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THE İMRALI POST

Heard His Name. Learn His Story. Demand His Freedom.

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Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

The International Conspiracy in Abdullah Öcalan’s

words

ANF / 15 February 2024

Abdullah Öcalan writes widely in *The PKK and the Kurdish Question in the 21st Century* about his decision to come to Europe and about the international conspiracy which led to his abduction in Kenya on 15 February 1999.

Writing about his decision to come to Europe, Öcalan said: “My intention was to find a democratic platform for the Kurdish question. Had I found support for this, it would also have been possible to push Turkey in this direction. However, Europe seemed to be disinterested in a solution to the Kurdish problem. Had I been allowed to become politically active in Europe, it would have been the end of the war. Unfortunately, this option was not compatible with the strategy of the West.”

As to the background of the international conspiracy, Öcalan writes:

“[...] Since I have been imprisoned on Imralı I have been trying to work for a lasting peace in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. This is even more difficult than waging war. Peace based on the acceptance of different cultural identities will help to advance a renaissance of the region and further democratic progress in Turkey. Eventually, every war ends with peace. If we prove unable to end this war, we are doomed to be used for the purposes of our enemies. My efforts for peace received a wide variety of responses. Most of this was, however, opposition from various and even contrarian political circles. Some have not yet understood the relevance of the peace process for Turkey. The Kurdish issue has produced the longest and most severe crisis in the history of the republic. Without a just peace the crisis will continue.

[...]

My imprisonment also means that the republic and the people have been reborn. Their second birth had taken place through violence and war, like some kind of catharsis. The battle against the oligarchic

republic was long and violent. It will be followed by a new era when we will establish a new secular and democratic republic.

The present time requires all of us to restructure and restart the whole of social life: the state, economy, politics, justice, the arts, even ethics. They have been rocked and are looking for a way out of this crisis. My imprisonment somehow serves as a catalyst. At the moment, peace - or how to win it - seems to be on everybody's agenda.

I stand for the conscious will of the Kurdish people for freedom. This will has been expressed by war for a long time – now its message is peace.

The war was defined not by what it was meant to achieve but by what its enemies were: feudalism and the oligarchic republic. Peace has positive goals: reform of the republic, democratization, secularism.

We can completely abandon separatism and violence in the present system if the Kurds are no longer excluded from a process in which they have participated together with the Turks in the course of history: the formation of a state and a nation to which both Kurds and Turks contributed alike. A republic, however, which is based on the denial of Kurdish demands for freedom, leads to separatism and violence. If the republic opens to the self-determination of its peoples within the boundaries of the republic, we might have a peaceful future together.

However, the present crisis is stabilized and kept going by external and internal corruption, criminals who profit enormously from war. The war has cost many billions of dollars and 40,000 lives. Taking on the Kurdish problem and finding a solution are overdue.

The February plot is also of some significance with a view to human rights and human rights conventions. My abduction and extradition violated these rights and conventions. It is mostly the European governments and the USA that are responsible for this breach, rather than the Turkish government. Their colonial understanding of foreign policy and the way they proceeded in my case have produced the present situation. Hence, my appeal to the European Court was meant not only simply to accuse Turkey of unlawful practices. Rather, I also wanted the unlawful and ethically wrong practices of the EU and the USA, which had been directed against me and against the will of the Kurds for freedom, to be put on trial. They had worked together assiduously in three European capitals. They all had made their contributions until a bunch of corrupt head-hunters in Africa sold themselves to a capitalist intrigue and consigned me to a Turkish airplane.

It had begun in Athens. They treated me like a slave whom they could order around at will. They hoped for concessions on Cyprus and the Aegean issue. They betrayed our friendship and shamelessly disregarded the Human Rights Convention. My situation, however, did not only concern me as an individual. Millions of Kurds who felt very close to me were betrayed just as badly.

Nor was Israel right to make me a victim of their strategic considerations. They wanted to include Turkey in the balance of power of the Near East.

I will be ready to help with the clarification of the political and legal dimension of this power play at any time.

The second station was Moscow. I was neither surprised nor angry. Nonetheless, Russia was a signatory state of the European Council and the European Convention on Human Rights. They should not have ignored my application for asylum. And they should not have expelled me despite a decision to the contrary in the Duma. However, these are matters to be brought before the European Court.

The third contribution was provided almost before the eyes of the Holy Father in the eternal city of Rome.

While I just wanted to talk about some fundamental civilizational realities, I was in fact surrounded by police for 66 days and basically held under house arrest. I had gone there to speak for the right and freedom of one of the oldest peoples in history who were not allowed to enjoy their human rights. Europe did not respect the claim of the Kurdish people for their human rights. Instead, they took part in my abduction. It is now up to the European Court to find out how this situation came about.

My abduction from Kenya was accomplished with the agreement of the EU and the USA. Greece and Kenya had to do the dirty work and deliver me from the Greek embassy to Turkey. Again, the EU had found a way not to get directly involved in my case. They enlisted the help of some corrupt Kenyan police officers.

I think it has become clear, and former President Clinton has confirmed it, that the Greek secret service and the CIA did not participate in the ploy out of love of the Turks. I am sure that their strategic objective was to have me killed by the Turks, and that's probably true for the British too. However, I did not express any hatred towards the Turks and the Turkish general staff acted very considerately, so the situation did not escalate. Such an escalation might have cost tens of thousands of lives. Nonetheless, this plot is exemplary historically in that it attempted to pit Kurds against Turks without leaving them room for a solution of the conflict.

Why did Israel participate? Traditionally, Israel had good relations with the Iraqi Kurds. When I appeared on the scene, and in particular when we relocated our headquarters to the Middle East, I was an independent actor who disrupted their strategic balance. This made me dangerous. Furthermore, the Israeli right favored an alliance with Turkey to offset the political weight of the Arabs. It was also the Israeli lobby in Russia which had accomplished my expulsion with the help of the then Russian prime minister Primakov. I remember that Ariel Sharon had also gone to Moscow at that time. The USA, with their pro-Israel lobby strong while Clinton was weakened by the Lewinsky affair, put Italy under pressure. With the help of Mossad I became persona non grata in Europe. So I travelled from place to place until eventually there was nowhere else for me to go and I was sent as a prisoner to Turkey.”

Source: Abdullah Öcalan: The PKK and the Kurdish Question in the 21st Century

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Öcalan's Freedom Is Your Freedom

After 25 years of captivity and shortly before his 75th birthday, the question of Abdullah Öcalan's freedom becomes more urgent than ever. But this is not only about him. It is about stopping the spiral of endless wars and freeing societies from the iron grip of the states.

25 years ago, on 15 February 1999, Abdullah Öcalan was abducted from Nairobi, Kenya in a NATO-orchestrated operation — an early example of the later so-called “extraordinary renditions”. His abduction and subsequent sentence to death did not solve any problems. Rather, it demonstrated the blatant unwillingness of the nation states—including every single EU member state—to address the Kurdish issue. Despite this, a lot has changed in the years since 1999.

We, the International Initiative “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan—Peace in Kurdistan” denounce once again the international cooperation that led to his abduction and imprisonment, and we equally denounce the international cooperation that makes the aggressive wars of Turkey and occupation of several neighboring countries possible. But for us these notable anniversaries—25 years since his abduction and his upcoming 75th birthday in April—are also an opportunity to examine what Öcalan has achieved on a global scale – against the most fantastic odds.

As a person, he survived years and years of isolation torture that was expected to break him. Far from that, he remains unbroken, has even grown in stature, and expresses his philosophical ideas, historical knowledge, and political proposals in great clarity in his numerous books. The few people that were able to meet him in prison tell about an impressive figure that gives the impression of a sage.

As a public personality, before 1999, outside the Middle East he was little known, if at all. Those who had heard of him knew him mainly as the leader of an insurgent group. Today he is respected as an experienced politician with the widely recognized potential to mediate a major peace between warring parties.

As a writer, he had been published in Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic before. His books were mostly circulated among Kurdish activists and their friends. In only one decade, between 2001 and 2011, he produced an unparalleled body of works that by now has been at least partially published in 25 languages. He is respected by many people around the world as a leading revolutionary thinker of the 21st century.

Equally important are Öcalan's political gains. Not only has he managed to restructure the Kurdish freedom movement which made the Rojava Revolution possible. His ideas have also sparked projects like the HDP in North Kurdistan and Turkey, seriously threatening to shake the power balance to the detriment of Erdoğan's AKP, and the democratic self-administration of the Ezidîs in Şengal after the Genocide committed by the Islamic State.

What Öcalan achieved in the quarter of a century from solitary confinement in a lonely cell on an island in the middle of the Marmara Sea has had a tremendous influence in shaping today's Middle East and will continue to do through the movement he created. Incidentally, the title of a 1994 book by him is "We will change the face of the Middle East". Against all odds, Öcalan has certainly made good on that promise.

So, how is all this important for every one of us? One of the key topics Öcalan has focused on in his writing is the contradiction between the nation state and the societies. Restriction of societal freedoms through "anti-terror" legislation, austerity laws and increasingly a massive militarization—not to mention the effects of the endless wars in the Middle East itself—have a detrimental effect on everybody's freedom, including yours.

A successful effort to free Öcalan from his prison cell requires and means a reversal of all of these tendencies in a key area of the world: Turkey and the Middle East. Therefore, the struggle for his freedom is connected very closely with all struggles against these.

But there is more to it: Since he has become a symbol as well as an effective actor for progressive change in the Middle East already, his freedom has much wider implications. It will mean not only freedom for other political prisoners, but a boost for the democratic and revolutionary changes that have already been brought about by people—and especially women—inspired by the ideas formulated by Öcalan, including the now famous connection he made between women, life, and freedom. His ideas offer a way out of the current crises the region and the world face. His freedom will strengthen the struggle against genocidal nation-statism and increase the freedom for all—including your freedom.

The task to make that happen is on all of us. Countless signature campaigns, demonstrations, hunger strikes, and juridical and political efforts have brought us far but have not yet ensured his release. Öcalan's upcoming 75th birthday on 4 April and the ongoing murderous attacks on the Kurds highlight the urgency of the struggle for his freedom and a change in the course of events. He has achieved incredible and inspiring successes against the most fantastic odds. So should we: Read his books, organize, and join the Free Öcalan campaign and our struggle to win his freedom, your freedom, now.

International Initiative

Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan—Peace in Kurdistan

14 February 2024

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Vigil in Geneva: On 17 February we will say ‘You cannot darken our sun’

ANF / Geneva / 14 February 2024

A vigil by the Democratic Kurdish Community in Switzerland has been taking place in front of the UN headquarters in Geneva since 25 January 2021. Every Wednesday, activists stage a protest in front of the United Nations building to demand the release of Kurdish people’s leader Abdullah Öcalan. The action is carried out as part of the ‘Dem dema azadiye’ [Time for Freedom] campaign and directed against the isolation of the Kurdish leader on the Turkish prison island of İmralı, the Turkish occupation attacks on Kurdistan, the massacres committed in Kurdish territories and the silence of the UN.

During the sit-in, which is taking place in front of a tent set up in the square, activists protested against the international conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan 25 years ago. They called for participation in the central march and rally to be held in Cologne, Germany on 17 February under the slogan “You cannot darken our sun”.

Speaking at the demonstration, Rıza Çetinkaya stated that Abdullah Öcalan was subjected to isolation as a continuation of the international conspiracy and said, “The Kurdish people will once again destroy this torture system by claiming their will.” Çetinkaya stated that they will lead the international campaign “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a democratic solution to the Kurdish question” to victory by revealing the unity of the Kurdish people.

“We will be the voice to the demand of millions by claiming our will in the Cologne demonstration on 17 February. In this sense, we call on all democratic circles, especially our patriotic people and friends, to join the Cologne action,” he concluded.

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PEACE IN KURDISTAN

On the 25th anniversary of the abduction of Abdullah Öcalan

Peace in Kurdistan insists that we turn this anniversary into the start of renewed efforts for peace beginning with the release of Abdullah Öcalan.

Every day that Öcalan remains in prison is an indictment of the Turkish state but also of its allies who have colluded with this historic injustice imposed on Öcalan himself as an individual human being and on the Kurds as a people who strongly identify with him and uphold him as their national leader.

After twenty five years of detention, support for Öcalan has shown itself to be consistently strong and has never seriously diminished despite concerted attempts, indeed through use of brute force, to separate the people from their leader.

To the Kurds, Ocalan has long represented their hope that there is a route towards liberation. He is a light that cannot be snuffed out despite all the numerous oppressive measures taken by Turkey and those who collaborate with it.

Ocalan's mistreatment is a stark testimony to the truism that justice is never handed out as a gift. If history teaches anything, it is that justice and popular rights have to be fought for every step of the way and that every gain won has to be wrested from the grip of the powerful otherwise nothing will be changed. That is why actions on all levels need to be stepped up with maximum effort to force the release of Abdullah Ocalan, who has become one of the longest serving political prisoners in modern history.

Every day that the Kurdish leader remains in prison is a day too long. This anniversary marks 25 years since Abdullah Ocalan's abduction and this terrible landmark must become the start of renewed efforts to obtain his freedom.

It is to the utter shame of the international powers, including the entire West, the United States and the European Union most of all, that Ocalan remains behind bars and that little tangible action has been undertaken to ensure his release by exerting pressure on Turkey, even after all these years.

Despite the glaring injustice of his case, those states with the power available to them through their positions of influence and their strategic alliances, have stubbornly refused to act, expecting, one assumes, that public memory of Ocalan will wane, and that his support base will be eroded. This has not occurred and those who define themselves as part of the social movement that his political arguments and leadership have inspired, continue to grow in strength and numbers. As such, despite the passing of this quarter of a century, Abdullah Ocalan steadfastly continues to represent hope for millions of Kurdish people and others who enthusiastically express support and solidarity with him.

The demands must be articulated more emphatically and through all possible openings where it should be insisted that Ocalan still offers the only real opportunity to achieve a lasting peace. It must be argued that it is only through a process of negotiations that an enduring agreement can be brokered between the Turkish state and the Kurdish people leading to a desired outcome where, irrespective of their Turkish or Kurdish identities, all people as citizens and human beings can equally enjoy the fruits of democracy and, in the long run, build a much stronger society and political system.

Peace in Kurdistan therefore renews its call for the release of Abdullah Ocalan and urges Turkey and its allies, within the UK, US and EU, to recognise that Ocalan offers the best way out of the impasse and the potential for a new beginning after decades of conflict, oppression, violence and injustice. Recognition of Ocalan's historic significance remains the essential precondition for achievement of this lasting peace, and this is what we should all want to see secured within our own lifetimes and within Abdullah Ocalan's lifetime.

15th February 2024

Peace in Kurdistan

Campaign for a political solution of the Kurdish Question



Kurds and Friends Marching for Freedom

Activists in Esslingen go on hunger strike for Öcalan

ANF / Esslingen / 10 February 2024

A hunger strike was launched in Esslingen. The action will last until 14 February, and will demand to break the isolation imposed on Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and ensure his physical freedom.

The hunger strike will end with a protest against the International Conspiracy in Strasbourg.

Dozens of Kurdish people visited the hunger strikers on Friday at Esslingen Democratic Kurdish Community Center. The action started with a group of 10 people.

In a statement, the activists said: "There has been heavy isolation imposed on our Leader for many years. We have not had any information about him for the last 3 years. All forces involved in the international conspiracy, especially the Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT), are responsible for this. Our Leader is the Kurdish people's hope for freedom and the Middle East's hope for peace. We demand his immediate release. Thousands of political prisoners have been on hunger strike in the prisons of Kurdistan and Turkey for months. At the same time, our mothers are on a justice vigil. Our hunger strike will continue until 14 February, and aims to ensure physical freedom for the Leader and to salute our mothers in resistance."

The activists added: "Today is the day to increase the resistance. We must increase our actions everywhere." They called on the Kurdish people living in Europe to attend the march to be held in Cologne on 17 February to condemn the International Conspiracy and ensure the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan.

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Arab women and youth in Shengal protest the international conspiracy against Öcalan

ANF / Shengal / 10 February 2024

Arab women and youth in Shengal (Sinjar) staged a march against the 15 February International Conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services. This act of piracy, contrary to international law, had begun with Öcalan's forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998. The Kurdish community is taking the upcoming anniversary of his abduction as an opportunity to demand the release of the 74-year-old leader and a political solution to the Kurdish question.

The march was organized by the Arab Regions Women's Assembly and the Shengal Arab Youth Initiative, and attended by hundreds of women and young people.

At the end of the march, statements were made on behalf of the Arab Youth Initiative and the Arab Women's Assembly.

'With the international conspiracy, women's freedom was targeted'

Speaking on behalf of the Arab Women's Assembly, Fatima Mustafa condemned the international conspiracy against Öcalan and said: "It has been 25 years since Leader Apo (Abdullah Öcalan) was captured by international occupation forces. This conspiracy was carried out against all peoples who value freedom in the person of Leader Apo. Currently, oppressed people all over the world are organising themselves through the ideas of Öcalan. With the conspiracy against Leader Apo, women's freedom was targeted."

'Erdoğan supports ISIS to prevent the freedom of women and people'

Referring to the ISIS genocide in Shengal in 2014, Mustafa continued: "During the ISIS aggression in the region, violence was mostly applied to women, who were the main target of the gangs. During this onslaught, which took place in front of the eyes of the whole world, all kinds of inhuman massacres were carried out against women in Shengal. In addition, more than 5 thousand Yazidi women were captured, sold and bought. It was a great shame for the entire Middle East that women were subjected to these attacks. Fascist Erdoğan, who supports ISIS gangs to prevent the freedom of women and people, is aggravating the isolation of the Leader."

Fatima Mustafa drew attention to the organisation of Arab women and said: "We, as Arab women organised based on Leader Apo's ideas and philosophy, will support and fight for Leader Apo day and night. We will stand up day and night to achieve his physical freedom."

'We will be a ring of fire around Leader Öcalan'

Hasan Anwar, who spoke on behalf of the Arab Youth Initiative, said: "The captivity of Leader Apo was a black day for the Arab people and all the peoples of the world. The aim of this conspiracy was to maintain their control over the people and prevent the freedom of the society. We are entering the 26th year of Leader Apo's imprisonment in Imrali prison, where he is not allowed to speak to the public and his voice is not heard. For this reason, we will always be in action with the slogan 'You Cannot Darken Our Sun' and we will never give up our struggle for the freedom of Leader Apo. In order to break the isolation, we, as Arab youth, will be a ring of fire around Leader Apo."

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'Journey to Freedom' kicks off in Mannheim

ANF / Mannheim / 10 February 2024

The Revolutionary Youth Movement (TCS) and the Movement of Young Women Militants (TekoJIN) are organising a multi-day "Journey to Freedom" from Germany to France. The demonstration for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question began in Mannheim today and will end in Strasbourg on 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services. This act of piracy, contrary to international law, had begun with Öcalan's forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998. The Kurdish community is taking the upcoming anniversary of his abduction as an opportunity to demand the release of the 74-year-old leader and a political solution to the Kurdish question. An internationalist march through Switzerland and a 25-day march in France will be taking place alongside the youth demonstration.

Speaking at the demonstration that started with a minute of silence for the martyrs, TCŞ Assembly member Sarya Ateş said, “Today, as TCŞ and Teko-JIN, we are taking the Journey to the Freedom of Leader Öcalan. The campaign for the Freedom of Leader Öcalan will succeed through the total struggle of the people. The international conspiracy in the month of February has been going on for 25 years. The struggle of Leader Öcalan, the Freedom Movement and our people has caused the conspiratorial forces to fail to achieve their goals. Since the struggle of Leader Öcalan prevented their projects in the Middle East, the USA, Israel and England developed an international conspiracy.”

Defining Öcalan’s Democratic Nation paradigm as the greatest answer to the conspiracy, Sarya Ataş stated the following: “It has been proven that it is possible for peoples to live together on the basis of free coexistence, and this is now witnessed concretely in Rojava. The freedom of the Kurdish people and the people of the region is connected like a rope with the freedom of Leader Öcalan. In order to prevent the spread of Leader Öcalan’s ideas and philosophy to the world, absolute isolation was imposed on him. This is a political decision. For 35 months, we have had no information or news about Leader Öcalan. He is being subjected to severe torture and this is a violation of all human rights. Here too, human rights organisations, CPT, Council of Europe etc. are collaborating in the crime with their silence and are directly responsible for it.”

Sarya Ataş continued: “The German state is systematically criminalising the Kurdish people who struggle for their freedom. Most recently, the states of Baden-Württemberg and Mannheim, with surprising and unlawful decisions, demanded the removal of Leader Öcalan’s picture in all kinds (flags, frames, etc.) and banned its display. As Kurdish youth, we strongly protest this decision. This shows that the German state also plays an important role in this international conspiracy. Leader Öcalan’s thoughts and ideas cannot be banned because they are spread all over the world.”

After the statement, the activists started their march with great enthusiasm, chanting slogans in favour of the Kurdish leader and the struggle of the guerrilla forces.

Stating that Abdullah Öcalan’s freedom can only be achieved through resistance, the protesters said, “The systematic, physical and cultural genocide that the Kurdish people have been subjected to for centuries must come to an end. The Kurdish people should not wait for freedom from someone. On the contrary, they should take the freedom they deserve from the sovereign mentality.”

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Great Freedom March: The Kurdish question can be solved with Abdullah Öcalan

ANF / Mardin / 10 February 2024

The Great Freedom March, which started from two branches, Kars and Van, on 1 February to demand the physical freedom of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, continues on its 10th day.

Those taking part in the Van branch of the march were welcomed with great enthusiasm by hundreds of people in Kızıltepe district of Mardin.

The crowd then marched through the district center, accompanied by slogans and songs. Passers-by and shopkeepers greeted the freedom march with applause and slogans.

The group held a commemoration at the boulevard on the road named after Uğur Kaymaz, who was murdered, along with his father, with 13 bullets in front of their house on 21 November 2004 when he was only 12 years old.

Addressing the people of the district in Freedom Square, Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Keskin Bayındır said, “As Freedom Marchers, we have been on the road for 10 days for the freedom of Mr Öcalan and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question. Today we are in Kızıltepe. We thank you for your support.”

Bayındır stated that they have been longing for freedom for centuries, saying, “We started our march with this longing, and we will continue until our march reaches its goal. Mr Öcalan is subjected to total isolation. We have not bowed down to his isolation, and we will not do so. We want the Kurdish question to be solved with its interlocutor as soon as possible. The interlocutor is Mr Abdullah Öcalan and this issue must be resolved with him as soon as possible. This issue does not concern us alone, it concerns the mothers, and everyone else. If we are to live an equal and honourable life in Turkey, this issue must be solved with the interlocutor. Therefore, we have taken the lead in this march. Let’s become millions and build a free and equal life. We will continue until we achieve victory.”

After further speeches by Hamdiye Turgay and Zeyni İpek, co-mayoral candidates for Kızıltepe Municipality for the local elections on 31 March, the group visited the DEM Party district organisation.

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‘Freedom for Öcalan March’ in southern France on its second day

ANF / Marseille / 10 February 2024

Kurdish activists are staging a 3-day-long march for the freedom of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan in Southern France.

158 people are taking part in the march, which started with a press statement in Martigues on Friday after a minute of silence in memory of the martyrs of the Kurdistan revolution. “We will ensure the physical freedom of our leader through resistance. We salute the marches started for the freedom of Leader Öcalan. Victory belongs to those who resist,” said the press statement.

Fethi Patnos from the organising committee said: “We have successfully completed the 1st day of the 3-day march despite adverse weather conditions. Today we will march from Marignane to Marseille and complete the second stage. We call on all our friends and patriotic people to join the march. We will come together with thousands of people at Canebiere Square at 13.00 on Sunday and conclude our march with a rally in front of the European Parliament.”

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Women’s conference in Raqqa calls for freedom for Öcalan

ANF / Raqqa / 10 February 2024

Kurds and their friends are taking action worldwide on the occasion of 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the

Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services. This act of piracy, contrary to international law, had begun with Öcalan's forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998. The Kurdish community is taking the upcoming anniversary of his abduction as an opportunity to demand the release of the 74-year-old leader and a political solution to the Kurdish question.

Kongra Star and Zenubiya Women's Community are organizing a conference in Raqqa demanding the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan.

The conference is taking place under the slogan "We will ensure the physical freedom of Leader Öcalan with the philosophy of Jin, Jiyan, Azadi".

Members of Kongra Star and Zenubiya Women's Community, the Syrian Women's Assembly, women's offices of the political parties in Raqqa, representatives of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, regional women's movements and organizations are attending the conference, as well as independent personalities, writers, poets, female doctors and many participants from Damascus, Homs, Hama and Latakia. Participants from Southern Kurdistan (Iraq) and Eastern Kurdistan (Iran) will attend via Zoom.

The conference will address topics such as the consequences of the international conspiracy against Öcalan and its effects on the current political situation, the crimes committed against the Kurdish leader in defiance of international norms and the steps taken for his physical freedom.

Speaking at the conference, Zelîxe Ebdî, Co-Chair of the Education and Training Committee of Raqqa Canton, said: "We are going through a historic process. Our resistance and struggle continue in order for the gains to be protected."

Zelîxe Ebdî warned that the Turkish state is more dangerous than ISIS and said, "The Turkish state has revealed its aim in the Middle East and committed massacres in the regions it occupied. Many countries recognised the massacres in Afrin, Serêkaniyê and Girê Spî".

Zelîxe Ebdî pointed out that the Turkish state will not achieve its goal and that the democratic nation project implemented in North-East Syria is a response to the occupation policies it pursues.

"In order to defeat the conspiracy, women need to unite their voices and fight together for the physical freedom of Leader Abdullah Öcalan," she said.

The conference continues with the speech of Hilala Zêrin Women's Cultural Movement member and poet Medya Silêman.



March for Öcalan in South France ends today with rally in Marseille

ANF / Marseille / 11 February 2024

The 3-day march with 158 people for the freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan in South France will end today with a rally in Canebière Square.

The activists on Saturday left Marignane to arrive in Marseille in the evening, despite the incessant rain.

Activists will meet in Canabiere Square today at 10am for the final rally in front of the European Parliament Representation.

The March Organization Committee greeted the activists who have been marching for two days and said that everything is ready for the final rally today.

The Committee said: “We will unite around Leader Öcalan and say that the International Conspiracy has been foiled. We will demand freedom for our Leader. We will say that the international community cannot ignore the Kurdish people. We will be in Cologne on Saturday 17 February to attend the central rally.”

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Kurdish artists in Hamburg protest the International Conspiracy against Öcalan

ANF / Hamburg / 11 February 2024

Mesopotamia Democratic Culture and Art Movement (TEV-ÇAND) held a press conference in Hamburg to condemn the International Conspiracy against Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

The press conference was held at the Hamburg Rote Flora. TEV-ÇAND members Salih Farqînî and Leyla Ekinci as well as politician Cansu Özdemir made statements condemning the conspiracy and demanding an end to the isolation of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

TEV-ÇAND said: “To support the ‘Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, Solution to the Kurdish Question’ campaign launched by civil society organization, members of democratic institutions, international activists and human rights defenders, politicians, artists and academics on 10 October 2023, we organized this meeting. The Turkish state must end its isolation policy and practice. To support this campaign, press statements were made in America, Europe, Latin America, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and many other cities of the world. As Kurdish artists in Europe, we support this important campaign.”

Die Linke Hamburg State Group co-chair Cansu Özdemir said: “We have gathered in Hamburg to protest the isolation policy. The Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) in Strasbourg does not react to the continued isolation of Abdullah Öcalan, which violates his right to health and security. Despite numerous visits to Imrali, the CPT did not fulfil its duty.”

Artist Salih Farqînî said: “We condemn the conspiracy developed against our Leader. His ideas are accepted all over the world, he is taught in universities, but the Turkish state doesn’t allow any news from him. As TEV-ÇAND, we want to draw attention to and protest this isolation.”

Kevana Zêrîn and TEV-ÇAND member Leyla Ekinci also underlined and condemned the isolation and demanded the physical freedom of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan. Postcard were sent to Imrali by the participants in the press conference.

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Information tent set up in Frankfurt as part of the ‘100 thousand postcards to Imrali’

ANF / Frankfurt / 11 February 2024

An information tent was set up in Frankfurt as part of the “100 thousand postcards to Imrali” campaign. The campaign was part of the international initiative “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, Solution to the Kurdish Question”.

The event organized by the Frankfurt Kurdish People's Assembly in Hauptwache Zeil attracted great interest from passers-by who filled out postcards prepared to be sent to Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı.

The 25-year-old İmralı genocide system was explained and exposed by activists in the tent who also called on everyone to attend the central rally to be held in Cologne on Saturday 17 February.

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Internationalist Long March from Basel to Strasbourg to demand “Freedom for Öcalan” begins

ANF / Basel / 11 February 2024

As the 15 February International conspiracy enters its 26th year, the actions and events organised within the scope of the campaign “Freedom for Öcalan, a political solution to the Kurdish question”, which was started globally with joint statements on 10 October, are expanding. Approximately 200 internationalists from many countries such as Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, Catalonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Macedonia, Slovakia and the UK are organising a long march from Basel, Switzerland to Strasbourg, France, demanding the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

Zümrüt: Peoples of the world stand up for the freedom of Öcalan

The long march of the internationalists started with a rally at the Theatreplatz in Basel. Zübeyde Zümrüt, Co-President of KCDK-E (Congress of Democratic Societies of Kurdistan in Europe), took the floor first. Zübeyde Zümrüt, who started her speech by referring to the isolation conditions in which Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan is in, said that people all over the world are standing up today for the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. Pointing out the meaning and importance of the internationalist march, Zümrüt said, “Leader Öcalan's ideas and paradigm have spread all over the world. Those in favour of freedom and democracy are marching today for his freedom.”

Stating that the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan will mean a solution to many problems created by the capitalist system, especially the Kurdish question, the Co-President of KCDK-E said, “We will be in action until we ensure the freedom of Leader Öcalan.”

Lori Kollonfai: It is President Öcalan's paradigm that makes us march

Lori Kollonfai made a speech on behalf of the internationalists and said: “Abdullah Öcalan offers solutions to all the social problems we are experiencing today. The world is experiencing one crisis after another. The 3rd World War is taking place, but nation states are trying to overcome the problems we face through fascist structures. Against this mentality, we can overcome these problems with the ideas of President Öcalan. Nation states deepen these problems by subjecting us to all kinds of discrimination with our identities. Against this, President Öcalan offers us the way to walk together despite our differences. We, who say that another world is possible, know that salvation lies in President Öcalan's paradigm.”

Lori Kollonfai concluded her speech by calling everyone to join the central rally to be in Cologne, Germany on 17 February.

Atalay: Peoples of the world embrace Abdullah Öcalan

After Lori Kollonfai, Kurdish politician Nejdet Atalay took the floor. Atalay started his speech by drawing attention to the isolation of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the response of the peoples

to Abdullah Öcalan's paradigms. "It is the power of Öcalan's paradigms that makes the peoples of the world march here today," he said.

After the speeches, nearly 200 internationalists from dozens of countries started their march behind a banner reading "Freedom for Öcalan, a political solution to the Kurdish question". "Freedom for Leader Apo" slogans were frequently chanted during the march.

Day 1 of the march will end at the Kurdish Democratic Community Centre in Basel in the evening.

The route of the internationalists' freedom march is as follows:

12 February, Saint Louis to Sierenz,

13 February from Mulhouse to Wittenheim,

14 February from Colmar to Selestat,

On 15 February, the group will march in the centre of Strasbourg.

The internationalists will conclude the action with a press conference in Strasbourg on 16 February. On 17 February they will join the central rally in Cologne.

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Art performance in Zurich calls for "Freedom for Öcalan"

ANF / Zurich / 11 February 2024

The Democratic Kurdish Culture and Art Movement in Switzerland organised a performance at the Rathausbrücke in Zurich to support the international campaign "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question" launched by the friends of the Kurdish people worldwide on 10 October. The demonstration on Saturday began with a minute's silence in memory of those who fell in the freedom struggle in Kurdistan.

In a subsequent speech, musician Kawa Urmiyê described how the PKK founder was abducted in Kenya 25 years ago on 15 February 1999 as part of an international conspiracy by the imperialist powers and handed over to Turkey. For almost three years there has been no information at all about Öcalan and his three fellow prisoners on the prison island of Imralı. In order to break the illegal isolation and initiate a democratic solution, a campaign was launched at international level last October, noted Urmiyê and added: "This campaign is of great importance to us. As Kurdish artists in Switzerland, we support the campaign and want to contribute to its success."

Kawa Urmiyê also saluted the Internationalist Long March, which began today in Basel and will conclude with a large demonstration in Cologne on Saturday.

After the speech of Kawa Urmiyê, Kader Erdinç read out a statement by the Kurdish Cultural Movement in Europe (TEV-ÇAND) and Women's Culture and Art Movement Kevana Zêrîn, which included the following:

"The freedom of Kurdish art and culture cannot be considered independently of the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan. Öcalan stood up for the preservation and promotion of art and culture. He prioritised nature, democracy, humanitarian values and women. This perspective is acknowledged and defended by people worldwide.

On 10 October 2023, progressive women's and youth movements, trade unions, civil society organisations, human rights associations, intellectuals and activists came together to launch the global campaign 'Freedom for Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question'. At the centre of the campaign is the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan as a precondition for the start of a new peace process in Turkey and the entire region. But the most urgent demand is the lifting of the isolation to which Mr Öcalan has been subjected for nearly three years. To launch the campaign, 74 press conferences were organised in Europe, Latin America, South Africa, Kenya, Japan, India, Bangladesh, East Timor, Philippines and Australia.

We, as intellectuals, writers, artists and people of culture from Kurdistan in Europe, call on everyone in favour of democracy to embrace this just and important campaign as much as we can.

Only the philosophy of free culture and art can ensure the existence of a democratic society in the face of state violence, fascism and racism.

The next major and important action of the campaign is the great demonstration for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan in Cologne on 17 February 2024. We hereby call for participation in the Cologne demonstration. Let us raise our voices together and support the demand for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question with our presence. Even a single sound that we will create with our voices, pens and musical instruments will be the biggest response to this campaign for peace, freedom and democracy."

After the statement, govend, erbane and theatre performances were staged by the groups formed within the Kurdish Culture and Art Movement in Switzerland.

After the performances, which were met by the Swiss people with interest, the crowd danced to Kurdish music.



'Journey to Freedom' in Germany on its second day

ANF / Heidelberg / 11 February 2024

The Revolutionary Youth Movement (TCS) and the Movement of Young Women Militants (TekoJIN) are organizing a multi-day "Journey to Freedom" from Germany to France. The demonstration for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question began in Mannheim on 10 February and will end in Strasbourg on 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services. This act of piracy, contrary to international law, had begun with Öcalan's forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998. The Kurdish community is taking the upcoming anniversary of his abduction as an opportunity to demand the release of the 74-year-old leader and a political solution to the Kurdish question. An internationalist march through Switzerland and a 25-day march in France are taking place alongside the demonstration in Germany.

The second stage of the march started in front of Heidelberg railway station this morning, with the activists saluting the guerrilla struggle against the occupying Turkish state.

The activists will cover 21 kilometers during their march from Heidelberg to Hockenheim today.



‘This march is for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and Kurdistan’

ANF / Siirt / 11 February 2024

The Great Freedom March, which started from two branches, Kars and Van, on 1 February to demand the physical freedom of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, continues on its 11th day. The action demands freedom for the Kurdish Leader Abdullah Öcalan, who has been kept under heavy isolation in İmralı Island Prison for 25 years and has not been heard from for the last 35 months, and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question.

Those taking part in the Kars branch of the march have reached the Siirt province where they visited the Peace Mothers after a march through the city center. DEM Party MP Newroz Uysal Aslan said, “Our mothers have been struggling for an honourable peace for many years. This struggle enlightens our path”.

DEM Party MP Keziban Konukçu said, “Your struggle is guiding the women’s struggle in Turkey. We bow in front of your struggle with respect.”

Peace Mother Maşallah Işık Arslan said, “This march is a march for freedom and equality. Everyone should see this march. We wish success to the marchers.”

Peace Mother Ayşe Taşçı and Zere İnan sang songs calling for the physical freedom of PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

The group then travelled to the Kurtalan district, where they were massively welcomed before they moved to the DEM Party election office. Speaking at the meeting where enthusiasm prevailed, DEM Party MP Ömer Öcalan said: “This march is for the freedom of Mr Öcalan and Kurdistan. Mr Öcalan declared a ceasefire many times. He did his best for peace, but we have not heard from him for 3 years. If we are marching for his freedom, our people should support us. The government is conducting a genocide policy and a dirty war. There is persecution in prisons. But we want peace nevertheless. Mr Öcalan is the interlocutor and they need to sit at the table with him. This land has had enough of war and deaths. Kurds need status and Mr Öcalan must be released.”

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DEM MPs Uçar, Çiçek and Bayındır: We are marching for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question

ANF / 12 February 2024

DEM Party MP for Istanbul Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar (also Co-Chair of Democratic Regions Party), MP for Istanbul Cengiz Çiçek (also Co-Speaker of the Peoples’ Democratic Congress) and MP for Batman Keskin Bayındır (also Co-Chair of Democratic Regions Party) wrote an open letter to the international community to explain why they are taking part to the Great Freedom March, that started on 1 February.

The march is voicing the demand for “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, Democratic Solution to the Kurdish Question” and urging the government to implement solution policies.

The letter said: “As Kurdish, Turkish, Arab, Assyrian, Sunni and Alevi MPs elected by hundreds of thousands of voters and activists working in human rights organizations in Turkey, we started the “Great Freedom March” in two cities of Turkey on February 1, 2024.

Since February 1, we have been marching district by district and province by province voicing our demand for “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, Democratic Solution to the Kurdish Issue” and urging the government to implement solution policies. In every village, district and province we visit, tens of thousands of people welcome us and support our demands.”

The letter continued: “A hundred years ago, the homeland of the Kurds, an ancient people of the Middle East, was divided between four nation-states. Instead of recognizing their rights, the nation-states in the region chose to deny them. However, the Kurdish people continue their legitimate struggle to achieve official recognition based on the fundamental rights in Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey as well.

Nevertheless, more needs to be done to solve the Kurdish Question in Turkey. We believe that ensuring the physical freedom of Mr. Abdullah Öcalan is necessary for a solution. That’s why we aim to make our voices heard by the government in Turkey, the states and peoples of the region and the world through the Great Freedom March.”

The letter added: “The key to solving the Kurdish Issue in Turkey lies with Mr. Abdullah Öcalan. His Democratic Nation, Democratic Autonomy, Democratic Confederalism and Democratic Republic theses offer a powerful solution to the xenophobic, authoritarian and populist politics that permeate the world as well as ethnic and religious discrimination in the Middle East. Unfortunately, Mr. Öcalan has been kept in absolute isolation since 2015 to prevent his ideas from being heard.

The nation-state system promoted in the Middle East has only brought instability due to the region’s multi-identity structure. This understanding has fueled the rise of radicalism, which now poses a global security threat. Solving the Kurdish issue is not just a concern for Turkey and the Kurdish geography, but also for the Middle East and the world. In fact, the world cannot become a safer place without achieving peace and stability in the Middle East.”

The three MPs said: “We must not forget that the Kurds, who strongly embrace Mr. Öcalan’s ideas, achieved a great victory against ISIS in Kobane and Syria. If we take a moment to imagine that ISIS was not defeated in Kobane in 2014, we will realize how much the people of the world owe to the Kurdish people.

It is the historical responsibility of all countries, especially Western countries, to defend the Kurdish people, whose status and identity have been disregarded by the nation-states in the region for a hundred years, and to develop policies for the freedom of Mr. Öcalan and the solution of the Kurdish issue. Therefore, we call on all the peoples of the world and political forces to stand in solidarity with the Kurdish people.”



KCK: Everyone should join the campaign for freedom

ANF / 12 February 2024

The Co-Presidency of the Kurdistan Democratic Communities Union (KCK) Executive Council released a statement on the upcoming 25th anniversary of the international conspiracy and abduction of Abdullah Öcalan, calling upon the people to join the campaign for freedom which was started several weeks ago.

“We call on all the people of Kurdistan, especially the women and the youth, to participate in the freedom campaign, which has been launched under the leadership of our international friends and will enter its second phase on February 15th, and to increase the struggle and raise resistance to defeat the international conspiracy in its 26th year,” said the KCK statement, which includes the following:

“While the international capitalist powers, led by the USA, were preparing to enter the 21st century with the so-called ‘Greater Middle East Project’, they identified Rêber Apo (Abdullah Öcalan) and the Kurdish Freedom Movement as the biggest obstacle to their capitalist modernist and imperialist interests. They saw that the free Kurdish identity created by Rêber Apo had the potential to influence all of Kurdistan and the Middle East. Because the Kurdish Freedom Movement led by the PKK had succeeded in drawing the Kurds living under the colonization of the four nation states into an important struggle. The Kurds, who organized in all four parts of Kurdistan and abroad and grew their will for freedom, did not want to spend another century without an identity, without a leader and under a colonial regime. Therefore, they embraced Rêber Apo and the freedom struggle. They were providing all kinds of support and participation to the struggle. Under the leadership of the Apoist movement, the Kurds were becoming the biggest dynamic of change and transformation in the Middle East based on the values of democracy and freedom.

The aim of the February 15th international conspiracy (international complot against Abdullah Öcalan, which was initiated on October 9, 1998, and culminated on February 15, 1999 when Öcalan was unlawfully kidnapped to Turkey, where he has since been held on the prison island of Imrali in the Sea of Marmara) by the capitalist hegemonic powers led by the US was to eliminate the free will of the Kurds in the Middle East. They wanted to leave the Kurds without identity, leader and status in the 21st century as they had done in the 20th century. For this purpose, they established the international conspiracy in a very dirty cooperation. In order to realize this conspiracy against the Kurdish people in the person of Rêber Apo, they did not hesitate to make all kinds of concessions among themselves. Because they calculated that if the Kurdish Freedom Movement was ended, they could more easily take over the Middle East and redesign it as they wanted.

The way Rêber Apo, the Kurdish people and our Movement responded to the international conspiracy was an attitude of great resistance and kind of rebirth. The circle of resistance that our people and our heroic martyrs formed around Rêber Apo was the most fundamental link that prevented the conspiracy’s intended concept of annihilation from succeeding. Because the Kurdish people saw Rêber Apo as the sum of their achievements. They saw that what was excluded in the person of the Rêber Apo and what was held hostage in Imrali was essentially the free Kurdish identity, that is, their own will. Therefore, they considered Rêber Apo’s captivity as their own captivity. The Kurdish people understood very well the connection of the Kurdish Freedom Movement with their own historical tragedy, and knowing that their salvation depends on breaking this tragedy, they embraced the historic resistance of Imrali very strongly everywhere.

Rêber Apo’s stance in the face of the international conspiracy and genocide attack was a great resistance on the basis of breaking the hundred-year tragic genocidal fate that had been determined for the Kurds. Under all the burning reality of the conditions of captivity, he responded to the conspiracy with a great intellectual and mental revolution. As a revolutionary people’s leader; as a philosopher and sage when necessary, as a political scientist when necessary, as a historical scientist, he was at the same time the spiritual, intellectual and physical leader of the resistance to change the tragic genocidal fate of his people. He presented the most advanced ideas and thoughts of the age to all peoples, women and all resisting oppressed groups in the person of the Kurdish people. With the brand-new concepts and theories he developed, he created a new paradigm of free and democratic life. With his theses on free life and free society, he responded to the greatest conspiracy of the age with the greatest defense of the age. The defense of ‘Democratic Civilization’ (five-volume prison writings that Abdullah Öcalan formulated as submissions to the ECHR during his time in prison on Imrali. These works represent an analysis of the situation and brought about a fundamental paradigm shift within the Kurdish Freedom Movement) was a powerful defense on behalf of all the oppressed, especially Kurds and women. It was a defense on behalf of free human beings, free life and a democratic society.

Under the conditions of Imrali captivity, Rêber Apo developed the paradigm of not only Kurdish but also democratic, ecological and women's libertarian society as a new paradigm and program of life and struggle that would be sufficient to change the fate of all oppressed people in the 21st century. Therefore, the 25-year Imrali imprisonment process did not work as the conspiratorial forces intended. On the contrary, on behalf of humanity, it was a process in which the idea of a democratic and free society was developed and matured in every aspect. Today, these ideas and thoughts of Rêber Apo are transforming into a new social system where Kurds live. It is turning into a new understanding of life and resistance. All oppressed people, Kurds and women alike, are greatly inspired by this development. It is turning into great enthusiasm and excitement, a great movement of hope.

The torture and absolute isolation carried out against Rêber Apo on Imrali is essentially a system of genocide. It is a Kurdish genocide system, a system of destruction of democracy and freedom. Rêber Apo has been waging a historic resistance for twenty-five years within the Imrali torture and genocide system, which is managed by international powers and guarded by the colonialist Turkish Republic. This historic resistance of Rêber Apo on Imrali constitutes the main center of our struggle against genocidal politics and attacks. As Kurdish people, friends, comrades and militants, we should all try to understand and deepen our understanding of how Rêber Apo has been resisting this torture and genocide system, this coffin system and hostage situation in Imrali for twenty-five years with the determination and claim of struggle. We must further expand and deepen our efforts to understand the reality of Rêber Apo in this regard. Particularly with regard to Kurdish existence and freedom, and for the sake of humanity's values of democracy and freedom, we must deeply feel the meaning and importance of the reality of Rêber Apo, the inhumane conditions in which he is currently being held, and we must reveal a strong attitude and level of will in our stance of struggle.

The freedom guerrilla of Kurdistan, taking its ideological, philosophical and organizational basis from Rêber Apo, has been the main force that prevented the international conspiracy from succeeding in the past twenty-four years thanks to its determined struggle and determined will. The freedom guerrilla has an unbreakable bond with Rêber Apo and sees him as its main moral center. The colonialist genocidal Turkish occupying army is currently carrying out countless extermination attacks against the Kurdistan guerrilla in an unprecedented and inhumane way and methods. It is using all of NATO's war capabilities against our guerrilla forces in a very brutal way. It uses chemical and poisonous gases, which it cannot deter with the latest NATO technology. It uses tactical nuclear and thermobaric weapons. All these inhuman ways and methods used against the Kurdistan freedom guerrilla are being developed as war crimes and crimes against humanity. The freedom guerrilla of Kurdistan continues to show its strength and will to resist against these inhumane attacks, which fall within the scope of the crime of the Turkish Republic, thanks to the strength, morale and consciousness it receives from Rêber Apo. The freedom guerrilla is writing a new history in the mountains of Kurdistan thanks to the strength and morale it receives from Rêber Apo. It is writing the history of the free Kurd, the free man, the free society.

Having endured the extraordinary conditions of torture and genocide on Imrali for twenty-five years, the intellectual, spiritual and will power of Rêber Apo was revealed. But it is not only Rêber Apo who is being held in the coffin conditions in Imrali. In the person of Rêber Apo, the Kurdish people's will is being held hostage. The heart of the Kurdish people has been beating on Imrali for twenty-five years. In other words, together with Rêber Apo, the Kurdish people are also imprisoned in the Imrali coffin. Because the Kurdish people form an inseparable whole with their leader. This is precisely why our people say 'Bê serok jîyan nabe' (No life without the leader) every day in the streets and squares. On this occasion, we salute the freedom campaign led by the Kurdish people and their international friends, which will enter its second phase with the anniversary of the February 15 international conspiracy, and all those who participate in and support this campaign.

The February 15th international conspiracy was developed as a strategic attack against the existence of the Kurdish people in the person of Rêber Apo and their will to live free, and on this basis as a genocide attack. It was carried out as a strategic attack not only by one or a few states, but also by the global capitalist system, which is the current representative of the five thousand years of statist power and patriarchal civilization. The insistence on the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question, which is the biggest question of both Turkey and the Middle East, continues on the basis of this international conspiracy strategy. On this basis, the strategy of the international conspiracy continues today as the İmralı isolation and torture system and the insistence on the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question. It is being implemented as a specially invented aggravated life sentence for Rêber Apo. It is applied as a state of absolute non-communication and automatized disciplinary punishments.

The main reason for all these genocide and extermination attacks developed by the international conspiracy strategy against Rêber Apo, the Kurdish people, the Movement and the freedom guerrilla is their fear of the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the transformation of Free Kurdishness into an organized will. In fact, in the current situation, the physical freedom of Rêber Apo has become inevitable in terms of international law. However, the colonialist, genocidal Turkish state ignores and does not recognize the international law that makes Rêber Apo's physical freedom inevitable. This attitude of the Turkish state, which does not recognize international law, is a criminal situation. The 'Council of Europe' (CoE), to which structures such as the 'European Court of Human Rights' (ECHR) and the 'European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment' (CPT) are affiliated, is as responsible for the continuation of the current situation against international law, human rights and democracy as the Turkish state. The CoE must fulfill its duties in this regard and respond to the expectations of the Kurdish people within the framework of the principles of human rights, democracy and justice.

In conclusion, the 25th anniversary of the February 15th international conspiracy is an important year for the Kurdish people and Movement, and for the democratic and freedom-seeking forces. As the Kurdish people, Movement and friends, we are determined to increase our struggle more than ever in order to unleash a historical level of development in favor of the Kurdish freedom struggle, in favor of the peoples and progressive humanity, defeating the conspiracy and bringing the Kurdish struggle for existence and freedom to victory. On this basis, we call on all the people of Kurdistan, especially the women and the youth, to participate in the freedom campaign, which has been launched under the leadership of our international friends and will enter its second phase on February 15th, and to increase the struggle and raise resistance to defeat the international conspiracy in its 26th year."

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Lori Kollonfai: Öcalan teaches us the culture of resistance

Serkan Demirel / Basel / 12 February 2024

As the 15 February International conspiracy enters its 26th year, the actions and events organised within the scope of the campaign "Freedom for Öcalan, a political solution to the Kurdish question", which was started globally with joint statements on 10 October, are expanding. Around 200 internationalists from many countries such as Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, Catalonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Macedonia, Slovakia and the UK are staging a long march from Basel, Switzerland to Strasbourg, France, demanding the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question. The march continues on its second day with great enthusiasm.

ANF spoke to Lori Kollonfai, an activist from Austria who is participating in the long march, about the process that led her to become acquainted with the Kurdish movement and the purpose of participating in the long march.

'I want to break the silence'

Kollontai stated that with her participation in the action, she wants to break the silence surrounding the treatment of Öcalan. The 74-year-old leader of the Kurdish people, who is regarded as the founder of the Kurdish liberation movement, has been held politically hostage by the Turkish state for 25 years now, after being illegally abducted from Kenya in 1999 as part of an international secret service operation. Almost completely cut off from the outside world, he has been held in virtual isolation on the prison island of İmralı ever since, the last three years in total isolation. Öcalan is not allowed to communicate with the outside world, which is a blatant violation of Turkish and international law. Internationally, this fact is ignored.

Kollonfai, who met the Kurdish freedom struggle and the Kurdish people when she was studying at university in Germany, described the process as follows: "A conference on Kurds was to be held at the university where I studied. Later, this conference was banned without any justification. This ban started my interest and curiosity in Kurds. When I started to read about the Kurds, I started to get to know them closely. This is how my journey through the Kurdish struggle began."

'The Kurdish culture of resistance impressed me most'

Stating that what impressed her the most about the Kurdish people and their struggle for freedom was the culture of resistance, Kollonfai said, "Many things impressed me about the Kurdish movement. But the most important point was their culture of resistance. The fact that there is a people and a movement that has been resisting for freedom for decades impressed me a lot."

Kollonfai said that no one in Germany or elsewhere wants to talk about cultures of resistance and added: "On the contrary, Öcalan analyses and writes very well about cultures of resistance. In other words, he teaches us the culture of resistance. The more I read Öcalan's philosophy, his perspective on the world, human beings, life and nature, the more I started to embrace this struggle."

'What unites us here is Öcalan's paradigms'

Emphasising the importance of the internationalist march due to the isolation conditions Abdullah Öcalan is in, Kollonfai said: "It is very important that so many internationalists from different parts of the world are here. What unites us here is our demand for Öcalan's physical freedom and Öcalan's paradigms. Today there are long marches not only in Europe but also in Kurdistan. Öcalan is under isolation today. It is worrying for us that we have not received any news from him for about 3 years. In this sense, this march is very meaningful to break this isolation."

The internationalist activist stated that her perspective on the world changed after getting to know Abdullah Öcalan's paradigms and added: "Perhaps the most important point in Öcalan's paradigms is his radical defence of women's freedom. It is very important that he puts women, ecology and democracy at the centre of his paradigms. For example, today nation states want to maintain their sovereignty despite the many problems they create. Öcalan, on the other hand, offers solutions to all social problems with his paradigms and ideas".

'Not only Öcalan himself but also his ideas are wanted isolated'

"We must stand up for Öcalan's physical freedom," Kollonfai said, adding: "We must break the silence about Öcalan's conditions. I could not remain silent in the face of this isolation. With this isolation, not only Öcalan himself but also his ideas are wanted to be isolated. Everyone must do something to break this isolation and ensure his freedom. It could be a long march, a conference or something else, but we must do something. As long as we mobilise and take action, we can break this isolation".



Yazidi and Arab women to establish a joint initiative against the international conspiracy

ANF / Shengal / 12 February 2024

The Yazidi Women's Freedom Movement (TAJÊ) and the Arab Women's Assembly in Shengal (Sinjar) organised a workshop on the occasion of 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services and handed over to Turkey.

The workshop participated by 160 Yazidi and Arab women and many guests from Iraq was held under the slogan 'We will ensure the physical freedom of Leader Öcalan with Jin, Jiyan, Azadî'.

Newroz Uysal, former lawyer of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, shared information about the isolation, torture and genocide system implemented in İmrālî Island Prison where Öcalan has been held since 1999.

Among the topics discussed at the workshop were the aims of the conspiracy against Öcalan, his resistance against the conspirators, women's freedom, isolation and the autonomy of Shengal.

After four separate seminars moderated by Suham Şengalî, the participants raised their questions.

At the end of the discussions, the final declaration of the workshop was read by Fatime Mustafa, member of the Arab Women's Assembly, and Suham Şengalî, member of the TAJÊ Diplomacy Committee.

Highlights from the final declaration are as follows:

"We once again condemn with great anger the International Conspiracy against Leader Öcalan, which was developed on 15 February 1999 and has left 25 years behind. We respectfully commemorate the martyrs who became a ring of fire against the conspiracy with the slogan 'You cannot darken our sun'.

We discussed the aims of the international conspiracy against Leader Öcalan in a wide range of topics. We also discussed the resistance developed by Leader Öcalan against the conspiratorial forces.

The participants of the workshop discussed Abdullah Öcalan's ideas, resistance and philosophy and decided to establish a joint initiative and to increase the struggle against the international conspiracy.

In the final declaration, the following was stated about the establishment of a joint initiative:

1- As Yazidi women, we feel indebted to Leader Öcalan. We see Leader Öcalan's freedom as our own freedom. We believe that revenge for the Yazidi women kidnapped, murdered and sold in slave markets during the genocide carried out by ISIS gangs is possible through the physical freedom of Leader Öcalan and the autonomy of Shengal.

2- We will continue to work in all areas to crush the İmrālî isolation system, to ensure the physical freedom of Leader Öcalan and to build the Autonomous Shengal. As the Free Yazidi Women's Movement and the Arab Women's Assembly, we have made the physical freedom of Leader Öcalan the basis of all the work that we have dealt with in this workshop.

3- The most important aspect of the workshop was to discuss the ideas, resistance and philosophy of Leader Öcalan. As Yazidi and Arab women, we discussed the work we would do to spread the ideas of Leader Öcalan throughout Iraq.

4- In order to increase the struggle against the international conspiracy, a joint initiative will be established by Yazidi and Arab women and work will be started to this end.

5- Leader Öcalan argues that the survival and preservation of the Yazidi faith can only be possible through returns to Shengal. We will also start working to ensure the return of our people to Shengal at a higher level.

As the Free Yazidi Women's Movement and the Shengal Arab Women's Assembly, we once again call on all liberated peoples, women's organisations and associations to join the 'Freedom for Leader Öcalan' movement. The time has come for the physical freedom of Leader Öcalan."

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Kars and Van branches of “Great Freedom March” merge in Amed

ANF / Amed / 13 February 2024

The Kars (Qers) and Van (Wan) branches of the “Great Freedom March”, which started on 1 February with the participation of politicians and executives of democratic organizations, have merged in the Palûkê (Çarıklı) neighbourhood at the entrance of Amed city center.

The Van branch set out from Xana Axpar (Çınar) on 12 February, while the Kars (Qers) branch set out from Bismîl.

DBP co-chairs Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar and Keskin Bayındır, who were in different marching branches, presented flowers to each other on behalf of the groups.

Freedom marchers are preparing to arrive in Amed city center to mark 15 February 1999, the 25th anniversary of the international conspiracy that led to the abduction of Abdullah Öcalan.

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Meryem Women's Commune in Stuttgart sends 200 postcards to Imrali

ANF / Stuttgart / 13 February 2024

Meryem Women's Commune in Stuttgart, visited the activists who went on hunger strike at the Esslingen Democratic Kurdish Community Center.

The women also sent some 200 postcards as part of the “100 Thousand Cards to Imrali” campaign.

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KCK: Strong participation in the Freedom Campaign is the most meaningful response to the conspiracy

ANF / Behdinan / 13 February 2024

The Co-Presidency of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council released a statement on the 25th anniversary of the international conspiracy of 15 February 1999 that led to the abduction of

Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya and his forced departure to Turkey where he has been held in conditions of strict isolation and torture since.

The KCK statement released on Tuesday includes the following:

“It has been 25 years since Rêber Apo (Leader Abdullah Öcalan) was taken into captivity by an international conspiracy. On its 25th anniversary, we once again condemn the conspiracy and all the forces involved in the conspiracy with great hatred.

The Kurdish people have been in an uninterrupted struggle against the conspiracy for 25 years. The struggle to reunite with Rêber Apo to defeat the conspiracy has turned into a struggle to assert freedom in Kurdistan. It has become the language, identity, will, and way of life of the Kurdish people. While the international conspiracy intended to break the Kurdish people from their struggle for freedom, the Kurdish people stood up against the conspiracy and increased their struggle for freedom, getting closer to freedom day by day. This struggle, which started under the ‘You can not darken our sun’ campaign, has become universal today and continues internationally. After 25 years, even though the conspiratorial forces pressed their views by continuing the isolation and torture system of Imralı, the conspiracy and its perpetrators were exposed, weakened, and defeated. The struggle against the conspiracy, on the other hand, has grown, and today it has become universal and the expression of free life. We commemorate with great respect and gratitude our immortal martyrs Halit Oral, Aynur Artan, and Selamet Menteş—the comrades who realized the significance of the conspiracy from the first day on and formed a circle of fire around Rêber Apo. By remembering our comrades Halit Oral, Aynur Artan, and Selamet Menteş, we also commemorate with great respect and gratitude all the martyrs of the revolution and democracy; we bow with respect in the presence of their memories; and we reaffirm once again our promise of commitment, struggle, and success to them.

During a process in which the contradictions and conflicts between the forces of capitalist modernity in the Middle East and around the world have deepened and the struggle against the conspiracy has become universal, it has become more important than ever to bring the conspiracy to consciousness and to understand its historical truth. The international conspiracy of February 15th was carried out by the US. The US wanted to eliminate those they considered obstacles in order to redesign the Middle East. Rêber Apo and the PKK were at the forefront of this. Because Kurds had no place on the political map of the Middle East, the absence of Kurds in the design of the Middle East was a result of the system of capitalist modernity and the first rule of the game. The USA, as the head of the capitalist system, acted according to this rule while giving a new shape to the Middle East, targeting Kurdish unity in the person of Rêber Apo.

After the First World War, the Kurds were excluded in the re-designing of the Middle East by the forces of capitalist modernity. In 1921, at a meeting held in Cairo, it was decided that the Kurdish question would be denied and unsolvable, and Kurdistan was divided into four parts. The nation-states of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran were founded on the basis of Kurdish denial and extermination. The genocidal colonialist Turkish state, as the power that best protects and develops the interests of the system of capitalist modernity in the Middle East, has been assigned responsibility for the genocide of the Kurds. The Turkish state has been characterized from top to bottom by Kurdish denial and hostility. Every Kurdish awakening and objection to colonialism was suppressed with massacres by the Kurdish-hostile Turkish state. The forces of capitalist modernity have also approved of the Turkish state's policies of Kurdish genocide. When Rêber Apo created a new political philosophy in Kurdistan and the Turkish state failed against the new Kurdish awakening, the powers of capitalist modernity stepped up in order not to lose their interests in the Middle East. They supported the Turkish state to prevent the freedom struggle from succeeding. The US invoked NATO's Article 5 against the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom. Indeed, the international conspiracy led by the US and Israel was coordinated by NATO.

During a time when hegemonic powers were making new plans for the Middle East, Rêber Apo wanted to take the Kurdish question to a new stage and pave the way for a democratic process in the Middle East by finding a political solution. For this, he preferred to go to Europe because Rêber Apo understood that Europe was the source of the emergence of the Kurdish question. The sovereignty of capitalist modernity was being developed in the Middle East through the unresolved Kurdish question. Under the rule of capitalist modernity, the Middle East was transformed into an arena of exploitation, war, conflict, and genocide. In the arena of the Middle East, the people were offered as bait to the forces of capitalist modernity and their collaborators, the nation-states. The biggest bait offered to predators was the Kurdish people. Rêber Apo wanted to disrupt this game, and for this purpose, he wanted to force Europe to find a solution by going there. As it is known, Rêber Apo left Syria on October 9, 1998, and went to Europe. However, the conspiratorial forces led by the USA aimed directly at the destruction of Rêber Apo. But when Rêber Apo defeated their plans, they sought to achieve their goal through the Imrali isolation and torture system. The Imrali isolation and torture system was created solely for this purpose. Thus, with the destruction of Rêber Apo, a Kurdish-Turkish war would break out, Kurds would be subjected to genocide, Turkey would continue to be the controlling power of capitalist modernity in the Middle East, and the interests and dominance of capitalist modernity in the Middle East would continue.

Rêber Apo's approach against the conspiracy, and the uniting of the Kurdish people around him, prevented the conspirators from achieving their goals. By taking the most meaningful attitude in history, Rêber Apo prevented the conspiracy from reaching its goal through him. By putting the consciousness of freedom in the hands of humanity through the development of thought that he underwent, he not only thwarted the February 15 conspiracy but all the conspiracies of history. He gave the most meaningful answer to all wickedness by drawing the path for human beings to live noble, beautiful, and righteous lives. By developing the theory of 'Democratic Modernity' on Imrali and by developing the paradigm of democratic society based on ecology and women's freedom, he presented the system of free life to humanity.

As can be seen, today, those who seek freedom and democracy all over the world find their search in Rêber Apo. The Kurdish people have also demonstrated the greatest resistance in history, showing the whole world what loyalty, resistance, and goodness are against betrayal, oppression, and evil. The Kurdish people rose up from the first day, with the 'You can not darken our sun' campaign, paid high prices, and continued their march towards freedom without ever stopping. The infinite devotion and love of our people for Rêber Apo made them resilient to all kinds of attacks, and they knew how to overcome all kinds of difficulties and save themselves from being consumed by the predators. Rêber Apo has not only saved himself from being prey, but with his persistent and uninterrupted struggle, he has delivered a manifesto for a free life to the peoples of the world, including women and oppressed social segments, thus serving the liberation of all humanity.

Since the conspiratorial forces, especially the AKP-MHP government, have not given up on their objectives, they are attempting to sustain the international conspiracy. However, the Imrali isolation and torture system has reached far beyond any legal or moral value. With the internationalization of the struggle against the conspiracy, there are no grounds to continue the conspiracy. Despite this, the fascist AKP-MHP government insists on the policy of absolute isolation because it has an anti-Kurdish mindset. Because the AKP is a project developed to bring the conspiracy to its ultimate conclusion, in order to understand the reality of governments and powers in Turkey, it is necessary to consider them in association with this conspiracy. Bülent Ecevit was initially assigned to accomplish the conspiracy. With the theses he developed, Rêber Apo prevented the conspiracy from being pursued through Ecevit. When Ecevit failed, the AKP and Tayyip Erdoğan were put in charge. When the AKP failed, the MHP and Devlet Bahçeli were placed next to them. Now that these two fascist chiefs are in charge, they are

insistently pushing for the conspiracy to come to a conclusion, even though there are no grounds left, because they know that if this does not happen, it will be the end of them.

The aim of the international conspiracy was to make Kurds and Turks fight each other, to turn the Middle East into an area of conflict, and thus to maintain the dominance of capitalist modernity in the Middle East. Rêber Apo and the Kurdish people have frustrated this policy with their attitude and resistance. This struggle led to the emergence of a 'Democratic Nation' and a philosophy of common life with the peoples of Turkey and the Middle East. It has become a part of the universal struggle by meeting the quest for freedom of the peoples of the world, including women, youth, and progressive humanity. It is this reality that frustrates the conspiracy. Of course, the conspiratorial forces have not given up on their goals. They want to accomplish their dirty and malicious ambitions by maintaining the Imrali isolation and torture system, keeping Rêber Apo in captivity, and carrying out the Kurdish genocide. But the passion and struggle for freedom are much stronger and have now reached a level that will abolish the conspiracy completely. The freedom campaign launched internationally on October 10, 2023, with the slogan 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question,' will achieve this goal and will leave the conspiracy completely ineffective. With this belief, we once again call on everyone to participate strongly in the freedom campaign.

The most meaningful response to the international conspiracy and the conspiratorial forces is to participate strongly in the freedom campaign. Let us join the freedom campaign in all four parts of Kurdistan and all over the world. Let us destroy the conspiracy and build a free life.

Down with the February 15 conspiracy!

Long live Rêber Apo!"

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Internationalist long march on its third day

ANF / Mulhouse / 13 February 2024

As the 15 February International conspiracy enters its 26th year, the actions and events organised within the scope of the campaign "Freedom for Öcalan, a political solution to the Kurdish question", which was started globally with joint statements on 10 October, are expanding. Kurds and their friends are taking to the streets worldwide on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the International Conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services and handed over to Turkey, where he has been subjected to inhumane treatment and held in isolation since.

The "Internationalist Long March for the Freedom of Abdullah Öcalan", which has been held traditionally every year since 2017 to defend the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, is being organised for the 8th time this year.

Around 200 internationalists from many countries such as Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, Catalonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Macedonia, Slovakia and the UK are taking part in this year's march, which kicked off on 11 February in Basel, Switzerland and will conclude with a press conference in Strasbourg on 16 February. On 17 February, the activists will attend the central rally in Cologne.

Internationalists wearing purple and yellow t-shirts with the words "Freedom for Öcalan" in French, German and English continue their march with great enthusiasm, chanting slogans in favor of Abdullah Öcalan.

Internationalists also protested against the occupying Turkish state and saluted the guerrilla forces who are putting up a selfless struggle against the Turkish army that is conducting an invasion operation in the guerrilla-held Medya Defense Zones in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq).

After covering a distance of 20 kilometers, the internationalist group reached the town of Sierrentz, from where they proceeded to Mulhouse.

The third day of the march started in front of Mulhouse central train station today. The activists also delivered cards with their messages to the post office as part of the “100 thousand postcards to Imralı” campaign.

During the march, the activists emphasized that Abdullah Öcalan is not only the leader of Kurds; but also the leader of all oppressed peoples and those who struggle for an alternative life against capitalist modernity.

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‘Journey to Freedom’ in Germany on its fourth day

ANF / Friedrichsthal / 13 February 2024

The Revolutionary Youth Movement (TCS) and the Movement of Young Women Militants (TekoJIN) are organizing a multi-day “Journey to Freedom” from Germany to France. The demonstration for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question began in Mannheim on 10 February and will end in Strasbourg on 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services. This act of piracy, contrary to international law, had begun with Öcalan’s forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998. The Kurdish community is taking the upcoming anniversary of his abduction as an opportunity to demand the release of the 74-year-old leader and a political solution to the Kurdish question. An internationalist march through Switzerland and a 25-day march in France are taking place alongside the demonstration in Germany.

Participants of the march saluted the ‘Great Freedom March’ in Northern Kurdistan which started from Kars and Van on 1 February and merged in Amed (Diyarbakır) today, demanding the physical freedom of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question.

The activists also saluted the marches in four parts of Kurdistan and in Europe and vowed to continue their struggle for the physical freedom of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

The activists denounced the 15 February conspiracy and the aggravated isolation regime imposed on Öcalan.

The last stop of the march, which will last about 17 kilometers today, will be Saarbrücken.

The march, which continues enthusiastically despite the cold weather, will be completed with a morale night at the end of the day.

The youths put emphasis on the importance of the Europe-wide demonstration for the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan to take place in Cologne on 17 February, representing a culmination of the campaign for a political solution to the Kurdish question. The activists called on all Kurds and friends to join the central demonstration.

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‘Great Freedom March’ in Amed: This is the road to Öcalan’s freedom

ANF / Amed / 13 February 2024

The Great Freedom March, which started from two branches, Kars and Van, on 1 February to demand the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, continues on its 13th day.

Politicians and representatives of democratic mass organizations from the Van and Kars branches of the march converged in Amed (Diyarbakır) today.

DEM Party co-mayoral candidates, Peace Mothers, representatives of civil society organizations gathered in front of Ceylanlar Shopping Center to welcome the participants of the march to the accompaniment of songs, slogans and chants.

Tensions arose as the police blockaded the area during the gathering for the march. The deputies stood arm in arm against the police blockade while the marchers were then greeted with applause and slogans.

DBP (Democratic Regions Party) Co-Chair Keskin Bayındır made a speech during the protest and said, "This march will reach its goal. We have not bowed to your oppression until today and we will not bow down henceforward. You cannot stop our people through oppression and intimidation policies. There are thousands of us here."

DEM (Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party) MP Newroz Uysal said, "To us, every street of Amed is an area of action. We will march street by street and shout out the purpose of the march."

Peace Mothers wearing white headscarves broke through the blockade and greeted the marchers with carnations.

Residents supported the march from the balconies of their houses. The MPs blocked the road when the police attempted to attack the demonstration.

Thanks to the determination of the protesters, the blockade was lifted, and the march began.

The crowd then marched to the central Sur district. Thousands of police officers blockaded the marchers along the way. Despite the obstruction, the enthusiasm was at its peak. People continued to greet the marchers from the balconies of their houses and on the streets.

The police attacked the crowd again during the protest, which was dominated by young people. After a four-hour march, the protesters reached Gazi Street and then marched to the Four-Legged Minaret.

Speaking at the press statement in front of the Four-Legged Minaret, DEM Party MP Newroz Uysal said, "We set out from Van and Kars regardless of snow and winter. We have come all the way here for Mr. Öcalan's freedom and a solution to the Kurdish question. This is the road to Mr. Öcalan's freedom."

DBP Co-Chair Keskin Bayındır said: "We traveled thousands of kilometers and arrived in Amed today. Our people supported us all the way. We thank them all. We want the Kurdish question to be solved in a democratic way, for which Mr. Öcalan is the interlocutor. For centuries, the Kurds have been treated with a policy of denial, assimilation and extermination, but this issue remains unresolved. Today, they have deployed thousands of police officers, but they will never get any results from these policies. This march and resistance are not 13 days old. It started 100 years ago, and this march is its continuation. The problems in Kurdistan and Turkey are getting worse. We call on everyone to find ways and methods to resolve this issue peacefully. No one will get anywhere with this issue. The honorable and peaceful

resolution of this question should not be on our shoulders alone. Everyone who wants peace in this country must take on responsibility.”

Bayındır emphasized that Kurds have been struggling for 100 years and concluded as follows: “This century has come to this day with the resistance of the Kurdish people. The pioneer of this resistance is Mr. Öcalan. The isolation must be broken and Mr. Öcalan’s physical freedom must be ensured. There is no other way than this. Our demand is peace with honor. Our people have supported us from Van to here. We will definitely fulfill the demands of our people.”

The statement ended with slogans and the flying of doves for peace.

The march will end on 15 February in Amara, the village where Abdullah Öcalan was born.



15 February International Conspiracy condemned in Northern and Eastern Syria

ANF / 14 February 2024

Rallies and statements were held in Aleppo, Manbij, Heseke and Waşûkanî Camp to condemn the 15 February International Conspiracy that in 1999 led to the abduction of Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

Aleppo

The Young Women's Union organized a torchlight march in Şêxmeqsûd in Aleppo to condemn the isolation imposed in Imrali on Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

Kongra Star Aleppo Coordination member Şehed Tebşo said: “If it were not for Leader Abdullah Öcalan’s ideas, people would not be able to recognize their freedom and reality.” Tebşo underlined that, as women, they will continue their struggle to ensure the physical freedom and victory of Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

Heseke

Refugees from Serêkaniyê staying in Waşûkanî Camp in Heseke condemned the International Conspiracy with a march.

The march turned into a rally at the entrance of the camp. Speaking there, the camp co-chair, Barzan Ebdullah, drew attention to “the genocidal policies carried out by the occupying Turkish state in the Medya Defense Areas and in Northern and Eastern Syria.” Ebdullah said: “The isolation imposed on Leader Abdullah Öcalan is far from moral values and against international laws. The aim of isolation is to defeat the will of the Kurdish people and the democratic nation project. The key to solving the crises in the region is in our hands. Therefore, peace cannot come to the Middle East unless Leader Abdullah Öcalan is free.”

Condemning the silence of the international community in the face of the attacks, Ebdullah called on all parties to take their responsibilities.

Hîlala Zêrîn Movement also condemned the International Conspiracy and the forces participating in the conspiracy in a statement made at the Xabur Culture and Arts Center in Heseke.

The statement said: “We will fight until Leader Abdullah Öcalan’s physical freedom is achieved. We call on artists, writers, intellectuals and all those who want freedom to join the freedom struggle and revolution.”

Following the statement, the Freedom Torches Group performed a theater play about prison resistance.

Manbij

The Manbij Canton Zenubiya Women's Community Assembly and Municipalities Committee also organized a seminar on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the International Conspiracy.



KJK calls for participation in central rally for Öcalan on Saturday

ANF / 14 February 2024

Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan was abducted in Kenya on 15 February 1999 as part of an international conspiracy and taken to the Turkish prison island of Imrali. This operation, which violates international law, began with Öcalan's forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998.

Conspiracy of capitalist modernity

The coordination of the KJK (Kurdistan Women's Community - Komalên Jinên Kurdistan) issued a statement to call for participation in the central rally organized Saturday, 17 February in Cologne to demand freedom for the Kurdish people's leader.

The statement said: "The main force behind the international conspiracy was the global system of capitalist modernity. The aim was to destroy the Kurdish freedom movement via Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] in order to have a free hand in reshaping the Near and Middle East and especially Kurdistan."

A deep power struggle for world domination is taking place in the region, and is being carried out on the backs of the people. Öcalan's capture was part of the genocide against the Kurds; the international conspiracy was also directed against the Kurdish women's movement, added the statement.

Women's liberation and ecological revolution

Öcalan, on the other hand, developed the model of democratic modernity, which shows the path to success for the existence and freedom struggle of the Kurdish people and women, said the KJK, adding: "He explained that the path to a democratic society is essentially based on women's liberation and based on an ecological revolution. At the same time, he showed that the capitalist powers were hostile to freedom and democracy as well as women and peoples and that a just social model should be condemned to death with his person."

The international conspiracy failed

The KJK emphasized in its statement that the international conspiracy against the Kurdish freedom movement had failed. In Imrali, despite the heavy isolation and incommunicado regime he was subjected to, Öcalan developed new ways of thinking and implemented a paradigm shift that gave hope worldwide. The KJ said: "His voice, the voice of free life, which was supposed to be silenced by the hegemonic powers, has reached the whole world."

The patriarchal system of power has lost blood

The KJK said that the "paradigm, based on grassroots democracy, women's revolution and ecological change, is directed against a system that takes away women's identities, devalues them and turns them into a commodity that can be bought and sold, removes them from their own values, puts them between house walls or imprisons them across state borders and murdering them."

The KJK continued: "The Kurdish people's leader demolished the walls of this life of captivity that was imposed on women as a fate. While the forces of capitalist modernity view women as their most

important asset for the development and survival of their own system, Rêber Apo's freedom paradigm has become the gateway to a free life. Women supported this paradigm. The system based on the enslavement of women and male domination has lost blood with our paradigm of free living."

Building a system based on women's liberation

The isolation of Abdullah Öcalan is therefore also a conspiracy "against all women who seek a free life" and must be fought actively and organized, according to the KJK. "Let us act in the knowledge that our fight is extraordinary, and it leads to a free, democratic and equal life. In the spirit of mobilization, let us take part in the big action in Cologne and all actions for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. Let us read and understand his thoughts everywhere. Let us build a confederal system based on the freedom of women and strengthen our organized strength."



'Internationalist March' on its fourth day

ANF / Colmar / 14 February 2024

The "Internationalist Long March for the Freedom of Abdullah Öcalan", which has been held traditionally every year since 2017 to defend the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, is being organised for the 8th time this year.

Around 200 internationalists from many countries such as Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, Catalonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Macedonia, Slovakia and the UK are taking part in this year's march, which kicked off on 11 February in Basel, Switzerland and will conclude with a press conference in Strasbourg on 16 February. On 17 February, the activists will attend the central rally in Cologne.

The internationalists partaking in the march, which continued in Colmar, France, on its fourth day, emphasised that they will struggle until the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan is achieved.

Internationalists wearing purple and yellow t-shirts with the words "Freedom for Öcalan" in French, German and English continue their march with great enthusiasm, displaying flags with the photographs of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan.

On the first day, the march concluded with the screening of the documentary *Heza* and a music concert. On the second day, the march moved on to Saint-Louis, France.

The activists walked 20 kilometres to Sierentz and mailed cards with their messages as part of the "100 thousand postcards to İmralı campaign".

The third day of the march started in front of Mulhouse Central Station. After walking for an average of 15 kilometres, the activists reached the town of Wittelsheim.

On the same day, activists distributed leaflets in French, in which the isolation and genocide policy applied to the Kurdish people in the person of Abdullah Öcalan was explained.

The internationalists underlined with their slogans that they are based on the Democratic Confederal paradigm and that they embrace Abdullah Öcalan as their own leader.

The fourth day of the march, which started in Colmar, France, will continue until Selestad.



Great Freedom March calls for urgent meeting with Öcalan

ANF / Urfa / 14 February 2024

The Great Freedom March, which started from two branches, Kars and Van, on 1 February to demand the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, continues on its 14th day.

Politicians and representatives of democratic mass organisations taking part in the march converged in Amed (Diyarbakır) yesterday and reached the Siverek district of Urfa today. After the march in the district centre with slogans, a statement was made in front of the DEM party district building. The statement was made in front of a banner reading "We were the patriots of the country that no one could even name."

Speaking here, DEM Party MP Öznur Bartın said, "We were welcomed with great enthusiasm everywhere you went. We are grateful to our people. The demands of the prisoners and our mothers should be fulfilled and isolation should be ended. We condemn the international conspiracy. Our demand is the physical freedom of Mr Abdullah Öcalan, who is the only interlocutor for the democratic solution of the Kurdish question. Negotiations for the democratic solution of the Kurdish question must be started urgently. Victory is ours."

After the statement, people marched to the district centre again. After the march through the district, the people set off towards Urfa.

After the march, Salih Kandal, one of the leading cadres of the PKK, and his companions were commemorated at their graves. After a minute of silence, DEM Party MP Cengiz Çiçek said, "We visit cemeteries wherever we go and see the values of the Kurdish freedom struggle once again. The graves are full of testimony of the price paid by the Kurdish people. The lands of Kurdistan, the lands of Urfa are full of the history of Nimrod on the one hand and the history of Abraham on the other. This land is also full of the history of internal betrayal on the one hand and the history of honourable people who do not bow down on the other. These lands are the lands of those who, against the fascist mentality that sought to bury us in concrete for centuries, said 'even if we are on a cliff, we will be a cliff flower and we grow wings on those cliffs, we will always express our freedom'. This struggle has risen on the shoulders of the Kurdish people for 50 years. We are on the road for the physical freedom of Mr Abdullah Öcalan. Our struggle is twofold; one aspect is against the system, the other against internal betrayal. Those who lie here in this cemetery also struggled against internal betrayal. We will wage a struggle for democratic modernity against treason and colonialism. We say 'Truth is love, love is free life'. Those who first started this struggle have a beautiful saying; 'a promise is honour, we will not violate honour'."

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Actions in Europe demand Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan democratic solution to the Kurdish question

ANF / 15 February 2024

Activities continue in Europe for the "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, solution to the Kurdish question" initiative, which was launched on 10 October 2023, by the friends of the Kurdish people.

Copenhagen

In Copenhagen, home visits were made and postcards were distributed within the scope of the “100 Thousand Cards to İmralı”. The cards on which the Kurds wrote their messages were collected and sent to Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı.

Basel

A meeting was held with BastA Party officials in Basel. The “Leadership Committee” delegation met with BastA Party co-chair Nicola Goepfert and presented the file they prepared regarding the isolation of the Kurdish people’s leader.

At the meeting, it was decided to take joint action for the freedom of Öcalan and all political prisoners.

Fribourg

One of the cities where work was carried out for the “100 Thousand Cards to İmralı” campaign was Fribourg.

Members of Kurdish Youth Organizations TCŞ and TekoJIN supported the action held in front of the city post office. The action was organized by the leadership of the Democratic Kurdish Community Center (CDK-FR).

Before sending the cards, CDK-FR co-chair Orhan Hazar made a speech, underlining that 25 years have passed since the 15 February International Conspiracy. Hazar said: "We will ensure Leader Apo’s freedom and the status of Kurdistan. On Saturday, 17 February, hundreds of thousands will shout in the city of Cologne that they want freedom for the Kurdish people’s leader." Hazar added: “We invite all our patriotic people and friends to be in Cologne.”



Thousands from Afrin and Shehba protest the international plot: We will tear down the İmralı system

ANF / Shehba / 15 February 2024

15 February marks the 25th anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services. This act of piracy, contrary to international law, had begun with Öcalan’s forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998. The Kurdish community is taking the upcoming anniversary of his abduction as an opportunity to demand the release of the 74-year-old leader, who is held in total isolation in İmralı Island Prison.

Tens of thousands of people from Efrin and Shehba cantons gathered in Fafin district and protested the international conspiracy on its 25th anniversary.

Şediye İbrahim, a member of the Council of Martyrs' Families, condemned the conspiracy, which, she said, aimed to destroy the Kurdish people and their identity.

Şediye İbrahim stated that Abdullah Öcalan’s resistance and the unity of the people put an end to the conspiracies. İbrahim pointed out that the key to all the problems in the Middle East is in İmralı and that the world should recognise this fact, “Whoever wants a solution should go to İmralı.”

Speaking on behalf of the people of Afrin and Shehba, Neci Seleme said, “We will tear down the İmralı system, we will live free with Leader Öcalan. No one can darken our day anymore.”

Neci Seleme said that the people reached the level of freedom thanks to Abdullah Öcalan’s philosophy.



‘Great Freedom March’ in Halfeti: Abdullah Öcalan’s freedom is the only way

ANF / Urfa / 15 February 2024

Politicians and representatives of democratic mass organisations taking part in the march have reached the Halfeti district of Urfa today, which marks the 25th anniversary of the international conspiracy that led to Abdullah Öcalan’s abduction in Kenya and handover to Turkey on 15 February 1999. The Kurdish leader has been held in Imrali Island Prison since, subjected to unlawful and inhuman treatment. He has not been heard from for three years now, denied any form of contact with his lawyers and family members.

Participants of the march gathered in front of the DEM Party building, where a press statement was made.

DBP Co-Chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar thanked everyone who supported them during the march. “We did not only march as those who organised this march, but as thousands and millions. We breathed the land and history of Kurdistan everywhere. We call out to those who criminalize our march; the Kurdish people own this march, our people’s demand for peace owns this march. We are waging a struggle that continues to raise the voice of peace in a land where war has been imposed for a century. On 15 February 1999, Mr Öcalan was brought to Turkey. When Mr Öcalan was brought here, this conspiracy was described as the end of the Kurdish reality. But this conspiracy did not succeed,” she said.

Addressing the state, Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar stated: “We call out to the state that does not lift a finger against the Kurdish question and deploys the police in front of us; Kurds have never bowed down and will never bow down. Everyone needs to join forces to solve the Kurdish question, which is a reality that needs to be solved. We call out to those who insist on war policies; this issue will be solved and the only way to solve it is to ensure the physical freedom of Mr Öcalan. Since the international conspiracy, the Turkish state has maintained a system of isolation that tramples on its own law and international law, but the Kurds do not give up their demands.”

Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar concluded: “The Kurds have fought against ISIS, which was created by the hegemonic powers that perpetrated the international conspiracy, in a very strong way. Kurds and Kurdish women have opened the door to a new paradigm in Rojava. Mr Öcalan’s paradigm must come to life in this geography. We will end this march here, but we will struggle until the voice of Mr Öcalan reaches everyone and the Kurdish question is solved. We thank everyone who made a contribution and struggled throughout the march.”

After the statement, the group set off for Amara, the village where Abdullah Öcalan was born.



Prisons in Turkey

PKK and PAJK prisoners: We will bring the hunger strike to a new phase after the local elections

ANF / 13 February 2024

Deniz Kaya made a statement on behalf of PKK and PAJK prisoners on hunger strike. The prisoners' statement said: "As a people and a movement, it was decided to participate in the 'Freedom for Leader Apo, Solution to the Kurdish Question' campaign, which was launched globally against the AKP-MHP fascist government's policies. As PKK and PAJK prisoners, we participated in the campaign with a rotating hunger strike that started on 27 November, the founding day of our Party. We carry out our action with great determination, with the morale and strength we receive from our Leader's İmrālî Resistance, the successful revolutionary operations carried out by our heroic guerrilla, the 'Justice Vigil' actions initiated by our families and the resistance developed by our people everywhere."

The statement added: "We are aware that the process we are going through is one that carries great risks as well as opportunities for success. We can easily see from what happened that the First World War ended with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on the basis of the Kurdish genocide, the Second World War brought about the nation-state of Iran on the basis of the Kurdish genocide, and the Third World War is tried to be concluded on the basis of the Kurdish genocide. However, this time, there is a people's reality organized around the 'Democratic, Ecological, Women's Libertarian' paradigm developed by Leader Apo."

The statement continued: "At international level, Leader Apo's ideas are rapidly spreading, and Leader Apo has become a universal Leader.

More than 10 thousand PKK and PAJK prisoners in Turkish Republic prisons, declare once again our loyalty to our Leader, our martyrs, our people and the values revealed by our struggle. Even though we are in prisons in such a historical process, our determination to fulfil our duties and responsibilities and to play a role in the success of our struggle is greater than ever. We want everyone to know that we are ready and will fulfil all our duties and responsibilities to end the isolation imposed on Leader Apo and ensure his physical freedom."

We will enter a new phase after the elections

The prisoners said: "We would like to state that we have extended our rotating hunger strike action, in order to end the isolation imposed on our leadership. We want everyone to know that we will enter a new phase on 15 February and until after the elections to be held on 31 March. We declare to the public that if the isolation on our Leader continues after the election, we will take our action to the next level and continue until we get results."

The prisoners added: "We call on all our people, democratic institutions and friends to increase the resistance within the scope of the international initiative. We call on all our people and friends to participate in the election activities in order to prevent the institutionalisation of fascism. Today is the day to break the isolation in İmrālî, dismantle the Kurdish genocide policy and salute the People's Freedom Spring."

Military aggression and occupation

HPG reports dozens of Turkish airstrikes against guerrilla areas

ANF / Behdînan / 10 February 2024

The Press Centre of the People's Defence Forces (HPG) released a statement providing information about the war in the guerrilla | held Medya Defence Zones in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq).

According to the statement, the Turkish army continues its efforts to demolish guerrilla positions in Sîda in the Zap region using heavy construction equipment. At 09:00 and 14:30 on 9 February, the guerrillas intervened at close range with grenades and individual weapons against the diggers trying to demolish the guerrillas' fighting positions in Sîda Resistance Area. After the interventions, the digger was withdrawn.

On 7 February at 12:30, the invaders in Girê Cûdî Resistance Area in Şehîd Delîl Western Zap region were intervened with medium automatic weapons.

On 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 February, the Turkish army carried out a total of 38 aerial attacks by fighter jets, targeting the areas of Dêreşê, Deşta Kafya, Sêdarê, Girê Zengil, Girê Sîser in Garê region; Girê Bahar Resistance Area in Şehîd Delîl Western Zap region; the areas of Sinînê and Ava Lolanê in Xakurkê region; Şehîd Îbrahîm Resistance Area in Zap region; the areas of Serê Metîna, Bêşîlî area in Metîna region; the area of Girê Savaş in Qandil region.

On the other hand, the Geliyê Lolanê area in Xakurkê region was bombed by attack helicopters on 7 and 8 February.

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AANES: Turkey is supporting the revival of ISIS and its cells

ANF / 12 February 2024

On Sunday morning, a Turkish unmanned combat drone bombed a rehabilitation centre of the Federation of War-Disabled of North and East Syria in Qamishlo. The facility, which was founded in 2020, provides healthcare for those disabled in the fight against ISIS and is committed to improving their chances on the labour market. One focus of the centre is the integration of the war-disabled into the work of the administrative structures of the autonomous administration. Several people were injured in the attack, some of them seriously.

The Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES) released a statement strongly condemning the Turkish attack.

“The occupying Turkish state continues its terrorist attacks against our region. The occupying Turkish state, which is far from humanitarian morals and values as well as violating international law norms, carried out an UCAV attack on the Federation of the War-Disabled building in Qamishlo yesterday. Our veterans, who waged a relentless struggle against ISIS gangs and mentality, along with their martyred comrades, played a historic role in the destruction of ISIS terrorist organisation gangs and ensured

success. All humanity is indebted to our wounded, veterans and martyrs on this basis,” said the AANES statement on Monday.

The statement pointed out that: “The Turkish state's attack on the wounded and disabled is a clear message to ISIS and its partners. It is also strong evidence that Turkey is supporting the revival of ISIS and its cells. It is time for the states fighting against ISIS and its extremist mentality, especially the International Coalition, to see into the Turkish state, which is attacking coalition partners, as the main patron and supporter of ISIS. In addition, at every security step taken by our forces against ISIS mercenaries and cells, such as the Operation Humanity and Security in Hol Camp, the occupying Turkish state intensifies its attacks. The intensified attacks on the region are the result of a new plan for the region, including Syria and Iraq, and the Astana 21 agreement.”

The statement continued: “We trust in our people and their democratic struggle, in their historical and consistent decision in the multifaceted project of brotherhood and unity of the peoples.”



HPG and YJA Star guerrillas: No power can alienate us from our leader

Ruhal Yildiz / Behdinan / 13 February 2024

Guerrillas from the HPG (People's Defense Forces) and YJA Star (Free Women's Troops) spoke to ANF on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the International Conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services and handed over to Turkey, where he has been subjected to inhumane treatment and held in isolation since.

HPG guerrilla Dilxwaz Teyî stated that the conspiracy was developed against the Kurdish people in the person of their leader and said: “The aim of the conspiracy was to dispossess the Kurdish people of their language, culture, and their right to live as Kurds and to subject them to genocide. It sought to ignore the demands for equality and freedom of all oppressed peoples in the person of the Kurdish people. There has never been an act of self-immolation or sacrifice for a leader in history. People from many different walks of life sacrificed themselves without any hesitation for the freedom of Rêber Apo (Leader Abdullah Öcalan), saying ‘You cannot darken our sun’.”

‘We draw great strength from the struggle of our leader’

Dilxwaz Teyî continued: “We draw great strength from the struggle of our leader under all circumstances. As Kurdistan Freedom Guerrillas and Rêber Apo's militants, we struggle and fight in the mountains for the best we can. The recent actions are an expression of how great the will and belief of the guerrilla are. These actions have devastated the fascist Turkish army and strengthened the hand of our leader. It has also been a great answer to those who consider themselves Kurds but are actually traitors, those who sell their honor for two pennies. We believe that the physical freedom of the leader will be realized in 2024.”

‘We will never allow the enemy to achieve its goal in Kurdistan’

YJA Star guerrilla Militan Zagros pointed out that hegemonic powers are afraid of Öcalan's paradigm based on equality and freedom for all peoples and the oppressed. Noting that Öcalan's ideas have spread all over the world and weakened the state mind and system, Zagros said: “The state suffocates, impoverishes and suppresses society so much that the ideas of the Leader have spread everywhere like a sea. Societies see their freedom in the ideology of our leader. As his militants, we promise to increase our

struggle. The guerrilla actions in the Medya Defense Zones have devastated the fascist Turkish state. 2024 will be a year that guarantees the physical freedom of our leader. We have great faith in this. We will never allow the enemy to achieve its goal in Kurdistan.”

Öcalan’s ideology transcended the Middle East and became universal

HPG guerrilla Derwêş Kaziwa remarked that the Kurdish People’s Leader frustrated the conspiracy through his resistance and production, and that his ideology transcended the Middle East and became universal. Noting that the guerrillas struck the fascist Turkish army under all circumstances, Kaziwa said: “The guerrillas have the psychological superiority in the war. Kurdistan does not belong to the Turkish state, which sends its soldiers to Kurdistan to fight. There is no part of Kurdistan to be given to the Turkish state. Kurdistan will be a grave for Turkish troops, which is indeed happening.”

‘The physical freedom of the leader means the freedom of the Kurdish people’

Kaziwa emphasized that it is not enough just to condemn the conspiracy in the current process, and it is now necessary to overcome it, adding: “Everyone should contribute according to their strength. The guerrillas are carrying out very strong actions. In the revolutionary people’s war, the people and the guerrillas must complement each other. The physical freedom of the leader means the freedom of the Kurdish people; the freedom of the Kurdish people means the freedom of the peoples of the world.”

‘We are assertive and determined in our struggle’

HPG guerrilla Amed Bashûrî emphasized the influence of Abdullah Öcalan on the peoples of the Middle East and Kurdistan and said the following: “The Turkish state is imposing isolation within isolation in order to destroy the bond between the people and our leader. As guerrillas and people, we do not accept this. Our comrades are on hunger strike in prisons. The campaign launched by our movement has attracted a great deal of attention. Many people around the world are demonstrating for our leader and the guerrillas are carrying out major actions in the mountains. We are assertive and determined in our struggle. No force can alienate us from our leader. Our spirituality is our leader and our martyred comrades. If we do not hear from Rêber Apo, our actions will continue with greater impact.”

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‘The source of the YPJ’s strength is the paradigm of Leader Öcalan’

Nujiyan Adar / Heseke / 15 February 2024

The Rojava revolution is being defended on the front line by the Women’s Defence Units (YPJ). They are the leading force in the fight against ISIS and Raqqa was liberated and the backbone of ISIS was broken under their leadership. The basis of the YPJ is the liberal, grassroots democratic and anti-patriarchal paradigm of Abdullah Öcalan. Abdullah Öcalan is also the source of ideas for the Rojava revolution.

Rohilat Efrîn from the General Command of the YPJ spoke to ANF about the significance of Abdullah Öcalan and the Apoist paradigm on the 25th anniversary of the International Conspiracy against Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The founder of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) was abducted from Kenya on 15 February 1999 with the cooperation of international secret services and handed over to Turkey, where he has been subjected to inhumane treatment and held in isolation since. This conspiracy, which violates international law, began with Öcalan’s forced departure from Syria on 9 October 1998.

On the 25th anniversary of the abduction of the Kurdish leader, the YPJ commander said: “The attack on Leader Apo (Abdullah Öcalan) is an attack against those whose hearts beat together with him, adopt his philosophy and deal with it, and against those who organise themselves according to his paradigm. In other words, it is the targeting of human values. The capitalist system and the hegemonic states prevent peoples from living with their voice, their culture, their language and their dignity. It is the philosophy of Leader Apo that has created the awareness for this and on which a long-lasting struggle is based.”

‘A plot of annihilation and cultural genocide’

Rohilat Efrîn stated that the Kurdish people and their cry for peace and democracy were also targeted: “The international conspiracy was intended to stop the peoples’ struggle for language, culture and identity and to deepen the system of genocide. It is a plot of annihilation and denial of languages, a plot of cultural genocide.”

‘The Rojava revolution is based on Öcalan’s philosophy’

Pointing to the protests against the international conspiracy, Rohilat Efrîn continued: “All those who heard the name of Leader Apo, those who fought for his cause, the uprisings of the people, the cries of the mothers, those who set their bodies on fire, gave the world a voice. The captivity of Leader Apo was seen as the captivity of a language, a culture and an identity. It is thanks to his philosophy that the revolution in Rojava has reached this level. The fact that we are able to preserve our achievements and strengthen our organization today cannot be considered independently of the struggle and work of Leader Apo here in these lands. His twenty-year struggle in Rojava showed a way of not bowing to the oppression and brutality of the existing system but analysing the system. Leader Apo laid the foundations for a very strong revolution in Rojava. This extends from the love of one’s country to the organisation of the women’s movement. All circles have analysed Leader Apo’s philosophy, found the truth in it and started to use it themselves.”

‘YPJ has fought and grown on the basis of this paradigm’

Rohilat Efrîn remarked that the YPJ has organised itself on the basis of Öcalan’s paradigm, grown and stubbornly held on to it despite all repression and continued to fight. She continued: “The YPJ adopted Leader Apo’s paradigm as the basis for freedom and self-knowledge. If there is no freedom, there is no organization; if there is no organisation, there is no life; if there is no life, there is no defence. In this context, the YPJ determined the principle of life and struggle on the basis of his philosophy. The source of the YPJ’s strength and resistance against the Turkish state and ISIS is Leader Apo’s paradigm. If we can preserve our achievements today despite all the attacks, this is directly related to our deep roots in his paradigm.”

‘Leader Apo has caused the plot to fail with his defence writings’

Rohilat Efrîn emphasised that the Kurdish People’s Leader, with his defence writings, once again raised the consciousness of individuals and enabled them to return to the essence, to move forward in pursuit of the truth, and frustrated the conspiracy, as is understood from his influence and acceptance in the world. She said: “The severe isolation conditions stem from the fear of the hegemonic and occupying powers that even a single word of Leader Apo could get out. The fact that Leader Apo has been held in İmralı prison for years and that he cannot be visited by his lawyers and family members is an expression of the fear of the power of his paradigm. Thus, the isolation of Leader Apo actually isolates more than 40 million people, their language, their culture and their identity.”

‘A struggle of all the oppressed’

The YPJ commander highlighted the importance of the international campaign “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question” and concluded: “Women are leading this campaign, through which peoples demand freedom and democracy with a loud voice. Women have achieved their freedom through Leader Apo and identify their liberation with him. From demonstrations

to hunger strikes in prisons, a relentless struggle is being waged to break the isolation of Leader Apo. Not only the Kurdish people, but also all those who suffer from oppression, occupation and persecution are taking part in the struggle, and those who can find themselves in Leader Apo's struggle.”

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Interview

Karasu: The freedom of Leader Öcalan is the freedom of the Kurdish people

ANF / Behdînan / 12 February 2024

Mustafa Karasu, member of the Executive Council of the KCK spoke about the international conspiracy that led to the abduction of Abdullah Öcalan on 15 February 1999 and underlined the importance of the international campaign launched on 10 October 2023, “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, Political Solution to the Kurdish Question.

The Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan has been held in complete isolation on the prison island of Imrali for almost 25 years. What can you tell us about these 25 years, about Öcalan's resistance, but also about the resistance outside Imrali?

On the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of the international conspiracy, first and foremost, I would like to send my grateful and respectful greetings to Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] who has shown great resistance in the prison of Imrali 25 years, representing the will of the peoples, the will of the Kurdish people. On the 25th anniversary of the conspiracy, we condemn the conspirators and promise once again that we will hold the conspirators to account and that we will liberate both Rêber Apo and the Kurdish people.

These 25 years have indeed been a historic time for the leader of a people. 25 years! Being in prison for 25 years and representing the will of this people honorably and worthily in prison for 25 years is very extraordinary, a very important stance. For 25 years, Rêber Apo has been under constant special warfare attacks, under attacks of a psychological war. All kinds of psychological pressure is being exerted on him. But still, despite all this pressure, Rêber Apo never gave in and never surrendered. He did not complain that there is “such and such” pressure” or persecution. He acted with the awareness that he was taking revenge against the war waged by the genocidal colonialism. In the same time he also gave a message and told us: “You are the ones being imprisoned”. He said this for the Kurdish people, for all the peoples and societies that did not achieve a free and democratic life. He revealed that even though he was in prison, he was free with his stance and thought, that he never gave up his stance of freedom, and that he never lived a second outside the rule of freedom.

In this respect, Rêber Apo's 25-year struggle is really worth analyzing and examining. What emotions did he experience? How did he spend his days? What was he concentrating on, and what did he want to do for the success of the freedom struggle of the people, for the success of the freedom struggle of humanity, for the liberation of women from the male-dominated system? It is really necessary to research and document these, to put them in writing, to make them the subject of novels, literature, research and analysis. Because the conditions under which Rêber Apo lived are very severe. He was kept in a solitary cell on an island. Later, some other comrades were brought to the island too as prisoners. But before, he was always in solitary confinement on an island.

International actions are important

He once stated: "I am standing firm here, I am carrying out the resistance in order to realize the aspirations of those who gave their lives in the struggle waged under the slogan of 'You cannot darken our sun'". He said that he took great strength from the resistance under this slogan. On this occasion, I would also like to gratefully and respectfully commemorate all the people who took action under the slogan "You cannot darken our sun" in Europe, Turkey and all over the world. They protected Rêber Apo while the conspiracy was being carried out and put up a great struggle. Today, if the conspirators have not succeeded, if the great struggle against the conspiracy has to some extent been rendered ineffective, it is because of the efforts of these people. They should always be remembered. Again, I commemorate with those resisting in the prisons, those who put their lives on the line fighting against the pressures on Rêber Apo in 2018 and 2019.

Today, once again, a great resistance is being put forward in the prisons for the freedom of Rêber Apo. I also commemorate with respect and gratitude Comrade Viyan, who took a stand against the captivity of Rêber Apo. She openly said, "There is no life without Rêber Apo". She revealed an attitude against the captivity of Rêber Apo that all humanity, our people, militants and everyone should show.

Rêber Apo defined 15 February as the "Day of the Kurdish Genocide" and today, as every year, fasts are being carried out. I believe that all our people will continue this tradition and fast on 15 February as well.

For 25 years, neither our people nor our comrades in prison have remained silent against the captivity of Rêber Apo. They have indeed engaged in a great struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo. There will soon be a big rally in Europe on 17 February for the freedom of Rêber Apo and for the Kurdish people to attain a free and democratic life. There is also a big march in North Kurdistan right now. There was a campaign launched with the slogan 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question'. Today, North Kurdistan is organizing big marches within this framework. On 17 February, all Kurds should participate in the march in Cologne. Kurds from England, Sweden, all over Europe, Canada, Australia, wherever there are Kurds they should go to Cologne. They must show the attitude of the Kurdish people for the freedom of Rêber Apo. They must show what Rêber Apo means to the Kurdish people. I believe that these actions of resistance will have important results. I send my respectful greetings to all those organizing and participating in these actions.

International Conspiracy aimed at separating Rêber Apo from people but failed

The conspiracy against Rêber Apo expresses a purpose. The conspirators thought that if they took Rêber Apo in captivity, they would separate the head from the body and thus liquidate the body in time. They acted with such an approach. They considered the imprisonment of Rêber Apo as the liquidation of the freedom of the Kurdish people and the liquidation of the PKK. They had such an approach, because in history there have been Kurdish revolts, Kurdish resistances, and almost always their leaders were captured and executed, and then they crushed and liquidated all those resistances and the effects of that resistance within society.

Again in the 1970s, they executed the leaders of the revolutionary movement and then crushed the movement itself. The Turkish state thought that such a result would be achieved with the captivity of Rêber Apo as well. They believed in this. Indeed, with the captivity of Rêber Apo, the international powers were already saying "there will be no PKK anymore after 6 months". Turkish state officials already claimed that they had "finished their job" via the captivity of Rêber Apo. They had expressed this many times.

There was Ertuğrul Özkök; he was the Editor-in-Chief of the news paper Hürriyet. He used to say: "War axes buried in the ground will never come up again." Important generals were saying, "History will say that the biggest organization in the world is the PKK, but it will also say that the Turkish army, the Turkish state, suppressed it". Such assessments were made in '99.

From that day to today, 25 years have passed. Rêber Apo has grown, our movement has grown, and the struggle of our people has grown. Our people embrace Rêber Apo today more since that day. As the international conspirators and the Turkish state thought, their calculations that the organization and the people would break away from Rêber Apo did not work. Yes, it is true; liquidationism emerged immediately after the conspiracy. Liquidationism was actually a situation created by the international conspiracy. It was part of it, it was a formation they created. But they quickly lost their ground in the movement. It is known how they went down in history.

Very intense pressure was exerted on our people. But our people are always standing up for Rêber Apo. The conspirators failed in this aspect. The conspiracy could not achieve its goals. Yes, Rêber Apo is still in captivity, we have not yet liberated Rêber Apo, but we have frustrated the aims of the conspirators. The international conspirators have not achieved their goals. Today our movement is loyal to Rêber Apo, our people are loyal to Rêber Apo. The number of Rêber Apo's international friends has increased even more. Rêber Apo's reputation has increased even more. When we compare the reputation of Rêber Apo during the conspiracy period with his current reputation, we see that the impact of Rêber Apo's reputation, the impact of his ideological power on the people, on the organization, on humanity is much greater than before. Everyone accepts this. In this respect, the situation has not materialized as they had planned.

The paradigm of our leadership is really important. It is the product of Rêber Apo's life in the prison. It reveals how valuable life in prison can be. In history there are examples of great loneliness, seclusion and concentration in prisons. As a result of that concentration, there are thoughts, prescriptions for salvation and calls for humanity. Rêber Apo also entered such a concentration in imprisonment. As soon as he arrived on İmralı, he directly asked himself, "How can I take revenge on these conspirators?", "How can I frustrate these conspirators?", "How can I hold these conspirators to account?". Here, Rêber Apo's way of holding to account revealed a paradigm that eliminated the ideological foundations, the historical foundations and the reasons for the existence of those who carried out this conspiracy. And thus he really took the greatest revenge in history. He took revenge on the 5000-year-old male-dominated statist system. This is very important. He saved humanity from the statist mentality, from the statist hegemony. Rêber Apo destroyed and shook this statist hegemony, the hegemony of this statist ideology. Now the ruling classes and the statist system are facing the beginning of the end. With the paradigm of Rêber Apo, an ideological move, an ideological breakthrough has taken place that will bring the end of this statist system. This is very important. At the moment, the historical significance of this is being revealed, and step by step it will be understood even more. Again, he put forward an ideology that overthrew the male-dominated system over women. He put forward a stance, a paradigm that liberates women from the male-dominated system. This is very important.

Also, there are great crimes against nature taking place. Humanity co-exists with nature, society co-exists with nature, but the statist system, especially the forces of capitalist modernity, have severely damaged the bond between society and nature. A complete opposition to nature has emerged. This anti-nature is actually anti-human, anti-society. Rêber Apo put forward a very strong ideological stance against this. While isolation was being imposed on Rêber Apo, while Turkey wanted to cut him off from humanity, from society, from everyone, he, with this intensification, revealed an important attitude against this male-dominated statist system. He has created an important development. The consequences of this will be great. Rêber Apo's paradigm is a milestone for humanity. His solution will indeed destroy that sovereign-exploitative system. It will destroy the statist system. Undoubtedly, Marx, Engels and classical socialists and socialist leaders have also made very important evaluations. They put forward an important attitude against capitalism, against the exploitative system. However, they could not overcome statism. Statism, the state, is a system that brings exploitation into existence and ensures the continuation of that

exploitation. With this paradigm, Rêber Apo actually took a very big step for socialists. He liberated socialists and social thought from the statist mentality.

‘Democratic Nation’ offers a solution to nationalist religious conflicts

All this will, of course, be valued, even more and will spread to the whole of humanity. This thought has now spread, is being spread, read and learned. Especially women are very happy about it. The concept of ‘Democratic Nation’ offers a great power of solution against nationalist religious conflicts. It is already a great ideology of liberation for the Kurds. Kurds can only attain their freedom with the understanding of the Democratic Nation, with this paradigm. Narrow nationalist approaches, let alone leading the Kurds to freedom, confront them with genocide. Rêber Apo’s understanding of the Democratic Nation, his understanding of a solution based on the sibling-hood of peoples, and his attitude towards this statist understanding will definitely lead the Kurdish people to a free and democratic life by saving the Kurdish people and the freedom struggle from the deadlock.

In this respect, the Kurdish people will attach great value to this idea of Rêber Apo, they will embrace it, and they already do. Humanity also embraces it. As this paradigm becomes widespread, the face of the world will change. As the thoughts of Rêber Apo spread, the horizon of humanity will expand. Today’s despair will be shattered. Humanity will have great hope, and in pursuit of this hope, in pursuit of the paradigm that creates this hope, they will struggle and follow it, and they will lead themselves to a free and democratic life.

With the beginning of the conspiracy against Rêber Apo, the martyrs who built a barricade of fire around Rêber Apo with their actions under the slogan of “You cannot darken our sun”, who started a great resistance, revealed how the struggle to liberate the Rêber Apo should be, what its line and standards should be. In this respect, it is based on a very strong foundation. By giving their lives, they have already revealed what must be done to realize the freedom of Rêber Apo. In a way, their resistance and stance was an instruction for all of us, for all our people. Since then, great sacrifices have been made. Young people, women, men, old people sacrifice themselves for Rêber Apo. We are going through such a history of struggle.

Today, this 25-year struggle has reached new heights. On 10 October, the campaign ‘Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question’ developed. Book-reading events were held so that the paradigm of Rêber Apo is better understood. There is currently an important march in the cities of Northern Kurdistan. All these show that the struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo has gained an important level. At the moment, the struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo is no longer an ordinary struggle. It has become a fundamental struggle for the Kurdish people and in the international arena, humanity and democratic forces are waging a great struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo. Now this is on the agenda of our people, on the agenda of humanity, and on the agenda of all kinds of democratic forces. Gradually, this campaign and struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo will gain a level unprecedented in history. It has gained an important level especially with the participation of women, youth, socialists and all democrats who want to get rid of the state system. On this occasion, I respectfully greet all the international friends participating in this campaign and I salute all our people.

The struggle must be continued uninterruptedly

This struggle must be continued uninterruptedly. Because the freedom of Rêber Apo is the freedom of the Kurdish people. All this pressure and persecution on Rêber Apo is to cause genocide on the Kurdish people. There is a direct link between the freedom of the Kurdish people and the freedom of Rêber Apo. Moreover, a people cannot gain its freedom if it does not claim its leadership. How can a people who do not embrace their leader gain freedom? A people that does not claim its leader cannot deserve freedom. In this respect, our friends, humanity must embrace this leadership for a free and democratic life. Free and democratic life cannot develop strongly in the world without embracing this leadership. I

would like to take this opportunity to once again greet all those who support this campaign. They are really doing great work. They are true friends of our people. They are true friends of humanity. They will be remembered as the honor of humanity in the future. The intellectuals, democrats, socialists, philosophers who struggle for the liberation of Rêber Apo today will take their place in history in the future as the most valuable people of humanity, as those who show the most valuable attitude.

There has been an embrace of prison resistance since the past. Even in the 1980s, when we were in prison, our families really embraced it. The current embrace of this resistance by families is based on the embrace of families in the 80s. It is the continuation of that tradition. Even then, our families were under pressure, tortured, detained, beaten and insulted at the prison gates. But they did not give up on their resistance and did not give up protecting their children. Indeed, this is a resistance that will be written in history. This great resistance continues from then till now.

Everyone should support the prisoners on hunger strike and their families

In this respect, all our people should embrace these families. These are the honorable people of our struggle. Despite all the pressures, they do not stop. They did not give up fighting for the future of their children. The genocidal Turkish state exiled and tortured their children, driving them away to the farthest places, but they still embraced them. Here we saw in 2018 and 2019 how the police were punching our elderly mothers, pushing them and dragging them on the roads. In the face of all this, they did not give up resistance. They embrace it today too. This is important. Families embrace it, but it is not enough for only some families to embrace it. The whole people must embrace them. Because our comrades in prison embrace the leader of this people. By embracing the leader of this people, they are fighting for the freedom of the people.

These friends, these comrades, these people were locked up there as a result of their efforts for the freedom of the Kurdish people. They are being tortured in prisons for the Kurdish people. They are serving from 20 years to 30 years for the free and democratic life of the Kurdish people. In the most difficult conditions, without complaining once, without questioning their choices, they reveal their stance in prison. After 30 years, they come out of prison. They show the same stance again.

Some comrades have been imprisoned for 30 years and even though their sentences have been completed, the government still does not release them. The government forces our comrades to sign clauses stating that they regret their crimes. Again our comrades show no regret, they represent the will of this people in prison. In this respect, all our people, democrats, must protect the families of these prisoners, they must not leave them alone. They are the honor of the people. Mothers of peace and mothers of prisoners are the pillars of our revolution. They are a source of morale.

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Karasu: The paradigm of Rêber Apo is an example for Turkey, an example for the world

ANF / Behdînan / 13 February 2024

Mustafa Karasu, member of the Executive Council of the KCK spoke about the responsibility of the AKP-MHP government in dealing with the earthquake that struck in North Kurdistan and Turkey last year and in the economic crisis faced by Turkey.

One year ago, a devastating earthquake struck Northern Kurdistan, Turkey and Syria. Tens of thousands, probably even hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives, many more were injured and lost everything they possessed. Now, after one year, the impact of the earthquake and the failing of the state can easily be observed, and the people are taking to the streets

to hold the failed policy of the government to account. How do you assess this situation, and what do you want to say to the people? Also, especially in regard to the upcoming local elections in Turkey.

First of all, I would like to commemorate those who lost their lives in the earthquake west of the Euphrates in Northern Kurdistan and in Hatay, Syria. I wish condolences to their families.

It was indeed a severe earthquake. Especially the Kurds west of the Euphrates were very much affected. Alevi Arabs in Hatay and of course the Turkish people were also affected. It was a big earthquake. I can say this; if such an earthquake had happened elsewhere and the government did nothing during the first four to five days, the government there would have lost power. The people would have destroyed that state.

The earthquake was of high magnitude. If we add up the statistics for provinces west of the Euphrates and Syria, over twenty million people were affected. It caused great trauma and pain. As always, the Turkish state played with numbers. They played with numbers during the Corona epidemic, they played with numbers during the earthquakes, they play with numbers during the war. This is disrespectful. Supposedly, if the government released the real numbers this would create bad publicity or demoralize the public.

The more the facts are revealed, the more caution will be taken, the more accountability there will be. If the facts are not revealed, of course, the accountability and evaluation will not be on an effective level. Now there are estimates that around 200 thousand people have died. The other day, Murat Kurum blurted it out; he said 150 thousand died. He tried to conceal this later, but the words had already left his mouth. They said it themselves; they called it “the biggest earthquake of the century”.

The person responsible for such a high death toll during the earthquake was the Minister at the time. Erdoğan was praising him, he was doing this on TV. They claimed to have made zoning amnesties in Maraş, Malatya, Adıyaman and in Hatay. They sold coffins to the people. The Minister caused the death of between 150 to 200 thousand people. And then he just left, he didn't take responsibility. They just left the people to die. There was appropriation in some places, but of course they only took care of ten percent. Nearly eighty-ninety percent of those effected were out in the open, and in some places this still has not changed. This is why the earthquake has become so painful.

One feels great anger seeing the attitude in Turkey against the earthquake. Anger at seeing the pain of those people. Is it possible to not hear their cries? In Turkey, twenty million people were affected. The entire population in many states are only four to five million. The severity of the situation is of such magnitude.

During the time, the people showed solidarity. Some civil societies took upon themselves to provide aid for those in need. Young people stepped up. Here in Kurdistan, a large percentage of people went to help. They went from the east of the Euphrates to help the Arabs and Alawites in the west. They protected the Kurds and the Arabs once again.

The Kurds really suffered a lot from this earthquake west of the Euphrates. In this respect, this earthquake should not be forgotten. To make the people forget, the government promises to build more houses, mocking the sufferings of the people. The people are being mocked. What's important is that is to prevent deaths, to not leave people to die or to not put them in danger because of the houses that are being built, as we have seen in the past. Are preventative measures not being taken everywhere else in the world?

The AKP government is responsible for the losses in the earthquake

The AKP government is responsible for the losses in the earthquake. An earthquake may occur naturally, but precautions are taken against natural disasters, precautions are taken against floods, precautions are taken against fires, precautions are taken against earthquakes. Today, precautions against earthquakes

have become very advanced. There was an earthquake in Chile too, but they built an urban system that is resistant to all kinds of earthquakes. It is the same in Japan. They have taken measures in places where the most severe earthquakes occur. Turkey is also on the fault zone, but the AKP government, as I mentioned earlier, uses even earthquake taxes to its own benefit. It has distributed these taxes to its own cronies making them rich. They distributed these funds to contractors, saying “We have built this road and that road.” First, take measures to save people’s lives. In this respect and of course, this government is guilty, Erdoğan is the main culprit.

Then Murat Kurum, the Istanbul mayoral candidate, is also guilty. But the opposition has also taken a very weak approach. They should raise hell against those responsible. They should have made it louder, clearer and more explicit that this government is responsible for these deaths. They should have made it clear that the people should hold them accountable. The opposition failed. And when the opposition was threatened, they softened their criticisms even more. In this respect, the memory of those who lost their lives in this earthquake was not honored. As a requirement of being loyal to their memory, those responsible should be held accountable for their crimes.

Tens of thousands died under the rubble, under rocks and concrete. Not knowing whether they would die one hour or six, they suffered there, waiting for death. And no one came to their aid. Because there was no organization to save them. AFAD was never there and no one even criticized this. There is still a very slack approach. This issue should not be taken off the agenda, it should not be let go. It needs to be grabbed by the collar. It was not exposed well even in the May elections. Even in the May elections, this was the issue that would expose the AKP government the most. It was not done. This question still needs to be addressed.

Now we are nearing the local elections. What has been done to the localities? The government forced a centralized system, leaving no local administration. Everyone should think about this when going to local elections: What is their understanding of local governance? Does such a system give the people a will? Do the cities act on their own will? Does the municipality have a will? Is society organized there? Authorities will not come from Ankara to save Maraş or Hatay. This should also have been questioned.

One of the reasons for the many deaths is this centralized, statist system in Turkey. Turkey used to have this system in the past. This AKP-MHP government has worsened it, making it become even more centralized. Almost every official looks to Erdoğan’s mouth. The opposition also failed to embrace people in this earthquake.

The Kurdish people were tormented and destroyed. In a way, after the implementation of the ‘Eastern Reform Plan’, this earthquake served as a final blow. With the Eastern Reform Plan, it was aimed to completely expel the Kurds from the west of the Euphrates, to remove them from Kurdistan, to make the west of the Euphrates completely Kurdless. After the massacre in Maraş, the policy the government had been carrying out aimed to force the people west of the Euphrates to migrate to metropolises, especially England and generally Europe. It paved the way for demographic change. The MIT allowed smugglers to be set free, allowing them to freely take people away. They convinced people out of the west of the Euphrates and took them to Europe for supposed economic problems. There was no such economic problem. That’s not true. If the reason for driving people away was economic hardship let this be investigated. Many Kurdish villages west of the Euphrates are more beautiful and fertile than Turkish villages. But there was no population decrease in any of the Turkish villages. But Kurdish villages have been emptied. So this has nothing to do with it. It has nothing to do with the economy. It is purely a state policy, a policy of de-Kurdification. This is clear.

AKP-MHP government encouraged migration after the earthquake

Now, with this earthquake, Alevi Kurds have started to migrate more to metropolises and to Europe. The state has taken this as an opportunity. Even from this, one could understand the character of this state better. The government has encouraged this migration. The Alevi Kurds west of the Euphrates and the Alevi Arabs in Hatay need to be protected. Taking advantage of the earthquake, the state is implementing a policy of de-Kurdification and de-Arabization, this must be prevented. This is part of the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom. Otherwise, this is a policy of genocide. Changing demography, de-Kurdification, expelling Kurds from their homeland and dividing them by distributing them around the world is the state's policy.

From this point of view, I believe that all Kurds, both here, in Europe and around the rest of the world, should help the Kurds and the Kurdish villages west of the Euphrates that have been damaged by the earthquake, revitalize those villages and protect their Kurdish identity. This is everyone's duty, conscientious duty, moral duty, patriotic duty. On this occasion, I also think that those who left their villages because of the earthquake should return to their villages.

The other day I heard that Tacim Baba died in Ankara. He went to Ankara after the earthquake and died there. This is the reality of the earthquake. I wish him God's mercy. He sang really beautiful Kurdish songs. By singing Kurdish songs, he was taking a stance within the Kurdish question, against the Kurdish genocide. After the earthquake, he left his village where he had lived for 80 years despite all the pressure he had faced and passed away in Ankara.

There have been many earthquakes in Turkey. What is the cause of these earthquakes? We need to know why these earthquakes happen. Why do social earthquakes happen? In order to suppress the freedom of the Kurdish people, to suppress the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom, to put the Kurds through genocide. The fabric of society is being played with. Society is being made anti-Kurdish, anti-human. There are little social values left in society, little moral values left. They are turning the whole society into a mass that will carry out the Kurdish genocide. This is the cause of the social earthquake, crisis and deterioration.

There is a cultural earthquake in Turkey. While people of culture should be humane, democratic, oppose injustice and oppression, even artists are being oppressed so that Kurds are brought to a stage where they cannot breathe. Artists are prevented from opposing oppression, persecution and injustice. Artists are being silenced. An artist is a person who expresses their conscience. One who will oppose oppression, oppose persecution, oppose injustice, stand by those who are wronged. Now they are suppressing the artists who oppose injustice. There really is a cultural earthquake in Turkey right now. There is a cultural earthquake and crisis.

There is no real art or artist. Art and artist means speaking out against the rulers, objecting, rebelling, revealing the conscience of the people. Now art and artists have become the trumpet of the government. This is where problems stem from.

The cause of the economic earthquake is obvious. It is the war, the war against the Kurds. So is the judicial earthquake. The reason is to suppress the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom. They don't leave the slightest crumb of democracy so that the Kurds do not benefit. The problem is not Can Atalay, if the Kurdish freedom struggle was not at this level or if the state did not have such an antidemocratic understanding to suppress the Kurdish people's freedom struggle, there would not be such an approach to Can Atalay.

An earthquake is still rattling the state, it does not recognize its own constitution. The reason for this is that if there is the slightest democratic right, if there is a breath of air, the Kurds will benefit. This needs to be understood. All intellectuals, democrats and politicians in Turkey need to see this reality. Without

seeing this reality, correct politics cannot be done. Correct politics cannot be produced. The right words cannot be spoken. The truth will be avoided. If the truth is not to be avoided, if the truth is to be told, it must be revealed that the source of all these earthquakes, all the problems, all the crises is the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question, that these crises have emerged in order to suppress and crush the Kurds.

There is a judicial crisis, there is no judiciary right now. I can say this; the judiciary of today has something which the fascist courts of September 12th did not have. Even during the fascist coup, the soldiers paid attention, to some extent, to certain measures. Now it is not like that. Now everything is done through orders. There is no court, there is no constitution. There is only a palace with a special warfare center inside, and there is a certain circle ruling. Whatever they say will happen, and it does. There is no such thing as a court deciding, a court evaluating, nothing like that. Maybe there are some crimes in ordinary society, for example theft. Maybe the court may be functioning in those cases. But on very important issues, there is absolutely no judiciary or court in Turkey.

Local elections are important. Democracy starts from a local level. If there is local will, there is democracy. If there is a democratic administration, democratic behavior and democratic culture in the localities, we can talk about democracy. In this respect, local elections are important. Local governments, which will be the source of democracy or the foundation of democracy, will be elected. Undoubtedly, the law on local governments in Turkey is very limited. Despite having very little authority, local governments are still important in terms of expressing the will of the people. Because in the past in Kurdistan, elected local administrators, co-mayors of municipalities have played an important role. They demonstrated democratic culture and democratic belief. They did not seek profit, they listened to the voice of the people. Of course, although it had not reached the desired level yet, a very important local government experience has emerged. It is important in this respect.

Very important to hold primary elections in Kurdistan

Addressing the current election process, let me state that it was very important to hold primary elections in Kurdistan. This was important for the development of the understanding and culture of local democracy. It was also important for people to take ownership of politics. Politics is about people taking ownership of their own affairs and thinking about their own affairs. Otherwise, politics is not about letting someone you don't know be elected as an MP or president. Democratic politics is about the people taking ownership and being involved in their own affairs. This is how democratic politics should be understood.

In this respect, the pre-elections were important. The people took ownership, created excitement and enthusiasm. Of course there were some shortcomings. It is understood that there was a lack of preparation. But we saw that the Kurdish people have a democratic culture, that they embraced such a democratic experience, that they were excited and participated in the elections with enthusiasm. This is an important achievement for the Kurdish people, for the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom, for the democratic future of the Kurdish people. In this respect, we congratulate them for their efforts in this direction. It was a good experience. It was really important, it was also an example for Turkey.

Kurdish politics, Kurdish democratic politics is already setting an example for Turkey. The paradigm of Rêber Apo (Leader Abdullah Öcalan) is an example for Turkey, an example for the world. There was the co-presidency project, half of the MPs are formed of women. These have set an example for Turkey, putting pressure on classic Turkish politics. While the Kurds who are being portrayed as backward are becoming so democratized, having a co-presidency system, while half of their MPs are women, it is clear that male-dominated politics are still precedented in Turkey. I was listening to Özgür Özel a while ago. He said, "We have appointed so many women mayors in Izmir. There were none in the past, we are taking

this many young people into the administration, we are taking women into the administration.” All of these are the fruit of our struggle. It is the effect created by Kurdish democratic politics.

In this respect, it was an important effort. The importance of politics for Kurds in parliamentary elections, presidential elections and local elections is this: will it develop democratization or not? Will it strengthen democracy? Will there be a struggle against genocidal colonial fascism or not? Will it push them back or not? This is an attitude for the development of democracy. It is a struggle against the Kurdish genocide policy of genocidal colonial fascism. For Kurds, this is the measure of politics. This is the measure to be considered.

The solution to the Kurdish question develops through democratization

The right attitude is to evaluate how much they are developing democratization and how much they are developing democracy. Because democracy is as necessary for Kurds as bread and water. The solution to the Kurdish question develops through democratization. Every day democratic solutions and democratic politics are being discussed. How will a democratic solution come? It will come with democratization. It will come with the development of democracy. Otherwise, someone will not suddenly think of a solution to the Kurdish question. If there is democratization, steps in this direction will develop. We need to see it like this. Of course, this election will also be part of the struggle for democracy.

For the Kurdish people, it is very important to be in alliance with the people of Turkey and the democratic forces of Turkey and to act together with them. It must be known that the solution to the Kurdish question lies here. In this respect, for a long time, especially within the framework of Rêber Apo's approaches and perspectives, Kurds have always formed alliances with democratic forces, socialist forces, and social segments that have an interest in democracy. Recently, the 'Labor and Freedom Alliance' was established. These are important. We need to embrace them. This is how democratic politics and democratization will come.

By allying with democratic forces and socialists, the struggle for democracy will develop with a joint attitude, struggle and alliance of the two most dynamic democratic forces in Turkey, the Kurds and the Alevis. We must pay attention to this during the elections. Kurds should pay attention first and foremost. Everyone should be sensitive about alliances and partnerships. Mostly the Kurds because the Kurds need it. Kurds need democratization and the development of democracy the most. They are paying a great price for this. For 50 years a great price has been paid.

In this respect, of course, both the democratic forces in Turkey and the democratic forces in Kurdistan should cooperate, strengthen their alliances, embrace the existing alliances, and carry out this struggle by valuing the existing alliances.

Some circles may block alliances, they may denigrate alliances. Kurdish people should not listen to them. Those who denigrate the alliances are not friends of the Kurds. They do not want the well-being of the Kurds, they do not want Turkey to democratize. They want the Kurds to be left alone. The Kurds have never benefited from nationalist approaches that are not democratic, that are not in favor of democracy, that do not have a democratic understanding, that do not think about the brotherhood of peoples. In this respect, Kurds should develop their main approach in democratic politics and in this election process in line with the development of democracy and democratization.

Historical actions were carried out by guerrillas in January. After these actions, the devastation of the Turkish state was evident on the partisan channels of the AKP-MHP government. After the actions, the people on those channels did not know what they were saying. They were so out of balance! They were arguing about who gave the guerrilla information, who supported them, who gave them this and that. They were really showing themselves by talking such nonsense. Then we realized that they were very surprised. They were devastated, they suffered a big blow.

Our guerrillas have been in this struggle for 50 years. They have 50 years of experience. Which guerrilla movement in the world has 50 years of experience? Is there a guerrilla army that has fought as hard as our guerrillas? Is there a guerrilla force that has been fighting for 50 years against NATO's second army, especially one like the Turkish state. Of course our experienced guerrilla have the capacity for action.

We also remind them of this. Rêber Apo says: "The greatest technique is human." The Turkish army have all the techniques at their disposal. The guerrilla, on the other hand, is equipped with limited means. They take from here and there meanwhile the Turkish army get everything they want from all over the world. They gets everything, yet they cannot protect themselves. What are you talking about? Of course the guerrilla, the force of self-sacrifice with 50 years of experience will carry out such actions.

They say America has given the guerrilla information. It's as if the guerrilla are carrying out such actions for the first time. It is obvious how many police stations have been raided, how many ambushes have been made. I'm saying this because they've lost control, the puppets of the Turkish government don't know what they are saying. Instead of admitting guilt, they point fingers to the outside. If something happens, the cause is 'others'. Of course, with this mindset, they cannot go anywhere.

Why is this war going on, why are the guerrilla making sacrifice actions? Because our 50-year struggle is the struggle of a colonized people. The mood of these young guerrillas when they go to war is obvious. Who can stand in front of them? The soldier is there out of fear, counting down days until their return from duty. How will they fight? Or maybe he is poor. He came there for money. How could they fight against such guerrillas.

Those actions really shook and stunned the Turkish state. After that they started vowing to do this and that "until not a single terrorist is left." This is what they say. We have been asking a question for the past 50 years; who can take away the passion of freedom from these people?

The Kurdish people's passion for freedom, their desire for freedom is obvious. The people's passion for freedom creates the guerrilla. Could you kill such a passion? It is the result of a struggle of 50 years. All Kurdish people grew up in this war, saw this war, saw the sacrifice, saw their children's struggle against colonialism. The government can shout and call as much as they want; Kurdish youth will resist. They can be prevented, limited, but they will overcome this. 'Guerrilla' means to overcome the enemy constantly with precautions. A 'guerilla' is someone who fights against a better equipped power with fewer means. As they say, asymmetric warfare, this is what guerrilla is. This is why the guerrilla are writing history.

The greatest technique is the human being. In other words, human effort and labor will and is frustrating the most advanced techniques being used against freedom. The guerrilla has struck and will strike significant blows. The guerrilla is not a force that will surrender to the shouts and calls of the Turkish army. The guerrilla is a sacrifice force, it has 50 years of experience, it has popular support. The hearts of 90 percent of the Kurdish people are in favor of the PKK. The hearts of Kurds in KDP areas are also in favor of the PKK. If they did not apply pressure on the people, the KDP could have seen for themselves that this is true. This is the reality. In the face of such a reality, of course that resistance will emerge.

A great guerrilla struggle continued in 2023

A great struggle continued in 2023. This struggle will continue in 2024. Of course, the Turkish state uses every means and method to suppress this struggle. It has used chemical weapons extensively in the past. It used tactical nuclear bombs. The last time it used chemical weapons again; 5 of our comrades were martyred. I commemorate with gratitude and respect our comrades who were martyred in the chemical attacks, as well as our comrades who were martyred in all actions. Their sacrificial spirit will lead this

struggle to success. With their actions, with their spirit of sacrifice, with their resistance, they are already the assurance and guarantee of this success. They demonstrate the invincibility of this struggle. From this point of view, 2023 was the year of the rise of the sacrifice forces. This will continue even more in 2024. We can state it like this.

Of course, the betrayal of the KDP continues. It is again trying to gain control of guerrilla areas, trying to cut the roads that will supply the guerrilla with supplies and ammunition. But the KDP helps the Turkish state, the Turkish army for everything tending even to their wounded soldiers. We are in such a reality. The KDP is working with the Turkish state to end the war with the supposed defeat of the guerrilla. This is not enough, the KDP and the Turkish state are now trying to drag the PUK into this. All these attacks are actually happening partly at the request of the KDP. They are trying to see if they can drag the PUK into this system. In this respect, just as the guerrilla struggle has responded to all pressures and attacks, it will continue in 2014 with the same stance.

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Sabri Ok: Öcalan's new paradigm was the best answer to the international conspiracy

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Sabri Ok, a member of the Executive Council of the Community of Kurdistan Societies (KCK) spoke about the international conspiracy that led to the abduction of Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan.

We are approaching the 25th anniversary of the 15th February International Conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. What were the reasons and aims of the conspiracy? How does the conspiracy continue today?

As an indebted comrade, I send my greetings to Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan]. During the conspiracy, dozens of our imprisoned comrades and friends in all four parts of Kurdistan and abroad set their bodies on fire. In the person of comrades Halit Oral, Aynur Artan, and Sema Yüce, I commemorate everyone who, under the 'You cannot darken our sun' campaign, gave their lives during these actions.

Our people, our movement, and our international friends should understand well the reasons, aims, and method of the International Conspiracy which is continuing today. On the 2nd anniversary of the conspiracy, when the lawyers went to Rêber Apo, they said, "There are a few days left until the anniversary of the conspiracy. The people want to mourn." Rêber Apo smiled and said, "They should not mourn; they should learn lessons from this conspiracy, draw conclusions, and everyone should know their role very well."

This is the truth, we must understand this very well. When we look at the history of the Kurdish people and their revolts, they have always faced conspiracies. Rebellions were either started prematurely through conspiracy or conspiracies were made by playing with the honest and sincerity personalities of the Kurdish people. Leaders of those rebellions were martyred through execution or other methods. This is how the occupiers and genocidal and conspiratorial forces achieved results. They thought that they would also gain results from the 15 February conspiracy against Rêber Apo. But this was not achieved.

During the conspiracy, great developments were taking place in the Middle East. America wanted to intervene in Iraq; Afghanistan was on the agenda. For example, the 'Greater Middle East Project' was also being prepared. All these were preparations, plans, and projects of the international powers towards the Middle East. The struggle of our movement and our people had reached a certain level, and despite the support and assistance of all international powers, the occupying Turkish state could not achieve results against us.

The movement was developing in every sense, which created a problem for the international powers. This problem was either to be solved somehow or to be destroyed and neutralized. They were going to light the fuse for this. The USA, Britain, and Israel had already stated that a new process had begun in the Middle East when the conspiracy took place. Rêber Apo said that World War III had begun. One of the reasons for the conspiracy was the intervention in the Middle East, and the other was to solve the Kurdish question on the basis of Rêber Apo's paradigm. This did not align with the plans of the capitalist powers. Therefore, they wanted to intervene in Iraq by risking World War III to realize the 'Greater Middle East Project' and neutralize the Kurdish issue.

The first stage of the conspiracy was the handover of Rêber Apo to the Turkish state; the second stage was the disintegration of the PKK; and the third stage was the neutralization of Rêber Apo over time. They approached the PKK with such schemes. These external powers wanted to create alternatives for their own benefits. People who had never shed a drop of blood or made any effort for the Kurdish people saw this as an opportunity. They wanted to disband the party by driving people away from it, but they failed. Nevertheless, the conspiracy was realized. Rêber Apo spoke about false friends in this regard. He revealed the hypocrisy of Greece, the hypocrisy of the USSR, and the true face of the forces of capitalist modernity. Again, the necessities of comradeship were not fulfilled.

When the conspiracy happened, everyone was shocked at first. Everywhere the Kurdish people lived, especially in the prisons, many people carried out self-sacrifice actions under the 'You cannot darken our sun' campaign for the future of themselves and the movement. Rêber Apo's greatness must be seen here. He took responsibility, saw the situation of the Kurdish people, and realized that the occupying forces were playing with the future of the Kurds. Without Rêber Apo, the struggle of the Kurdish people would have been defeated again. That is why Rêber Apo took responsibility; he took the most difficult decision and said, "I have to live." Not for himself, but for the Kurdish people, for the Freedom Movement, he said, "I must frustrate this conspiracy." Then he sent a message saying, "Enough is enough! The solution is not self-immolation and martyrdom. The blood of the martyrs must not remain on the ground; we must be worthy of them, but these actions must stop."

With his intervention, Rêber Apo brought the movement to its senses and brought the process to a more correct agenda. He made a lot of political efforts. He created a new paradigm. This is how the conspiracy against Rêber Apo and our movement was frustrated. No one believed that it would come to naught. As a result of Rêber Apo's resistance and efforts, the struggle has continued on for 25 years. No one should live a comfortable life without the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. The conspiracy continues today. Yes, the existence of Rêber Apo, the paradigm he developed, the fact that the movement could not be liquidated, and the uninterrupted continuation of the struggle are historical things, but Rêber Apo is still in prison. Therefore, the conspiracy continues with different methods.

On the 25th anniversary of the conspiracy, Kurdish People's Leader Öcalan's ideas and thoughts are being received with great enthusiasm and hope at the international level. What is the reason for the universalization of Mr Öcalan's ideas and thoughts?

To answer this question, it is necessary to look at it from a historical perspective. Such influential ideas affect not only a region or a society, but the whole of humanity. This has always been the case in history. Sometimes these figures appeared as prophets, sometimes as philosophers, and left their mark on history. These come once every hundred years. Rêber Apo is also like this.

At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, important developments took place in the world. After the collapse of real socialism and the formation of a polarized world, humanity fell into an ideological vacuum. After real socialism, there were many people who believed that there would be a revolution in Germany. When they saw that it did not happen, they fell into disbelief and

committed suicide. Such a psychology was created after the collapse of real socialism. People saw that there was nothing spiritual or ideological left to give them hope, morale, and motivation.

Rêber Apo was, of course, following the changes and transformations in the world, but he developed and deepened the paradigm on the prison island of Imrali. This was the greatest response to the conspiracy and the good news given to humanity. Rêber Apo gave hope to the people with the paradigm he developed. Those who were in search, who were under the oppression of capitalist modernity, and who did not know how to struggle against racism saw the answer to their questions in Rêber Apo's paradigm. In particular, the system of 'Democratic Modernity' had a great impact after Rêber Apo's prison writings were published and distributed in different languages. If women and young people anywhere in the world see hope in this paradigm, if they rise up on this basis, if they search for it, we should know very well that there is something very honorable here, an important strength, and nothing can prevent it.

When we look at it, from Bangladesh to Mexico, from the Middle East to all over the world, the voices of women are rising; they say that they see their freedom in this paradigm, in the reality of Rêber Apo. Reading and discussing the prison writings of Rêber Apo has a bigger impact on people than expected. Because this paradigm is the answer to everyone's search. In the 21st century, the paradigm of Rêber Apo illuminates the future of people and humanity. Societies, especially women, see democratic and free life here. Therefore, the ideas and thoughts of Rêber Apo will spread more, will be loved, and will be more effective. This is a historical response to the conspiracy.

In order to end the isolation of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, on the one hand, prisoners in Kurdistan and Turkey are on hunger strike. On the other hand, Kurdish people and their international friends outside are organizing demonstrations. How do you evaluate this situation?

We evaluate the situation from time to time. The agenda of the Kurdish people is Rêber Apo. When the conspiracy of 15th February took place, the first self-sacrifice action was carried out by Halit Oral. Then these actions spread. Reflexes developed stronger in the prisons. Here I would like to salute all our comrades who are in resistance. And I can tell that when they organize themselves according to Rêber Apo, they will definitely achieve positive results. The prisons have an important role and mission. I think that the actions of prisoners will continue.

Outside, mothers have begun hunger strikes. I especially send my greetings and respect to them. Mothers who have reached that age are taking responsibility. I listened to a mother's speech. She was about 70-80 years old and said: "We promised, we will either die or be successful. There is no option other than to be successful, we will resist until the end". This is a spirit, a stance.

The important thing is that everyone should receive this message and think about how to respond to it. They should also think conscientiously. There are deficiencies at this point. Accordingly, I would like to say a few words especially for Kurdish youth. Universities are the pulse of society. How could these young people be so comfortable? How are they students, where is their energy? For example, they have decided to send a thousand postcards for Rêber Apo; of course it is very valuable, very important, I greet this decision. It is very important even if they throw a stone, it is very meaningful even if they take a small action against the enemy, or if they rise up. But young people need to be more radical, they need to rally around these mothers, it is not enough to just visit them. We are not going through normal days, we are experiencing extraordinary days. We do not know how Rêber Apo is doing, no news has been received for 3 years. There is nothing like this in the world. No one knows whether he is alive or not, what his health condition may be. This is a reason for the Kurdish youth to rise up. Our 50-year struggle has a history, it has thousands of martyrs, and still in the mountains of Kurdistan, honorable young women and men struggle and resist everyday with their heads held high. Every conscientious person must take a stand against oppression and injustice.

Of course we have hope. Mothers are on hunger strike, no news has been received from Rêber Apo for 3 years, Kurdish youth and Kurdish women must rise up against this situation. They should not be content with praying, throwing stones, or sending postcards. Yes, we respect all this, but more radical actions must be developed. The current period is a period that requires this. Our comrades in prison have been on hunger strike for more than two months, again, mothers in Kurdistan and Turkey are on hunger strike. These actions should develop more, have more participation and have more impact on the international arena and politics. Every Kurd should think, as a human being, when they put their heads down on their pillows in the evening; they should ask themselves the question 'How should I play my role against this oppression, what should I do in the face of Rêber Apo's situation, the hunger strike of the mothers, the guerrilla's resistance against chemical weapons and the heavy blows to the enemy'. If there is a question somewhere, there will be an answer, there will be a search.

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Opinion

Sozdar Avesta calls for broad participation in 17 February's march for Öcalan in Cologne

ANF / Behdînan / 10 February 2024

15 February marks the 25th anniversary of the abduction of the Kurdish people's leader, Abdullah Öcalan. Since then, Öcalan has been isolated on the prison island of Imrali and there has been no sign of life from him for three years. On 17 February, a Europe-wide demonstration for the freedom of Öcalan will take place in Cologne.

In an ANF interview, Presidential Council member of the Community of Kurdistan Societies (KCK), Sozdar Avesta, talked about the resistance of the Kurdish representative in the face of a quarter of a century of isolation.

Avesta said that it is necessary to intensify the fight that has been waged over the past 25 years against Öcalan's isolation and for a solution to the Kurdish question. She said: "As long as the AKP-MHP regime's fascism towards our people continues, it will not be possible to resolve the Kurdish question and thus reach the physical freedom of Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan]. So above all we have to defeat the fascist line of the AKP-MHP."

Avesta continued: "We are currently in an important and strategic phase. There is great chaos in the region; the Third World War is taking place here. Above all, the war in North Kurdistan continues, and preparations should be made for new offensives come spring. At the beginning of this year, the freedom guerrillas carried out very effective actions in Zap, Metîna and Xakurke. Preparations are being made to achieve great success again this year. These actions show how the struggle will develop in this period. This year we must unite around the guerrillas. Just as thousands of young Kurds and internationalist young people joined the guerrillas on 15 February 1999, this type of participation must also take place in this phase."

Avesta added: "The freedom guerrillas resist based on Rêber Apo's paradigm. In this way, they thwarted the attacks on Rêber Apo and the freedom movement. The dissemination of his ideas is the most important thing to guarantee his physical freedom. The defense of the women's revolution against the attacks on the Rojava revolution, which developed under the leadership of women, and the protection of the values created at great cost, will make Rêber Apo's physical freedom inevitable. All this is a whole.

Just as all the hegemonic powers have united in the international conspiracy, we must intensify our fight against these powers. The actions organized as part of the offensive 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, political solution to the Kurdish question', which are currently being launched in many parts of the world, must continue uninterrupted. The year 2024 must become a year of uninterrupted struggle using diverse means and methods. The actions so far have brought the fight to a certain level, but now it must continue."

Millions should take part in the demonstration in Cologne

The leading KCK representative called for broad participation in the demonstration in Cologne and said: "The 25th anniversary of the international conspiracy must be used as an opportunity to strengthen the fight in all areas under the leadership of Kurdish women and young people. The resistance should intensify and organize further. There is also a foundation and basis for this. On 15 February, I would like to appeal to our people and our friends to take part in the protests against the international conspiracy, especially in the demonstration to be held in Cologne on Saturday 17 February. The demonstration in Germany is particularly important. There have been demonstrations in Kurdistan and Europe for days. Millions of people should take part in the demonstration in Cologne and take a stance that does justice to Rêber Apo's resistance. The participation should also be worthy of the resistance of the guerrillas and the values created by the freedom movement, which has been following the line of Rêber Apo for 51 years. We call on all our people and friends, especially women and young people, to take part in this march."

"The key to the solution lies in North Kurdistan"

Avesta continued: "Our people in North Kurdistan must stay on their feet until the Freedom March taking place there reaches its destination. It must stand up for resistance in prisons and support the attitude of Rêber Apo. The key to the solution lies in North Kurdistan. The defeat of fascism will be achieved through the struggle in North Kurdistan. Our people in North Kurdistan know this very well. I call on everyone again to bring life to a standstill on 15 February. We must also take a stand against the conspiracy in Northern and Eastern Syria, in South Kurdistan and in all regions. We must be clear that the result of our struggle will be the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. On this basis, on behalf of our movement, I once again greet those who have taken part and will take part in these protests and salute them for their resistance. Our fight will guarantee the physical freedom of Rêber Apo."

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Avesta: We are closer than ever to achieve Öcalan's freedom

ANF / 11 February 2024

Sozdar Avesta, member of the Presidential Council of the KCK, spoke about the 25 years Abdullah Öcalan has spent in Imrali and the resistance he put up against isolation. Avesta also underlined the importance of the international campaign demanding freedom for the Kurdish people's leader.

Avesta said: "With respect, with love and longing, I would like to greet Rêber Apo [Leader Abdullah Öcalan] who has put up great resistance in Imrali. I also greet everyone who has been taking part in the Long March protest against the conspiracy. I also salute and celebrate the resistance of the guerrillas who have been the most meaningful and valuable comrades to Rêber Apo over these past 25 years.

For 25 years, Rêber Apo has interpreted the conspiracy in every sense. World War 3 started with the conspiracy against Rêber Apo. If Rêber Apo had not taken a responsible approach at that time, World

War 3 would have started between Kurds and Turks and this war would have lasted 100 years. An uninterrupted genocide would have been committed. The forces involved in the conspiracy wanted to design the region according to themselves. Therefore, they saw the Kurdish Freedom Movement, which was waging a struggle under the leadership of Rêber Apo, as an obstacle. Because Rêber Apo was now a determining factor in the Middle East. The Freedom Movement was fighting against the invaders, and a spirit of resistance was developing in a society that was becoming more conscious. Again, important developments took place in the women's liberation struggle. In the person of Rêber Apo and the Freedom Movement, the peoples of the Middle East now had a vanguard and chose the path of the freedom struggle. Therefore, the conspirators united and wanted to eliminate this obstacle."

Avesta continued: "These powers realized that they would not be able to maintain their hegemony in the Middle East as they wanted unless they eliminated Rêber Apo. Powers such as the USA, Israel and England, which took part in this conspiracy, also prevented the solution to the Kurdish question. The conspiracy was mainly carried out by these powers, but regional powers such as Russia, Greece and the KDP also played a role in this conspiracy.

When Rêber Apo evaluates that process, he states the following: "Turkey and the peoples of Turkey are a forest. The hegemons wanted to make us turn into a ball of fire, throwing us into that forest to burn both sides together.' Rêber Apo saw these games and put up a relentless resistance. The attacks against Rêber Apo, and therefore on our movement, on Imrali are also the result of the politics of conspiracy. Rêber Apo has been held hostage in Imrali for 25 years. The role of the Turkish state here was to act as a gendarme."

Avesta added: "Our people will also remember that Bülent Ecevit, the Prime Minister of that period, said in a statement, 'We do not know why they handed Apo over to us'. The conspiratorial forces reduced the rights of the Kurdish people and the freedom revolution to a subject of bargaining. In this way, they wanted to liquidate the Kurdistan Freedom Movement, the women's revolution and the unity of the peoples. The conspiracy has continued in different forms until today. If the conspiracy has not achieved its goal today, the stance of the Leadership and the paradigm of *Democratic Confederalism* undoubtedly have a share. Rêber Apo has turned Imrali into a place where all the problems of humanity can be solved. He created a new paradigm against capitalist modernity. Rêber Apo avenged the conspiracy by developing the paradigm of 'Democratic Modernity'. After the conspiracy, the Rêber Apo brought the process to the present day with 25 years of relentless resistance.

When the conspiracy was achieved, Kurds all over the world made effective protests. There were martyrs in these protests. Hundreds of people from the age of 12 to 70 years old, especially in dungeons, in Kurdistan and all over the Middle East, turned their bodies into torches of fire. In Europe, people were martyred during the protests in front of the Israeli Consulate in Berlin. Thousands were arrested. But they stopped life as we know it for weeks. All of our people in the four parts of Kurdistan started a great resistance. Rêber Apo called on the people to prevent this process from reaching a dangerous dimension and intervened in the process. In this 25-year period, our people and friends continued their struggle in the fields on the basis of Rêber Apo's ideas and philosophy. Especially since 2007, moves have been developed for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo."

Avesta said: "Rêber Apo has already frustrated the conspiracy with the paradigm he developed. However, both the forces involved in the conspiracy and the forces that support the conspiracy in line with their interests do not want this problem to be solved. NATO itself is carrying out this process. Gladio, which is part of NATO, continues this process. Today, these forces are waging a great war against the Freedom Movement in the person of Rêber Apo. They are holding Rêber Apo hostage in order to make the Freedom Movement surrender. Especially in the last 8 years, they want to renew the conspiracy with attacks aiming to completely destroy the Kurds. As early as 2009, Rêber Apo said: "I give good news to

our people: we have thwarted the conspiracy”. This was the truth. The conspiracy did not achieve its goals, but they did not give up either. They are carrying out different attacks to continue the conspiracy. For example, currently, a heavy isolation has been going on in Imrali for 3 years in order to leave Rêber Apo breathless. Our people have given thousands of martyrs, wounded and veterans in the last 25 years. There has been great resistance in every part of Kurdistan and abroad.

Breakthroughs have been made every period for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. For 12 years, protests have been held in Strasbourg for the physical freedom of the Leader. Again in 2020, the “Dem Dema Azadiyê Ye” campaign was launched. The only campaign that will really nullify the conspiracy is that Rêber Apo’s ideas and philosophy reach the peoples, women, the oppressed and intellectuals. We have seen the effect of reading Rêber Apo’s books in these campaigns. In all areas, friends of our people came together and carried out such events where Rêber Apo’s books were read. This was very important. At the moment, there is a long march to Strasbourg led by the youth of Kurdistan and internationalist youth. The march which started from Serhat in the form of 2 branches is a new action and very valuable. Again in the prisons, prisoners of freedom have been on hunger strike since 27 November. Outside, the Mothers of Peace and our people are organizing actions in support of the prisons.

When we take all these into consideration, the stage that the struggle has reached in the 25-year period now accepts no other option but to make freedom permanent. The people of Kurdistan, their friends and internationalist forces can no longer tolerate the captivity of Rêber Apo. That is why they have brought their struggle to the highest stage. This is a sacred thing. Our people and friends have realized that they can achieve Rêber Apo’s freedom.”

Avesta underlined that “for 25 years, the conspiratorial forces have done everything, but they could not get the result they wanted. Rêber Apo is not an ordinary person, he is a nation, he represents all nations. Rêber Apo was the architect of the women’s liberation line. Therefore, it is now a danger to keep Rêber Apo captive. Rêber Apo resists for all humanity, for the whole society. We must realize that we also owe a debt to Rêber Apo. After 25 years, we are closer than ever to Rêber Apo’s physical freedom. Therefore, we must develop our struggle more.”

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Kalkan: The Imrali system is a genocide system

ANF / Behdinan / 15 February 2024

Duran Kalkan, a member of the KCK Executive Council, wrote an extensive analysis of the international conspiracy that, on 15 February 1999, led to the abduction of Abdullah Öcalan.

Kalkan looked at the interests of global and regional powers and draws conclusions as to why the conspiracy took place the way it did. He also looked at how the conspiracy has changed since then, especially in light of the resistance against it that has been going on for more than 25 years.

We are approaching the 25th anniversary of the historic February 15th international conspiracy which was aimed at the destruction of Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] and the Kurdish people’s will for existence and freedom. The isolation, torture and genocide system of Imrali created on the basis of the conspiracy is completing its 25th year. On this occasion, first of all, we once again condemn the conspiratorial forces. We commemorate respectfully and gratefully all our heroic martyrs who sacrificially resisted the conspiracy on the basis of the “You cannot darken our sun” campaign. We salute Rêber Apo and the historic Imrali resistance.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary, it is necessary to dwell on the international conspiracy and the system of isolation, torture and genocide practiced on Imrali. There is a need to summarize the past 25

years. Especially on the anniversary, what is the status of the conspiracy and the İmralı system of torture, isolation and genocide that perpetuates it? In which condition are we entering the 26th year? We will try to summarize this.

As is known, the international conspiracy began on October 9, 1998. It was an attack that forced Rêber Apo to leave Syria and aimed to destroy him in a conspiratorial way by immobilizing him. We must never forget that the international conspiracy is in fact an attack. The international conspiracy should never be understood in any other way. It does not serve any other purpose. Its main purpose is to destroy Rêber Apo, to liquidate the PKK on this basis, and to finish off the genocide of the Kurds. On this basis, the international conspiracy attack was an attack that emerged from the Kurdish genocide. It was an attack created by the genocidal mentality and politics which had been imposed on the Kurdish people for a hundred years.

We know that this genocidal mentality and politics was formed during the First World War. At first, it presented itself in the Armenian genocide and the massacre of Kurds. Then it continued in the form of the Assyrian and Greek genocide, but found its main structure in the one-hundred-year genocide of the Kurds. It centralized all these genocidal attacks in Kurdish-enmity. Kurdish enmity and Kurdish genocide became the basis of this mentality and politics.

We know that this mentality and politics were put into practice with the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, but it was actually shaped in the Cairo Conference of 1921. In the Treaty of Lausanne, the reconciliation between the victorious countries of the First World War and the Kemalist regime on the basis of genocide emerged. After that, it was put into practice in a planned manner.

Rêber Apo defined February 15 as “Kurdish Genocide Day”. He expressed this in light of the Şêx Saîd resistance on February 15, 1925. The conspiratorial provocative attack against Şêx Saîd in 1925 and the international conspiracy attack against Rêber Apo in 1998 were the continuation and completion of each other. For this reason, Rêber Apo refined February 15 as the day of conspiracy, the day of provocation, and the day of the Kurdish Genocide. This genocidal attack is now entering a new year. With February 15th, the year we enter will mark the centennial of this genocidal attack which started with Şêx Saîd.

This attack was planned and carried out by different states during different periods in North, East and South Kurdistan. But there has always been a common management. Britain and France, which organized the global capitalist modernity system, had assigned the Turkish state the task of actually carrying out the Kurdish genocide as was revealed in the Treaty of Lausanne. During the periods which followed, there was always a common management to ensure the completion of the Kurdish genocide. In other words, there has always been an administration that is a combination of the powers that run the global capitalist modernity system and the nation-state administrations that carry out genocidal attacks on the four parts of Kurdistan. By the 1970s, they thought they had received results with such an attack. Especially with the Algeria Agreement of January 1975, when the ‘Kurdistan Democratic Party’ (KDP) declared ‘Ashbetal’ and was defeated, the classical Kurdish resistance was coming to an end. Kurdish society was losing its resistance dynamics based on the tribal, feudal social structure. Based on this, the states that ruled over Kurdistan, especially the Turkish state, were now saying, that they had completed the Kurdish genocide. They really believed that they had completed the Kurdish genocide. In 1930, after crushing the Ararat resistance, the Turkish state even had the audacity to build a shrine on Mount Ararat and write “The imaginary Kurdistan has been buried here”. Already at that time, it actually thought that it had completed the Kurdish genocide.

From 1973 onwards, under the leadership of Rêber Apo, against such a genocidal mentality and politics, a new national liberationist consciousness, organization and gradually action against the genocidal attack developed. It became a party in 1978, launched the armed struggle on August 15, 1984, and in the early

1990s, this movement succeeded in the revolution of national resurrection in North Kurdistan. It created the 'serhildan' (popular uprisings) that envisioned a women-led liberation revolution.

Thus, while real socialism was dissolving and the world was entering a new period of war, the Third World War, a popular resistance, a popular uprising was emerging in Kurdistan against the genocidal mentality and politics created by the global capitalist modernity system. The genocidal mentality and politics saw this as the greatest danger for itself. If we pay attention, the process called the Third World War started with the Gulf War. It was a US attack and intervention in the Middle East. With this war, the US took the Gulf and its surroundings under military control. During the NATO-agreed 'Operation Hammer Force' the Hewlêr [Erbil] administration of our day was created and it was aimed to prevent the PKK from entering South Kurdistan. Thus, the PKK would be encircled in North Kurdistan. Based on this scheme, in October 1992, a joint military attack by the Turkish Republic, the USA, the KDP and 'Patriotic Union Kurdistan' (PUK) was developed in order to dismantle the guerrilla from liberating the areas which today we refer to as the Meyda Defense Zones. We call this the First Southern War. In fact, the conspiracy started with this attack.

Previously, with the declaration of a state of emergency in July 1987, a global annihilation and liquidation operation was organized against the PKK. But this was thwarted by the guerrilla resistance, by Rêber Apo who frustrated all provocative attacks, and by the resistance in the Düsseldorf Trial. Thus, the Third World War, which emerged as a new attack of the global capitalist modernity system, began with the US establishing military control in the Gulf with its own internal contradictions on the one hand, and on the other hand, by eliminating alternative forces, by encircling and limiting the PKK in North Kurdistan.

The struggle was fought on this basis throughout the 90s. The Turkish state, with the support of the KDP and the US, continued a military annihilation attack against the PKK, including South Kurdistan, in the form of various operations. In the end, when the US wanted to take the Third World War to a new stage by seizing Baghdad, it first attacked Rêber Apo. It planned to carry out the invasion attack against Baghdad by neutralizing Rêber Apo and thus preventing the PKK from intervening in South Kurdistan and Iraq. They did not dare to attack Baghdad in Rêber Apo's presence. Because they were afraid of what might happen. They were afraid that Rêber Apo could influence South Kurdistan and even Iraq and provide a new alternative, spark a revolutionary and democratic development against the capitalist system, just like the October Revolution. That is why they could not attack Baghdad for 13 years, from 1991 to 2003. Rêber Apo's presence prevented military attacks. It preserved peace in the Middle East.

Finally, on October 9, 1998, on the basis of the plan and decision of the US, Britain and Israel alliance, an international conspiracy attack was launched to destroy Rêber Apo. They wanted to annihilate him in a shootout over the Mediterranean Sea. They forced Rêber Apo to leave Syria. They invited him to Greece. When he went to Greece, they did not let him leave the airport. They put him in a position where he had left Syria, could not enter Greece and had no place to go in this world. They tried to force him to go back. In other words, they wanted to destroy him with an extermination attack that neither Greece nor Syria would undertake. Rêber Apo broke this by not going back, instead he went to Russia. He broke the pressure on Russia by going to Rome. A series of extermination attacks were organized against Rêber Apo. After Rome, again he went to Russia. Then they took him to Greece, they took him to Belarus. There were many attacks aiming his extermination. Rêber Apo frustrated all of them. When these attacks failed, they took him to Kenya vowing that they would take him to South Africa. When they could not destroy him in Kenya through the Greek government, they decided to carry out the February 15th conspiracy. In other words, they wanted to assassinate Rêber Apo through a cold case before the February 15th abduction attack was brought to the agenda. Instead of assassinating him themselves, the plan was that he be handed over to Turkey who would execute him. According to Turkish law, he would be executed without question. No one had any doubt about this.

On this basis, the February 15, 1999 conspiracy attack was organized. Rêber Apo was fraudulently kidnapped and taken to Turkey, to Imrali and subjected to a sham trial. On the same day that Şêx Saîd was executed, Rêber Apo was also sentenced to death. The day they made a provocation against Şêx Saîd, they kidnapped Rêber Apo from Kenya. The same day they executed Şêx Saîd, they sentenced Rêber Apo to death. Those who assumed that they had destroyed the Kurdish resistance could not accept and digest the emergence of a new Kurdish freedom resistance led by Rêber Apo. They wanted to make it look like this resistance never existed. We must know these facts very well. Kurdish people, Kurdish society, Kurdish youth, women should understand very well. In fact, all revolutionary democratic forces, socialist forces should understand all this very well. To be a patriot in Kurdistan, to be a libertarian, and especially to be a revolutionary militant, one must definitely understand and feel the reality of the conspiracy and its annihilating attack against Rêber Apo. One cannot claim to carry out revolutionary patriotic duties correctly if they do not understand and feel this reality. They certainly cannot become successful freedom fighters. In this respect, these historical processes are very important.

We also know the aftermath. When Rêber Apo exposed the conspiracy, when he exposed the conspirators, especially when he exposed the dimension of the conspiracy towards Turkey, things changed. Because Bülent Ecevit, the Prime Minister who was in charge during the conspiracy, said, "I do not understand why America gave Apo to us." Rêber Apo made them understand by explaining the reality of the conspiracy. He deeply analyzed and evaluated the dimensions of the conspiracy towards Turkish society and the reality of Turkey. This created an important questioning in the society, mentality and even the rulers of Turkey.

On the other hand, when the conspiratorial forces organized the February 15 attack, that is, when they kidnapped Rêber Apo from Kenya and took him to Imrali, they were anticipating that the PKK would dissolve within 6 months. They were saying this publicly. After 6 months, they said, the PKK would no longer exist. Thus, they were calculating that they would resort to genocide based on the execution of Rêber Apo and the liquidation of the PKK. But Rêber Apo developed the struggle against the conspiracy very deeply. The PKK did not disintegrate or liquidate as expected. Kurdish society did not break away from Rêber Apo and the PKK. A great sacrificial resistance developed with the "You cannot darken our sun" campaign. The movement and the people united around Rêber Apo.

This is what frustrated and thwarted the aim of the February 15 conspiracy. The rulers of the Republic of Turkey, who received the order to carry out the execution, had to question the situation deeply. They estimated that the PKK and the Kurdish people would rise up if they carried out the order. They knew the people will rise up and demand accountability, that they will cause the great damage to the Turkish state. They saw this as harmful for themselves. Instead, they created the Imrali system of torture, isolation and genocide and tried to destroy the struggle under this system with the policy of disintegration. In other words, they wanted to extend the time of the execution. They postponed the execution on this basis.

Later, the coalition government headed by Bülent Ecevit carried out the policy of decay on Imrali. At the time, the government was aiming to enter the European Union. Within the scope of entering the European Union, it was calculated that with the solution of the Kurdish question on the basis of individual rights, the Kurdish people's rights to freedom and democracy would actually be eliminated. With such a goal, they created the Imrali System and launched the Imrali attack. Imrali itself was created as an attack. The Imrali system is actually the continuation of the international conspiracy attack. It has become a system that sustains and perpetuates it. Those who built Imrali said: "Execution kills once, in Imrali you die 10 times a day." This is how Rêber Apo evaluated the reality of Imrali. He said, "There is no normal death in Imrali, there is just killing." Thus, in fact, it was going to be a policy of decay, an execution spread over time. Supposedly Rêber Apo would not produce anything, the PKK would not renew itself, it would be liquidated, the leadership would be left without an organization. Thus, the

Kurdish freedom resistance would disappear. This was the plot, this was the plan. The İmralı struggle started on this basis. Rêber Apo said that despite the heaviness of his situation, difficulty and impossibility of the conditions, we can fight and defeat these attacks. He asked for support from the organization and the people. Our movement and our people trusted, believed and supported Rêber Apo.

This is when the process we call the intense struggle on İmralı in 2000, 2001, 2002 began. Let us remember those days. Those who want can do research on this. No one believed that what Rêber Apo said would come true. Everyone said it was impossible. They said: "It is impossible that one struggles on İmralı, there is nothing left for Apo to do anymore. The PKK should come to its senses, it has so many opportunities; it should not waste them. It should stop following Apo." Not only ordinary people but even patriots around us were saying this.

When our leadership announced that they would support Rêber Apo, they were subjected to heavy insults. When the archives are opened, it will be revealed who took what stance, what they understood from the conspiracy and what they said. The situation was important. According to the stance of an average person, there was nothing that could be done in İmralı. Even in normal prisons nothing could be done, what could be done in a place like İmralı, which was created to kill 10 times a day? They couldn't imagine that anything could be done. They could not understand this. But Rêber Apo is not an ordinary person. He is not a normal person. He is extraordinary. When he believes in something, when he aims for something, he achieves it. He has a great concentration, working style, achievement, creativity. He has a very strong productivity. He has the strongest discipline in daily life and in work. Even if there are no opportunities, by understanding, questioning and feeling life, he shows the power to produce new thoughts, to come up with new principles of life and to put them into practice. This is what they could not understand. They did not know, did not understand or did not want to understand the reality of Rêber Apo, the reality of leadership, the reality of creativity embodied in Rêber Apo. They thought that Rêber Apo was like them. But everyone was wrong.

Everyone was wrong in regard of the İmralı struggle between 2000 and 2002. Ecevit himself was wrong first and foremost. While he was hoping for a definitive result, on August 2, 2002, they removed the death penalty from the Constitution. In fact, he thought he had achieved a complete result. When Rêber Apo put forward the program of a Free Kurdistan and a Democratic Middle East as the solution to the Kurdish question in his two-volume ECHR prison writing titled "From Sumerian Priest State to Democratic Civilization", when he put forward the program that the Kurdish question can only be solved with the Kurdish people's rights to freedom and democracy, that the Kurdish question will be solved when the Kurdish people are free and democratic and reach freedom and democracy as a people, Ecevit's individual rights program collapsed. In an instant, they almost had Ecevit in the hospital, they almost had him deposed as prime minister. Then they forced early elections. Ecevit once again said, "I couldn't understand why Bahçeli wanted early elections. He was actually managing the process very well. Why this early election?" He left without understanding two things. One, why did the US give them Rêber Apo? And why did Bahçeli want early elections?

Let the Turkish public question why the 15 February 1999 conspiracy organized. Why was the October 9, 1998 conspiracy organized? Why did Bahçeli force the Ecevit government to hold early elections at the end of 2002? He forced it because it had failed, he could no longer manage the international conspiracy. Therefore, in the November 2002 elections, the coalition disappeared and the religious AKP took power in its place. The conspiratorial forces assigned Tayyip Erdoğan and his colleagues to manage the international conspiracy. Tayyip Erdoğan is not such a politician. The AKP is not a political party either. Look at its history. It is a party that came to power without even holding a grand congress. When has a political party ever won elections and come to power alone without even holding a congress? That's how he was assigned. They were supposed to prevent the Kurds from supporting the PKK and Rêber Apo by taking advantage of the Islamic feelings and beliefs of the Turkish people with the understanding

of the islamic ummah. They were going to cut the popular support of the PKK and Rêber Apo. With the liquidatig, provocative attacks they developed from within, they were going to divide and fragment, and with the AKP mentality and attacks, they were going to lead the international conspiracy to success. This is exactly how the AKP came to power. It also carried out attacks on this basis.

In the end, Rêber Apo frustrated all the attacks. He also frustrated the liquidationist internal attacks. He also nullified the false solution in the name of the islamic ummah. With what? With a paradigm shift. On the basis of 'Democratic Confederalism', 'Democratic Autonomy', 'Democratic Society' and 'Democratic Nation', based on the principles of women's freedom and ecology, he revealed the solution of the Kurdish question. Not only the Kurdish question, he revealed a new paradigm that includes the solution of the liberation problems of all the oppressed people and especially the women. Rêber Apo achieved a new intellectual revolution in the Imrali struggle despite the attacks carried out by the AKP. This is one of the greatest developments in history. It is one of the greatest revolutions of thought. Perhaps the biggest one. We need to see it like this. History will write that this is so.

When the AKP was defeated in this way, there was no other power in the Turkish administration that could successfully carry out the international conspiracy. They wanted to continue this attack by making various new plans through Tayyip Erdoğan and his colleagues. They have brought it to this day. They made various kinds of plans. The 2008-2009 was such a planning. In November 2009, Rêber Apo said, "The system is carrying out a coup." In December 2009, they shut down the 'Democratic Society Party' (DTP). Indeed, AKP organized a putschist attack against democratic politics.

As of the end of May 2010, Rêber Apo withdrew, saying "there are no conditions for waging a political struggle". Thus, 2010-2012 was a period of great war. Between 2013-15, the AKP launched a supposed 'Solution' Process which turned out to be a new attack including various games and tricks. Rêber Apo's answer was: "Then let's start the resistance".

As of July 24, 2015, the AKP launched an all-out attack under the name of 'çöktürme planı'. All kinds of relations with Rêber Apo were cut and it was once again aimed to crush the guerrilla and liquidate the PKK. Now, as this Imrali system process and these attacks are leaving behind 25 years, we see that all conspiratorial attacks carried out by the AKP on the basis of very different plans have been broken, frustrated and failed. Moreover, on October 10, 2023, the intellectual, democratic, worker and socialist circles of the world launched a new campaign in 74 countries of the world, aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. Now, the 25th anniversary of the February 15 conspiracy is being met on the basis of such a campaign. The Kurdish people and their international friends are rising up everywhere. Every day, press-statements, panels, discussions, readings, rallies, and demonstrations are being carried out across the globe for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. This is also true in the four parts of Kurdistan. Rojava is up every day. In North Kurdistan, a march called the 'Great Freedom March' started on February 1st. In Europe, young people are marching. On February 17th in Cologne, the Kurdish people will demonstrate their general attitude by demanding the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the dismantling of the Imrali system of torture, isolation and genocide. It will show everyone what the Kurdish society wants. There is a march of such importance.

This was supported by guerrilla actions. At the end of November, at the end of December. The revolutionary operations that crushed the AKP-MHP fascist hordes on January 12 declared the collapse of the Tayyip Erdoğan administration, the last guardian of the Imrali torture, isolation and genocide system, and the ones who assigned them to lead it to success.

On the 25th anniversary, our people and friends are uproaring, rejecting the conspiracy. They do not want to live with the Imrali torture and isolation system. The guerrilla's of Zap are also putting forward a great struggle through their style of striking. With that belief, that determination, that assertion, they want to destroy the February 15 conspiracy and the Imrali torture and isolation system.

I also want to mention a few points about the Imrali torture and isolation system. This is a management system. This is not a prison, it is not a hostage house. There should be no mistake about this. The 25-year old Imrali system is a system created to serve the international conspiracy. The international conspiracy attack was an attack aimed at the destruction of Rêber Apo. Therefore, the Imrali system is a system established to achieve the destruction of Rêber Apo. It is a system of isolation, torture and genocide established to realize the Kurdish genocide. In fact, the genocidal attacks against the Kurdish people for 25 years have been managed on the basis of the Imrali system. As we have already mentioned, Kurdistan was ruled by the global capitalist modernity system and the joint governments of these nation-state governments that practiced genocide in Kurdistan. It was ruled by pacts such as the CENTO Pact, the Baghdad Pact, the Sadabat Pact. Each period was ruled by the state of emergency.

For the last 25 years, for a quarter of a century, Imrali has been governed on the basis of torture, isolation and genocide. The Imrali system is a genocide system. It is a system of management where the Kurdish genocide is implemented. It is not system just ruled by the Turkish state. It is not just a fascist system of the AKP-MHP. In fact, it is a system created by the global capitalist modernity system, which finds expression in the UN, is carried out through NATO, and is led by the US, Britain and Israel. In other words, it is a system of governance created by the Kurdish genocide mentality and politics. Rêber Apo said, "When I came to Imrali, I found the CPT in front of me." That is how much they have in common. Therefore, the Turkish Republic does not actually run the place. He stated that the role of the Turkish Republic is that of a guardian. This is a joint administration. It is a joint administration system designed by the pioneers of the global capitalist modernity system and the administrations of the states that occupied and established nation-state rule in Kurdistan. They carry out and manage the genocidal attacks against Kurdistan on the basis of the Imrali system. Because Rêber Apo expresses the will of the Kurdish people for existence and freedom. The attack against this will is the essence and basis of the Kurdish genocidal attack. Therefore, we must understand the Imrali system well. We must feel it right down to our bones. We should not see it as something ordinary.

Now we are experiencing the 25th anniversary of this system. As we enter the 26th year, everyone should put their heads down and think deeply. When will those who for 25 years have persecuted and attacked Rêber Apo on the basis of the Imrali system, who have carried out genocidal attacks on the Kurdish people, realize what an insult they have committed. What a crime against humanity they have committed? They must see it now. The USA, the UK, Israel, the CoE, the CPT, the ECHR; all of them must see. How far will this go? How long will this Kurdish hostility last? For how long will the Kurdish people be insulted? What have the Kurds done to anyone? Why is there so much enmity against the Kurds? Why is the extermination of the Kurds being carried on? Doesn't the Kurdish community have the right to exist and live freely? One of the most ancient peoples of history. The ancient people of Mesopotamia who have been the cradle of the development of civilization and humanity. How will those who attack such a people represent humanity, how will they represent civilization?

Now the show has ended, the curtains have fallen. The international conspiracy and the Imrali system of torture, isolation and genocide have been exposed in every detail. It has been seen for what it really is. They must give up on it now. They cannot continue this system any longer. Everyone should know that if they try to continue it any longer, they will face more severe reactions. They will face reactions from the Kurdish people, Kurdish women, Kurdish youth, as well as the peoples of the Middle East and all humanity, all women. They must accept that if they continue the attacks this long, the resistance against them will spread, develop and radicalize.

In that respect, the 25th anniversary really requires a re-evaluation for everyone. Those who organized the conspiracy, those who created the Imrali system of torture, isolation and genocide, and those who have governed until today should do so. Turkish society, the administration, politicians, intellectuals,

everyone in Turkey should do this because they are being held accountable. On the occasion of the conspiracy, we are re-evaluating too.

In the next chapter [to be published tomorrow] we will of course focus on a new questioning. What is the Imrali resistance? What lessons should we learn from it, and how should we approach the 25th anniversary? We will focus on that, which will also be a new questioning for us. But everyone should know that on the 25th anniversary, the international conspiracy has gone down in history as the most brutal, anti-human attack in history. It is a dark stain on those who perpetrated it. It is the most unjust and despicable attack in history. Despite all this, Rêber Apo, the Kurdish people and their international friends did not stop for 25 years, they resisted and deflated the conspiracy. They have repeatedly, dozens, even hundreds of times, frustrated the conspiratorial attacks. On the 25th anniversary of the conspiracy, they are carrying out a campaign that aims to destroy it completely. They will make the 26th year of resistance the year of victory of the global freedom move aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. They will destroy and dismantle the Imrali system of torture, isolation and genocide, which tries to perpetuate the international conspiracy, and they will ensure the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. On this basis, they will pave the way for the freedom of Kurdistan and the democratization of Turkey.



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