

# THE IMRALI POST

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

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Issue № 91 / 1 March 2024 ★ Contact: [imralipost@freeocalan.org](mailto:imralipost@freeocalan.org)

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## Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

CPT went to Turkey and returned to Europe without visiting  
İmralı

ANF | 24 FEBRUARY 2024

A delegation of the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) carried out an ad hoc visit to Turkey from 13 to 22 February

2024. However, the delegation returned to Europe without visiting Imrali, where Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan is held in solitary confinement.

In a statement, the CPT said that “the main objective of the visit was to examine the treatment of persons held in high-security prisons. A further focus of the visit was the situation of LGBT-I and women prisoners.”

The statement added that “on the occasion of the visit, the delegation also raised with the relevant authorities certain issues related to the situation of the prisoners currently held at Imralı F-type High-Security Prison, in particular as regards their contact with the outside world.” However, no visit to Imrali was made.

The statement continued: “In the course of the visit, the delegation had an exchange of views with Yılmaz Tunç, Minister of Justice, Ramazan Can, Deputy Minister of Justice, and Enis Yavuz Yıldırım, Director General of Prisons and Detention Centres, as well as with senior officials from the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs.

Further, meetings were held with Muharrem Kılıç, President of the Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey, in his capacity as Head of the National Preventive Mechanism (NPM), members of the Ankara prison monitoring boards and representatives of civil society organisations active in areas of concern to the CPT.”

The statement continued: “At the end of the visit, the delegation presented its preliminary observations to the Turkish authorities.”

The visit was carried out by the following members of the CPT: Hans Wolff, 1st Vice-President of the Committee (Head of Delegation), Therese Rytter, 2nd Vice-President, Juan Carlos Da Silva Ochoa and Marie Kmecová. They were supported by Hugh Chetwynd (Executive Secretary), Elvin Aliyev and Monica Martinez of the CPT Secretariat, and assisted by two experts: Jurgen Van Poecke, prison director (Belgium) and Kate Wood, medical doctor (United Kingdom).

The delegation visited the following prison establishments: Antalya S-type Prison, Iğdır S-type Prison, Van F-type Prison, Van High-Security Prison, Antalya L-type Prison, Istanbul - Maltepe L-type Prison No. 3 for foreign nationals.

## Öcalan's lawyers: CPT's approach is not compatible with its duty to prevent conditions of torture

ANF | 24 FEBRUARY 2024

The Istanbul-based Asrın Law Office, which represents Abdullah Öcalan and his three fellow prisoners, Hamili Yıldırım, Ömer Hayri Konar and Veysi Aktaş in the Turkish island prison İmralı, released a statement harshly criticizing the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT), which did not visit İmralı during its latest visit to Turkey.

The statement released by Asrın Law Office on Saturday includes the following:

"As the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) announced yesterday, a delegation was in Turkey between February 13 and 22, 2024 and visited some prisons. İmralı Island Prison was not listed among the prisons visited. Instead, the CPT emphasized that certain issues were discussed with the competent authorities, in particular regarding the contact of prisoners in İmralı F-Type High Security Prison with the outside world. As is understood, the CPT delegation did not visit İmralı Island Prison during this long stay in Turkey and did not meet Mr. Abdullah Öcalan, Mr. Veysi Aktaş, Mr. Hamili Yıldırım and Mr. Ömer Hayri Konar, from whom we have not received any news for 35 months. As before, the CPT has dealt with our clients' contacts with the outside world only by talking to the authorities.

This approach of the CPT is neither compatible with the prohibition of torture nor with its duty to prevent conditions of torture. While illegal disciplinary penalties and unlawful bans on lawyers imposed by execution judgeships are systematically imposed one after another, while the conditions of execution and 'judicial processes' are closed to the lawyer's review and supervision, while the right to defense has been completely suspended in İmralı, while all ties with the outside world, especially lawyer and family visits, have been severed for almost three years, while lawyers have no information about the conditions of detention and their health status, it is an unacceptable approach to raise the issue only in meetings with the authorities.

The CPT is also aware that Turkey has not complied for one and a half years with the United Nations Human Rights Committee's request to allow a lawyer to visit İmralı without delay. The limited addressing of our clients' relations with the outside world means that conditions are left to the arbitrariness of the state and those in charge.

However, the long imprisonment and aggravated life imprisonment regime in İmralı, which has left 25 years behind, and the current conditions of absolute incommunicado are inhumane as a form of torture. However, the approaches of national and international authorities and institutions are contrary to the prohibition of torture and have eroded the absolute nature of the prohibition of torture.

Our information and requests regarding Mr. Öcalan and İmralı for the November-December-January period were conveyed to the CPT on February 15, 2024. The fact that the delegation was aware of the current developments while still in Turkey, that their last visit, whose report has not yet been released, was on September 22, 2022, and that the conditions in İmralı have worsened since then, including the earth-

quakes, necessitated a direct observation and examination in İmralı. However, they returned from Turkey without a new visit. This situation has led us to worry that the conditions of torture, unlawful and immoral isolation in İmralı will continue.

At this point, we expect the CPT to make its findings and observations on İmralı public, as none of its recommendations have been taken into account for years and the state has not made any improvements. We expect the CPT to play an active role instead of looking from the point of view of the state in order to put an end to the state of incommunicado, which is contrary to the prohibition of torture, and to ensure lawyer and family visits.”



## Freedom and Democracy Rally: We will break the door of İmralı!

ANF | ISTANBUL | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

The “Freedom and Democracy” rally organized by the Peoples’ Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Istanbul Provincial Organization on Sunday saw the participation of thousands of people.

The rally was also attended by politicians who staged the “Great Freedom March” to demand the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan, who is held in total isolation in İmralı Island Prison in the Sea of Marmara and has not been heard from for 35 months.

The Great Freedom Marchers took the stage together with the mothers holding a Justice Watch with the same demand and greeted the masses.

Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Keskin Bayındır demanded freedom for Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan in his speech at the rally.

Bayındır, who also took part in the “Great Freedom March” launched for the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and a solution to the Kurdish question, recalled that thousands of people had to migrate to metropolises in Turkey due to the burning of Kurdish villages 30 years ago.

“They were saying that they would destroy the Kurds and Kurdish organizations. Those who said this; look at this square, look at this state of organization, look at this freedom square,” Bayındır said.

Referring to the Great Freedom March staged in Kurdistan between February 1-15, Bayındır said, “We came together with our heroic and resilient people in Kurdistan, province by province, district by district, village by village. Today, Istanbul is giving voice to this march for freedom. Kurdistan and Turkey are saying ‘freedom’ for Kurds and Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan.”

Noting that Kurdish was labeled as an “unknown language” in the Parliament of Turkey, Bayındır said, “Today we speak our language in the squares in Istanbul. They say ‘speak Kurdish, but speak it at home.’ Today we speak our language here. We are Kurds, we are from Kurdistan.”

Referring to the hunger strike of PKK and PAJK prisoners in Turkish prisons, which has been ongoing since 27 November, Bayındır said: “Today is the day of freedom and winning. Today is the day to stand up. Today is our day. This is our time. There has been a hunger strike in prisons for 3 months. Thousands of our comrades are on hunger strike in tens of prisons. They are resisting in dungeons, we are resisting on the streets. We send greetings to those resisting in prisons. We resist oppression. For 100 years we have not bowed our heads and we will not bow today. This stance will definitely reach its goal. Those who miscalculate, those who think they can subjugate the Kurds should look at this square.”

Bayındır stated that Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan is the interlocutor for the solution of the Kurdish question and continued: “He is not far away. He is in İmralı. We will break the door of İmralı and provide a solution. We do not accept this isolation. If you don’t want war and enmity, lift this isolation. The interlocutor of the Kurdish people is clear. And that is Mr. Öcalan. We send greetings to İmralı from here. Our struggle in Kurdistan will succeed. Do not make wrong calculations. Kurds want their rights. Kurds want a solution to the problem with their interlocutors.”



## Thousands march for freedom for Abdullah Öcalan in Manbij

ANF | MANBIJ | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

People of Manbij took to the streets on Wednesday to demand freedom for Kurdish people’s leader Abdullah Öcalan, who is held in total isolation in İmralı Island Prison in the Sea of Marmara and has not been heard from for 35 months.

The march was attended by members of the Democratic Civil Administration of Manbij Canton and its affiliated organizations, as well as members of the Zenubiya Women's Community Council, the Syrian Women’s Council, the Council of Martyrs’ Families, representatives of political parties and opinion leaders of the region.

Speaking after the demonstration after the march, Raba Bekro, Co-Chair of the Work Office of the Eastern Region Assembly, said: “We have come together because we adopt the freedom ideas of Leader Abdullah Öcalan, who devoted himself to the freedom of the peoples. Our only demand is the physical freedom of Leader Abdullah Öcalan.”

İsmail Qetwan, member of the Manbij Canton Civil Society Organization, said, “We demand the physical freedom of Leader Abdullah Öcalan, who is our main source of faith for justice, rights and freedom. Since he sacrificed his life for a just cause, for the oppressed peoples, he deserves a free life away from the dungeons of oppression and persecution.”

Qetwan emphasized the need to revolt against the oppression and tyranny of the occupying Turkish state and to resist heroically for a free future and unity.

Member of the Syrian Initiative for the Freedom of Leader Abdullah Öcalan, Husam Al-Shewax, said: “The cause of Leader Abdullah Öcalan is not only the cause of one people, but the cause of all peoples and humanity living under the umbrella of the Democratic Nation.”

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## Global campaign: We will force the Erdoğan regime to open the doors of İmralı!

ANF | 1 MARCH 2024

The second phase of the global campaign launched on October 10, 2023, demanding freedom for Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question, has been launched in Cologne today. The first phase of the campaign was announced on October 10 by friends of the Kurdish people with press conferences and various events in more than 100 cities around the world.

During the press conference, it was announced that the second phase will run from March 1 to May 1.

KCDK-E (Congress of Democratic Communities of Kurdistan in Europe), which is part of the Global Campaign for the Freedom of Abdullah Öcalan, made the following statement at a press conference organized by the spokespersons of the campaign:

“As KCDK-E, together with all our organizations and partners, we have participated in the ‘Freedom for Leader Abdullah Öcalan, Political Solution to the Kurdish Question’ campaign launched last year around the world. On October 10, 2023, together with the friends of our people’s struggle for freedom, we determined the joining of our forces as our main task.

We express our respect, love and gratitude to the thousands of activists around the world, on five continents, in 93 countries and 185 cities, and in the persons of our dear friends Sarah Glynn, Thoreau Redcrow and Jörk Detjen, three excellent spokespersons of this campaign.

You have shown that Abdullah Öcalan and the Kurdish people’s struggle for freedom is not only ours, but also your leader, your comrade and your own struggle. Because you have shown us that we are not alone, we have gained a lot of strength and morale. You have reminded us once again that International Solidarity is the most basic human duty. We take this opportunity to salute the struggle for freedom of the Palestinian and Baloch people, who have faced a brutal cycle of violence and genocide in recent months.

As you know, this global campaign started on October 10 with press conferences in 105 cities. On December 10, World Human Rights Day, it continued with the reading of Leader Öcalan’s books, dozens of international conferences were organized and hundreds of thousands of postcards were sent to İmralı Island. Most recently, on the anniversary of our national day of mourning on February 15, 1999, the day

President Apo was taken into captivity, we held a magnificent rally in this city, Cologne, with the participation of all our European assemblies, tens of thousands of our people and friends.

Our rally, which took place in the atmosphere of a freedom carnival, once again showed the Kurdish people's will for peace and freedom to everyone, friend and foe alike. We would also like to thank the administration and security services of the city of Cologne for their legal sensitivity and friendship. The rally in Cologne sent very important messages to the Council of the European Union, especially to Germany. To repeat once again, the EU Commission, Chancellor Scholz and Foreign Minister Baerbock must play their role in opening the İmralı gates if they do not want to be more complicit in the sins of the Erdoğan regime. It is absolutely unacceptable that the Social Democrats and the Green government tolerate this fascist regime!

Dear friends

In the evaluation meetings we held at the invitation of our friends organizing global action, we defined the work we have done so far as the first phase of this global campaign.

What is essential and more important is the phase 2 work we will do from today, March 1 onwards. We will definitely force the Erdoğan regime to open the gates of İmralı Prison where President Apo is imprisoned. We will expose this dirty, cruel and anti-people Erdoğan regime to the whole world.

From today onwards, we will celebrate and commemorate March 8, International Working Women's Day, March 21, Newroz, March 28, National Heroism Day, April 4, President Apo's birthday, the birthday of free Kurdish women and people, May 1, International Workers' Day, focusing on this global campaign, with millions of people in the streets shouting the slogan 'Freedom for President Apo, Political Solution to the Kurdish Question'.

Finally, on the occasion of the local elections in the country, we call on all our people to participate in this global campaign for freedom in the most selfless and active way. We thank you and wish you all success."

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## Prisons in Turkey

### Political prisoners in Turkey on day 94 of hunger strike

ANF | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

Members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and PAJK (Party of Free Women in Kurdistan) imprisoned in Turkey went on hunger strike in November 2023 in support of the international [campaign](#) "Freedom for Öcalan, A Political Solution to the Kurdish Question". The hunger strike carried out in alternat-



ing groups started on 27 November, the founding day of the PKK, and was set to continue until 15 February, the anniversary of the international conspiracy against Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan.

In a statement on 12 February, Kaya announced that: "We have extended our alternating hunger strike action in order to end the isolation imposed on our leader. 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."

According to the prisoners' representative, Deniz Kaya, the hunger strike continues "with great determination, with the morale and strength we receive from our Leader's İmralı 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."

Kaya stated: "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 İmralı, dismantle the Kurdish genocide policy and salute the People's Freedom Spring."

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## Letter sent by imprisoned writer Bayhan to Öcalan confiscated

ANF | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

The letter sent by writer Zeki Bayhan, a prisoner in Kırıklar No. 2 F Type High Security Closed Prison in İzmir Buca, to Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, who is in isolation in İmralı F Type High Security Prison, on 26 December 2023, was confiscated by the Prison Letter Reading Commission.

The Prison Disciplinary Board said about the letter: "There is false and inaccurate information in the section called İmralı Administration, which can be considered as praising crime and a terrorist organization. This information could lead people or organizations to panic, and endanger public order and security of the institution."

It was decided that the letter should not be sent.

The letter from prisoner Zeki Bayhan was as follows: "There have always been attempts to get news from you. But these were not enough to yield results. We feel embarrassed and defeated in this regard. Because we know that it is not possible to get results without a strong struggle. Let's leave aside international law, there are people who cannot even implement their own law. It would be a dream to expect anything from a regime that is so reckless that it imposes such heavy isolation that is unprecedented in the world. A positive result is only possible with a strong struggle. Behind the isolation imposed is the policy of destruction and denial, the fear of the existence of millions who will take action with a word you say. Everyone knows what is happening. In reality, it is the will of the people that are under isolation. The stance against isola-

tion is a matter of existence and non-existence. It is a struggle for identity. We know this, but we were and are still very weak at fulfilling what is required.”

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# Military aggression and occupation

## Background to the troops deployment in South Kurdistan

ARARAT ARAM | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

The Turkish state is waging war against the Kurdish freedom movement and is preparing a new invasion attempt by exploiting the political and military gaps in the Iraq, Iran and Syria equation.

Turkey is pursuing a policy of occupation, plunder and annexation everywhere in Kurdistan and, in this context, is trying to include the KDP and the Iraqi state into this policy by exploiting the existing balance of power in the region. The conflicts between the US and Iran are reflected in Iraq; the country, including the Kurdistan region, is economically and administratively unstable. The Turkish state wants to use the conflicts and contradictions between the various centers of power in Iraq to destroy the Kurdish freedom movement.

Over the past nine weeks, the Erdoğan government has increased its political and diplomatic initiatives. High-level talks took place in Ankara, Baghdad and Hewlêr (Erbil). The main topic of all the discussions was the politics against the Kurdish struggle for freedom. These meetings took place with the participation of foreign ministers, defense ministers and intelligence chiefs. Turkish intelligence chief Ibrahim Kalın was in Baghdad on 23 January and in Hewlêr on 28 January. Defense Minister Yaşar Güler and Chief of General Staff Metin Gürak then visited Baghdad and then Hewlêr on 6 and 7 February and met Iraqi President Abdullatif Rashid and Prime Minister Mohammad Shia Sudani as well as the Barzani clan as well as Shiite, Sunni and Turkmen representatives. Most recently, a delegation led by Hashd al-Shaabi leader Fatih al-Fayyad met with Turkish Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan in Ankara.

After these developments, the military was sent to the guerrilla areas in South Kurdistan in the last few days. Officially, these are Iraqi border guard units, but other information is coming from the region and talk about troops deployed in Duhok Governorate as being exclusively units of the private army of the Barzani clan, including the KDP Secret Service Parastin. The units operate under the Iraqi flag in order not to provoke a reaction from the people of the region. Video footage shows an intensive military deployment in the area around the village of Sîta and the Rêkan area near Şîladizê. The KDP troops are advancing into the region occupied by the Turkish army as Iraqi border guard units.

The KDP's cooperation with the Turkish state was met with rejection by the population. Many circles have called on the KDP to abandon this stance. But despite all the warnings, the Barzanis continue to act to-

gether with the Erdoğan regime, thereby endangering the achievements of the Kurdish people in South Kurdistan.

Recent political and economic developments make the parameters of this situation clear. There has been no stability in Iraq since the 2003 war, and this situation has the same significance as the system tried to be implemented in South Kurdistan for twenty years. With its policy pursued jointly with the Turkish state, the KDP is bringing the future of South Kurdistan to a dead end. The emerging picture is causing great unease among the population.

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## Former Parastin member: The forces deployed to guerrilla areas are affiliated to the KDP

**KESER BULDAN / ARARAT ARAM | 25 FEBRUARY 2024**

In recent days, the echoes of the military dispatch made by the KDP, the ruling party in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) on behalf of the Iraqi Border Guard Units to the guerrilla areas continue. Although KDP-affiliated media outlets and some circles of the Turkish press say that this is an attempt on behalf of Iraq, Şêrwan Seid Yusuf Heci, a former member of Parastin (KDP intelligence service), told ANF that there is no force in the name of Iraqi Border Guard Units, and that the forces going there are all KDP-affiliated forces.

### **KDP's new plan also exposed**

While such developments are taking place as a result of the KDP's policies with the Turkish state, this situation is also causing great discomfort among the people of the region. The main reason for the discontent of the people of South Kurdistan with the KDP for years is the policies it has developed together with the Turkish state against the Kurdistan Freedom Struggle. This attitude of the KDP, which is embodied as a "line of betrayal" in South Kurdistan, has been exposed once again with the developments in Dohuk and Shêladizê.

### **'The force going to Shêladizê is affiliated to the KDP'**

In the images and photographs shared, it was revealed that the forces going to the guerrilla areas consisted of Gulan, Parastin and Zerevani forces loyal to Masrour Barzani. The KDP media has been trying to turn this situation upside down for days. However, Shêrwan Seid Yusuf Heci, a former member of the KDP's intelligence service Parastin, reached by ANF, stated that none of the members of the force sent to the guerrilla areas on behalf of the Iraqi Border Guard Units and introduced in the press as such were affiliated with the Iraqi army. Stating that no Iraqi force can come to South Kurdistan under different names, Heci said: "Whether it is the Iraqi Border Guard Units or any other name. All those who went to Duhok, Hewlêr and Shêladizê are Masoud Barzani's Peshmerga. No Arab force accepts to be included in the Kurdistan region after Kirkuk and Mosul. It is not an Iraqi force. It is true that their money, their needs and

everything are provided by the Iraqi central government. But it is not an Iraqi force. They act only with the decision of Masoud Barzani, not with the decision of Iraq. They are KDP forces.”

### **‘The purpose of this force is to position itself against the PKK’**

Referring to the main purpose of the force that was dispatched to the region on behalf of the Iraqi Border Guard Units, Haji said, “The purpose of this force going there is to fight the PKK. It is intended to go on behalf of Iraq and settle there. The PKK is a patriotic movement. A fundamental decision of the PKK is not to fight against any Kurdish power. It has always shown this. I have witnessed this in many ways. When the KDP attacked their areas, the PKK did not use weapons against them so that such a situation would not happen. They can also fight against the KDP, they have this power and situation. But they are fighting for their people. And they always take this situation into consideration.”



## 16 ISIS members and facilitators captured in Heseke

ANF | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

The Media Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) released a statement announcing the details of an operation carried out in Heseke.

According to the statement, the SDF military operations forces conducted a security operation against a group of ISIS cells in the Heseke (al-Hasakah) city on February 22nd.

“During the operation, our forces apprehended 16 ISIS operatives and facilitators who were involved in carrying out terrorist attacks against our forces, and those who provided facilitation and support to ISIS cells in executing these terrorist acts,” said the statement.

The SDF stated that their forces have commenced investigations and interrogations with the apprehended operatives, and further details will be provided later.

“Our forces reiterate their commitment to continue the fight against the ISIS remnants until the complete eradication of ISIS,” SDF said.

During the operation, SDF forces seized the following weapons, ammunition, and equipment:

1 – AK-47 rifles /3/.

2 – AK-74 rifle /1/.

3 – AK-47 magazines / 4 /.

4 – AK-74 magazines / 3 /.

5 – Hand grenade / 1 /.

6 – Pistols /1/ with one magazine.

7 – Military quiver / 1 /.

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## ISIS mine explosion in Raqqa desert leaves 13 dead

ANF | 26 FEBRUARY 2024,

The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR) said that at least 13 people, truffle pickers, lost their lives as a result of the explosion of a mine left by ISIS mercenaries in the Raqqa desert.

The Syrian desert is famous for producing some of the best truffles in the world. These mushrooms are sold at high prices in a country hit by more than a decade of war and a crushing economic crisis. Something that makes collecting truffles a lucrative business.

According to SOHR, ISIS mercenaries often target those who go to remote areas to collect truffles.

Despite frequent warnings, this high-risk activity continues. According to the balance sheet published by SOHR, hundreds of people, mostly civilians, lost their lives in attacks by ISIS mercenaries or mine explosions while collecting truffles in 2023.

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## Turkey shells Mount Garê in South Kurdistan

ANF | 26 FEBRUARY 2024

Citing local sources, Rojnews reported that Turkish warplanes bombarded Mount Garê Mountain in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq).

According to the report, the bombardment is still ongoing, while there is no information about possible casualties.

The Turkish state escalated its genocidal attacks across Kurdistan territory thanks to international silence and inaction in the face of its crimes against the Kurdish people. The invading Turkish state has been escalating its attacks against civilian settlements in South Kurdistan, especially since April 2022. While the increasingly ongoing attacks have killed many civilians, dozens of villages have been evacuated.

According to the Community Peacemaker Teams (CPT) in Iraq, 11 people were killed as the result of Turkish attacks on South Kurdistan in 2023.

According to the CPT, 5 citizens lost their lives and 3 citizens were injured in Duhok in 2023, while in Hewlêr, 1 citizen lost his life and 8 citizens were injured. In the city of Sulaymaniyah, 5 citizens lost their lives and 2 citizens were injured.



## Access ban to Mount Gabar extended once again

ANF | **ŞIRNAK** | 26 FEBRUARY 2024

A ban on access to Mount Gabar in the province of Şırnak in northern Kurdistan, which has been in force for months, has been extended once again. The governor's office announced on Monday that the "preventive measure" has been extended by fifteen days for the fifth time in a row.

The ban on access to Mount Gabar is related to operations by the Turkish army against the Kurdish guerrillas. After temporary interruptions, the mountain range between the district of Güçlükönak and the center of Şırnak was declared a so-called "special security zone" on December 26. According to the new order, the measure will remain in force until March 10 for the time being.

The creation of "special security zones" is part of a larger development in which restricted military areas are being established in various parts of northern Kurdistan. As a result, entire areas are cut off from the outside world and are subject to the control and arbitrariness of the military. These measures place a considerable burden on the Kurdish rural population and increase the pressure on residents to leave the affected areas.



## KCK: The KDP's collaborative policy is the greatest danger

ANF | **BEHDINAN** | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

The KCK Foreign Relations Committee issued a statement in which it said that the collaborative policy followed by the KDP poses a great danger. The statement called on the people in all four parts of Kurdistan to take a stand and fight against these dangerous games of the KDP.

The statement reads as follows: "We are living in what can be called the Third World War - a very intense process. Significant changes are occurring globally and in the Middle East as a result of this process. The Israel-Hamas conflict remains strong as the Ukraine war is nearing its third year. In addition, the conflict over the Red Sea continues to get deeper and might yet spread to different areas. Even while the forces of capitalist modernity are at odds over interests, societies, especially women, are among those who suffer the greatest and pay dearly for these wars.

The fascist leader of the occupying Turkish state, Erdoğan, aims to use the current condition of conflict and contradiction to destroy Kurdish developments and to complete the genocide of Kurds. By market-

ing Turkey and making political concessions, Erdoğan is using all of Turkey's resources, both above and below ground, as well as its geostrategic and geopolitical position to intensify this horrific war. He is encouraging intensive negotiations with the states in the region, particularly Iran, Syria, and Iraq, with the goal of gaining their support in this genocide. Therefore, by planning new invasion attempts, Erdoğan seeks to destroy all the accomplishments made by the Kurdish people in Rojava and South Kurdistan.

Kurds have an obligation to stand together against this invasion and these acts of genocide, even as the fascist Turkish state attempts to forge an anti-Kurdish alliance in the area and around the globe. Specifically, at this momentous time, it is the political forces in all four regions of Kurdistan that must come up with shared policies and tactics. The Barzani family, who control the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), is attempting to sacrifice the future of the Kurds for their own personal interests by allying with the anti-Kurdish alliance, rather than striving for the unification of the Kurds. The Kurds have suffered greatly as a result of the KDP's stance, particularly in South Kurdistan. The KDP betrayed the cause of freedom of South Kurdistan with Ashbetal in 1975. After that, it continued this line of betrayal by developing the Bîrakuji war in East and South Kurdistan, and within this framework, it brought Saddam's army to South Kurdistan in 1996 and committed massacres.

Since 2003, when South Kurdistan gained official status and the rights of Kurds in Iraq were constitutionally guaranteed, a great opportunity arose for the democratization of Iraq and the solution to the Kurdish question. However, the KDP administration tried to tear down the Iraqi constitution and make it futile on the one hand, while on the other hand, it took advantage of South Kurdistan's political and economic opportunities for its own power, family, and party interests and handed them over to Turkey. The KDP administration believed that democracy and a resolution to the Kurdish question would harm its own family interests. This KDP policy is directly responsible for the current political (the local parliament and government have become dysfunctional) and economic (non-payment of civil servants' salaries, unemployment, corruption, etc.) crises in South Kurdistan.

While the people of South Kurdistan are being forced to migrate as their circumstances worsen on a daily basis, the governing Barzani family of the KDP is accumulating wealth and transferring funds which have been plundered from the country's residents to other countries. The people of South Kurdistan and Iraq have been under constant danger due to the KDP's filthy policies. In the past, ISIS, which constituted a threat not only to Kurds but to all of humanity, was embraced by the KDP as its new neighbor. The KDP surrendered Shengal to the terrorist forces, leaving our Yazidi people helpless to face genocide.

As if this massacre was not enough, the KDP has put the gains of our people in south Kurdistan in great danger with its dirty policies. Now, by drawing the occupying Turkish state into the problems of Iraq and South Kurdistan, the fascist chief Erdoğan has opened a political vacuum in Iraq. Rather than relying on the Iraqi government and people to find solutions to the issues facing both Iraq and South Kurdistan, the KDP has surrendered to Erdoğan and the Turkish Republic, which continues to discriminate against the Kurds and engage in genocide.

The KDP is the power that enables the Turkish Republic to exert pressure on South Kurdistan and Iraq. It is the KDP that opened space for the occupying-genocidal Turkish army from the region of Zaxo to Sidekan. All the atrocities carried out by the Turkish state in South Kurdistan, ranging from the slaughter of innocent bystanders to the destruction of the environment, are covered up and given legitimacy by the KDP. The KDP administration has even betrayed the legacy of the struggle of Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani,

who was executed in Mosul by the Ottomans, by including the fascist Erdoğan, who has a Neo-Ottoman mentality, into its politics in Mosul and Kirkuk, seeking to realize the dreams of Misak-ı Milli.

The KDP now represents the biggest threat to all the hard-won victories that the people of South Kurdistan have made possible. Despite the obviousness of all these facts, Nechirvan Barzani, speaking for the KDP, attempts to legitimize the Turkish State's attacks on South Kurdistan and Iraq by accusing the PKK of 'causing issues for South Kurdistan and not respecting the institutions of South Kurdistan'. Nechirvan Barzani's assertions are unaligned with historical facts, present conditions, political decorum, and moral principles. Everyone is well aware that Saddam's army took control of South Kurdistan's parliament building, which was given to them by the KDP. Twenty years later, at the Hewler gate, it was the KDP that denied entry to the elected president of this parliament. The KDP is attributed with destroying the concept of the "peshmerga" in Kurdistan, disarming them in 1975, and discrediting them so that they became the front-runner, defenders, and logistical backbone of Saddam Hussein's army and the Turkish army that was occupying the region. The Kurdish Freedom Guerrilla and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) fought against ISIS from the forefront and at tremendous sacrifice, defending the people of South Kurdistan, while the KDP was unable to protect itself and its people and withdrew from Shengal, Kirkuk, and Hewler.

While the KDP is handing Turkey the gains of Iraq and South Kurdistan, providing hundreds of bases and various logistical services to the invading Turkish army, and allowing terrorists linked to the Turkish intelligence service to operate freely in South Kurdistan, the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrillas and the PKK are currently fiercely defending the people and their lands. ISIS and Turkey pose the same threat to South Kurdistan and Iraq. Since ISIS and fascist Erdoğan share the same political and intellectual background, battling the Turkish army that is encroaching on your area is equivalent to fighting ISIS.

Through the KDP, Turkey intervenes militarily, politically, and economically in Iraq. Rather than conducting politics in accordance with the interests of the peoples of South Kurdistan and Iraq, the KDP has evolved into an extension of Turkish foreign policy, politics, and intelligence. Based on this, it seeks to use Iraq's diversity of ethnicity and religion as a springboard for conflict and contradiction. The Turkish Republic is attempting to sway Iraqi politics and even push the country toward its own anti-Kurdish political line by employing the KDP. These days, it is working with the KDP to entice KDP-affiliated gangs, such as the Roj and Zerevani, into guerrillas territories flying the Iraqi flag. While the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla strikes blow after blow at the invading Turkish army, the KDP is trying to save the Turkish soldiers.

The KDP is bringing the Turkish army to occupy Kurdish territory while disguising its complicity and betrayal under the Iraqi flag and operating under the name of the Iraqi Border Guards. We therefore urge the Iraqi government authorities to exercise caution when it comes to the stunts being carried out by the KDP and the Turkish government. We demand that the Iraqi government refrain from supporting the AKP-MHP, which is occupying and massacring Kurdistan, and from using the identity of the Iraqi Border Guards and the Iraqi flag to cover up and legitimize the crimes of the Turkish state.

We urge our people in all four regions of Kurdistan to take a stand and fight against the KDP's dangerous games as a reaction to this collaborative policy that not only jeopardizes the achievements of our people in South Kurdistan but also allows for the possibility of the genocide of all Kurds. We urge all political parties, particularly those in South Kurdistan, to uphold their historical obligations and adopt a stance opposing the KDP's cooperative and treacherous policies as well as the occupation of the region."





## KDP betrayal under the guise of border security

ANF | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

The KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) is gearing up for open warfare against the Kurdish freedom movement. As an extended arm and profiteer of Turkish fascism, the ruling party of the Barzani family in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) is amassing more and more troops in and near the guerrilla areas. Meanwhile, the guerrillas are proceeding with the utmost caution so as not to give the KDP any pretext. In order to avoid criticism and protests from the Kurdish population, the KDP's troop deployments are disguised as operations by Iraqi border protection units.

Based on images and video material available to ANF and statements by those involved, it has emerged that the "border protection units" are entirely troops of the collaborator KDP. The units in the guerrilla area are not normal Peshmerga, but the Zerevanî units sworn to the Barzani clan, the intelligence service Parastin and the Gulan units of Masrour Barzani.

According to information available to ANF, the Turkish state is exerting pressure on the KDP to take direct action against the guerrillas. As a result, the KDP, which is dependent on Turkey, has mobilized its troops. However, this mobilization is being carried out in the name of "Iraqi border security" to avoid public reaction in Southern Kurdistan.

### **Iraq is to be dragged into the war**

In this context, it was learned that the KDP wants to include Iraq in the policies of the Turkish state through various plans and the KDP sent a delegation to Baghdad to meet with the Iraqi central government. It is reported that during the talks with Iraqi government representatives, the KDP delegation officially called for military forces to be deployed against smuggling and drug trafficking on the border. During this meeting, it was decided to deploy a force under the name of Iraqi Border Guards to prevent drug trafficking and smuggling, but the KDP sent its own forces to the guerrilla areas under the name of this force.

### **Troops are led by KDP cadres**

The so-called Iraqi border guard units were initially deployed to the regions of Duhok and Şêladizê. The KDP units flying the Iraqi flag are under the command of KDP cadre Dilêr Ferzende. Dilêr Ferzende is a direct member of the Barzanî clan. He is the great-nephew of the head of the Barzanî clan, Mesûd Barzanî. The Iraqi central government was surprised by this action and declared its disapproval. The deployment of KDP troops as "Iraqi Border Guard Units" would contradict Iraq's goals. Iraqi government representatives are said to have accused the KDP of "breaking its word".

It has been revealed that the Iraqi Border Guard Units sent to Duhok and Şêladizê regions are all KDP-affiliated forces, and that Dilêr Ferzende, nephew of Hoshyar Zebari, is in charge of this force. While Ferzende is said to be in charge of the force deployed to Şêladizê, the Iraqi central government is reported

to be against this action by the KDP. It is stated that Baghdad is uncomfortable with this situation, and that the KDP was told that the positioning of the Iraqi Border Guard Units in this way is not in accordance with Iraq's purpose and that objections were raised against it.

It was also stated that Iraqi officials met with the KDP and said, "You told us one thing, but there is a different situation on the ground."



## Turkish UCAV attacks claim the lives of three Syriac Military Council fighters in Derik

ANF | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

The occupying Turkish state carried out attacks against four cars at various locations in the region of Dêrik in the Cizir Canton in North and East Syria today. The attacks were carried out at the entrance of the city of Dêrik, the town of Xana Serî and the village of Wanikê.

The Syriac Military Council reported in a statement on Wednesday that 3 fighters of the Sotoro Forces were martyred as a result of these attacks with UCAVs (Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicle).

The fallen fighters were named as Şerbêl Neîm Salîba, Cemîl Hena Hena and Mizefar Mihemed Mihemed.

The Military Council announced that fighters Corc Şîmo Yuhena and Danî Semîr Xelef were wounded in the attacks.

For eleven years now, the Christian population in North and East Syria has been defended by the Syriac Military Council (MFS), which was founded on 8 January 2013. Two and a half years later, on 30 August 2015, the HSNB also launched the autonomous women's defense forces in Bethnahrin - Aramaic for the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Both associations belong to the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and have defended Christian-populated villages in the Khabur Valley against the Islamic State. Today, especially around Til Temir, they are resisting Turkey and its Islamist militias.



## Turkish military operation and bombardment in Bagok

ANF | MARDIN | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

The Turkish army launched an operation with the participation of thousands of soldiers in the countryside of Mount Bagok in Mardin province. While many armored vehicles were deployed to the region, military positions were set up at many points.

Helicopter movements were also observed in the operation area in the morning. Shepherds taking their animals out to graze were not allowed to leave their homes. Announcements were made for villagers not to leave their homes.

Meanwhile, the high areas of Mount Bagok were bombed repeatedly by warplanes.

It is also reported that a large number of village guards and soldiers were sent to the region from the district of Midyat.



## Turkish UCAV strikes a car in Shengal

ANF | SHENGAL | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

According to reports from the ground, a Turkish unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) targeted a car in Ziravik village in Tilizer district of Shengal on Thursday.

While the bombed car caught fire, the fire was extinguished thanks to the intervention of the locals. No information has yet been received on possible casualties caused by the attack.

The Yazidi settlement area Shengal (Sinjar) in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is the last contiguous settlement area of the Yazidi community. Thousands of Yazidis were murdered and thousands of women and children were taken prisoner in the 3 August 2014 onslaught on Shengal by ISIS militants. While ISIS gangs began murdering Yazidis in Shengal, the Peshmerga left, leaving the Yazidis behind, unprotected. The guerrillas of HPG (People's Defense Forces) and YJA Star (Free Women's Troops) and fighters of the YPG (People's Defense Units) and YPJ (Women's Defense Units) came to the Yazidi people's aid in the face of ISIS aggression. Thanks to a months-long selfless struggle, the city was liberated on 13 November 2015. After the liberation of the city, the HPG and YPG/YPJ subsequently withdrew in 2017. People who returned to their land after Shengal's independence reformed, established defensive units and built their institutions.

The Turkish state, which has been frustrated by the liberation of Shengal and the military and political organization of the Yazidi community after ISIS' genocidal attack in 2014, has been attacking Shengal for 6 years. Attacks by Turkey that violate international law have been routine in southern Kurdistan for years.

The Turkish air force bombs the territory of the KRI and Iraq on an almost daily basis, especially where guerrillas are suspected. However, civilian settlement areas are also regularly attacked by the Turkish army, including the Yazidi settlement area of Shengal and the Maxmur refugee camp. With its aerial terror, Ankara is pursuing a targeted policy of displacement - in particular by deliberately destroying civilian infrastructure.



## A villager killed, a child wounded in Turkish attack on Shehba

ANF | SHEHBA | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

A 30-year-old villager named Yûsêf Heyak was martyred and a 16-year-old boy named Ebdurrehman Heyat was wounded in a bombardment carried out by the occupying Turkish state against the village of Tehan in the Shehba region on Thursday.

The shelling targeted a chicken farm in the village. The injured child was taken to Avrin Hospital. Hundreds of chickens were also killed in the attack.

Shehba is located between Aleppo and Afrin, trapped in a desert-like no man's land between the Syrian regime and the Turkish occupation zone. Around 200,000 inhabitants of the region are people from Afrin who were displaced from their homes in the course of the Turkish war of aggression in 2018. The population is constantly under attack by the Turkish army and its Islamist mercenaries. Most recently, on February 12, a Kurdish civilian was killed in an artillery attack in the village of Bêne in the south-east of Afrin.



## Turkish state establishes a new base in Amadiya

ANF - 29 FEBRUARY 2024

According to a RojNews report based on local sources, Turkish occupying forces moved towards Mount Gamnêrik in Amadiya district of Dohuk on Wednesday, February 28, at night.

It was reported that the invaders took up positions on the Baroxî hill in Kanî Masî town of Amadiya.

The same sources stated that the occupying Turkish army started to build a new military base in the area.

RojNews reported that they have also obtained footage showing Turkish occupation forces heading towards Mount Gamnêrik with a large number of tanks and military vehicles on the road to Rafine village.

The Turkish state, with the approval and support of the KDP forces, has gone 40 kilometers deep into the Kurdistan Region. The number of military bases, which were limited in the 1990s, has increased exponen-

tially in recent years. Dozens of military bases, intelligence centers and military points have been established by the Turkish state in the region.

The main victims of the Turkish state's occupation attacks continue to be civilians. Hundreds of people have been massacred in recent years. The governments in Baghdad and Hewlêr (Erbil) continue to turn a blind eye to the attacks.



## Residents in Maxmur Camp: What KDP did to us was worse than what the enemy did

ANF | MAXMUR | 1 MARCH 2024

Around 12,000 people live in the self-governing refugee camp Şehîd Rûstem Cûdi (Maxmur). The families come from North Kurdistan and fled to South Kurdistan in 1994, particularly as a result of the destruction of villages in the province of Şîrnak. Instead of individually looking for ways to continue fleeing, people organized themselves and created a new, grassroots democratic life in the refugee camp. However, South Kurdistan is ruled by a puppet government at Ankara's mercy. The Barzani clan and its party, the Kurdistan Democratic Party - KDP, are clinging to power with the help of Ankara. Therefore, the camp has been subjected to countless reprisals by the KDP, as well as Turkish attacks, in its history.

ANF correspondents spoke to Sukrî Nêrwehî and Tekîn Qewalî, residents of the camp, about the situation.

### Murders and threats from KDP from the start

Camp resident Şukrî Nêrwehî recalled the early days of the camp: "Because of the tyranny of the Turkish state, we decided to go to South Kurdistan, where Kurds live, where we have a country. Because a revolution had taken place in South Kurdistan, and many people from Botan and our tribe took part in this revolution as Peshmerga. That's why we went south. Unfortunately, we came from North Kurdistan and we were housed in those camps. What happened then? Three people disappeared from the camp. As camp residents, we decided to find out what happened to these people. About a hundred of us went to the security forces. Neçîrvan Barzani came, and a meeting took place. At this meeting, Neçîrvan Barzani said at the beginning what should have been said at the end. He said that anyone who does not belong to the Barzani family and rebels in South Kurdistan will have their skulls crushed. I will never forget these words from Neçîrvan Barzani.

### Silence means destruction of the Kurdish people

So he said he would do what the enemy did not do against the Kurdish gains. There is not a single day when the Kurdish people do not face this betrayal. The KDP commits this betrayal in both South Kurdistan, Rojava, North and East Kurdistan, especially when elections are taking place. Even today the enemy is

supported in every way. That's evil. The Kurdish people, especially the people of southern Kurdistan, must defend themselves against this. There are those who take a stand, but silence means the destruction of the Kurdish people.”

Nêrwehî added: “Why do they betray our children, our friends? A few days ago, two friends were ambushed by one of them. What morality, what religion approves of something like that? We demand that the people of South Kurdistan stand up to the people who do these things. Position yourself against the attitude of the Barzani clan. The Barzani family does not care about what is lost in the four parts of Kurdistan. It ignores the four parts of Kurdistan in order to maintain its own power. If you look at history, Idris Barzani is seen as a pioneer from a national perspective. Nobody can deny that. Neçirvan is his son, but as long as he follows this backward mentality, I will never see him as his son.”

### **Agents are not locked up for even a day**

Nêrwehî himself experienced the repression of the KDP. He said about his arrest: “In 2015, I was arrested by the KDP in Mêrge Şişê. Aştî Koçer said: 'You are a PKK member, you joined the PKK.' I said: 'If I were a PKK member, then Mesrûr (Barzani) would also be a PKK member because he also lives in Mêrge Şişê.' Then I said: 'That's right, I'm a PKK member, I'm a Kurd. My thoughts are those of the PKK. That's why we don't have any bad intentions. Rêber Apo did not teach us bad consciousness.' In other words, the Apoist philosophy taught us that we should live in brotherhood and peace. I was detained as if I had done something bad. I was detained for 20 days. Once a day, they came to photograph me.

So should we treat Kurds like this? I even told them that they didn't keep agents in jail for even a day, but they keep us captive here. At that time, for example, some members of the Iranian Hezbollah came to Iraq and Syria, but they were not arrested either. I was released thanks to the efforts of a lawyer friend of my father, but I was told that I would only be released if I did not enter Kurdistan, i.e. Hewler, on the way to Maxmur. I told them that Mosul is also Kurdistan. They said no, you will travel to Maxmur via Mosul. That night they sent me to Mosul and I traveled via Mosul to Maxmur, so I was released.”

### **I was threatened**

In 2018, Tekîn Qewalî traveled to Şemdinli (Şemzînan) in North Kurdistan to earn some money there. When he returned, he experienced reprisals from the KDP. He said: “After we finished our work, we returned from Şemdinli and came to the Zawîte Valley. There they forced us to follow them and directed us to the Security Forces Directorate in Duhok. We were surrounded by vehicles there. Then they took us out of our cars as if we had committed something wrong. During the search, nothing was found that could have posed a danger. Even though it was brief, it was painful. Their attitude and the way they acted was completely unethical. You shouldn't behave like that, even towards an enemy. I mean, on the one hand, they speak Kurdish, and on the other hand, they behave that way. They discriminated against us and even told us that they would extradite us to Turkey and even ‘sell’ us at the Xabûr border crossing. They threatened us again with torture and beatings. What was the reason for this? We went to Şemdinli to support our families. We worked there. That was enough for them. If we had really done something, they would have found something with us, but they found nothing.”

## A year of interrogations and abuse

Qewalî continued: “We were arrested not only at the request of the KDP secret service but also the Turkish state secret service because we had some Turkish messages on our phones. They knew it, they read it to us. It was clear that they were working with Turkish intelligence. Hundreds of people changed their attitude when they learned that we were from Maxmur. That’s why they wanted to force us to say that we were comrades, guerrillas. Even though we had refugee cards, even though we said that we were married, that we had a family, that we supported our family, they put pressure on us. For example, they always asked me the question: In which part of Kurdistan, in which region did you work as a guerrilla, what was your task there? In other words, they wanted us to admit that we were members of the guerrillas. Even when we rejected it, they kept trying another way. They blindfolded us, handcuffed us, and left us alone in the dark to scare us. But we didn’t give in. We told the truth. That’s why we were there for a long time. There is nothing there that can be called law. Six months or a year of interrogations passed before I appeared in court.”

## Even in Turkish custody, I have never experienced such treatment

Qewalî added: “At that time they threatened me that if I came to the Behdinan region again, they would kill me and hand me over to Turkey. Now I am forbidden to go to Behdinan. If I go there, they will either kill me or extradite me to Turkey. I was released under this condition and even had to sign a corresponding document. In the end, nothing could be proven against us and some people intervened and so we were released. I have also been arrested in other places. I have been arrested several times in North Kurdistan, but nowhere have I experienced such unjust and dirty actions. Even when they told me that they would extradite me to Turkey, I said: You are Kurdish, I am Kurdish, but if your conscience allows it, then extradite me. I was very sad to have to say those words. There really are a lot of things to talk about, but because these people act so immorally and brutally, many people don’t want to talk anymore. The KDP may be in a different situation, but we still want it to turn away from this betrayal. Now three cities such as Hewlêr, Duhok and Zakho are completely Turkish.”

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## Doctor who fled North Kurdistan for political reasons shot dead in Sulaymaniyah

ANF | SULAYMANIYAH | 1 MARCH 2024

A person persecuted by the Turkish regime was shot in the southern Kurdish metropolis of Sulaymaniyah. Doctor Abdulkadir Sabri Toprak had just left a restaurant on 60th Street in the Baxan district north of the city on Thursday afternoon when an unknown man opened fire from a short distance. Toprak collapsed after being hit by several bullets and died at the scene. The public prosecutor's office entrusted Asayîş with the investigation and an autopsy was also ordered. Among other things, this should clarify how many shots were fired at the dead man.

Dr. Abdulkadir Sabri Toprak was born in North Kurdistan and was the father of three children. The doctor, who was born in 1989 in the province of Btlis (Bedlîs), had lived in Sulaymaniyah for twelve years, where he worked in a private clinic. He had to leave his homeland due to political persecution. Relatives and acquaintances assume that Toprak's killing was a contract killing from Turkey. The circumstances of the crime point to a killer from the ranks of the Turkish secret service.

“It was certainly a targeted attack that against Abdulkadir Sabri Toprak. Turkish authorship is likely,” said the board of the Association of Working People from Mesopotamia (Komeleya Karkerên Mezopotamyayê, KKM), of which the man killed was also a member, in an initial statement. The attack was carried out following the same pattern as other deadly attacks against opposition members, refugees from Turkey and other people who are in some way close to the Kurdish liberation movement. And Toprak would not be the first member of the KKM to be murdered by assassins from the Turkish state.



## HPG publishes balance sheet of war for February

ANF | BEHDINAN | 1 MARCH 2024

The Press Office of the People's Defense Forces (HPG) released the balance sheet of war for the month of February, when the guerrillas took efficient and effective action against the Turkish occupying forces despite the winter conditions and the heavy snow.

The HPG statement released on Friday said the following:

The epic resistance of the HPG, the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla with the Apoist sacrificial spirit continued unabated in February. The past month, which included February 15, the day of the International Conspiracy and the “Black Day” for the Kurdish people, was a month in which the struggle against the conspiracy increased. The Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla also welcomed February as a month of deepening its great devotion to Rêber Apo (Leader Abdullah Öcalan), absorbing the Apoist ideology into its whole self, and becoming competent in the Apoist style, tempo and style that creates absolute success everywhere and under all circumstances. The self-criticism of inadequate comradeship in the face of our leader was based on mastering guerrillaism for victory and revealing great success in practice. On this basis, with a deep self-critical attitude, great faith, determination, anger against the conspiracy and awareness of the duties of the time, the guerrilla tried to embrace its responsibilities in harsh winter conditions.

The guerrilla added a new one in February to the revolutionary operations it developed in the last period. Step by step, it deepened in style, mastered tactics, exhibited its creativity with the inspiration it received from Apoist ideology and put forth a high performance. The guerrilla, marching on the enemy with the doctrine of revolutionary warfare, democratic modernity guerrilla formation and Apoist sacrificial spirit, which has proven its righteousness, has become an unstoppable force by defeating and conquering enemy targets. This level reached by the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla has once again demonstrated that the genocidal politics of the colonialist genocidal Turkish state and the fascist AKP-MHP regime cannot achieve results, and has further increased our people's hope for freedom and belief in victory.



In February, 17 guerrilla actions were carried out with successful revolutionary operations. In these revolutionary operations and actions, 41 invaders were punished, including 1 at the rank of captain, and 3 invaders were wounded. In the February struggle, our comrade Şervan Varto fell as a martyr. While the Turkish special war media tried to hide the great defeat of the invading Turkish army, it served false news about guerrilla losses almost every day. However, there were no guerrilla casualties in February, except for our comrade Şervan Varto. The revolutionary march of our comrade Şervan Varto, who had great courage, sacrificial spirit and high Apoist militancy qualities, will be taken as an example, his precious memory will be kept alive and his goals will surely be achieved. We reiterate once again our promise to all our martyrs in the person of our comrade Şervan.”

### **The balance sheet of war for the month of February is as follows:**

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

Attacks by fighter jets: 211

Attacks by helicopters: 5

Attacks by unconventional explosives: 1

Attacks by explosive-laden drones: 10

**Actions by the guerrillas:** Guerrilla actions: 18

**Enemy casualties:** Enemy forces killed: 41, including 1 captain; Enemy forces injured: 3

**Destroyed material:** Ammunition depot: 1; Observation post: 1; Containers: 7; Emplacements: 15; Radar installations: 3; Surveillance cameras: 10; Thermal surveillance cameras: 2; Tactical telecommunications equipment: 1; A4 weapons: 2; Chain grenade launcher: 1

**Damaged material:** Excavator: 4

**Confiscated weapons and material:** KNT-76 sniper rifle: 1; BKC medium machine gun: 5; BKC barrel: 1; BKC bullet: 300; B7 rocket launcher: 2; Drum grenade launcher: 3; Single grenade launcher: 1; MPT-55 infantry rifle: 8; MPT-55 magazines: 8; Pump rifle: 2; Pistol: 1; Thermal binoculars: 8; Night vision binoculars: 4; Binoculars: 1; Riflescope: 11; Laser pointers: 2; Large communication equipment: 1; Battery for large communication equipment: 1; Helmet: 2; Radio: 4; Signal flare: 3; Sensor: 2; Photo trap: 3; Hand grenades: 2; Solar panel: 2; Surveillance camera: 2; Power bank: 7; Battery: 1; Telescope: 1; Backpack: 1; Phone: 3

## Turkish UCAV attack in Kelar

ANF | SULAYMANIYAH | 1 MARCH 2024

Turkey has once again bombed southern Kurdistan. An unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) entered the airspace of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) on Friday and attacked a building in Kelar. The police have launched an investigation and secured evidence.

The airstrike in Kelar took place at midday in the central district of Shahidan - in the middle of a residential and commercial area.

Kelar is located in the Germîyan region and administratively belongs to the Sulaymaniyah governorate. The city is located around 135 kilometers south of the metropolis of Sulaymaniyah and more than 300 kilometers from the Turkish-Iraqi state border. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon for airstrikes to be carried out here, which Ankara justifies as being in the interests of “territorial security”.

The attack came a day after the attacks in Shengal and Sulaymaniyah.

On February 29, a citizen named Abdulkadir Sabri Toprak was murdered in Sulaymaniyah. It was learned that Sabri Toprak, a married father of three, had defected to South Kurdistan for political reasons and had been working in a private hospital for a long time.

On the same day, at around 13.00, in Ziravik village of Tilizer district of Shengal, a vehicle belonging to the Institution of Martyrs' Families was attacked by an UCAV and Sadun Mirza Ali, father of 3 children, was martyred.

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## Feminicide

### Women in Northern and Eastern Syria are getting ready to celebrate 8 March

ANF | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

The Action Alliance of the Women's Movement in Northern and Eastern Syria has announced the program for this year's Women's Day on 8 March. Women's organizations and institutions from various population groups from the northeast Syrian autonomous region are represented in the alliance, including Kongra Star, the Arab women's organization Zenobiya and the Syriac Women's Union. The disclosure of the joint program was done in Hesekê in Kurdish, Arabic and Aramaic.

The statement said: “On International Women’s Day 2024, we salute all women who are struggling in different areas of life, resisting in prisons and organizing for self-defense. The fight of women for freedom has a long history and continues uninterrupted to the present. Today, women around the world are more organized than ever to defend the gains of the women’s revolution and fend off misogynistic attacks.”

The alliance condemned the targeting of leading political women by the Turkish state, the brutal repression of women in the Turkish occupation zone in Syria and the recent waves of attacks on the infrastructure, civilian settlement areas and service centers in the autonomous region. The women in the region are “organized and determined to resist the attacks at all levels and to defend themselves against patriarchal ways of thinking,” the statement said.

The activities for this year’s 8 March will take place under the slogan “We will make the politics of genocide, occupation and isolation fail with the will of free women”.

The program includes meetings, seminars, a two-day cultural festival, an international online event with other women’s movements, photo exhibitions, a joint visit to the Jinwar women’s village, a symposium of the PYD Women’s Council for all of Syria, commemorations at cemeteries of the fallen and many demonstrations. There will also be a three-day educational program for men, and brochures on the significance of 8 March will be widely distributed.



## Saturday Mothers on trial for reclaiming justice and truth

ANF | ISTANBUL | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

Two Turkish prosecutors have made conflicting decisions regarding separate but identical protest vigils organized by the Saturday Mothers, with one prosecutor deciding not to pursue charges and the other demanding sanctions.

The prosecutor who dropped the case was investigating the group’s 959th weekly sit-in, while the one who filed the charges was working on the 950th sit-in.

The hearing is to be held at Istanbul 39th Criminal Court of First Instance. The court allowed just five people into the courtroom for identification. Members of the EU Turkey’s delegation will attend the trial.

The Saturday Mothers are accused of violating the law on meetings and demonstrations and now face sanctions under the law as well as a possible ban on engaging in any political activity.

According to a monitoring report jointly published by Memory and Peace Studies, the Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA), Amnesty International and the Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV), the Saturday Mothers did not resist when the police handcuffed and arrested them during the 950th sit-in.

Another contradiction lies in the fact that the prosecutor seeking sanctions for the 950th sit-in had previously decided not to prosecute the participants of the 941st sit-in, citing fundamental rights protected by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention European Union of Human Rights, the Turkish Constitution and the Supreme Court of Turkey.

A ruling by the Constitutional Court in November 2022 nevertheless ruled that the obstruction by the police of the group's weekly sit-ins violated the right to peaceful assembly and demonstration.

However, in recent months, Turkish courts have intensified their failure to respect the jurisdiction and orders of the Constitutional Court, causing one of the most serious judicial crises in the country's history.

## The Saturday Mothers

The Saturday Mothers are a group of activists who seek to know the fate of their loved ones who disappeared in police custody in the 1980s and 1990s and demand accountability for these disappearances.

28 years ago, the Saturday Mothers (in Kurdish: Dayikên Şemiyê, in Turkish: Cumartesi Anneleri) organized the first sit-in in Galatasaray Square, in Istanbul, to demand an end to enforced disappearances and demand that they be returned their missing loved ones.

The Saturday mothers criticize the Turkish state for not having seriously investigated the forced disappearances and for having failed to establish the truth about those who disappeared after their detention by the Turkish authorities.

According to the Human Rights Association (IHD), between 1992 and 1996, 792 forced disappearances and murders (of journalists, trade unionists, doctors, teachers, children or simple peasants) by the State were reported.



## TJA kicks off celebrations for 8 March in Van

ANF | VAN | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

The Free Women's Movement (Tevgera Jinên Azad-TJA) kicked off the activities for 8 March, International Women's Day, with a press release read in Van (Wan). The press conference was attended by DEM party candidates for the municipal elections of 31 March and numerous women activists. The women said they will build democratic politics and an egalitarian life at the grassroots level through the transformative power of women.

The TJA began its actions and events in Van. The statement was read in front of the provincial organization building of the DEM Party, where members of the Wan Women's Council of the Democratic Regions Party (DBP), DEM Party, leaders and members of the Wan Women's Platform and the Star Women's Association (Star-Der) had gathered.

Neslihan Şedal, co-mayor candidate for Van Metropolitan Municipality of the DEM party, and female candidates for Van Districts Municipality also attended the press conference. The women opened a banner in Kurdish on which was written *Em jin bi hevra li dijî tecrîdê azadiyê, li dijî şer aşitî diparêzin* (We, women, defend freedom against isolation, peace against war) and held in their hands photos of murdered and missing Kurdish women. The women chanted slogans such as “Jin, jîyan, azadî”, “end the isolation of İmralı”.

The women also paid tribute to journalist-writer Nagihan Akarsel, a member of the Jineoloji Research Center, murdered in Suleymaniyah on 4 October 2022.

TJA said that the 21st century will be the century of women's liberation and added:

“As March 8 approaches, we first salute the women who are fighting for women's freedom in different parts of the world. We bow with respect to the women who lost their lives in the women's liberation struggle and reaffirm our commitment to their memory. With the strength we received from Roza (Rosa Luxemburg), Sara (Sakine Cansiz, aka Sara), Evin (Emine Kara, aka Evîn Goyî), Zelal (Firyal Silêman Xalid, aka Zelal Zagros) and thousands of other women pioneers, we are again in the fields, streets and squares on 8 March.

In the world, in the Middle East and in Kurdistan, we welcome another 8 March in the shadow of wars, economic crises, massacres of women, ecological massacres and inequalities, but also with the struggle and resistance of women against patriarchal policies.”

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## Next hearing of trial against Saturday Mothers will be held on 7 June

ANF | ISTANBUL | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

The Saturday Mothers are being tried collectively on the charge of “violating the Law on meetings and demonstrations”, because of the 950th week of their sit-in to demand justice and the truth for those disappeared while in the custody of the security forces.

The first hearing was held at the 39th Criminal Court of First Instance of the Istanbul Courthouse in Çaglayan and continued after a break.

The hearing was attended by members of the Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD), Van and Batman Bar Associations, rights defenders, representatives of the German, Dutch and American Consulates, the International Federation for Human Rights, the Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, the World Organization Against Torture, and representatives of Human Rights Defenders.

The hearing was attended by Saturday Mothers Hanife Yıldız, Besna Tosun, Maside Ocak, Mikail Kırbayır, Hasan Karakoç, Leman Yurtsever, Aylin Tekiner, İkbâl Eren, Mukaddes Şamiloğlu, Hatice Korkmaz, İsmail Yücel, Ali Tosun, Ali Ocak, Selvi Gülmez, Cüneyt Yılmaz, İrfan. Bilgin, Hünkar Hüdayi Yurtsever, İHD executives Meryem Bars and Sebla Arcan and lawyer Meriç Eyüboğlu.

The second session of the hearing started with the defense of Hatice Korkmaz from the Saturday Mothers.

Korkmaz emphasized the Constitutional Court's 'violation of rights' decision and demanded acquittal. Lawyer Mehmet Kaplan stated that if the action footage was examined, no criminal elements were found and called for compliance with the Constitutional Court decision.

IHD co-chair, lawyer Eren Keskin, requested the court to comply with the decision of the Constitutional Court, IHD Istanbul Branch President lawyer Gülseren Yoleri emphasized the rule of law by drawing attention to the bans implemented during the period when Süleyman Soylu was the Minister of Internal Affairs.

After the completion of the defense, the court decided to watch the footage in the file and set the next hearing for 7 June.



## Eight femicides in 24 hours

ANF | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

Men killed seven women in Turkey in 24 hours, while another woman lost her life a few days after being shot by a man.

The cases of male violence were reported in İzmir, Bursa, Sakarya, Erzurum, Denizli, and Istanbul, said Bianet.

The Turkish Medical Association Women's Assembly issued a statement titled "We will not lose another one of us".

The statement said: "In 2 days, 7 women were murdered by men. This is a massacre! Violence against women is a public health issue. Anti-women rhetoric and impunity fuel violence. The Istanbul Convention must be immediately implemented, and Law No. 6284 must be effectively enforced! We will not lose another person!"



## 25 November Women's Platform members acquitted

ANF | ISTANBUL | 1 MARCH 2024

The trial of women prosecuted for taking to the streets against male-state violence on 25 November (International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women) 2018 ended with the acquittal of the activists.

The case, initiated against the women following the call of Women Together are Strong and the 25 November Women's Platform, was attended by feminists at the Istanbul 36th Criminal Court of First Instance.

During the trial, statements were taken from women who had not previously given their defense. Following the statements of the lawyers, the court announced its decision, issuing a sentence for one woman. Acquittal was granted for 19 women.

After the trial, the women said in a statement : "In the trial all defendants were acquitted except for one person. We began to be prosecuted long after this incident. Since 2018, the police have been intervening against women who protested on the streets until that year. We do not accept these attacks."

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## Ecocide

### Kahraman: Iliç mine disaster will have serious consequences for at least a century

ANF | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

Tuğba Kahraman from Polen Ekoloji answered ANF's questions about the before and after of the disaster in the Iliç mine. Nine workers who were trapped under the rubble of the Çöpler Gold Mine in Iliç in the province of Erzincan could not be reached, and the search efforts stopped.

*Various expert reports have been published regarding the mining accident in Iliç. From the first day, it was claimed that waste from Iliç did not reach the river and precautions were taken. First of all, if we put all these explanations aside, is it possible to calculate the estimated destruction toll of the mining disaster?*

It is very difficult to predict the toll of an ecocide of this magnitude. The destruction covers a very large area. There is a destruction that will affect the Euphrates basin and the Tigris and all of Mesopotamia. Cyanide and heavy chemicals will mix with the Euphrates. The consequences of the disaster will last at

least 100 years... Considering that two million cubic meters of this toxic soil were scattered here and there, mixing with the groundwater through rainfall, and that the chemical mass weighed approximately 27 million tons, it is very difficult to imagine the size and destruction of the massacre. People, animals, soil, our waters will die. Unfortunately, the responsible companies and their collaborators will continue their way with ostensible fines and trials.

*The air analysis carried out by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of City Planners using photographs and satellite images revealed that it is almost impossible for the chemicals not to mix with the waters of the Euphrates River. It was also stated that Keban, Karakaya and Atatürk Dam were at risk. What danger does this pose?*

As environmental engineers and other experts in the field point out, cyanide and other chemicals remain suspended in the air when mixed with the air through evaporation. They can be directly in contact with living creatures in that environment through inhalation, and if inhaled, they will cause public health and environmental health problems. If the chemicals affect the soil, animals and people will be affected through the plants growing there. This will affect the entire endemic structure, the health of living beings and human health through the food chain. COPD and cancer-like diseases will gradually emerge in subsequent generations. In the case of leakage into groundwater and water leakage, the width of the basin is very bad in terms of the scale of the disaster.

*It is clear that the responsibility lies primarily with the Ministry of Environment, as permission was given to expand capacity despite the previous infiltration. Now new mining areas are being opened. What can we expect?*

One of Turkey's largest gold mines is not going to give up so easily on the benefits it gets from favourable agreements with the government. The number of EIA positive reports and capacity expansion permits for all mines, not just Iliç, is increasing day by day. The ostensible closure of the mine in the previous leak in Iliç and the efforts to minimize the seriousness of the incident by saying that this disaster was in reality just a landslide, are the result of the agreement of the capital and the state. This result paves the way for other disasters.

*To what do you attribute the ability of international monopolies to carry out, in countries like Turkey, many practices that are otherwise normally prohibited?*

Turkey has become the dumping ground of the EU. The ease with which cyanide and asbestos can be used is an indication of how capital's greed for profit is superior to the right to life of humans and all living things, and how deep Turkey's relationship with international capital actually is. With the practice of ecological struggle that has developed in the last few years, there is more awareness that the problem stems from capitalism. The massacre can be stopped by developing these practices and increasing the struggle.



# Local Elections in Turkey

## DBP Co-Chair: We are Kurds and we will live as Kurds

ANF | AGRI | 23 FEBRUARY 2024

The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) co-mayoral candidates for the 31 March local elections were presented in the Patnos district of Ağrı on Friday.

Accompanied by a convoy of tens of vehicles, the candidates were enthusiastically welcomed by thousands of people when they reached the Ağrı-Van Street.

Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Keskin Bayındır and DEM Party Van MP Gülcan Kaçmaz Sayyigit also took part in the welcome.

DEM Party Patnos Municipality Co-Mayor Candidate Kerem Kırtay said in his speech that they are at the service of the people and that they will run fair, equal and free municipal work.

The female candidate, Rojbin Kartal, said, "We will never surrender these cities and the will of our people to the trustees and plunderer mentality. Let's join hands and end this together."

Speaking after, DBP Co-Chair Keskin Bayındır said, "We are heading towards the elections and there is little time left. We believe that we will finish this job with your support. The people of Serhat have not bowed down to oppression for a century. We will visit village after village, house after house and convince our people to participate in the elections. This is not a party issue, this is a matter of freedom."

"If you can't do anything, pray for us. Our issue is not the municipality, our issue is to live in our own homeland in a free and democratic way. We are Kurds and we will live as Kurds. I would like to address the people of Patnos who cannot be here today; today is not the time to sulk. Let's realize this blessed march together," he added.

Bayındır emphasized the need for an immediate meeting with Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan for a democratic solution to the Kurdish question and concluded his words as follows: "With the support of our people, we will solve the Kurdish question in a democratic way. Today, thousands of Kurds around the world are standing up and demanding a solution to the Kurdish question and the physical freedom of Öcalan. We are calling out from Serhat, today is the day of solution. The Kurdish people want communication with the interlocutor of the Kurdish question for their language and freedom. If you want to know us, look at our hundred years of resistance in Serhat."

## Six detained at DEM Party election campaign event in Şırnak

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 24 FEBRUARY 2024

At least six people were taken into custody on the sidelines of a rally in Şırnak as part of the DEM Party's election campaign tour. The meeting, which was also attended by the co-chair of the party, Tuncer Bakırhan, had already ended when the Turkish police intervened indiscriminately in the crowd and forcibly removed several participants. The authorities did not provide any information on the reasons for the action.

The detainees include local politician Murat Şen, who ran for the HDP in the 2019 local elections and was elected co-mayor of the district of Idil, but was subsequently removed from office by the Turkish government and replaced by a trustee. The other five detainees are members of the DEM Youth.

The board of the provincial association of the DEM Party condemned the mass detention, calling it “a sign of the Turkish government's fear of the democratic opposition.” Calling for the immediate release of all those detained, the party said that the detainees were not guilty of anything and were taken into custody completely arbitrarily.



## Victims of Cizre basement massacre commemorated

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 26 FEBRUARY 2024

The police tried to prevent a commemoration at the graves of journalist Rohat Aktaş, DBP PM Member Mehmet Yavuzel and Mazlum Yeşil, who were murdered by Turkish state forces in Cizre district of Şırnak during the self-governance resistance, on the grounds that they were “places of worship”.

The police chief admitted that there was no document or justification for the attempted ban and said that they acted on instructions.

In response to the police's attempts to prevent the commemoration, people did not leave the cemetery and held a silent protest for two hours.

The families entered the cemetery despite the police's attempt to prevent them from doing so, leaving carnations and praying. The commemoration was held in front of the cemetery with the participation of the families.

Speaking at the commemoration, Halil Yavuzel, Mehmet Yavuzel's brother, reacted against the attempt to prevent the commemoration and said, “My brother went to Cizre to stand by the oppressed and was martyred.”

Serdar Altan, Co-Chair of the Dicle Fırat Journalists Association (DFG), condemned the action by the police and said, “Our friend Rohat was a journalist and wanted to convey the atrocities in Cizre to the whole world. He gave his life to bring the truth to the people. We condemn the obstruction attempts.”

DEM Party Urfa MP Ömer Öcalan stated that they are pursuing a politics of solution against the politics of war and said, “It is a great shame that the commemoration is not allowed. The Free Press conveys all massacres to the world. We commemorate all Free Press martyrs with respect.” The commemoration ended with the slogan “Şehîd namirin” (Martyrs are immortal).

After the commemoration, people went to the district center and made a press statement at Pirsûs Square. DEM Party MP Ömer Öcalan reacted against the prevention of the commemoration and said, “This people have never bowed down and never will. We do not accept this insult. Those who were murdered are our children. Let friend and foe know that we will always embrace these children, our most precious ones.”



## Iğdır District Election Committee rejects two DEM candidates

ANF | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

Protests broke out on Monday night after the decision by Iğdır District Election Committee to reject the candidacy of Mehmet Nuri Güneş for the post of co-mayor in Iğdır (Reşqelas) and Emine Yöndem Kartal, in Hoşhaber (Xoşxeber).

Due to pressure from the ruling AKP party, Güneş was refused his candidacy. The DEM party politician had been convicted of “membership of the PKK” in the past. However, he served his sentence and the court had approved the full restoration of his rights and thus his candidacy.

After the committee’s decision, DEM party supporters gathered in front of the election office in Iğdır. The protesters noted that there had previously been no objections to the candidacy of those now rejected, but that there were now obvious attempts to block their participation in the elections due to their popularity.

Party representatives announced that they would appeal the decision to the High Election Committee and added that the candidacies of Mehmet Şah, Ahmet Emin Can, Turan Kaya, Evren Zenci and Yaşar Kalay for the city council were also rejected.



## House of DEM Party MP Çiçek Otlı raided by the police

ANF | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

The police raided the house where Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM) Istanbul MP Çiçek Otlı resides in the morning. Çiçek Otlı, who announced the incident on her social media account, said, "The door of the house where I reside in Istanbul was broken down and searched by Istanbul TEM (Anti-Terror Police) in the morning. I don't know what kind of damage there is in the house. I will go from Ankara to Istanbul. I will continue to expose this lawlessness everywhere. I will file a lawsuit."

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## Provincial Election Board accepts DEM Party objection to refusal of Iğdır and Hoşhaber candidates

ANF | IĞDIR | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

Iğdır (İdir) Provincial Election Board, affiliated with the Supreme Electoral Board (YSK), accepted the objections filed by Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Iğdir co-mayor candidates Mehmet Nuri Güneş and Hoşhaber co-mayor candidate Emine Yöndem Kartal. The two candidacy applications were rejected by the District Election Board on 26 February.

The District Election Board claimed that the two co-mayor candidates and 4 other candidates could not be accepted because they had been sentenced. The DEM Party filed an objection to the Provincial Election Board, stating that the candidates had received approval from the court regarding the re-establishment of their rights and that there was no legal obstacle to both candidacies.

The board accepted the candidates' objections on Wednesday, referring to the regulations made and pointing out that anyone who was punished for any crime and executed this sentence and later received a court decision regarding the "re-establishment of civil rights" could be a candidate.

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# Human Rights Violations

## Nazi threat against Kurdish association in Bremen

ANF | BREMEN | 23 FEBRUARY 2024

Two days ago, cartridges bearing a swastika were discovered in the letterbox of the Kurdish association Biratî in Bremen. The association has filed a complaint. The association's premises in Bremen's Neustadt district are under constant surveillance by the police. This is known from various criminal proceedings against alleged PKK cadres. The surveillance logs from the past even contain details of who smoked a cigarette or drank tea in front of the club and when.

In addition, the premises have been repeatedly searched by the police, most recently on January 16. At the same time, Kurdish activist Kadri Saka was detained in his apartment in Bremen and arrested under section 129a/b of the German Criminal Code for membership or support of a terrorist organization abroad. The 58-year-old father of eight children then went on a hunger strike in protest while in custody in Hamburg, which he ended two weeks ago in response to an urgent request from outside. The Hamburg Public Prosecutor General's Office accuses Kadri Saka of having worked as a PKK member in a "prominent position" in Bremen and the surrounding area from the end of 2018 to July 2021 and of having supported the person responsible for the area at the time. His tasks are claimed to have consisted of organizing demonstrations and events, mobilizing participants for these activities, mediating disputes, conducting fundraising campaigns or selling magazines and event tickets.

Kurdish businesspeople in Bremen's Neustadt district received threatening letters back in November 2023.



## Lawyer and human rights defender Çiftçi sent to prison

ANF | ANTALYA | 24 FEBRUARY 2024

Lawyer and head of the Antalya branch of the Human Rights Association (IHD) and the Contemporary Lawyers Association (ÇHD), Şüheda Ronahi Çiftçi was taken into custody on 20 February. The Antalya General Prosecutor's Office ordered her incarceration for "membership in a terrorist organization".

After the arrest decision, Çiftçi's colleagues made a statement to the press in front of the Antalya courthouse. Deniz Yıldırım, co-chair of the IHD Antalya Branch, said that Çiftçi was arrested due to her professional activities and emphasized that the investigation was entirely aimed at criminalizing her professional activities and her work for human rights and to prevent her from fighting for human rights. Stating

that what happened was not legal, Yıldırım said they would follow up the case and demanded his immediate release. Çiftçi's other colleagues reacted to the arrest warrant and stressed that they would not give in.

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## Kurdish association in Bremen reacts to racist threat

ANF | BREMEN | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

Four days ago, cartridges bearing a swastika were discovered in the letterbox of the Kurdish association Bîratî in Bremen. The association's premises in Bremen's Neustadt district are under constant surveillance by the police. This is known from various criminal proceedings against alleged PKK cadres. The surveillance logs from the past even contain details of who smoked a cigarette or drank tea in front of the club and when.

In a written statement, the Kurdish Democratic Community Center said, "On November 23, 2023, a letter was sent to Kurdish businesses in Bremen saying, 'I will blow you up'. On February 21, 2024, a letter containing bullets with the word SS and a swastika was left in the mailbox of the Bremen Kurdish Community Center Brati."

The statement said: "Kurds are the most organized community living in Germany. They are among the largest immigrant group in the State of Bremen. As part of Bremen society, the Kurdish community is an integral part of the multicultural structure of the city. However, the recent discriminatory, criminalizing and threatening practices against the Kurdish community in the city of Bremen have caused great reaction in our society in Germany in general and in Bremen in particular after the details of the anti-immigrant and racist meeting organized by the AfD and right-wing groups in Potsdam in November were covered by the press.

Millions of people in favor of democracy, human rights and a multicultural life took to the streets and reacted by saying "Never Again". The reaction of the German society has brought some relief to the Kurdish community, which is part of the immigrant communities and has become part of Germany. As a matter of fact, Kurds are subjected to many racist attacks in Germany. A look at the identity of those murdered in Hanau with racist delusions will reveal the Kurds' uneasiness. On the other hand, at a time when the AfD is on the rise, we observe that the criminalization policy against Kurds is being continued by state organs. It should not be forgotten that the criminalization policy of state organs paves the way for racist attacks by racist individuals and circles. Thus, Kadri Saka was arrested on January 13, the Kurdish Community Center in Bremen was raided. On February 21, a threatening letter with a bullet was left at the Kurdish Community Center, indicating that racists have an opportunity to send threatening messages.

As Kurds living in Germany, we demand the following from the German state organs: Stop criminalizing us!

Investigate racist attacks and threats against the Kurdish community and share all findings with us in detail.

Show the same sensitivity to anti-Kurdish racism as you do to anti-Semitism and protect Kurdish institutions.”

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## Journalists Aslan and Candemir taken into custody in Van

ANF | VAN | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

The apartments of journalists Arif Aslan and Oktay Candemir were searched in the city of Van earlier on Tuesday morning. For unknown reasons, the two journalists were taken into custody and taken to the provincial police headquarters.

The two journalists, like all independent press representatives in Turkey and especially in North Kurdistan, are subjected to repression. Arif Aslan was arrested together with his colleague Selman Keleş in Van in 2017 while carrying out his journalistic work for alleged “membership in a terrorist organization” and spent eight months in custody. He was acquitted in March 2021.

Oktay Candemir has also been criminalized for decades. Among other things, the journalist was arrested in 2020 for “propaganda for a terrorist organization”.

Candemir has been working as a journalist for two decades, including for the Kurdish news agency DIHA, which was banned by emergency decree in 2016. He also worked for ANF as a correspondent for Van for many years. He was repeatedly targeted by the security authorities. He has already been summoned to the police dozens of times and numerous investigations are underway against him. He spent a year in custody in various prisons.

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## Several socialists detained in Izmir and Istanbul

ANF | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

Turkey continues to tighten the screws of repression against left-wing and socialist circles. At least twelve people were taken into custody in Istanbul and Izmir on Tuesday, including several women. In a concentrated large-scale operation, police units stormed several apartments in both metropolises at the same time and carried out meticulous searches. The operation is being carried out under the label “counter-terrorism” and is being led by the Izmir Chief Public Prosecutor’s Office. Further information was initially unclear, as a 24-hour ban on lawyers was ordered.

According to the Istanbul-based Law Office of the Oppressed (EHB), all those detained are activists and actors from structures such as the Socialist Party of the Oppressed (ESP) and the Partizan organization. The ESP gave their names and functions as follows:

Tanya Kara; spokesperson of the Socialist Women's Councils (SKM)

Meliha Kayacı and Hacer Elçin; members of the General Council of SKM

Ezgi Gürbüz; Member of the Executive Council of the SKM

Uğur Ok; member of the ESP party council and survivor of the Suruç massacre

Ali Haydar Keleş; member of the party council of the ESP

Sıtkı Güngör; Member of the DEM Party Council

Mehmet Acettin; Editor of the left-wing agency ETHA and member of the Central Council of the Human Rights Association (IHD)

Hüseyin Gültepe; owner of the left-wing publishing house Ceylan Publishing House and member of ESP

Ali Karaçay, Mesut Çeki and Mesut Gerçek; members of the ESP

According to as yet unconfirmed information, Barış Kayaoğlu, spokesperson for the Federation of Socialist Councils (SMF), was also taken into custody. According to the EHB Law Office, the raids were characterized by massive violence. Uğur Ok suffered a laceration to his head during his detention. Ezgi Gürbüz was hit so hard in the face that her glasses broke. The ESP sees the operation as a “targeted purge” in the run-up to the local elections to be held in Turkey on March 31.



## Kurdish activist Ferit Çelik arrested in Sweden on German arrest warrant

ANF | 27 FEBRUARY 2024

36-year-old Kurdish activist Ferit Çelik was arrested in Sweden on the basis of a German arrest warrant and is in custody pending extradition. The Kurdish Democratic Community Center in Sweden (NCDK-Sverige) is demanding his immediate release, stating that Çelik lives in Sweden and has committed no criminal offense there or in Germany.

According to the information available to NCDK, the 36-year-old, accompanied by his lawyer, responded to a summons from the Swedish Security Service last Friday. An interview lasting just under 45 minutes took place at the Security Service office in Solna, near Stockholm. Shortly after leaving the office, the lawyer's car was stopped by three police cars on the way to the lawyer's office and Ferit Çelik was arrested by plainclothes police officers. A court hearing was held on Monday. It turned out that the arrest was made at the request of Germany. Çelik remains in custody pending a decision on his extradition.



The NCDK stated that Çelik will be imprisoned in Germany if he is extradited and that there is a risk of extradition to Turkey. “We know that Ferit Çelik’s extradition to Germany has no legal basis. Ferit Çelik has only used his basic rights and participated in political and cultural activities for the Kurdish people, he has not committed any illegal acts. Because he also exercised these rights in Turkey, he was charged and had to flee to Sweden, where he was granted asylum,” the statement said.

The association also criticized the dramatic staging of the arrest and spoke of an arbitrary hunt against a Kurd who committed no crime. According to the NCDK, Ferit Çelik’s arrest was carried out as part of the Swedish security authorities’ long-standing fixation on the Kurdish diaspora: “There are many examples of the increasing criminalization of civil society diaspora groups by the security forces. We call on the public to support the demand for the release of Ferit Çelik and to condemn the criminalization campaign waged by the authorities against the Kurdish community without an ethical and legal basis.”



## PIRHA journalist Keser sent to prison

ANF | MERSIN | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

Pir News Agency (PIRHA) Mersin correspondent Diren Keser was sentenced to 21 months in prison at the hearing of the case against him held on 26 December 2017, on the grounds of his news and social media posts.

Diren Keser was taken into custody by the police after his sentence was approved and later sent to Tarsus Prison.



## Journalist Herkî: The voice of freedom cannot be suppressed

DIDAR KAMIL | SULAYMANIYAH | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

The journalist and activist Pîran Herkî was a political prisoner of the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party). He was one of the group known as “Behdînan prisoners” who were arrested by KDP security forces in January 2019 after a protest in Şîladizê against the deadly air strikes by the Turkish army. He is a member of the veterans’ association Pêşmergeyên Dêrîn, whose members were already in 1992 during the Gulf War in South Kurdistan and are critical of the KDP. He was imprisoned for one year and two months.

## The fear of the KDP is an obstacle to freedom

Herkî told ANF of the growing repression by the Turkish-dependent KDP regime in South Kurdistan. He said: “The KDP has increased the arrest of activists, journalists and political figures from 2020. Over the past three months, more than 23 activists and journalists have been arrested.”

Herkî spoke about the torture of the arrested journalists and activists and continued: “The KDP is trying to suppress the voice of freedom in this way. Because the KDP is afraid that the voice of truth could reach the people. When the truth reaches the people, the KDP’s lack of planning, lack of system and corruption will be exposed. The KDP does not allow a free life within its borders because it is afraid of its environment, but it should know well that the voice of freedom cannot be suppressed by prisons. The KDP has never tolerated the voice of freedom because it has always viewed the call for freedom as an exposure of its lack of planning and corruption.”

## 150 prisoners in one cell

Herkî said about the treatment of prisoners that “if I had been told that there was such a prison in Kurdistan, I would never have believed it. There were 150 prisoners in a cell twelve meters long and five and a half meters wide, including university professors, journalists, engineers, thieves and drug dealers. This system was introduced with the aim of psychologically wearing us down and depriving us of hope.”

The journalist said that the size of a room where he and two other prisoners were kept was 65 cm, and added: “We met our eating, drinking and sheltering needs in this room. This treatment cannot even be applied to an animal. Another problem in the prison was that the food wasn’t good. In Hewlêr prison there were no books or opportunities to read news. The existing TVs only had entertainment channels.”

## They will not silence us

Herkî said: “We were brought to trial seven times, but our case remained open. Although many judges had called for a punishment, they could not come to a decision on our sentence. They couldn’t silence us.”

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## İnşaat-İş trade unionists did not recognize ‘house arrest’ decision

ANF | ISTANBUL | 29 FEBRUARY 2024

The executives of the Construction Workers Union (İnşaat-İş), who were taken into custody and released on house arrest for protesting against the usurpation of the rights of the workers employed in the construction of the ‘Yuvam Bahçeşehir’ project (built in partnership with AKP’s Başakşehir Municipality, Akar Group and Reis Elektrik) did not recognize the decision, saying it was “unlawful”.

Trade unionists Yunus Özgür and Deniz Gider went to the Limak Financial Center Construction Site where they continued their organizing activities. The two were welcomed with applause by the workers.

In addition to Dev Yapı-İş, affiliated with DİSK, many other unions such as Limter-İş, TOMİS, United Labor Movement, Dev Tekstil-İş supported the union executives who marched to the construction site accompanied by slogans together with the workers.

The trade unionists continued their organizing activities by distributing leaflets and reached an agreement as a result of their meeting with the boss regarding the usurped rights of the workers.

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## Lawyer Necat Çiçek taken into custody

ANF | AMED | 1 MARCH 2024

The house of lawyer Necat Çiçek, an executive of the Lawyers for Freedom Association (ÖHD), in Amed was raided by the police. After the search, Necat Çiçek was taken into custody.

ÖHD Amed Branch said in its social media accounts: “Our branch executive, lawyer Necat Çiçek, was taken into custody this morning within the scope of an investigation carried out by the Diyarbakır Chief Public Prosecutor's Office. We do not accept attacks aimed at criminalizing our professional activities! Lawyer Necat Çiçek should be released immediately!”

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## HDP Hewlêr Representation: 7 of our members were massacred, and the government is silent

ANF | HEWLER | 1 MARCH 2024

The HDP representation in Hewlêr (Erbil) held a press conference in the capital of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) about the fatal attack on Dr. Abdulkadir Sabri Toprak. The doctor, who came from northern Kurdistan, was shot dead in the street in Sulaymaniyah on Thursday afternoon. He was hit by four bullets at close range and died at the scene. Toprak was the father of three children and had been living with his family in Sulaymaniyah for twelve years due to political persecution, where he worked in a private clinic.

HDP politician Aydın Ahmet said at the press conference that the Turkish state has been carrying out attacks on Kurds in the KRI with impunity for several years and that the regional government does not raise its voice and remains passive: “Many people from Northern Kurdistan have come to Southern Kurdistan due to the repression of the AKP/MHP government. Sabri Toprak was one of them. He had been living with his family in Sulaymaniyah for twelve years. Yesterday he was murdered by the Turkish state. Seven of

our members have been murdered in Sulaymaniyah alone. There have also been terrorist attacks on people from Northern Kurdistan in Hewlêr and Duhok. We call on the government of the Kurdistan Region and the authorities to stop the attacks. Erdogan and the Turkish state are not only a danger to the people of Northern Kurdistan, they are a threat to the entire Kurdish people. At the same time as the murder of Sabri Toprak, attacks have also taken place in Rojava and Shengal.”

Ahmet alled on the people of Southern Kurdistan to defend themselves against the terrorist attacks by the Turkish state. The Erdogan regime is committing acts of terror because it cannot force the Kurdish people to surrender, said the HDP politician.

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## Peace in Kurdistan

### Jonasson: Prerequisite for resumption of peace negotiations is release of Öcalan

SERKAN DEMIREL | BRUSSELS | 24 FEBRUARY 2024

Former Iceland Minister of Justice Ögmundur Jonasson spoke to ANF about the Imrali isolation and the importance of Abdullah Öcalan’s freedom.

#### The precondition for peace talks is Öcalan’s freedom

Pointing out that the Imrali isolation is unacceptable, Jonasson demanded freedom for Abdullah Öcalan and said that Abdullah Öcalan is the main actor in the solution of the Kurdish question. Jonasson said: “I think Öcalan’s freedom will be important for the resumption of the peace process. I think it is very important to restart the peace process, which ended when Erdoğan closed the gates on Imrali island in 2015. I believe that the prerequisite for the resumption of peace talks is the freedom of Abdullah Öcalan.”

#### Freedom of Öcalan is a vital issue

Jonasson added: “Öcalan and the Kurds have shown that they can overcome difficult situations and overcome war. But they can also handle peace. This peace is something that not only Turkey and the Kurds need, but also the Middle East. Therefore, it is now a vital issue to release Abdullah Öcalan from prison and bring him to the negotiation table. That’s why we support the campaign demanding his release and the resumption of the peace process.”

## **International forces should keep their commitments in İmralı**

Underlining that the isolation in İmralı is unacceptable, Jonasson said: “Ending isolation in İmralı is also important for the international community that should uphold its commitments. Nobody is talking about Turkey’s violation of Europe’s basic human rights in İmralı. At the same time, no one disputes that the Nelson Mandela Rules adopted by the United Nations in 2015 were violated in İmralı. Therefore, it is important for the international community to abandon its double moral approach towards İmralı, just as it is important to end the isolation conditions in which Öcalan is kept.”

## **Kurds will create a domino effect for the peace region**

Former Minister Ögmundur said: “We are currently in a world that is on the verge of war, not only in Gaza, not only in Rojava, but in many places. I think a new beginning should be made starting with peace with the Kurds.

I think that peace between Turks and Kurds will create a domino effect in the region. I know that such a peace will lead to another peace and another. Similarly, a peace initiative that starts in Turkey will have its impact elsewhere.”

## **Our common goal is the resume of peace negotiations**

Ögmundur stated that the prerequisite for the resumption of peace talks could be possible by opening the gates of İmralı and continued: “The resumption of the peace process between Kurds and Turks is a common goal for all of us. Everywhere I travel in Kurdistan, whether in Turkey or in Iraqi Kurdistan, everyone says the same thing. The prerequisite for the resumption of these negotiations is for Abdullah Öcalan to sit at the negotiating table. And this is something I wholeheartedly support.”

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## **Declaration “We must talk about solution again” announced in Amed**

ANF | AMED | 26 FEBRUARY 2024

The final declaration of the ‘Civil society meeting for a solution to the Kurdish question’ meeting held on February 24th under the leadership of the Amed (Diyarbakır) City Protection and Solidarity Platform was announced. Many representatives of civil society organizations attended the meeting held at the Diyarbakır Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Diyarbakır Medical Chamber President Elif Turan announced the final declaration titled “We must talk about the solution again”.

### **‘The source of many problems is the Kurdish question’**

The declaration pointed out that: “The meeting was organized to bring together representatives of civil society, professional and business organizations that have been active in the region for many years and have closely observed the damage and consequences of the unresolved Kurdish question, and to evaluate what can be done for a democratic and peaceful solution. As a matter of fact, the intense interest in the meeting, the evaluations made and the concrete proposals that emerged showed the necessity of holding the meeting and the importance of its continuity.

During the meeting, it was once again emphasized that the Kurdish question is a historical, social and political issue that has existed since the founding of the Republic and that the last 40 years have been characterized by conflicts, that it is not right to approach the issue with security policies and that violence is not a solution method. It was also criticized that the security-based approach caused the issue not to be discussed for a long time and to be treated as if it did not exist, and that the issue was put on the agenda only during election periods due to electoral strategies.

It was emphasized that the unresolved Kurdish question lies at the root of many problems in the country and that this fact is ignored, whereas the Kurdish question continues to affect us all with all its historical reality and painfulness and continues to stand where it is.”

### **The effects of the lack of a solution**

Drawing attention to the problems and effects of the insistence on the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question, the declaration stated:

\* The bans and assimilation policies imposed on the Kurdish language for years have been criticized, artistic activities performed in Kurdish are still banned by public authorities from time to time, the right to education and training in the mother language and the legal obstacles to the use of Kurdish in the public sphere still continue.

\* Ecological destruction caused by conflicts and military operations, especially interventions in forested areas and the creation of rent areas continue.

\* The deaths of children as a result of armored vehicle crashes in city and district centers with uncontrolled and exaggerated security measures and the impunity policy of the judiciary towards the perpetrators and the sexist and discriminatory view towards women continue.

\* The lifting of parliamentary immunity and arrests of MPs, trustee practices and closure cases against political parties continue. Similar practices have been experienced in the past and the problems have deepened. These practices constitute a clear violation of the right to elect and be elected, which is guaranteed by the constitution and international conventions.

\* Concerns were expressed about the loss of life due to the conflicts, and attention was drawn to the violations of fundamental rights and freedoms that started especially after 2015-2016 and still continue. It was

also emphasized that the perspective based on security policies narrows the area of fundamental rights and freedoms.

\* The deadlock on the Kurdish question has increased violence against women and women's poverty.

\* Developments in the field of law and judiciary were discussed. Particular attention was drawn to the negative practices of the judiciary on freedom of expression in the axis of the Kurdish question, the criminalization of political party activities, the criminalization of political party activities and the resulting heavy penalties, the violations of rights in prisons and the discriminatory practices in terms of the law of execution and the practices that prevent the right to visit and that are defined as isolation in international law. It was emphasized that all these situations are caused by the insistence on the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question, that a peaceful resolution of the issue on democratic grounds would make a great contribution to the country's democracy, and the importance of confronting the past and restorative justice was highlighted.

An important topic of the meeting was the solution initiatives that have been taken on different dates in the last forty years for the resolution of the Kurdish question, for which the society had high hopes and expectations. Observations were expressed that the initiatives aimed at the peaceful resolution of the Kurdish question were important, but the fact that the processes did not lead to the desired outcome caused disappointment in the society, and that, despite the disappointment, the expectation for similar processes continues in society."

## What to do?

The declaration listed the actions that should be taken in this regard as follows:

"Kurdish society should create its own unity and a common language for the solution of the issue, and the work of civil society organizations for a solution will be important. The necessity of continuing similar work in different cities was highlighted, and the formation of a joint delegation for possible initiatives and contacts was proposed.

\* In terms of the solution of the Kurdish question, there is a need for a new will for a solution, and for this to be revealed, the weapons must be silenced.

\* The obstacles should be removed, and the necessary opportunities should be provided for all actors to play their role for a lasting solution and peace.

\* The Kurdish issue is the main triangulation point of the country's legal, democratic and economic problems, and political parties should get rid of political bickering and approach the issue on this basis.

\* With all these steps, it has been concluded that there is a need for a new democratic and civilian constitution that will prioritize the solution of social problems and will ensure the participation of all segments in the preparation process and that work should be initiated to this end.

We respectfully share with the public that the work will continue within the framework of the talks to be held with a delegation to be formed in line with these suggestions and demands."



## DEM Party calls for a return to the ‘Dolmabahçe Consensus’

ANF | ANKARA | 28 FEBRUARY 2024

The Central Executive Committee of the DEM Party (Peoples’ Equality and Democracy Party) released a statement calling for a return to the ‘Dolmabahçe Consensus’, a ten-point plan negotiated between Abdullah Öcalan and the Turkish state for a resolution to the Kurdish question on February 28, 2015. The Kurdish side was represented by the HDP, and the delegation included Pervin Buldan, Sırrı Süreyya Önder and Idris Baluken. The peace process was terminated shortly thereafter by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The statement titled “The Dolmabahçe Consensus is the prescription to get rid of multiple crises” pointed out that: “Turkey’s political history is a history of military, civilian and judicial coups. The monist character of the regime, based on denial and assimilation, has always kept the coup mechanism alive in order to sustain its unequal, unjust and undemocratic order. Every step taken for the solution of Turkey’s historical and constitutive problems based on democratic politics and negotiation has been attempted to be thwarted by the coup mechanism.

The statement continued:

“Nine years ago today, the Dolmabahçe Consensus, which opened the doors to a negotiated solution to the Kurdish question and democratization in Turkey, was announced to the public. The Dolmabahçe Consensus, which in each of its articles offers a prescription for a solution to Turkey’s fundamental and historical problems, was rejected by the AKP government.

The rejection of the Dolmabahçe Consensus closed the doors to democratic politics and a democratic solution. The peoples of Turkey once again faced a spiral of violence. With the rejection of the consensus, multiple crises in democracy, justice, freedoms and the economy began to materialize one after another.

The Dolmabahçe Consensus was a historical turning point for the peoples of Turkey. It was a historic opportunity for the solution of the Kurdish question and the problems of democracy, justice and freedoms in Turkey. Since then, it is clear that the will and perspective of the Dolmabahçe Consensus for a solution is needed even more.

Today, we continue to defend the Dolmabahçe Consensus in the strongest and most determined manner in order for the peoples of Turkey to be freed from multiple crises and to find a solution to the country’s historical problems. Despite the conjunctural tensions and the political climate, we have a strong will to develop a solution based on the Dolmabahçe Consensus. We would like to state that it is inevitable to return to the Dolmabahçe spirit for the democratic solution of the Kurdish question and that all political subjects should contribute to this spirit.

The way out of the multiple crises Turkey is going through is to defend the historical Kurdish peace with courage and determination. In this context, as the DEM Party, we strongly emphasize that we are against



all kinds of coups, that we condemn coups and that we will continue our struggle uninterrupted for the political-democratic solution of the Kurdish question.”

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## Interview

### Kalkan: Öcalan’s resistance is against the attempts to exterminate Kurds

ANF | BEHDINAN | 25 FEBRUARY 2024

In this in-depth analysis, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, addressed the latest developments in Kurdistan, the Middle East and the world. Kalkan talked about the recent actions and the developing campaign for the physical freedom of the leader of the Kurdish people, Abdullah Öcalan, and the solution to the Kurdish question.

Kalkan said: “The İmralı system of exile, torture, and genocide, as well as the international conspiracy assault, marked its 25th anniversary on 15 February. The hundredth year of the genocidal assault against the Kurdish people has also begun. As stated by Rêber Apo, 15 February 1925, ought to be remembered as “Kurdish Genocide Day.” We must first acknowledge that this particular situation has never occurred before. Not in the past, not in the present. There has never been a 100-year genocide attack on any society. As a result, it is not appropriate to refer to this issue as the ‘Kurdish question.’ To describe it as a genocidal attack carried out against the Kurds would be oversimplified. This is a special situation. This onslaught is comprehensive, and has been planned and rehearsed for over a century.

There has never been an attack like the one carried out within the framework of the international conspiracy, whether in the past or in the present. The İmralı system of exile, torture, and genocide is also like this. These are not like regular attacks. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to and take seriously the conspiracy attack, the İmralı genocide, the system of torture, and isolation. This oppressive and attacking system is unheard of. These are blows meant to destroy everything. Those who planned this century-long genocide still want to see it through to completion. They are attacking to eradicate the Kurds from history and to annihilate them by looting all of their resources and opportunities. They assert that ‘Kurds are terrorists, Kurds commit crimes, Kurds don’t listen to rules’.

There had been no news or information from Rêber Apo and his other comrades on İmralı for three years. Neither the Turkish law, nor the European Union law, nor the US law legally allows such a thing. But they apply it and no one objects. They don’t even apply their own laws. It is an astonishing situation. Was that law written so that it would actually be implemented or was it written to deceive society, laborers, women, and the youth? Are all those things which have been written lies?

When we look at the Kurdish question from this perspective, and look at the situation of the Kurds and the situation of Rêber Apo, then we see the reality of the historical and current power and state system.”

### **Kurds have been resisting for a century**

Kalkan continued: “In this respect, ‘25 years’ is easily said. Is there any other society in history that has resisted 100 years of genocide? Has anyone been subjected to such a holistic genocide? But the Kurds are still resisting. We really need to understand the hundred-year struggle correctly. What did they do, what did they go through, how many martyrs did they give? How much destruction have they experienced? Their values and opportunities were destroyed. These things are never questioned. As if those who did this have the right to do so. As if this was a right granted by God. Kurds, on the other hand, are as if they have been given the fate of being subjected to these massacres.

The attack on Imrali is of this kind, and so is the resistance of Rêber Apo. There is a 25-year resistance against the Imrali system of torture, isolation and genocide. We have stated before, Imrali is not a prison. It is not a hostage house either. It is actually a management center for the last 25 years of the genocidal attack that has been going on for a century. For 25 years, this genocide has been carried out on the basis of the Imrali system. Because Rêber Apo represents the will and is the representative of Kurdish freedom and existence. That is why he was kidnapped and put on Imrali. Rêber Apo is wanted to be destroyed by this attack. It is the Kurdish people, the Kurdish society, that is wanted to be destroyed in the person of Rêber Apo. With the attack on Rêber Apo, the Kurdish genocide is wanted to be completed, it is wanted to be realized. Therefore, the Imrali resistance was the resistance against such a destructive attack in the enemy’s headquarters for 25 years.

This resistance must also be understood correctly because the possibilities and opportunities for this exist. You can create something with little means and opportunities. This is success. Yet, there is no such opportunity in Imrali. One side has no possibilities, no opportunities. Zero. Even below zero. The other side has everything. It has all kinds of means. It has the means of repression and it attacks. In other words, there is such an unequal war and struggle. The Imrali resistance is a resistance carried out in such an environment of power imbalance. So we really need to understand the Imrali resistance correctly. In all aspects, the lessons of the Imrali resistance are very instructive. It has proved everyone wrong. What was the most revolutionary opinion presented at the start of the conspiracy? That there must be objective conditions. There must be a certain possibility, opportunities at one level or another, so that they can fight intelligently, in a planned way, in style, in a brisk manner, in order to enlarge them and win. There is none of this in Imrali.”

### **Öcalan has become a global leader**

Kalkan added: “In other words, there are no objective conditions, no concrete circumstances. He has nothing except his brain and heart. There is nothing other than humanly resisting with brain and heart power. Therefore, the Imrali resistance is very instructive. Let us pay attention; with his 25 years of resistance on Imrali, Rêber Apo proved that it is possible to fight for freedom and win in all conditions and environments. And even in the most difficult environment. Rêber Apo’s 25 years of resistance on Imrali proved that the greatest revolutionary development and great revolutions can be made if there is a correct understanding and if the power of mindfulness is developed. He achieved a paradigm shift. In such an environment, he transformed himself from a national leader to a global leader. He transformed himself from

being the Kurdish leader to the leader of the peoples, the leader of the oppressed, the leader of women. He revealed a mentality that showed the path of liberation for all the oppressed, and put forward his political philosophy. He realized a revolution of mentality, an intellectual revolution on this level and created a new paradigm, a new understanding, new, viable solutions to all the problems posed by the power and state system. Now whoever sees this, says: "We need this." Therefore, they want to hear and learn more about Rêber Apo's thoughts. They want to benefit more from those thoughts. Because those thoughts are in their own interests. They produce solutions to the problems people face. The İmrālî resistance is such a resistance.

This 25th anniversary was very important. As a whole, we questioned and evaluated ourselves in the line of resistance. We tried to correct and change our mental structures, emotions, morale, understanding and style, in order to renew ourselves in the line of the İmrālî resistance. Because the 25th anniversary required this. Indeed, a quarter of a century is enough to make these evaluations.

Like I mentioned before, we have also entered the 100th anniversary of the genocidal attack on Kurdish society. Now the Kurds will struggle against the 100th anniversary of the genocidal attack in this current year. They will fight against the 26th year of the İmrālî system of torture, isolation and genocide, the 26th year of the conspiratorial attack on this basis, and the 100th year of the genocidal attack."

### **Invincible resistance**

Kalkan said: "If 25 years of the fiercest attack in history could not destroy Rêber Apo, the PKK, or the Kurdish freedom movement, if, despite the conditions, great advances were made, then this resistance is invincible from now on. And the PKK will do more great things. It will serve the people and humanity more. If the Kurds have not been destroyed by the genocidal attack for 100 years, if they have resisted and ensured their existence, they will not only liberate themselves with the struggle for existence and freedom they will wage with the lessons they have learned from here, but they will make all peoples live in freedom, democracy and brotherhood. For this reason, the Kurdish freedom movement and the resistance of Rêber Apo are being carefully evaluated by all oppressed people, especially by women. It is being handled on this basis and it is spreading and turning into a global resistance. We need to spread this more and more and advance towards victory.

Indeed, the global campaign announced on 10 October 2023 was built around the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question. The protests carried out against the 25th anniversary of the 15 February conspiracy reached its peak in the true sense of the word. This is so in every respect.

Let's pay attention; there is no place where there have not been protests against the conspiracy. It was protested everywhere in Kurdistan, everywhere in the world. We all participated in these protests and reorganized and politicized our emotions, our thoughts, our behaviors according to the reality of the İmrālî resistance, which was successful against the conspiracy. This is an important development.

There have also been big protests. For example, young people have been marching in Europe for a month. Not only Kurdish youth, but young people from all over the world, who define themselves as internationalists, have been marching for weeks. They went to the Council of Europe. Finally, they also came to Cologne. It was a big march.

On the other hand, in North Kurdistan, there where groups from Kars and Wan that marched for 15 days. They ended their action on 15 February in Halfeti. They marched united, and dozens of cities and towns were passed through. A lot of work was done for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and for the solution of the Kurdish question, and awareness grew. This is a really big event. Also Rojava is on its feet. Hundreds of thousands, millions are marching. All the people of North and East Syria, from the age of seven to seventy, participated in the protests against the 25th anniversary of the conspiracy.”

## **Resistance in prisons**

Kalkan added: “Our imprisoned people are resisting. The hunger strike they launched is nearing the end of its third month and a warning was issued. The revolutionaries carrying out the hunger strike in the prisons said that more radical, stronger actions will be taken. They postponed it until after the election and made clear that if there will be no change, that they will carry out radical action.

Cologne was a determining factor. Let’s call it the great march of Cologne. It was called a million-strong rally. Everyone agrees that hundreds of thousands participated. Protests against the February 15 conspiracy peaked in Cologne. Let’s add all these actions up; millions protested against the February 15 conspiracy and the system of torture, isolation and genocide on Imrali. Millions expressed that their hearts and minds are with Rêber Apo. They demanded the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and a solution to the Kurdish question. Everyone demonstrated and expressed this in their actions wherever they were. These messages were shown and spoken in Cologne in a way that everyone could see and understand. They made themselves heard. They openly expressed and declared the demand for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and that they would be in continuous action until it is realized. A declaration of a new situation, a declaration of attitude. So it is really a summit. The Kurdish society – women, young people, Kurds who had been exiled abroad due to genocide, came together; they put forward their determination and will to live free and demanded the physical freedom of their representative and the dismantling of the Imrali system. They had a considerable number of international friends with them. Friends from all over the world, friends from all over Europe, women, youth, academics, workers, trade unionists, intellectuals, artists... People who serve society at all levels were with the Kurds in Cologne. And they too demanded the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. They shouted that this was their demand at least as much as the Kurds, that they also needed this.”

## **Cologne set a great example**

Kalkan added: “Cologne is a lesson for everyone, friend and foe alike. Although the Turkish state had tried so hard to convince Germany that it was a ‘terrorist action’, and although the German state tried to block the action, they did not succeed. The results are obvious. So the truth must be seen. A self-evident truth that everyone knows cannot be changed or covered up with false words. So the truth must be seen. There were many calls; they said that the mistakes should be corrected. There were those who said Europe made a mistake too, they should apologize and correct the crime they committed; a crime against humanity... For 25 years, it continues to commit a crime by keeping the Imrali system alive. The Council of Europe manages the Imrali system. This is a fact which is commonly known. Therefore, society told the German state it can get rid of this guilty situation. People who are the brains and hearts of the society warned their own state system by saying “this dark stain cannot continue any longer”. It was indeed a great message for those who understand.

The march of Cologne has shown that no matter what is done, no matter how many attacks are launched, this Kurdish people cannot be destroyed. Kurds can no longer be left without freedom, the genocide against them cannot be completed. Therefore, everyone will accept the existence and free life of the Kurdish people. This will was clearly demonstrated in Cologne with the screaming of hundreds of thousands of people who said, “We learned from Rêber Apo, we want to live together with Rêber Apo”. They will struggle for this and they will surely win.

There are such evaluations and statements. The march of Cologne is described as the summit of the first phase and the beginning of the second phase of the global campaign for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question. There was also a conference in Brussels at the same time. The final declaration of the conference was published and demands were put forward. In fact, what would be done in the second phase was partly included in those demands.

In the 26th year of the international conspiracy of 15 February, the global freedom campaign will be carried out at a higher level with new forms of action. How will this happen? There are various opinions. There are statements by those who are carrying out this work. But if the Cologne rally is the beginning of this work, we can get an understanding of what is possible. There will be more social action. So far, mostly small groups have taken a stand. People have made statements everywhere. There have been various conferences, discussions. Of course there have been various mass actions, but nothing like the Cologne rally. It is understood then, that the Cologne rally is not only a protest against the 25th anniversary of the 15 February Conspiracy, but also the beginning of a new kind of action of the global freedom campaign aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. There will be mass actions from now on. Mass actions will come to the fore. It will be in the form of big actions rather than narrow, small groups. This is how we can understand it.”

Kalkan said: “Apart from this, the legal struggle will undoubtedly develop. This is very important. Let’s not just detract legal struggle. You may not be ideologically close to Rêber Apo, you may not be mentally close to him, you may not be politically close to him. You don’t even have to be a real democrat. If you are a person who believes in law, you need to oppose the system of torture, isolation and genocide in Imralı. There is no law on Imralı. Imralı has no relation with any principle that has been revealed as law in the history of humanity. It is outside of it. You can talk as much as you want about law, democratic law, justice, law as the basis of everything, but then such lawlessness cannot exist. It is easy to expose this. The legal struggle has a much wider potential. It can bring more effective opposition. In this respect, discussions, legal work and struggle that evaluate and analyze the Imralı torture and isolation system from a legal perspective are very important. This will probably develop.

The press and propaganda will be developed more effectively, so both sharing the protests with the masses more and exposing the practices on Imralı more through the press will be developed more. These will be developed by reaching the widest possible media circles. Those who carry out this work, those who are involved in it are evaluating it.

I can add that I think that new forms of action can also include more sustained, long-term, ongoing actions. It is also necessary to research such forms and methods of action. Because there is an important period of time ahead of us that will ensure both mass mobilization and continuity in action. March is approaching. March 8 is the Women’s Struggle Day and 21 March is Newroz, the Kurdish Freedom Day. The Kurds are a society which, 2500 years ago, gave humanity the belief of freedom against the state,

against oppressors. As a gift of freedom, this society is waging the most meaningful struggle in history against genocide. Today, society is at the same point. Therefore, this is a situation exactly in line with the meaning of Newroz.

Newroz can then become the most powerful day of action. A Newroz that far exceeds the 15 February conspiracy protest, involving tens of millions of people, can be developed all over the world. There is 4 April, May 1st. There are important days for struggle. These will be evaluated. In this sense, there will be developments in the coming period. One can easily see this. This freedom campaign will yield results. There must be a level of action that will produce results, that will break the isolation in Imralı, that will lead to steps towards physical freedom. There will be developments in that direction.

In conclusion, let me state the following. Last week my comrade Hêlîn also said that participating in these protests also means to work on ones own liberation. All activists experience this. They carried out their own struggle for freedom. They developed their freedom in spirit, emotion, thought and behavior. They strengthened their will. They will undoubtedly do more of this from now on. On behalf of the PKK leadership, I salute all these actions. I congratulate everyone who participated in the 26th year of struggle against the conspiracy and wish them great success.”

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## Kalkan: Everyone sees what the guerrillas are capable of and how they fought

ANF | BEHDINAN | 26 FEBRUARY 2024

Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, addressed the latest developments in Kurdistan, the Middle East and the world.

The guerrillas are the vanguard. On October 10, before such a campaign was announced, the guerrillas already announced their own campaign in Ankara by destroying the fascist genocidal headquarters. Such was the self-sacrifice act of comrades Rojhat and Erdal. Actually, the process started like that. The guerrilla process started on this basis, and we saw what happened afterward. With a comprehensive revolutionary operation every month, crushing-sweeping blows were dealt to the AKP-MHP fascist hordes without paying attention to the snow or cold. At the end of November, at the end of December...

It was actually in mid-January that the guerrilla launched the new phase. The action in Girê Amediyê... Everything is obvious. What more can we say? Everyone, friend and foe, saw what the guerrillas were capable of and how they fought. Everyone also saw the condition of the opposing force. Everything is in those images. And this is happening for the first time. We have always watched war films, but this is the first time humanity is watching a real war film. And that is on the basis of the action carried out by the Zap guerrilla. We need to see and understand this well. The guerrillas have reached this level. They fight at this level under such harsh conditions, and at the same time, without hesitation, they document the results and presents them to society, to humanity. They say, “I am doing this. Take it, evaluate it, measure it,

mould it. If you like it, like it, if you don't like it, criticise it. But if you are on my side or against me, do it right. See, know and do it with the facts. Let it not be wrong, let it not be random, and let it not be false praise. Even if you are hostile to the guerrilla, don't mislead yourself. Because the guerrilla burns. If you make a mistake, you will burn. AKP-MHP fascist herds made mistakes, they are burning. Everything can be seen. The environment there is really instructive in every respect. There are things for everyone to take into account and learn from.

Everyone should know the Kurdish guerrillas well, and those who want to be friends should know them and be friends. Those who want to make enemies should do so but with an educated opinion. Because the Tayyip Erdoğan administration wants to make everyone an enemy against these guerrillas. He makes a lot of concessions, travels, meetings. He wants to turn everyone against the guerrilla. Everyone should know what they are opposing, not to make mistakes, not to be mistaken in the end. No one should be deceived by the Tayyip Erdoğan administration; that's what we want. Otherwise, they will burn themselves too. We have said before, "There is a way to fight a war, but not like this. Those who do so will be burnt, they will suffer heavy blows. Our Central Headquarters Command has repeatedly stated this, and we have said it too. If they insist, they will suffer heavy defeats. And they did.

They didn't take us seriously, they didn't take us into consideration. They think they are too big, they think of themselves too much. In fact, there are people who were bought and trained by the MIT and the special warfare centre. The MIT put these people in the press. When something like this happens, watch the so-called Turkish press. They draw war strategies, determine tactics, manipulate and direct everyone, and neutralize society. They are all MIT agents, special warfare elements. They are members of the Central Headquarters Command, the Special Forces Command. They are civilian elements of the Turkish army. They are not journalists, commentators or thinkers. They are trying to manipulate. They were influenced by MIT. And they spoke in such high pitches! Here are the results. So there's snow, winter, cold. It works equally against everyone! You saw the guerrilla. How calm, how harmonious, how coherent! How confident, how organised, disciplined, how cool-headed. Who can stand against such a guerrilla?

No army can fight like the HPG and YJA Star command and fighters, like the guerrilla. Neither the American army, nor the Chinese army, nor a NATO army... They cannot last even one day under those conditions. The Turkish army was supposedly the most warlike army of NATO. It is obvious what it has become. Let it be seen. In this respect, it is necessary to silence those deceptive things. In fact, the Turkish public should not follow or listen to them too much. Turkish intellectuals, leftists and democrats should expose them. Because they are brainwashing society. They are doing the most dangerous work. It is really necessary not to give them this opportunity.

Now there is a new announcement by the HPG about Mount Cûdî. They will share the details later, but they said "we have swept the hill". In other words, the large area called Mount Cûdî has several hills; the enemy was located on one of them. Like the place we call Mount Gelhat in Mount Amediyê. They were posted there in a similar way. In the end, the entire presence of the occupying army there was set on fire, burnt and destroyed. The remaining ones will be like this step by step, this will be their end. "They will either flee or perish," our command said. This is being implemented and will be implemented. This was not a simple promise. In this respect, there will be summer, winter, spring and autumn. No one should say that it will happen this time or that time. The guerrilla is questioning itself more, renewing, developing and enriching its forms of action. From now on, it will grow more and spread more. This must be ex-

pected. If these occupying forces try to insist on this war, their attacks and occupation, this will be their end. They will face stronger resistance from the guerrilla.

On this basis, I congratulate all the HPG and YJA Star command and fighter forces who carried out the Martyr Doğan Revolutionary operation. I salute the action. I wish our guerrilla outstanding success as always.

Today Hakan Fidan was in Germany. And strangely, Neçirvan Barzani was also there. They met everywhere. They hugged and embraced so much. Not only that, they also appeared in the German environment in front of the Germans. In other words, they went there to prevent the rally. In fact, they used all their power. The German police would have prevented the rally if it had been in accordance with their laws, and they have already banned even saying *Bijî Serok Apo*. They tried to create a lot of excuses. It became clear who was behind it. Neçirvan Barzani and Hakan Fidan. What can be said about them? These people are worth analysing. We know Neçirvan Barzani, but we should also get to know Hakan Fidan's personality better. How did he turn himself into such a sworn Kurdish enemy, a butcher of the Kurds? We need to understand who he is, what he is, where and how he was trained. He has actually committed many massacres, including the 9 January 2013 Paris Massacre. He is the one who had the 24 December 2022 Paris Massacre carried out too. The person who organised massacres all over Europe, who should have been held responsible for this, who should have been questioned and put on trial, who went as far as to prevent people who were organising a legal rally in Europe. They are marketing Turkey and themselves so that nothing Kurdish can be heard, so that the Kurdish people have no rights, so that no one can even say their name and identity. They do such things. It has come to this point.

Tayyip Erdoğan's trip to Egypt was like that. Very strange. We followed it carefully. Nothing else was said. All AKP channels wrote that Tayyip Erdoğan travelled to Cairo upon Sisi's great request. Why did they feel the need to write this? Of course, it is a ridiculous situation. Because the reality is not like that at all. There are reactions from his base, from Turkish society, from everywhere. What were you saying about Sisi until now? How did you get so cosy with him? What made you go? I mean, he says, "I didn't go, but he asked me and I couldn't resist". I mean, would Tayyip Erdoğan go to any extent even if others asked him? Does he do diplomacy with requests? Of course not. It is necessary to evaluate these trips carefully. Trips to the Middle East have this dimension in particular. The Turkish state is being excluded in the Middle East. The Middle East, which had been shaped since 1923, had been shaped according to the establishment of the Turkish state, according to that nation-state structure. Now a new Middle East is being shaped. The Turkish Republic is not in it. The capitalist system is changing itself at this level in the Middle East. The policies pursued by the Tayyip Erdoğan administration, Kurdish hostility and the war in Kurdistan have brought Turkey to this state. It has exhausted Turkey's geostrategic position and opportunities that they were so proud of and lived on. Everyone needs to see this, especially those who love Turkey. They need to understand what these policies have led to. Now he is trying to compensate for it in a way.

In reality, Turkey is trying to hold on. On the one hand, we saw this with the provocations in the Karabakh war and the Gaza war. They tried to sabotage in both instances. On the other hand, they are trying to beg their way in, trying to save themselves from this exclusion to some extent. All of this is out-casted diplomacy. This is one side.

On the other hand, we know these visits stem from Kurdish hostility. It is an attack against the PKK. Erdoğan is trying to gather strength and means for this. We have been following the issue of Sweden's entry



into NATO for a while, and Turkey used this issue very effectively and received some things from the US and NATO. We see that they have again received approval and support for a recent attack of destruction. This is how the US gave F-16s, this is how negotiations work. In other words, the AKP government did not accept Sweden's membership without getting something in return. It bargained with the genocide war it waged against the Kurds. It received new approval from there, it received support and accepted on this basis. Now they are making preparations to attack. We understand and see this. However, the support and approval of the USA and NATO does not allow the AKP-MHP fascist dictatorship to carry out an attack beyond what has been done so far. It can only repeat what it has done. It has already failed to achieve results with these actions. It could not realise what it had planned. It was broken, and its will was defeated in the Media Defence Areas. They could not succeed in the invasion attacks. They made plans and declared that they were destroying the PKK many times. Those words came to naught dozens of times. They turned out to be liars, they were unable to achieve what they said they would. Now they realise that if Erdoğan does the same thing, he will not get a different result.

In fact, he wants to make this new attack even stronger by involving other forces. We understand and follow this too. The meeting with Iran was entirely within this framework. They persistently arranged for the Iranian President to visit Turkey. They were already constantly threatening Iraq and the PUK. In fact, they want to include Iraq and PUK in their new attack plans through Iran. We don't know how much they reconciled with Iran, what they did. We do not think that Iran will entertain this too much. Iran has been giving support to the Turkish state a certain level so far. They are already working together. They carry out some attacks together. Iran provides intelligence, Turkey attacks. Even PJAK forces are attacked by Turkish planes. These are happening in cooperation with Iran. It could not happen otherwise. Beyond that, Iran has nothing more to offer. Because it does not have a difficult situations like Turkey. It does not have a problem at that level. In other words, Iran's interests do not require this. But Erdoğan is trying to increase the pressure on Iraq and the PUK by saying "I also met with Iran". This was also the reason behind the heavy propaganda for the Egypt visit.

In other words, they want to influence Iraq and the Arab world by meeting with Egypt. On the other hand, they seem to be behind the war in Gaza, together with Egypt. They are trying to market it as a war against the Kurds. They are also trying to get support from Egypt in this direction. Supposedly, they will include Iraq and the PUK in this war of aggression that it is waging together with the KDP. It is difficult, they are having some difficulty. There may be a lot of pressure on them, but neither Iraq nor the PUK has any interest in this. There is no situation that will bring them to participate. Can negotiations with forces like Egypt give anything to Turkey in this regard? We do not think they will give much. In other words, they can develop economic and commercial relations. They have needed this for a while. Egypt also needed it. We don't think there will be anything beyond that.

Arab society and intellectuals and states must be sensitive. Egypt and others... No one should make the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Kurdish people for such a just cause of existence and freedom a bargaining point for simple economic and political interests. They will be exposed, they will be damaged. Let's say this publicly. Let all Arab states know this well. They have nothing left to do with Turkey. If they do this, if they oppose the cause of the Palestinian and Kurdish people, the relations they have established with Israel will not save them either. Because it is the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom and the Palestinian people's struggle that has made them effective in the Middle East and given them power of influence. This is where we win. The Arab states should see and understand this very well. In particular Arab intellectuals, writers and politicians should see this reality better. The women and labourers of Arab society

should see it better and put pressure on them. We called this the Kurdish-Arab strategic relationship and alliance. It is important. Kurds have never opposed the rights of the Arab people. They foresaw that the basis of their struggle was to change the regional order that emerged at the end of the First World War. If that order ignored the Kurds, it also fragmented and weakened the Arabs to such an extent. It would make them the weaker power of the Middle East.

The Kurds gave the greatest support to save the Arabs from this with the struggle they waged. Now, instead of recognising this reality and establishing better relations with the Kurdish Freedom and Democracy Movement, if they re-engage themselves with forces such as the Turkish Republic and the AKP-MHP fascist dictatorship in order to create a new region, a democratic region in the Middle East, they will lose more than the Kurds. Why? Because Turkey wants to take the place called Misak-ı Milli. Erdoğan promises “I will not occupy it, I will take it and give it to you,” but it is a lie. This is not so. In fact, Erdoğan wants to occupy Kurdistan and take up a position there. Of course, he will then develop Neo-Ottomanism. They will then say that “all of Arab areas were already ours. It was ours a century ago, it was ours 70 years ago, they took it from us”, they say we can take it again. Everyone sees this. The Kurds are struggling, they are blocking the way. Therefore, it is dangerous. AKP-MHP fascism is not only anti-Kurdish, it is also anti-Arab. They also provoked HAMAS to this situation. Tayyip Erdoğan, more than anyone else, is responsible for the situation in Gaza, the AKP administration is responsible. Now they are trying to find a solution with the AKP. What will you find a solution with? He threw the Palestinian people into the fire to ensure his own interests. No one should negotiate over the blood of the people of Gaza. We expose this, we oppose those who do such things. We have this level of brotherhood and friendship with the Palestinian people. We have seen friendship from them. We will maintain this until the end. In this respect, whoever tries to make simple economic and political interest calculations on the blood of the Palestinian people, they will of course find us against them. We will expose them, we will oppose them.

Turkey wants to do something of its own, but we don't think it can. Neither Egypt, Iraq nor Iran will go along with this. Everyone sees what the AKP-MHP army has become in Zap. Who would follow an army that is crushed in the middle of winter? Who will tie their own interests there? We don't think they will, but the AKP-MHP obviously wants to direct everyone more towards the Kurds and the PKK because of their interest calculations.

It is the society, intellectuals, labourers, workers, youth and women of Turkey who will oppose this. There is no awareness there either. This awareness remains very weak and feeble. Such a struggle, the exposure of this situation should be much stronger. When will they come to their senses? They should come to their senses now. For more than 20 years, this AKP administration has done its job. Will they be patient with this administration any longer? Therefore, it is actually society in Turkey that should learn lessons from all this. Intellectuals, workers and labourers, trade unions. But they remain weak. We also need to work to develop this awareness persistently.

They used to say, “We will save the 9 workers like this, we will save them like that”. Now they say those people have lost their lives. I commemorate them with respect, but they should neither be workers like this nor martyrs. So we shouldn't be like that. We must make ourselves responsible for our own lives, we must make ourselves effective. If we depend our lives so much on others, they will force us to this level. They will crush us. We must not become like that. Now it's murder in plain sight. Someone is making money extracting gold, and the other is losing his life. Now they say the water of the Euphrates is being poisoned.

The whole of Mesopotamia will die, and no one makes a sound. It's very strange. I mean, can it be like this? Can there be such a system of looting and plunder? No society can endure this.

In fact, it is really incomprehensible that the society in Turkey accepts this in this way. Can such a thing be accepted? But they have neutralised society through special warfare, lies, pressure and force. They produce such moneymakers. Why are they doing this? All this looting and plundering is to slaughter the Kurds. They say: "We are building a war industry, we are strengthening our defence industry, we are buying so much of this, so much of that, and we are hitting the Kurds". Now these are being used in the Kurdish genocide. Kurdish genocide, Kurdish enmity have brought Turkey to this state. It sells all its means to the market. It went to NATO and surrendered. It begs and receives money. He begged Iran, trying to get support. He went to Egypt and did so many things. He is begging the Egyptian government for support. There is no reputation, no effectiveness left. Crisis – economic crisis, political crisis – is at its peak. On the other hand, ecological plunder is now at a much higher level. This process started with hydroelectric power plants in Artvin, in the Black Sea region. The hands of those women should be kissed for how they opposed back then? But they suppressed all the women. They were silenced. No one stood up for them. They organised protests saying "We oppose these HEPPs". After that, the government left no forests. They burnt and looted them because they wanted to mine gold.

They destroy the forest to make money, to make certain people rich. They burnt and cut down the whole of Kurdistan. What has already been done to the beautiful Botan Bestler? It was flattened. I mean, we couldn't oppose it. We really need to destroy everyone who does that. Because they are killers of nature. Any kind of struggle can be waged against those murderers. Whoever is doing it is a murderer. It is necessary to stand against them. But for example, this regime is not only genocidal, not only a Kurdish murderer, not only an Arab enemy, not only a misogynist; it is also an enemy of nature, an enemy of greenery. It is hostile to the values we live in.

Capitalism is already a system of maximum profit, looting and plunder. It will do anything to earn more. It also needs weapons for the Kurdish genocide and money for the weapons. Therefore, Turkey has nothing left that it has not plundered, marketed and sold. They have cut down so many forests. They destroyed the Kaz Mountains and other places, so many forests and territories. They sold many places, they sold the Black Sea in one way or another. They are selling Istanbul's Bosphorus in some way. Some say it was sold to Israel, some say to Qatar. There is no part of Turkey that has not been sold. There is no value left unsold. They always take money and inflate their own bellies. They also gain weapons to hit the Kurds. They feed these fascist herds. They attack for Kurdish massacre and genocide.

Enmity against Kurds, enmity against women, and enmity against society go hand in hand with enmity against nature. Once you are an enemy to one, you are an enemy to all. This is a very important situation. We were really insufficient in this regard. We needed to expose more, we needed more organisation both in Kurdistan and in Turkey. We especially needed more struggle against the plunder of nature. We need to attach great importance to the ecological struggle. This business is dangerous. Your money is gone. You can replace it after two years, but you cannot restore nature. You can't bring it back. Once you've lost it, you can either never get it back or it takes 10 -100 years. This is the biggest loss.

Consciousness is very important, organisation is very important, struggle is very important. Leader Apo built his democratic socialist paradigm on two pillars. One is women's freedom, the other is nature friend-

ship, social ecology. Women's liberation and ecology create a two-legged existence that is so interconnected.

Therefore, without an ecological revolution, without an ecological system, there can be neither women's freedom nor freedom of society. We need to approach it at this level and develop ecological consciousness, organisation and action at this level.



## Hozat: Kurdish people achieved the Democratic Nation revolution under the direction of Öcalan

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KCK Executive Council co-chair Besê Hozat spoke to ANF about the “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, political solution to the Kurdish question” international initiative as well as the struggle of the Kurdish people and their friends against the International Conspiracy.

*Under the title “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a political solution to the Kurdish Question,” the global freedom campaign got underway on October 10, 2023, and it reached millions of people throughout the four regions of Kurdistan and the rest of the world. The whole population of Rojava arose, and freedom marches were held throughout Northern Kurdistan. On February 17, 2024, hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Cologne for the historic rally. What kinds of successes were attained during this procedure, and what did they demonstrate? Was it insufficient?*

February is the month of the international conspiracy. I want to start by denouncing and condemning the forces behind the conspiracy. Again, countless friends and patriots formed a strong opposition and performed self-sacrifice acts in response to the global conspiracy. For the past twenty-five years, there has been incredible opposition. I commemorate all the martyrs that fell in the struggle for freedom and the revolution with respect, love and gratitude. For 25 years, Rêber Apo has been developing a great resistance and struggle under the torture and genocide regime of Imrali. He has waged this struggle in the name of free Kurdishness. However, Rêber Apo's struggle is not limited to the Kurdish struggle for independence; Rêber Apo is also resisting the Imrali torture and genocide regime on behalf of women. He resists on behalf of societies; he resists on behalf of humanity. In this sense, the struggle that Rêber Apo is developing, the resistance he is living, is a great human resistance. It is the single greatest resistance for freedom.

This has been an ongoing, 25-year struggle that keeps getting deeper and greater with time. Under the kind of torture and tyranny that Rêber Apo endures, no leader has ever been able to accomplish such a profound concentration and deepening of intellectual, theoretical, philosophical, ideological, structural, and organizational knowledge. This is the source of his strength and his source of reality. He was able to put this into writing and communicate it to history and the rest of humanity. It is unprecedented in the history of the world for someone to experience such a deepening on behalf of the Kurdish people, on behalf of the peoples of the Middle East, on behalf of humanity, and on behalf of women, and to turn it into a five-volume paradigm change that is accessible to all of humanity in a place like Imrali, where torture,

genocide, fascism, genocidal warfare, and special psychological warfare are waged at every level and in every dimension.

There has never been resistance like this in history. Under such circumstances, it is unheard of to maintain a will so powerful, consciousness so sharp, moral drive so strong, and the capacity of meaning continuously expanding and deepening to such an extent. This is indeed a superhuman will, a superhuman resistance stance. Undoubtedly, this stems from the reality of Rêber Apo, from his power of meaning, and from his high passion for the freedom struggle. Rêber Apo developed his five volumes of prison writings under those conditions. These five volumes of prison writings are about the defense of the Kurdish people, the peoples of the Middle East, and humanity. Rêber Apo created and presented the democratic, ecological, women's libertarian paradigm, the paradigm of 'Democratic Nation' and 'Democratic Confederalism' to society under the conditions of torture, genocide, and the attacks on Imrali. This work, struggle, opposition, and stance are genuinely indescribable.

On the basis of this viewpoint and the resistance that Rêber Apo created on Imrali, a great struggle has been ongoing for 25 years. The "You cannot darken our sun" campaign was the beginning of it, and it hasn't stopped until this day. In Kurdistan and beyond, our people fought a brave and difficult struggle all over the globe. The free Kurdish guerrilla forces have developed a great resistance and follow a sacrificial philosophy without interruption, and this resistance is reaching its peak. It is a resistance at its peak in the centers of Zap, Avashîn and Metîna. Around this resistance, our people from Rojava have put forward a great revolution that has deeply affected the Middle East, the whole world, and humanity, shaken capitalist modernity to its foundations, and inspired humanity. They gave tens of thousands of martyrs and paid a great price for it. This resistance spread with the same mentality. It has a great impact on women and on the whole Middle Eastern society. It affected global society tremendously and led to a serious democratic transformation. It led to a transformation of mentality in society. It led to a revolution of conscience.

So, to answer the question of what has been accomplished and what the outcome of these twenty-five years has been, we can state that the revolution was made possible by the resistance that Rêber Apo presented, the struggle that he formulated, and the paradigm of Democratic Nation and Democratic Confederalism that he established. The Kurdish people achieved the Democratic Nation revolution under the direction of Rêber Apo, the Kurdish freedom fighters, and the Kurdish Freedom Movement. It had an impact on humanity and sent all the Middle Eastern peoples through a profound transformation. This is a great accomplishment. The 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question' campaign, which was started on October 10, 2023, continued to grow and spread. It began under the direction of our international friends and evolved under the direction of worldwide socialists, democrats, and revolutionaries. Actually, after 25 years of uninterrupted resistance, this is the beginning of the next phase.

Following the North Kurdistan Freedom March and the large-scale Cologne March on February 17, an international group traveled to Turkey a few days ago to confront the global threat posed by Imrali. There were delegations that went before that. They held many meetings in Turkey. The entire body of work produced by these international friends, as well as by democratic, revolutionary, socialist, conscientious, libertarian, and individual circles, is a culmination of the continuous 25-year battle centered around Rêber Apo's stance and resistance. They go hand in hand.

In this sense, I salute Rêber Apo's resistance with respect and love. I salute this great internationalized, universalized, globalized resistance for freedom, equality, and democracy, which has been developing for 25 years on the axis of this resistance, which has been going on continuously and is about to reach its peak. I also salute everyone who is giving their all to the ongoing campaign, including the participants in the Freedom Marches in North Kurdistan and Turkey, the Cologne rally in Europe, and others. I'd like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to everyone who is striving and working toward this goal. What has this process achieved? As I said, the 25-year struggle has become globalized.

In this sense, the paradigm of the Democratic Nation has transcended Kurdistan. It has become regionalized and universalized. In other words, it became a part of Middle Eastern society, as well as the global community. Around Rêber Apo's paradigm of Democratic Nation and Democratic Confederalism, a large number of philosophers, academics, writers, artists, politicians, environmentalists, feminists, and other resilient, resisting, and struggle-oriented members of society are currently fighting in great solidarity and unity with the Kurds. They are gathering under the leadership of Rêber Apo, participating in the march for freedom. Rêber Apo is marching for freedom in the name of humanity. This is a very concrete demonstration of the level of universalization of the freedom march that is reaching its peak and entered a new stage on October 10.

The success of the leadership paradigm is demonstrated by the fact that prominent philosophers and intellectuals who have dedicated their lives to furthering humankind and spent a great deal of intellectual energy proclaim that Rêber Apo is their leader, that the Kurds' struggle is their struggle, and that Rêber Apo's march for freedom is their march for freedom. A quarter of a century of unbroken struggle around Rêber Apo demonstrates his power and accomplishments. This is a success, a great success. It is incorrect to distinguish the October 10 process from the 25 years of unbroken struggle and opposition. This is a new chapter in its history. It demonstrates the degree to which the fight has become more universal and worldwide and, thus, the degree to which the Democratic Nation and Democratic Confederalism paradigms have been successful and accepted. Naturally, this is a huge success.

The isolation of Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan is not personal and affects the lives of everyone, and therefore it seems to have become clearer in this process how concrete and true the slogan "Abdullah Öcalan's freedom is my freedom too" is. The demand for the physical freedom of Öcalan has gained global character and dimension. What is the significance of this development, both in terms of his freedom and his becoming a global leadership and in terms of the future of Kurdistan? The paradigm that Rêber Apo has developed is what distinguishes him as a global leader. In this way, Rêber Apo has brought about a very significant revolution and created a serious breakthrough in the socialist thought and socialist ideology that has persisted to this day. What was that? This ideology, or socialist philosophy, had an influence on the PKK when it was first formed. The solution to the Kurdish question was seen in a socialist Kurdish state. All socialist movements saw the solution to the self-determination of nations in a socialist nation-state. It also saw the solution to the problems of humanity in a social system that is actually not far from the state or from power. But did this really bring a solution for humanity?

Marx, Lenin, and Engels are great leaders. They are the masters of socialism, they have really been a great source of inspiration for all resistance, for all humanity. They influenced the people's resistance, class struggle, and gender struggle in a positive way. In this sense, they are undoubtedly great leaders. But the solution they developed did not go much beyond class and state understanding. They interpreted socialism on the basis of their understanding of the power state. This mentality could not be overcome. In this sense,

Rêber Apo made a great revolution. He broke the deadlock that all socialist movements were in. He overcame real socialism. He developed the theory, philosophy, ideology, and social system of Democratic Socialism. An understanding of socialism free from power and the state, an understanding of social solutions based on the organization of the democratic communal, Democratic Confederal system; an understanding of social liberation based on the unity, equality, freedom, and coexistence of people; and an understanding of social liberation that puts women's freedom at its center. This is a new paradigm. This is a truly libertarian paradigm. It's an ecological and democratic paradigm in the true sense. A social life and a social structure that are removed from the state and power, rejecting nationalism and female enslavement. It opposes both religionism and scientism. It disapproves of violence, war, occupation, oppression in all its manifestations, and colonialism. Only with this mindset and comprehension can true freedom be arranged and established, together with a democratic, free system.

Rêber Apo put forward the philosophy, ideology, theoretical framework, practical application, implementation methods, and duties of this system. He defined the body of the system based on this understanding as a whole. He also laid out the method of organizing it. Therefore, when we consider Rêber Apo in this framework, of course he is the socialist leader of the twenty-first century and the centuries to come, of history. He is not only the leader of the Kurds. He is the leader of all groups and humanity who believe in socialism, who believe in democracy, freedom, and equality, who believe in women's freedom, who believe in the freedom of nature, and who believe in the interrelationship between humans and nature. Rêber Apo defends this. He is not only defending it in a general sense. With tremendous intellectual labor, under the regime of torture and genocide on Imralı, Rêber Apo has brought out this paradigm.

Therefore, on behalf of all oppressed classes, on behalf of working people, on behalf of all oppressed peoples, on behalf of women, and on behalf of all environmental and ecological groups, Rêber Apo is, of course, a leader of freedom. As these ideas and thoughts of Rêber Apo spread, as they are recognized, a great acceptance develops, people say: "Yes, this is what we are fighting for". Today our friends always give examples, like for example, Mr. Zizek, but not only him, hundreds of philosophers, intellectuals, artists, politicians, socialists, environmentalists, feminists, as they get to know Rêber Apo, they say that "Yes, this is what we are fighting for. Rêber Apo fights for the same values we fight for and defend. That is why Rêber Apo is resisting on Imralı. Embracing the freedom of Rêber Apo, fighting for his physical freedom is also our own struggle for freedom". In this sense, Rêber Apo has become a universal leader. The impact of bringing the paradigm to the global society, to all segments, will be very, very great. As the paradigm spreads, as the ideas of Rêber Apo become known, global participation in the struggle for freedom will reach gigantic proportions.

In this respect, we need to continue this struggle with great excitement, enthusiasm, real assertiveness and faith.

*You state that the freedom movement has reached a new stage with the Cologne march. What is this stage? How will this campaign be developed from now on? The freedom campaign that has been developing since October 10 is a very important stage of the 25-year struggle. There have been many evaluations that it is a second stage after the Cologne march in terms of the next process.*

This campaign will continue to grow internationally under the leadership of our international friends, under the leadership of international friendly circles. As far as we know, there are very important plans being made, showing that these efforts will continue. In this second phase, the campaign will continue to grow.

It will be socialized and massified. The perfect environment for the coming period is already getting prepared.

March 8 is in the near future. On March 8, I believe that the women will show a very strong participation in this campaign. Women have seen and know this now. Many feminist circles embrace and struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo. Rêber Apo's resistance is women's resistance for freedom. Rêber Apo's struggle of 50-years for women's liberation, the efforts he has put forth, intellectually, theoretically, ideologically, philosophically, and practically, are efforts that no other socialist leader in history has put forth. Rêber Apo confronted the male-dominated system, the capitalist modernist system, and the hegemonic system. He waged a great struggle. He paved the way for women in every aspect, gave them consciousness. He developed a great enlightenment in women. This level of development and emancipation in Kurdish women affected the women of the region and the women of the world. It has created a serious transformation in society, a democratic transformation. This is really important. I believe that women will develop massive and great participation in this campaign throughout the whole month of March. Because the freedom of Rêber Apo is the freedom of women. There will be strong participation with this understanding.

Afterwards is Newroz. There will be mass participation in Newroz. In Kurdistan, there will be mass participation in the magnificent Freedom March and freedom campaign. The next big day is April 4. It is the birthday of Rêber Apo, and therefore the birthday of the Kurds, the birthday of humanity. This will also be massively welcomed and celebrated. Moreover, May 1st is the day of resistance among workers and laborers. It is a day of struggle. There is a universal aspect to the leadership. Rêber Apo is the leader of the workers and laborers. He resists and struggles on behalf of all the oppressed. 50 years of struggle have been filled with this. The paradigm he has put forward also expresses this as a whole.

The system of Democratic Confederalism is the expression of the whole. Therefore, a great mass mobilization will emerge with the second phase, and in this regard, I call on all the women, the Kurdish people, and all our international friends to participate and lead this second phase in a very strong way. Under the leadership of women, youth, Kurds and our international friends everywhere, we must continue this march for freedom by universalizing and globalizing it. This process creates the environment and climate for this in every aspect.

Another dimension is that we must wage a very strong legal struggle in this second phase. There is a genocide attack ongoing in Imrali. A genocide regime has been implemented in Imrali. Genocide is a crime against humanity. In an international system that is currently under the control of the conspiratorial forces, the Imrali system and the Council of Europe are also responsible for this. America, England, and Israel, who are at the head of the conspiracy, are also responsible for this. All these conspiratorial forces are also responsible for this. The Turkish state has implemented a genocide regime in this international Imrali system. It is waging a genocidal war on Imrali. Therefore, it is committing a crime of genocide. The genocidal war in Imrali has spread to all of Kurdistan and has turned into genocide against all Kurds. The 100-year genocide policy on Kurds has now spread to the whole of Kurdistan, with its center being Imrali.

There is an intense pressure on society in Turkey in the form of fascism. We must wage a very serious political, legal and diplomatic struggle against this crime against humanity. We must expose all these states and powers that act in the name of law but do not respect their own law in any way, that violate the law for their own economic and political interests. We must unmask them in every aspect. We must expose the



Turkish state. We must create a very serious international pressure on the Turkish state. We must create public pressure. In this sense, we need to carry out the second phase of the campaign very strongly.

What gives the campaign for 'solution to the Kurdish question and the physical freedom of Rêber Apo' the most serious potential is the result and power created by the spread of Rêber Apo's paradigm. Seeing this in a better light, we should develop the work of spreading the ideas and paradigm of the Rêber Apo in a multifaceted way everywhere. We must put forward this struggle with an effort ten times greater than the effort made so far.

*The resistance of Abdullah Öcalan on Imrali and the resistance of the Freedom Movement, the people, youth, women, and international friends of the Kurdish people has entered its 26th year. What should be done in the 26th year? Who has what kind of duties? How can a more powerful, effective and result-oriented style of administration and struggle be developed?*

The struggle that our people have been waging for 25 years on the axis of the resistance and paradigm of the leadership has now become an international struggle. The Kurdish question has become a regional and global question. This situation has emerged as a result of the struggle of the Kurdish people, the Kurdish Freedom Movement, and its international friends. This is an important achievement, a very important result. It is now such that this consciousness is developing in the Kurdish people, in society, in communities and circles outside the Kurdish people.

The freedom of the Kurdish people and the freedom of Rêber Apo are completely intertwined. This has always been like this from the beginning. Our 50 years of struggle was always like this. But for the first time this consciousness is being gained at this level, at an advanced level. This is being realized. This is being brought to consciousness. This is a very important thing. Therefore, the Kurdish people now say, "If Rêber Apo is free, I will be free. If Rêber Apo is free, there will be a status in Kurdistan. Kurds will gain their political and democratic rights." The consciousness and realization of this are now deeply developed in the Kurdish people. This is very important. They see their existence and freedom in the freedom of Rêber Apo and they struggle on this basis. We need to deepen this consciousness even more and carry out the struggle on this basis, the struggle for freedom, on the basis that the freedom of Rêber Apo is the freedom of the Kurdish people, the freedom of Kurdistan, in a very comprehensive manner, with a great claim and determination in 2024 and in the years to come.

Again, as I mentioned, many circles outside the Kurds define Rêber Apo's freedom as their own freedom. They say that Rêber Apo must be liberated to prevent ecological destruction. They say that Rêber Apo must be liberated in order to prevent sexism and the genocide of women. Women's movements and progressive humanity say that if society is to be liberated, Rêber Apo must be liberated. He is considered a universal leader. He is considered as the leader of this struggle.

In the same way, the struggle for ecology, the struggle for women's freedom, and the struggle for all oppressed sections of the working class must continue in a very strong manner. This has reached a very important stage. We are closer to the physical freedom of Rêber Apo than ever before. Therefore, the freedom of the Kurdish people is closer than ever. But the attacks are also fierce. There are nationalist, religionist, reactionary, sexist, fascist, multidimensional, and multifaceted attacks against Rêber Apo's paradigm. There are still some real socialist sectors that resist Rêber Apo's paradigm. They are also under attack. There is a

multifaceted counter-struggle, that is, an attack against the paradigm of Rêber Apo and the reality of the leadership.

The struggle developed by our people and the guerrilla has always frustrated the international conspiracy. The torture and genocide regime in Imrali is also a continuation of the conspiracy. But this conspiracy has always been frustrated by the struggle. The physical extermination of Rêber Apo, the liquidation of the Kurdish freedom movement, and the finalization of the Kurdish genocide were also frustrated by this 50 and 25 years of uninterrupted struggle.

Today, in the 26th year of the Imrali resistance, Rêber Apo has become a universal leader. The paradigm of the Rêber Apo, the universalization of the paradigm of the Democratic Nation, has developed great international acceptance. This is a success; this is a victory. We need to take this to a conclusion with great faith, determination, and an understanding of struggle and resistance. The way to success is struggle, struggle, struggle. The way to success is organized and united resistance, and organized and united struggle. So far, the struggle has proven this. In a way, the struggle so far proves and confirms the future.

In this sense, I wish success to our people, our international friends, and all revolutionary, democratic, left, socialist, ecological, feminist, worker, and laborer groups who are struggling and resisting. Any struggle on the axis of Rêber Apo will definitely lead all these groups to freedom. This struggle process has revealed this very clearly.



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