemorate all the martyrs of these massacre with respect and gratitude. They are martyrs of the struggle for freedom and democracy. They are martyrs of Kurdistan whether it happened 40 years ago, 45 years ago, a year ago, whether they were martyred in the country or outside.

We have avenged the Maraş massacre, we have avenged the massacre in the prisons, we have avenged the Paris massacres, we have avenged the Roboski massacre, and we will avenge even more. This struggle for revenge will lead us to the victory of existence and freedom. We will carry the struggle for freedom to victory with such a spirit and attitude of revenge. We will be the followers of our martyrs until victory. We will carry out our struggle for more accountability and revenge. We promised this from the beginning. In his first evaluation after the Maraş massacre, Rêber Apo made this promise. The PKK has been walking on this promise made by Rêber Apo for the past 45 years. We will walk on this promise until victory and fulfill its requirements.

Is there something left that you want to express, regarding 2024?

We are entering a new year. We celebrate the new year of all freedom and democracy forces, of women, youth, peoples, of Rêber Apo and all comrades. 2024 will be a year of greater struggle and achievement. 2023 passes on an important legacy. The year 2024 also shows that the possibility and opportunity to develop and achieve all kinds of struggles with creative methods in every field is greater than ever. This will be our attitude as a movement and people. Our international friends and our libertarian democratic revolutionary friends all over the world will act accordingly. There is the possibility and opportunity for this, we see this.

The method is also clear. In this regard, the year 2023 showed and proved to us how the style, way and method of such a struggle should be. This was proved with the Imrali resistance. It was proved with the heroic actions of the Zap guerrillas. It was proved with the actions of our friends Rojhat and Erdal on 1 October. We will live and struggle with the spirit and line of the self-sacrificers. The year 2024 will be the year when we, as a movement and as a people, sacrifice more and on this basis develop the struggle for freedom more successfully. What does sacrifice mean? It means understanding Rêber Apo correctly. It means fighting against all kinds of individualism and disorganization. It means working and living together, it means to be sharing and socialist, to be based on solidarity and sharing at the highest level as a democratic society. It means fighting and winning with this spirit, with this consciousness. Comrades Rojhat and Erdal showed us this. Comrades Sara and Ruken showed us this. Comrades Zilan and Zinar showed this. They revealed the line of waging and winning the Kurdistan freedom struggle. They revealed the Apoist sacrifice line. In 2024, we will sacrifice more, fight stronger and win bigger. On this basis, I once again congratulate the New Year of all our people and democratic humanity and wish them great success.

Çewlîk: 'Freedom for Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question' campaign will succeed

AMARA HARUN | BEHDINAN | 11 JANUARY 2024

Zozan Çewlîk, commander at the central headquarters of the Free Women's Units (YJA Star), assessed the war in Kurdistan and the resistance to it from the perspective of women's guerrillas in a special program on Stêrk TV looking back at 2023.

How was the year 2023?

Before I answer your question, I would like to note that the YJA Star celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 2023. Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] accomplished the greatest work of our fifty-year revolutionary march. I want to send him our greetings and our love.

A war against Rêber Apo is currently being waged in Imrali. For us women, his person represents existence, identity and freedom. A life without Rêber Apo is out of the question for us. This is also what the international campaign "Freedom for Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question" stands for. It is a campaign in which the political prisoners are taking part with a hunger strike since 27 November. As YJA guerrillas, we bow to the resistance of these comrades.

Coming to your question, 2023 was an extremely difficult year of war, which, broadly speaking, was managed under the aegis of the sacrificial guerrillas. In general, it was women who took the lead in the war and in the resistance. The occupying Turkish state's total war of annihilation against our liberation movement, which was labeled the "Destruction Plan". It is a military and political concept of annihilation against the dialogue process with Abdullah Öcalan in 2013-2015 and continues at the highest level. This situation continued during the series of earthquakes in February, which affected large parts of Kurdistan. Despite this catastrophe, the occupiers continued their attacks intensively. The YJA Star and HPG, on the other hand, went into passive defense after a call from the KCK for a ceasefire in the face of this calamity that had befallen society and due to the general and presidential elections.

The cessation of all guerrillas' actions continued in some cases up to four months after the elections in Turkey. This actually offered the country and the government in Ankara a tangible opportunity to solve the Kurdish question. However, the reality was different, and the regime continued its brutal attacks in all parts of Kurdistan - from Shengal to Rojava.

At the same time, various waves of arrests were carried out in North Kurdistan and the political campaign of extermination gained significant momentum. Against the enemy's concept of destruction, we as YJA Star celebrated the year with the inspiration we received from our leader. With their own strength, the YJA Star turned 2023 into a year of resistance.

In 2023, the Turkish state was accused with clear evidence of a whole series of war crimes against the Kurdistan freedom guerrillas. How have your forces' actions developed against these attacks?

The history of the fascist Turkish state is immensely rich in crimes. There is no other state in the world that is riddled with such a criminal history, because its existence is based on the destruction of societies, religions and cultures. We know this reality all too well. It is a state that even burns its own soldiers. Meanwhile, chemical warfare agents and other banned weapons were again used against the guerrillas. The unspoken goal was to break the will of the guerrillas. But once again the reality emerged that the guerrillas fighting on Rêber Apo's line cannot be defeated. The enemy cannot break the will of the guerrillas. And because he is unable to claim victory, he attacks the people.

These attacks are expressed, for example, in the fact that the remains of our comrades who died in the war are handed over to their families in plastic containers. Our martyrs are sacred to us. They are our dignity and also the dignity of the people. Sending their corpses packed in boxes to their relatives by post is an attack on the will of our people. These are also war crimes. Our families know that the enemy is dealing with this, and they know that the dignity of the Kurdish people and their desire for freedom are hidden in these boxes. And it is precisely with this awareness that the guerrillas fight. With each death we experience, our anger and need for revenge increases. The YJA Star channels this anger into effective actions.

After the death of Leyla Sorxwîn, who belonged to the command council of the YJA, the nature of the war changed. How did this new spirit emerge within the YJA Star?

I remember with respect Leyla Sorxwîn, commanders Axîn Mûş, Hêjar Zozan, Gulçiya Gabar, Baharîn Afrin, Dilgêş and all other martyrs who lost their lives in 2023.

As to your question: The Turkish occupying state tried to implement the strategy of driving the guerrillas out of North Kurdistan. The resistance of the martyrs put limits on this plan. Leyla Sorxwîn has been in the resistance since the beginnings of the women's guerrilla. She went to the mountains in Botan and was one of the leading commanders who did great things for the women's guerrilla army. Her attitude has always been an example for us. Comrade Leyla was a person who always brought resistance to a higher level, both in war and in everyday life. When we launched the revolutionary guerrilla operation named after her, we were confronted with the fact that there was a deep connection to the path created by Leyla. All the martyrs demonstrate the existence of this line. The YJA Star has spent 2023 following in the footsteps of our commander and avenging the fallen.

What can you say about YJA Star's effective actions in 2023?

We carried out formative actions and played a leading role in the war. The line of resistance was further strengthened by the sacrificial actions carried out by Sara, Rûken, Rojhat and Erdal. These actions created great morale and sent an important message to the enemy. The enemy wanted to complete the genocide of the Kurds by taking the war out of Turkey without anyone taking notice. However, Rêber Apo's sacrificial fighters did not allow this. In 2023, YJA Star units played a leading role, especially in the war on the Western Front in the Zap region. For example, offensive attacks, raids and coordinated actions were carried out.

Many guerrillas became visible, especially in the Şehîd Delîl area. One of them was Comrade Doğa. I remember her with respect. She was responsible for the mobile units and fulfilled her tasks in a goal-oriented and effective manner, both in terrain warfare and in the resistance tunnels. She took part in a number of actions. The YJA Star's forces have both defended themselves and attacked the enemy. This is important. Many tactics, from the use of heavy weapons to sabotage, have been pioneered by female fighters. This is where the competence of women was shown. Compared to 2022, the level of war and resistance in 2023 was much higher.

Women's know-how in war is more advanced and therefore crucial. The YJA Star internalized warfare. In the north, in Metîna, Avaşîn, Xakurke, Zap, it was women who were at the forefront of the war. During the Girê Cûdî operation, for example, the comrades penetrated the enemy positions and confiscated the occupiers' weapons. This is very important. The YJA Star 2023 carried out a total of 510 activities.

How do you assess the year 2023, and what are your goals for 2024?

Just as 2023 was a year of war, so will the one ahead. The campaign "Freedom for Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question" continues. As YJA Star, we see ourselves responsible for the success of this initiative. The isolation against Rêber Apo is unacceptable. We are fighting for the end of isolation and achieve the physical freedom of our leader. We will never back down. We will pay whatever price is necessary, but we will achieve freedom no matter what. The style and tactics of the current phase were set by friends Rojhat and Erdal on 1 October in Ankara. This year we will fight in the line of Zîlan, Sara and Rûken. This is the style of attack of this time. We will accept nothing other than success. It will be a successful year for the YJA Star. There will certainly be difficult phases that we will face with resistance - just as Leyla Sorxwîn and Axîn Mûş did. We have paid a high price on the path to success, but whatever the price, victory will be ours. On this basis, we are ready for the new year.

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Muslim: Turkey will completely collapse if it does not solve the Kurdish question

CEMIL EBDO | ROJ DENİZ | SHEHBA | 12 JANUARY 2024

Salih Muslim, co-chair of the PYD, analyzed the changing political conditions in the Middle East in an interview with ANF. The Kurdish politician says self-rule in Northern and Eastern Syria cannot be ignored. Turkey is heading towards a collapse that can only be stopped by resolving the Kurdish question.

Erdogan is using Turkey's geostrategic location for his interests. All states are approaching Turkey accordingly. How do you assess this in the current phase?

Turkey has a geographically important position. Its geostrategic location was particularly important when NATO was founded in 1952. At that time, the Turkish state maintained relations with Asia and Europe. It also had a large territory and was against the Soviet Russia and many socialist countries. That made it even

more important to NATO. They established bases in Turkey, such as the Incirlik military base. In this sense, Turkey had won a place in NATO. Many agreements were concluded and Turkey benefited greatly from them. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey largely lost its geostrategic importance. With the development of technology, the advent of satellites, the Internet and the development of air transport, the situation for Turkey has continued to worsen. The Turkish state was particularly important during the Cold War. It was used both because of the bases set up in its territory and as a barrier against the real socialist states. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and technological development, Turkey has largely lost this important geostrategic position.

This time, capital came into play. If global capital wants to develop in one place, it wants stability there. After 1990, attempts were made to ensure stability in Turkey. The then-President Turgut Özal took initiatives to ensure stability and boost trade in Turkey. To do this, however, the Kurdish question had to be resolved. That's why they wanted to resolve the Kurdish issue within Turkey, but this did not succeed. This led to Turkey gradually losing its geostrategic importance. If Turkey had achieved internal stability, many developments would have been possible. Energy supply, trade and many other things have improved. But Turkey was not so successful as it hoped. The main reason was that it did not allow a solution to the Kurdish question, Turkey's biggest problem. It has been unable to provide stability or address the fundamental problems that need to be solved. That's why Turkey is becoming less important every day.

Erdoğan still thinks in the old mentality. He believes that Turkey still retains its former importance and, therefore, he can impose his will on everyone. In this way, he wants to implement his neo-Ottoman dreams and the policies he wants in the Middle East. However, with each passing day, Turkey is losing both its geostrategic position and its global capital. With this mentality, Turkey can only lose. With its chauvinistic and neo-Ottoman dreams, the Turkish state is not only losing itself, it is harming the entire population and especially the Kurds. Unfortunately, with this mentality, he remains a big problem for everyone. Because of this policy, the hegemonic powers are increasingly distancing themselves. As long as Turkey persists with this policy, it will lose. Because this policy is no longer acceptable.

The political situation can change

The autonomous region of Northern and Eastern Syria is also strategically located. Many hegemonic powers and regional states have plans here. How do you think the ongoing war between Israel and Hamas will affect Syria and Rojava? To what extent does it influence Erdoğan's current policies in particular?

Many analysts suggest that the Israeli-Palestinian war is the result of the failure of the capitalist powers to reach an agreement. They wanted to open the old Silk Road to Europe via Turkey and Iran. Both Iran and Turkey wanted this. However, at the G20 summit in India, they wanted to change this route and take it through the Gulf states, through Saudi Arabia, through the Mediterranean and from there to Greece, thus excluding both Turkey and Iran. Now it is said that Turkey started this war to prevent the realization of this project. Many assessments that are now being made say that Turkey gave the order to Hamas to attack. The aim is to increase the chaos in the Middle East and Turkey is involved in this war.

There is a high probability that the conflict will spread. In such a case, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria will also be involved in the war, and everything will be in disarray. We don't know who will stand where. However, Syria's position is very important. For example, the first project I mentioned left Syria out. The previously planned gas pipeline project in Northern and Eastern Syria was not implemented, although Qatar and

other countries wanted it. If their other project also fails, they will return to Northern and Eastern Syria. But we don't know to what extent they can agree on this project. Also, there is one thing they didn't take into account: The Kurdish people. An administration has been established in Northern and Eastern Syria, and this administration is a system. Today the West and all hegemonic powers can accept this system. It will bring a solution. However, the regional states of Turkey, Syria and Iran do not accept it. That's why we're still at war. Our fight has not lost its meaning. And we hope that it will bring stability to both us and our neighbourhood. However, in my opinion, the Gaza issue will change many things. There is a possibility that the war will spread to other countries. Lebanon could participate, Egypt and Jordan could participate. It is not clear where this war will end. But all balances in the Middle East will change.

Erdoğan wants to be proclaimed caliph

Many countries in the world are pioneers of capitalist modernity; in the Middle East it is Turkey. To what extent do you think Turkey plays this role?

From 2002 to 2013, Erdoğan accepted the projects of the hegemonic powers. But then Eurasia came into play. Eurasia wants to unite the Turkic states into a great Ottoman Empire, similar to how all Arab states united in the Arab League. However, all of these projects fell through. In 2013, the deep state was completely taken over by Erdoğan. Since then, his politics have changed completely. All projects were aimed at Erdoğan. However, Erdoğan began to do everything on his own terms. He took advantage of Turkey's geostrategic location. On the one hand, Erdoğan did not break away from NATO, but on the other hand, he expanded relations with Russia. He did all of this to maintain his power. He also used his international relationships for domestic policy purposes. What is its domestic policy? The extinction of the Kurds. The Kurdish question should not be solved, he wants to dominate everything and a Muslim Brotherhood state should emerge. So he has completely changed. But the capitalist forces and many other circles want stability and democracy in Turkey. However, Erdoğan is neither ready for democracy nor a solution. He has put everything at the service of his own power. Erdoğan wants to be proclaimed caliph. Making Erdoğan a caliph or sultan is the policy of the deep state. This policy drove Turkey into bankruptcy. Economically, it is collapsing day after day. Its money no longer has any value. It is bankrupt at the diplomatic level, and the same applies to politics. As much as Erdoğan has tried to mediate in the Gaza war, he has become increasingly distant. He has lost Turkey's geostrategic position and international capital for his own personal power. He sacrificed them all to his own interests. He's still losing, and it's not clear how long this will last. Turkey is moving further away from democracy with every passing day, not even respecting its own constitution. I mean, we see it every day: journalists are arrested, politicians are arrested. There is no longer any legal system and rulings from the European Court of Human Rights are ignored. However, all of this is preparing the collapse of Turkey. We don't know how long it will take, but this policy will eventually bring about the downfall of Turkey.

Turkey is losing because of the unresolved Kurdish issue

Capitalist modernity has no fixed place anywhere. It uses countries like England, France and the US for herself, but she herself is everywhere. One of the states it used was Turkey. The Greater Middle East Project, developed particularly after the 1990s, was a project of capitalist modernity. It wanted to shape the Middle East on her own terms. It relied on Turkey. Turkey was both a regional state and a member of NATO and had military forces that it could use at any time. In this sense, Turkey took on the role of an important player. However, Turkey's role as an actor was not that of a politician, but rather that of a re-

ceiver and implementer of instructions. At that time, Erdoğan even openly said: "I am the president of this project."

However, the Turkish state has not given up on its own diseases. The Kurdish question is at the forefront. The owners of this project wanted the Kurdish issue to be resolved within Turkey, which the Turkish state did not accept. Steps such as the talks in Oslo were initiated, there were talks with the Kurdish representative in İmralı. Abdullah Öcalan really wanted to solve this problem. However, the Turkish state has changed its policies and destroyed all solutions. Nevertheless, the forces of global, capitalist modernity have not given up on their project. They want to get rid of Turkey little by little. Since 1952, NATO has concluded many agreements with Turkey. She counted on Turkey for the Greater Middle East Project. Of course, Turkey also benefited greatly from this situation. But today they are trying to get rid of Turkey because the Turkish state is also a nuisance to them. He is an obstacle to their projects. When they founded the great Middle East project together, there were mutual promises. At that time, the Turkish state did not want the Kurds to take part. There are 50 million Kurds living in the Middle East. How can they be left out? They have proven their existence through their struggle and thereby become a part of this project. And Erdoğan still wants to say that there are no Kurds. With this wrong policy, he has put both Turkey and the entire region behind. It has also prevented the progress of the Greater Middle East Project created by the hegemonic powers, the forces of capitalist modernity. To date, it has only created obstacles. For this reason, it can no longer be said that the Turkish state is part of the project created by these powers. On the contrary, it has now become a big problem for them.

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Opinion

Living in Hakkari in 2023 was like living in an open prison

ANF | HAKKARI | 23 DECEMBER 2023

Hakkari (Colemêrg) has been under state of emergency for 7 years. In 2023, torture, detention, arrest, extrajudicial executions and special war practices continued uninterrupted. Border gates were closed and people were prohibited from trading. Plateaus and pastures were declared a "Special Security Zone" and an attempt was made to end agriculture and animal husbandry. Dozens of checkpoints were established on the Van-Hakkari highway and even travel was prevented. A military base has been set up on every hill surrounding the city, and the center is virtually under military and police blockade.

In the past 7 years, all protests and events have been banned with new prohibitions issued every 15 days. Political parties or civil society organizations other than AKP-MHP have to "get permission" when they want to carry out any action or activity. 15 people were killed, crashed by armored vehicles and fire opened by soldiers and police at the border. House raids, violence in custody, and arrest are routine.

Economic embargo implemented

The majority of the plateaus and valleys, which are important for agriculture and animal husbandry, were banned and closed off to people after being declared "Special Security Zone". This heavily affected the population as animal husbandry and agriculture are their main source of income. Due to the restrictions, the villagers who could not take their animals to the plateaus and pastures had to abandon animal husbandry and migrate. Citizens who could not farm in their fields and gardens, were unable to produce anything, thus experiencing heavy economic crises.

The Turkish government murdered many citizens who wanted to do business in rural and border areas. They also tried to suppress tradesmen by preventing trade at the border gates in Gever and Çelê districts.

Many citizens were killed or injured as a result of fire opened by soldiers and police while going to their fields, grazing their animals or even while going on a picnic with their families.

Suicide cases increased

Hakkari experienced a period with the highest number of suicide cases in 2023. Hakkari has the youngest population but ranks last when it comes to unemployment and poverty. According to the Human Rights Association (IHD), there were 25 suicide attempts in 10 months and 12 people died as a result of those attempts. Those who committed suicide were young men and women between the ages of 17 and 30.

The IHD said in a report that "it has been proved that people, including law enforcement officers, sexually abused some women. The deaths of some of the women who were sexually abused were treated as 'suicide' whereas they were suspicious deaths."



Fascism's dream of a superior race lasts until the guerrilla strikes

PIRDOGAN KEMAL | BEHDINAN | 10 JANUARY 2024

The main world agenda of recent times is the developing technological arms race and its devastating effects on societies. In this recent period, when the balance of power on a global scale is rapidly shifting, the efforts of nation states to maintain their hegemony on a regional continuity basis are in many respects dragging not only the other side but also their own societies into a great predicament. There are many examples of such powers in the Middle East, but the most prominent of these is undoubtedly the Turkish state and Turkish society, which has made occupation a state tradition, and the strategy that each new government adopts as a continuation of the lineage, is dragging the Turkish state and Turkish society into a turmoil from which they are increasingly unable to get out. The rapid militaristic tendencies of the society and the fascist sentiments that are gradually spreading to almost a large part of the society are spreading

like a cancer. It should not be forgotten that this is a cancer that started with the founding of the Republic and has been going on for 100 years. This Republic, which could not have been established without the support of the Kurdish people, showed its true face after the first few years and carried out a genocidal campaign against all other races, especially the Kurdish people, by making Turkishness the superior race.

Fascism has become an identity

It is necessary to comprehend the phenomenon of fascism well. Because the concepts of fascism and racism are not just discursive concepts. Fascism, identified with Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, has become an identity in the last century. The evil they committed to create a race superior of their own and to subjugate or destroy all other races is unprecedented in human history. Likewise, fascism is the new identity that the Erdoğan regime has given to society on the basis of anti-Kurdish sentiments. Because apart from cultural, linguistic, artistic and political opposition and rejection, the physical denial of the Kurdish right to life is practiced today not only by state forces but also by Turkish society.

There is an important point here. I wonder if this definition of state and race, whose own language, culture and sociological foundations are based on usurping the heritage of other societies, sees its own rootlessness before defining Kurdishness as a concept to be despised. It is very difficult to understand how the new definition of Turkishness, which was created by the Republic by creating a new language and culture, or rather by plagiarizing from here and there, can be presented as a superior race even today. The concept of Turkishness, which is currently experiencing a great cultural degeneration, is a completely misleading concept. On the other hand, the Kurdish people, who have raised personalities that have laid the foundations in many fields, scientifically, artistically and culturally, and who have been the most essential element and people of Mesopotamia for ages, have been a people who have determined the balances in every period. It has rejected oppression, exploitation and genocide with dozens of examples of resistance and has not succumbed to oppression.

Day after day, the occupiers suffered heavier blows

As we see this racism and brutality in every aspect of life, we also see it in the occupying Turkish soldiers who have supposedly come to finish the guerrilla. Although the fear they experience in the face of the guerrilla is repeatedly reflected on the guerrilla's camera and known by everyone, we are faced with a pathetic system that is inflated in order to gain credit in the eyes of the society and rejoices in the slightest attack as if the Kurdish Freedom Movement has been finished, and tries to sell this to the whole society with a great perception operation. This dirty army, which has been waging a great special war for the last 9 years, always tries to hide from the society what kind of scene it is facing on the ground. While this fascist regime continues its policies of standardization against the Kurdish people by painting a picture of a noble, strong and mighty army, the case on the ground has been the opposite.

The occupiers suffered a heavier blow against the guerrilla day by day, and the more they were hit, the more their rhetoric of fascism increased. The AKP-MHP regime, which has waged a war against the Kurdish people with the concept of annihilation both inside and outside, turned fascism into a social identity. Many Kurds were massacred with this special propaganda, especially in the cities of Turkey. Dozens more are imprisoned under torture every day. But the struggle of the Kurdish people has come this far despite the dirty war and all these policies. On the other hand, in the special war against the social mind, the occupying Turkish state has reached a level that disregards all moral norms and recognizes no law. There is no

law left for the Kurdish people. For this reason, the Kurdish people must operate their own law, that is, the law of struggle. As a matter of fact, the evolution of the struggle shows this. We know well how an army that tries to create success through guerrilla deaths and the fascist Erdoğan regime, which owns this army, treat their own dead.

Even though Turkish society continues to ignore this, we will continue to show these truths to everyone. Even the corpses of those who posed in the guerrilla areas doing the grey wolf salute are now missing. Their state and army, to which they were so attached, did not even claim their bodies. The bodies of hundreds of them have fallen prey to wolves and birds. As a reminder, during last year's invasion operation, the bodies of 18 invaders in the Shikefta Birîndara area of Zap were bombed and destroyed by the Turkish army itself. According to the information provided by the guerrilla forces at the time, the smell of these soldiers' corpses was all-pervading. Again, they burned the bodies of their own soldiers in the Girê Cûdî Resistance Area in the Şehit Delîl Western Zap region. Clear images of this were published by the guerrilla forces.

The half-century-long Kurdish freedom struggle has proven its adequacy

Now we must ask once again when the social mind will realize that this war and dirty politics will bring about their own end. Those who say "if you are a Turk, brag, if you are not, obey" attack the Kurdish people by drooling without seeing this immorality and their devastated armies. While these racist people in society engage in all kinds of enmity and attacks against the Kurdish people, the same people have psychological attacks out of fear when they are sent to fight against the guerrilla. Apart from the soldiers killed and wounded by the guerrilla in the last two years of war, thousands of them have psychologically collapsed and many of them can no longer adapt to society as before. As a matter of fact, one of them recently went insane and killed his entire household. Those who shout so much about homeland throw themselves off the cliffs out of fear when they see the gun barrel.

If you are so superior, if you are so strong, fight without any technique. Let's see if a single one of those soldiers can hold their ground without reconnaissance aircraft hovering over them and helicopters and warplanes not bombarding the area for them. Let's see if they can say that they are the superior race then. In fact, just a week ago, 90 soldiers were killed in revolutionary operations carried out by guerrilla forces.

In conclusion, what I want to say is that it is obvious that those who have no capital and purpose other than opposition and enmity against the Kurdish people are in a pathetic state. Therefore, as long as Turkish society does not give up its racism against the Kurdish people and attacks the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom, it will consume its own sociological structure. This will happen socially, politically and physically. If Kurdishness has not been finished for 100 years, it will not be finished after that either. The Kurdish freedom struggle that has been going on for half a century has proven its adequacy.



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