

THE İMRALI POST

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

Issue № 123 / 18 October 2024 ★ Contact: imralipost@freeocalan.org

Contents

Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan.....	2
Thousands march in Amed before the rally for 'Freedom for Öcalan'.....	2
The way to the freedom of the peoples is through İmralı!.....	3
Press statement in Amed: Stop the torture, open the doors of İmralı!.....	5
Bakırhan: Peace cannot be achieved through isolation and locking the doors of İmralı.....	6
CÎK members take over the Freedom Vigil in Strasbourg.....	7
Prisons.....	7
Prisoners from Rojava subject to inhuman treatment in Turkey.....	7
Human rights activists demand the release of ill prisoner Hatice Onaran.....	8
Warisha Moradi:I won't go to court in protest against the death sentences handed down to my comrades.....	9
32-year-old prisoner dies.....	10
Pakshan Azizi not allowed to meet with her family and lawyers for 100 days.....	11
Warisha Moradi on day 6 of indefinite hunger strike in Evin Prison.....	12
84-year-old seriously ill prisoner transferred back to Iskenderun jail.....	13
Peace Mothers in Sine go on hunger strike in solidarity with Warisha Moradi.....	13
Military aggression and occupation.....	14
KCK: Elections in South Kurdistan important for Kurdistan's liberation from occupation and genocide.....	14
Syrian Democratic Council: The future of Syria must be decided by the Syrian people.....	16
SDF: The legacy of our martyrs is the basis of our establishment.....	17
KDP places photo traps for the Turkish state against guerrilla forces.....	19
Occupation forces shell villages in Afrin-Shehba and Manbij.....	19
More than 19,500 people have crossed from Lebanon to North-East Syria.....	20
Bafil Talabani to Barzanis: You sold out the Yazidis and Kurdistan lands.....	20
At least 27 people kidnapped in Afrin and Azaz in ten days.....	21
Invaders fired 108 howitzers and mortars on villages of Manbij.....	21
Economist Müftüoğlu: AKP's armament expenditures are too high.....	22
Nechirvan Barzani in Ankara for talks with Erdoğan.....	23
KDP agent confesses: Zekî Şengalî was murdered with MIT-KDP partnership.....	24
Femicide.....	25
Hevrîn Xelef, a pioneer for the future of Syria.....	25
Many detained as soldiers attack Peace Mothers demonstrating in Silopi.....	26
Body of 21-year-old Rojin found on the bank of Lake Van.....	26
Women stage a silent march for Rojin Kabaiş in Amed.....	27
Bar Association on Rojin Kabaiş's death: There was negligence, we were excluded from the process	28
Peace Mothers deported 9 days before hearing.....	29

Peace Mothers: We will continue to be human shields until the war stops.....	29
Human Rights Violations.....	30
Turkey bans Kurdish-language film Rojbash from commercial release.....	30
Radio and Television Supreme Council revokes Açık Radyo's terrestrial license.....	31
4 DEM Party members, including district co-chair, detained in Kahya, Adıyaman.....	32
ETHA editor Pınar Gayıp taken into custody.....	32
Şebnem Korur Fincancı to be forcibly brought to court for a new trial.....	32
Political genocide: 269 people detained in 36 cities.....	34
Five kolbars tortured by Iranian forces in Mariwan, one in serious condition.....	34
Yeni Yaşam newspaper issue to be confiscated over the headline ‘The Kurds’ dream is to meet Öcalan’	35
At least 16 people detained in Amed and Malatya.....	35
DEM Party İnegöl district building attacked.....	35
Court rules for the release of all detainees in the Şenyaşar family attack case.....	36
Former co-chair of Kurdish Research Association sentenced to 6 years and 3 months in prison.....	37
Interview.....	37
Kalkan: The system of capitalist modernity means war and aggression.....	37
Kalkan: Israeli war is a war of the system. US and NATO are behind it.....	43
'The campaign for Öcalan's freedom and a solution for Kurdistan must be continued with rich methods'	48
Karasu: Bahçeli's handshake with the DEM Party is a new game.....	54
Karasu: Turkey has been left out of the equation in the Middle East.....	62
Opinion.....	66
Yilmaz: The attack on the Kurdish language is not independent of the Kurdish question.....	66



Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

Thousands march in Amed before the rally for ‘Freedom for Öcalan’

ANF | AMED | 13 OCTOBER 2024

Before the rally organised by the Democratic Institutions Platform with the slogan ‘We resist against the conspiracy, we meet in Amed for freedom’, many locations in Amed (Diyarbakır) were blockaded by the Turkish state forces. A number of streets and avenues of the city, especially the İstasyon (Station) Square, were blocked by armoured vehicles.

A number of people, including DEM Party MPs, gathered on Göçmenler Street in the Fatih neighbourhood of Bağlar district and marched towards İstasyon Square. Police forces tried to prevent the march. Many other people gathered in front of AZC Plaza in the Ofis neighbourhood, one of the gathering places for the rally.

On the other hand, thousands of citizens who wanted to go to Amed from different cities were prevented by the police on the grounds of the ban decisions taken by the governorships. After the preventions, sit-in protests started in many cities.

In many places in Turkey, buses on their way to Amed were stopped by the police. A bus with forty people from Çanakkale and Balıkesir was stopped and checked seven times on Saturday evening, and in Bursa the bus was not allowed to continue. The people protested against the measure with a sit-in. In Ankara, people who had gathered in Kurtuluş Park to travel together to Amed were surrounded by police. The DEM Party headquarters in Yüksekova has been besieged by a large police force since Saturday morning. In Mersin, Adana, Dersim, Urfa, Batman, Siirt and Van, departures to Amed have also been prevented.

As the İstasyon Square was blockaded before the rally, people gathered at many points in the city. Thousands of people came together in Ofis neighbourhood, one of the gathering places. Peoples' Democratic Congress (HDK) Co-spokesperson Cengiz Çiçek, Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chairs Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar and Keskin Bayındır, Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Co-Chairs Tuncer Bakırhan and Tülay Hatimoğulları, Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan's brother Mehmet Öcalan also attended the meeting.

People frequently chant the slogans 'Bijî Serok Apo' (Long Live Leader Öcalan) and 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadi' (Woman, Life, Freedom) as they have started the Freedom March from many points of the city.

Young people are organising a march on the streets of Bağlar district with the slogan 'Bijî Serok Apo'.

In the meantime, people travelling from Mardin and Şırnak to join the rally in Amed reached the Çınar district of Amed. The people started to march to the centre of Amed, defying the police barrier.

The people travelling from Urfa were stopped at Pirinçli Police Point at the entrance to Amed. The crowd then started to march on foot.



The way to the freedom of the peoples is through İmralı!

ANF | AMED | 13 OCTOBER 2024

Following the ban on the rally planned to be held in Amed (Diyarbakır) today, people mobilising from many cities were prevented by the police.

While the resistance against police obstacles continues, marches have started from all over the city.

The people gathered at various points in the city, mainly in Ofis neighbourhood, Sur and Bağlar districts, and started marches and protests. Masses marching from all over the city met in Ofis neighbourhood.

Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar stated the following in her speech:

“All this time has passed, governments have changed, there have been no courageous governments with a project on the Kurdish question. The 9 October international conspiracy was a war between two systems. One was the democratic Middle East project, which aims for the freedom of the Kurdish people and the free and equal life of all peoples in the Middle East. The other project was the Greater Middle East Project led by hegemonic powers. The 9 October conspiracy was the clash of these two systems. By removing the democratic Middle East system and its pioneer from the Middle East, the system continues to inflict on humanity the wars we are experiencing today. What is this Kurdish question? We always say, there are those who understand and those who don't. There are those who listen and those who do not. The Kurdish question is the disintegration and denial of the Kurdish homeland, the deepest division of the realities of society, and the prevention of the Kurds from being themselves.

The political will of the Kurds must be suppressed and they must be forced to submit to the state's policy of denial and annihilation. The Kurdish issue is the question of Kurds not living free. It is the problem of being prevented from being a nation. This is the determination of Mr Öcalan, the leader of the Kurdish people. The Kurdish question is a problem that is denied by saying ‘we have solved it’. Let everyone hear; the Kurdish question is not a security issue, it is a problem of democracy and freedoms. It is a status problem. Who will solve this problem? Who will assume responsibility? Who will change the course of this centuries-old denial? Do you have an address? I ask our people, who is the interlocutor for the democratic solution of the Kurdish question? Do not be afraid of Mr Öcalan's ideas, do not be afraid of Mr Öcalan's project. Do not be afraid of the paradigm of freedom he offers to oppressed peoples.

You don't have a project, you don't have a political sentence. You have been saying the same thing for years. Today this will give you a message. Remove all obstacles, take a historical responsibility. First, ensure the freedom of Mr Öcalan, then take part in this solution. For a century you have been deceiving this society with the concept of ‘terror’. What you call ‘terror’ is the values of the Kurdish people. All over Kurdistan, in the west, people are on the streets, standing up and speaking out. Why? So that people don't die, so that the country doesn't drown in crisis. So that we can sit side by side and talk. So that you don't shout at us through microphones from invisible places. So that you pay attention to the will of this people. The mentality of ‘I don't see, I don't hear, I don't know’ has ruined the country. You talk about a new constitution. You talk about internal peace, social peace. What will you build it on? On denial? On isolation? Are you going to build it on non-existence? Doors must open now, ideas must be discussed.

Peace is a virtue, confrontation is a virtue. Explain to this society which law you are applying in İmralı, where you impose isolation. The law applied in İmralı is not a domestic law of Turkey, it is not universal law, it is a pirate law. The state is operating a pirate law in İmralı so that there will be no peace, no solution. Mr Öcalan is a powerful opportunity for this country. We invite you to utilise this opportunity. Our appeal to all journalists living in Turkey, our appeal to intellectuals, our appeal to academics, our appeal to the peoples of Turkey; speak out about peace and democratic solution. We missed yesterday, but we did not lose yesterday. Today is ours and tomorrow is ours. That is why I invite everyone to stand against the isolation of Mr Öcalan and take responsibility for a democratic Turkey and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question. The way for this country to become democratic and for the Kurdish people and the peoples of Turkey to be free is through İmralı and Mr Öcalan. You know this, we have fought for this, and we will continue to do so. The Kurdish people will be free, Turkey will be a democratic country.”

Press statement in Amed: Stop the torture, open the doors of İmralı!

ANF | AMED | 13 OCTOBER 2024

A press statement was made in Amed (Diyarbakır) after the banning of the Freedom Rally and prevention of gatherings across the city by a large police force.

Addressing thousands who managed to gather in the Ofis neighborhood, Rezan Sarıca, one of the lawyers of Asrin Law Office, said: “Thanks to this struggle, we held talks with Mr Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı in 2019. It ennobles and enlarges the hope of freedom. Greetings to those who keep the hope of freedom alive.”

Sarıca said, “As you may remember, Mr Öcalan has expressed his promises of rational peace and democratic political negotiation for the solution of social problems in Turkey and the region. In these talks, we saw that Mr Öcalan maintained his democratic position, that he was confident about the future, and that he was in great excitement about the construction of social peace. At that time, we made these historical observations and warnings.”

Commenting on the last meeting with Abdullah Öcalan, lawyer Sarıca reminded the following words of the Kurdish People's Leader: ‘I am trying to make room for the Kurds, let's solve the Kurdish question. I say I can eliminate the possibility of conflict in a week. I can solve it, I trust myself, I am ready for a solution. However, the state must also fulfil its state wisdom.’

Lawyer Sarıca continued: “We have experienced that Mr Öcalan's observations were absolutely right. While Mr Öcalan was struggling hard to warn everyone, Lebanon and Rojava had not entered such a period of war, polarisation and conflict. Since then, the culture of masculinity expected from war has attacked even more. At that time, when it was obvious that everyone was trapped in narrow, periodical and political calculations, Mr Öcalan proposed a solution. He did this under the unprecedented conditions of isolation in İmralı. He warned that a Turk without a Kurd and a Kurd without a Turk could not exist. He stated that the growth of the Kurds would be parallel to the growth of the Turks. He stated that peoples would live in peace in the Middle East. The hand extended by the Kurdish people was left hanging in midair. If there are political approaches and calculations like in the past, if the denial of the existence of the Kurds is continued in a veiled way or differently, this should be abandoned, and strategic peace projects should be adopted. When we look back from today, historical statements, determinations and predictions reveal a truth to us. Mr Öcalan's stance foresees the survival of society. What I have to say today is the most basic need. Abolish torture, open the doors of İmralı. Create an environment where Mr Öcalan can work democratically.”

Bakırhan: Peace cannot be achieved through isolation and locking the doors of İmralı

ANF | AMED | 13 OCTOBER 2024

Thousands of people gathered in Amed for the demonstration 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a solution to the Kurdish question' despite the preventions.

Speaking at the demonstration, Tuncer Bakırhan, Co-Chair of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party), reacted against pressure and preventions.

Bakırhan condemned the frequent interruptions of politicians by the police and said: "The scene we have encountered today is a scene that has turned the tables on those who said 'we will ensure peace in Turkey'."

Bakırhan pointed out that: "Peace in Turkey cannot be achieved in this way. Peace in Turkey cannot be ensured by a civil servant cutting off the voice of our Co-Chair. I call out to him, do your job. There are prosecutors in this country. You are not our interlocutor. Do not interfere with my speech from there. Do not provoke the atmosphere. Tens of thousands of people from all over Turkey hit the road to condemn the conspiracy and isolation. They tried to come to Amed. Think about where this country has reached with this conspiracy and isolation."

DEM Party Co-Chair said: "You imposed isolation, you locked İmralı. The economy has collapsed, society has decayed, social tensions have reached the highest level. If the conspiracy and isolation had been successful, tens of thousands would not have mobilised here today. Your policy is bankrupt, accept it. Turkey is in a serious jam."

Bakırhan continued: "We speak both in the parliament and here. We will continue to speak the same things we said in the parliament. This conspiracy system is a method applied by international powers to confront the Turkish and Kurdish people. This conspiracy came to naught in İmralı. İmralı foiled this conspiracy for the historical Kurdish and Turkish people to live together, to live in a democratic republic. By locking the doors of İmralı, you are harming the democracy of the country. You have thrown away millions of people in this country for isolation, so that 'Kurds do not speak their mother tongue'. Let us hear the voice of Mr Öcalan who advocates for us to live together in peace and democracy. Mr Öcalan is the Kurdish people's hope for peace. You cannot keep Mr Öcalan in a cell, you cannot force him into a room.

One address for social peace is İmralı. The other address is the Parliament. Open the doors of İmralı. We will continue to stand against these conspiracy and isolation policies. The hand of peace extended by Mr Öcalan is the hope of this country. From here, I also appeal to the Parliament; the Parliament can no longer consider this problem as a security issue. Enough is enough. If we want young people to find work, if we want them to be fed where they live, if we want them not to lose their lives, if we do not want the war in the Middle East to spread, we must ensure that the Kurdish issue is resolved together with the interlocutors. The DEM Party is ready for this.

This peace cannot be achieved through isolation policies. Not with the lock on İmralı. We call for peace in Turkey despite all the costs, pain and persecution. We say we should not look for a solution at international doors. In the recent local elections, the people said ‘no’ to the isolation policy.”

— ★ —

CÎK members take over the Freedom Vigil in Strasbourg

ANF | STRASBOURG | 14 OCTOBER 2024

The Freedom for Öcalan Vigil, which was launched in Strasbourg on 25 June 2012, with the aim of achieving the physical freedom of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and ending the Imrali torture system, continues with determination.

The vigil, which is carried out every week by groups of Kurds living in Europe and their friends, was taken over by CÎK (Kurdistan Islamic Community) European Spokesperson Melê Salih and CÎK members Sezai Keskin, Emin Çiftçi and Malzum Uğurlu in its 643rd week.

Mele Salih said “Leader Apo (Abdullah Öcalan) is the guarantee of honourable peace and the will to solve the Kurdish question” and called on European institutions to go to İmralı as soon as possible.

Melê Salih also called on European institutions to fulfil their duties, saying: “Our cause is the cause of peace. Our leader came to Europe from Kurdistan and the Middle East for peace. We are also here today for peace. Problems can be solved through peace. Isolation is a crime against humanity.”

Underlining that problems will not be solved through denial, plunder and destruction, Mele Salih said, “The solution is peace. The way to this is dialogue. Dialogue is done with the interlocutor.”

— ★ —

Prisons

Prisoners from Rojava subject to inhuman treatment in Turkey

ANF | 12 OCTOBER 2024

Speaking to ANF, Kamuran Tanhan, one of the DEM Party's lawyer MPs, said that the efforts of the Turkish government, which maintains Kurdish hostility as a permanent policy, to rapprochement with the Damascus administration stem from the desire to suppress the Rojava Revolution and leave the Kurdish people without status.

Stating that the government is trying to take revenge through inhumane practices against Rojavans in Turkish prisons, Tanhan noted that the law is completely suspended in prisons and isolation within isolation. Tanhan stated: "Rojavan prisoners are experiencing great problems both legally and economically. Their most basic rights are violated. The money deposited by the families to the prison accounts becomes a reason for detention and imprisonment on baseless accusations such as 'financing the organisation'. For prisoners who cannot meet their financial needs due to guardianship problems, money from the families of prisoners who are citizens of Turkey is rejected on the grounds that 'the sender is not a foreigner'. These degrading practices are intended to make prisoners destitute."

Stating that there is a process in which even those who have been released cannot regain their freedom, Tanhan continued: "Many of them are taken to repatriation centres and kept in harsh conditions. In these centres, they are forced to sign voluntary return documents. Those who refuse to do so face the threat of being handed over to paramilitary groups. This threat is proof that paramilitary forces function as an apparatus of special war policies and at the same time commit crimes against humanity against the Kurdish people. Turkey's prison policies are extremely problematic and contrary to human rights. In particular, discrimination and ill-treatment against Rojavan prisoners continue systematically. Legal processes and executions of sentences are unjustly prolonged and even those who are released cannot regain their freedom. These people are deprived of the most basic rights of justice and are held hostage in prisons. The government must stop these inhumane practices in prisons as soon as possible and respect basic human rights."



Human rights activists demand the release of ill prisoner Hatice Onaran

ANF | ISTANBUL/ANKARA | 13 OCTOBER 2024

The members of the Prison Commission of the Istanbul Branch of the Human Rights Association (IHD) held the 655th of their weekly "F sit-in" action in front of the association building in Beyoğlu. In this week's action, attention was drawn to the health condition of Hatice Onaran, a member of the Board of Directors of the Istanbul Branch of the Human Rights Association (IHD), who was arrested on 10 October on the grounds that she sent money to prisoners, and was sent to the Gebze Women's Closed Prison. The action was attended by the co-spokesperson of the Peoples' Democratic Congress (HDK) Cengiz Çiçek, IHD co-chair Eren Keskin and many rights defenders.

This week's statement was made by the Cengiz Çiçek who said: "Hatice Onaran, aged 60, has advanced scoliosis and colon cancer in the lumbar vertebrae and has a 79 percent disability report. She should be released immediately."

Ankara

The Freedom for Ill Prisoners Initiative in Ankara got together on Sakarya Street in the 527th week of their actions to draw attention to the situation of Hatice Onaran. IHD Ankara Branch co-chair Ömer Faruk Yazmacı called for the immediate release of Onaran.

— ★ —

Warisha Moradi: I won't go to court in protest against the death sentences handed down to my comrades

ANF | 13 OCTOBER 2024

Warisha Moradi, also known as Ciwana Sine, was arrested on 1 August 2023 during a police check near her hometown of Sine (Sanandaj) and taken to an unknown location. Iran's regime judiciary accuses her of "enmity towards God" and "armed rebellion against the state". The allegations are related to Moradi's membership in the KJAR, the umbrella organization of the Kurdish women's movement in Iran, and her commitment to women's and feminist issues. Tehran sees the KJAR as a "separatist terrorist organization" because it is said to be part of the Party for a Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK).

The political prisoner's second court hearing took place on 5 October in Branch 15 of the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Tehran, presided over by Judge Abolghassem Salavati.

Moradi has not yet been sentenced and remains in a state of limbo.

Her first hearing, on charges of "armed insurrection" (baghi) through membership in PJAK, was held on 16 June at Branch 15 of the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Tehran.

During this session, Judge Salavati did not allow Moradi or her lawyers to present a defence.

She had previously refused to attend an earlier hearing on 4 August in protest against the death sentences handed to fellow Kurdish political prisoners, Pakshani Azizi and Sharifeh Mohammadi, leading to the postponement of the session.

On the same day, Moradi had her letter and defence statement published on the Bidarzani website, announcing her refusal to attend the court session as a form of protest against the death sentences handed down to Azizi and Mohammadi.

In part of her letter published by Bidarzani website, Moradi wrote: "The unjust execution sentences of activists Sharifeh Mohammadi and Pakshani Azizi within less than a month is the Islamic Republic's admission of its political ineffectiveness and helplessness. The new government's pretence of strength, fear-mongering and expansion of repression on the brink of the 'Women, Life and Freedom' revolution is nothing

but a vain illusion. In this context, I have been accused of ‘armed insurrection’ because I am a woman, a Kurd and I want to live in freedom. Now, after a year of temporary detention, I am waiting for the second court session in Branch 15 of the Islamic Revolutionary Court, presided over by Judge Salavati, on 4 August. Although I know that not attending the court could be interpreted as a refusal to defend myself, I will not go to court in protest against the death sentences handed down to my comrades Sharifeh Mohammadi and Pakhshan Azizi, and I do not recognise a court that does not issue fair judgments.”

Continuing her letter, she wrote: “On 1 August 2023, I was arrested by the forces of the Ministry of Intelligence at the Sanandaj-Kamyaran checkpoint. Shooting, breaking car windows, torture and physical assault at the moment of arrest, psychological warfare, interrogation in solitary confinement (white torture) away from cameras to prevent recording of their misconduct and unethical assaults, and humiliation in front of the camera to break my will – these were part of the pressures I endured during the 13 days I spent in the Ministry of Intelligence in Sanandaj. They called me savage and said I had lost my femininity! Why do you not cry? When was the last time you cried? When did you last smell a flower? Then they transferred me to Ward 209 of Evin House of Detention, where I spent four and a half months under intense pressure during interrogations that included torture, contradictory and deceptive fabricated scenarios, threats of character assassination and forced confessions. Severe headaches and constant bleeding (from the nose), worsening neck and back pain were the gifts of my days in solitary confinement.”

The first hearing, originally scheduled for 13 May, was cancelled for undisclosed reasons, and on 14 May Judge Salavati ordered Moradi’s transfer to solitary confinement in Ward 209 for further interrogation.

Pakhshan Azizi and Moradi went on a hunger strike for two days in protest at the transfer.

Moradi, a member of the East Kurdistan Free Women Society (KJAR) from Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province, was arrested by the Ministry of Intelligence on 1 August 2023 at the entrance to Sanandaj upon her return from Kermanshah, where she had been involved in political and organisational activities.

She spent the first 13 days of her detention in the detention centre of this security institution in Sanandaj, and afterwards was transferred to Ward 209 of Evin Prison in Tehran.

During this period, she was subjected to pressure and threats to make forced confessions, and on 26 December 2023, after five months of solitary confinement, she was transferred to the women’s ward of Evin Prison.



32-year-old prisoner dies

ANF | MARDIN | 14 OCTOBER 2024

İbrahim Boğurcu, who was arrested 4 days ago in Kızıltepe district of Mardin on the allegation of violating parole rules, lost his life in Mardin E Type Closed Prison. According to reports, Boğurcu had a heart attack in prison. He was taken to hospital and then returned to prison.

Boğurcu fell ill once again in prison, and was hospitalised once again yesterday. He could not be saved and lost his life.

İbrahim Boğurcu's body was taken from prison by his family and buried in the Kızıltepe district centre cemetery.



Pakshan Azizi not allowed to meet with her family and lawyers for 100 days

ANF | 16 OCTOBER 2024

The Campaign for Freedom for Pakshan Azizi shared information about the situation of the Kurdish journalist and drew public attention to the serious human rights violation she has been subject to.

According to the campaign, the ban on Azizi's meetings with her family and lawyers has been in effect for 100 days, defining the ban as one of the most serious human rights violations committed by the Iranian government.

'We demand the immediate annulment of Pakshan Azizi's death sentence and her release,' the campaigners said, appealing to the international community for support.

Background

Pakhsan Azizi is a social worker and also worked as a journalist. In August last year, she was arrested in Tehran by agents of the Ministry of Intelligence and was severely tortured both physically and psychologically for weeks. She is currently in the notorious Evin prison. In July, a court in Iran's capital sentenced Azizi to death by hanging for "armed rebellion against the system."

She was accused, without evidence, of being a member of the Party for a Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK). She herself denies the accusation as baseless and speaks of a political verdict. Trials in Iran are systematically unfair because prisoners are denied the right to due process, including access to legal counsel, and "confessions" extracted through torture are usually used as evidence for their conviction.

Pakhsan Azizi studied social work at Allameh Tabatabai University in Tehran, where she was first arrested in November 2009. She was accused of taking part in students' protests against the execution of Kurdish political prisoners. She was released on bail in March 2010.

Additionally, Azizi faces a new charge of "rioting in prison" in a case being handled by Branch 3 of the Evin Prosecutor's Office, allegedly related to the second round of the 2024 presidential election.

She had also been arrested previously, on November 16, 2009, and was released on bail after four months.

In early August 2024, Aziz Azizi (Pakhshan's father), Parshang Azizi (her sister), and Hossein Abbasi (her brother-in-law) were convicted in a joint case with Pakhshan Azizi. Each was sentenced by Branch 26 of the Tehran Revolutionary Court to one year in prison for the charge of "assisting a criminal to evade trial and conviction." On September 26, the Court of Appeals confirmed these rulings.

Aziz Azizi, Parshang Azizi, and Hossein Abbasi were arrested at the same time as Pakhshan Azizi and later released on bail.

On 26 September, Pakhshan Azizi was taken from Evîn Prison to a hospital after her health problems worsened and doctors advised that she should be treated in hospital.

On 23 September, a post on Pakhshan Azizi's digital media account stated that the journalist's request for treatment had been rejected.

The post said: "Pakhshan Azizi suffers from headaches and her family is ready to pay for her treatment, but she is still not allowed to see a doctor."



Warisha Moradi on day 6 of indefinite hunger strike in Evin Prison

ANF | 16 OCTOBER 2024

Eastern Kurdistan Human Rights Network published a report on the health condition of political prisoner Warisha Moradi who is on indefinite hunger strike in Iran's Evin Prison.

The report stated that Warisha Moradi was on day 6 of hunger strike and rejected the doctors' request to examine her and to put her on a drip.

Warisha Moradi, also known as Ciwana Sine, was arrested on 1 August 2023 during a police check near her hometown of Sine (Sanandaj) and taken to an unknown location. Iran's regime judiciary accuses her of "enmity towards God" and "armed rebellion against the state". The allegations are related to Moradi's membership in the KJAR, the umbrella organization of the Kurdish women's movement in Iran, and her commitment to women's and feminist issues. Tehran sees the KJAR as a "separatist terrorist organization" because it is said to be part of the Party for a Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK).

After Moradi's abduction, her whereabouts were unclear for months. It was only thanks to the KHRN that it became known that the activist had been brutally tortured, mistreated and interrogated by the Iranian Secret Service in Sine for weeks after her arrest, until she was transferred to Tehran at the end of August. There she was held for months in the notorious high-security wing 209 of Evin prison - also subjected to torture and mistreatment, with the aim of breaking her or forcing her to confess. Moradi has

been in the women's section of the prison since the beginning of January. She is denied access to legal counsel most of the time. If she is convicted, she faces the death penalty.

Moradi went on an indefinite hunger strike on 10 October on World Day against the Death Penalty to protest against the death penalty in Iran and her own prolonged detention. This is not Moradi's first hunger strike. The Kurdish woman has been taking part in a weekly protest with other political prisoners for months and goes on hunger strike every Tuesday. The "Black Tuesdays" campaign, launched in January in Qezelhesar prison in Karaj, calling for the abolition of the death penalty, has spread nationwide and is being carried out in more than twenty prisons.



84-year-old seriously ill prisoner transferred back to Iskenderun jail

ANF | HATAY | 17 OCTOBER 2024

84-year-old seriously ill prisoner Sıddık Güler, who was confined to a wheelchair and unable to meet his needs on his own in Menemen R Type Prison, has been transferred back to Iskenderun T Type Closed jail. The reason for the transfer, on 12 October, was that Güler did not receive a "disability report" from the Forensic Medicine Institution (ATK).

Güler, who is on the IHD's list of seriously ill prisoners, has been held in jail since 1994 due to a life sentence given for political reasons. Güler has diseases such as hypertension, heart disease and rheumatoid arthritis.

The IHD Iskenderun Branch applied to the Iskenderun Republic Chief Prosecutor's Office exposing the situation of Güler in 2020. After the application, Güler was transferred to Iskenderun State Hospital on 29 January 2021. The Iskenderun Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, however, rejected Güler's application for a postponement of the sentence, after a report stated that "there is no harm in staying in a prison with a doctor and an infirmary". Sıddık Güler was deported to Menemen R Type Prison on 29 March 2022.



Peace Mothers in Sine go on hunger strike in solidarity with Warisha Moradi

ANF | 18 OCTOBER 2024

Kurdish activist Warisha Moradi, who is in Tehran's Evin prison, went on an indefinite hunger strike on 10 October on World Day against the Death Penalty to protest against the death penalty in Iran and her own prolonged detention.

Peace Mothers in the Sine (Sanandaj) city of East Kurdistan started a hunger strike to embrace the resistance of Warisha Moradi, a member of the East Kurdistan Free Women's Community (KJAR), who is imprisoned in the notorious Evin Prison.

The solidarity hunger strike started by Peace Mothers on 17 October Thursday will last for 3 days.

Peace Mothers gathered at the foot of Mount Abid in Sina, set fire to the ropes symbolising execution and chanted 'No to the death penalty, yes to free life'.

Peace Mothers appealed to international organisations for a stronger struggle against the death penalty.

Warisha Moradi, also known as Ciwana Sine, was arrested on 1 August 2023 during a police check near her hometown of Sine and taken to an unknown location. Iran's regime judiciary accuses her of "enmity towards God" and "armed rebellion against the state". The allegations are related to Moradi's membership in the KJAR, the umbrella organization of the Kurdish women's movement in Iran, and her commitment to women's and feminist issues. Tehran sees the KJAR as a "separatist terrorist organization" because it is said to be part of the Party for a Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK).

— ★ —

Military aggression and occupation

KCK: Elections in South Kurdistan important for Kurdistan's liberation from occupation and genocide

ANF | BEHDINAN | 12 OCTOBER 2024

The Co-Presidency of the KCK Executive Council issued a statement about the forthcoming parliamentary elections in South Kurdistan. The elections will be held on 20 October.

The statement said: "As it is known, there will be parliamentary elections in South Kurdistan on 20 October 2024. At a time when important developments are taking place in the Middle East, the elections to be held in southern Kurdistan are important for both South Kurdistan itself and Kurdistan in general, because while developments on the basis of the redesign of the Middle East are gaining momentum, the Kurdish enemy genocidal colonialist occupying forces want to maintain their rule over Kurdistan to prevent the Kurdish people from gaining their freedom, to complete this process with a new wave of genocidal attacks, and to bring the Kurdish genocide to its conclusion.

In the face of this dangerous plan, it is very important for our people to develop national unity along with patriotic principles and to increase the struggle on this basis. The approach of our people and patriotic forces to all developments, events, and facts should be on this basis. The 20 October's elections in South Kurdistan should also be taken into consideration on this basis, and an approach should be determined accordingly."

The statement added: "The people of Kurdistan and all the patriotic, democratic, and revolutionary forces have been in great resistance against the genocidal, colonialist, and occupying forces and the collaborating treasonous forces. Despite all the support of foreign powers and the provoked betrayal, the genocidal, colonialist, and occupying forces have so far failed to achieve results against the resistance of the patriotic Kurdistan people.

The KDP and the Barzani family clan represent the leading collaborationist and treasonist forces in Kurdistan. They have become a part of the Kurdish genocide by developing collaborative treason not only in southern Kurdistan but in all parts of Kurdistan. They supported and partnered the Turkish state in the attacks on Rojava. The attacks on our people living in the Maxmur Refugee Camp and the failure to meet the democratic legitimate demands of our people who were subjected to genocide in Shengal (Sinjar) are the result of this collaborative treasonous politics. Again, in northern Kurdistan, all the shadowy, collaborative, and contra structures, which have relations with the enemy on the basis of self-interest and attack the freedom struggle, base themselves on the KDP and the Barzani family clan. All this has revealed that they have nothing to do with Kurdishness and the cause of Kurdistan; on the contrary, they are a part of anti-Kurdish politics, a network that enters into all kinds of relations with the enemy in exchange for profit."

The statement added: "The KDP and the Barzani family clan are a force that has been placed on the struggle of the people of southern Kurdistan, a force that sells Kurdishness and Kurdistan to the enemy and foreign powers for its own interests. It has an anti-democratic, anti-society, and anti-national mentality. With these politics and mentality, it is the biggest obstacle to positive development in the region. Without exception, all enemies and malicious forces are planning and conducting politics in Kurdistan and the Kurdish people based on the KDP and the Barzani family clan. It is the most fundamental patriotic duty to take a stand everywhere against such a power that develops a collaborator and treasonous line in Kurdistan.

Our people and patriotic democratic national forces must show this attitude at every opportunity. The elections to be held in southern Kurdistan on 20 October are important for our people to develop a strong attitude against the collaborationist, treasonist policy. The patriotic people of Kurdistan must show their attitude on this basis by supporting patriotic, democratic, national forces and candidates in the elections. The results to be obtained by supporting patriotic forces and candidates against the KDP and the Barzani

family clan will be very important for the liberation of southern Kurdistan and all of Kurdistan from the grip of occupation and genocide and for the development of a democratic and libertarian system.

Our people should act on this basis in the 20 October elections and express their will strongly. Patriotic forces and candidates should also embrace this attitude of the people of Kurdistan and develop their work based on patriotic and democratic principles against the collaborationist, treasonist policy."



Syrian Democratic Council: The future of Syria must be decided by the Syrian people

ANF | 12 OCTOBER 2024

The Syrian Democratic Council (MSD) said in a statement about the fifth anniversary of the Turkish occupation of the cities of Serekaniye (Ras al-Ain) and Gire Spi (Tel Abyad), that "this occupation marked a dangerous turning point in the Syrian crisis, causing a severe humanitarian crisis and negative political and social repercussions."

The statement added: "The continued Turkish occupation of Syrian territory is a flagrant violation of international law and Syria's sovereignty. This occupation effectively exacerbates fragmentation and divisions in Syria, posing a major obstacle to achieving stability and peace.

The demographic changes and ongoing human rights violations in occupied areas threaten the cohesion of Syrian society. They undermine the possibility of achieving a comprehensive and lasting political solution in Syria. The MSD affirms that the future of Syria must be shaped by the Syrian people themselves rather than by external entities. Agreements that disregard the will of the Syrian people will not be legitimate or long-lasting."

The MSD said it believes that "Syrians should shape their own future, free from the influence of external powers," and called "on the international community to assume its responsibilities, end the Turkish occupation of Syrian territory, and work diligently to implement UN Security Council Resolution 2254. The full implementation of this resolution is the path to achieving a genuine political transition that guarantees peace, freedom, and dignity for all Syrians."

The MSD also urged "all Syrian parties to prioritize the national interest and work collaboratively to liberate our country from the Turkish occupation. Furthermore, we underscore establishing a united and democratic Syria that guarantees the rights of all sections without discrimination or exclusion. Moreover, we reaffirm our steadfast commitment to working towards a bright future for Syria, striving to realize a national vision that ensures the rights and dignity of all Syrians.

Given the current challenges, we believe that achieving genuine change in Syria requires making sustained efforts and cooperation among all national actors. Therefore, we call on all Syrian political and societal powers to engage in constructive dialogue and work together towards a political solution. The aim is to

meet the aspirations of the Syrian people and preserve Syria's unity and sovereignty. We reiterate our unwavering solidarity with the people of the occupied regions. We are committed to utilizing all available means to end the Turkish occupation and ensure the dignified and safe return of the displaced people to their homes."



SDF: The legacy of our martyrs is the basis of our establishment

ANF | 12 OCTOBER 2024

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) General Command issued a statement to mark the ninth anniversary of their establishment (10 October 2015).

The statement said: "Our SDF forces are based on a great legacy of the blood and sacrifices of the martyrs of the Women Protections Units YPJ and the People Protection Units YPG, as well as on a huge number of victories and successful military campaigns achieved thanks to the courage of thousands of young men and women in the regions of North and Eastern Syria Region and the loyalty and dedication of the people who gave everything for the victory of the revolution. On this occasion, as we remember all our heroic martyrs, we congratulate our people, our fighters, and all the peoples who yearn for freedom."

The statement continued: "The formation of the Syrian Democratic Forces is the culmination of a great march started by our people, where a lot of experience, wisdom, patience, courage, self-confidence and belief in victory have accumulated in the hearts of the fighters and the people of Rojava, who did not trust any party except the YPJ and YPG units and self-protection committees that established the legitimate defense project in the region. Therefore, talking about the establishment of the Syrian Democratic Forces cannot have any value without going back to history and recalling all the events and battles that preceded that establishment with its difficulties, challenges, and victories, as well as the sacrifices of the commanders and fighters of the units who defied all circumstances and faced challenges with determination and not retreat, even if it cost their lives away from personal interests and narrow perspectives.

The Syrian Democratic Forces were founded by sacrificial and courageous individuals, creative minds who learned from historical experiences and envisioned the future, and brave souls dedicated to protecting the people of the region and preserving the land's dignity. At a time when other parties in Syria pursued their self-serving interests and were willing to compromise anything."

The statement added: "Apart from the material circumstances, the establishment of the Syrian Democratic Forces is an affirmation of the identity of the region and its components, therefore, The SDF was distinguished not only by its military strength and number of fighters but also by the identity it represented, the goals it pursued, and the principles its fighters upheld in their daily lives. It truly embodied the essence of our society in north and eastern Syria, characterized by its resistance to tyranny and its sacrifices to protect freedom and dignity, no matter the extent or brutality of the attacks. When people in the region and the world discuss the SDF, they praise the courage and dedication of its fighters to their cause and the sacrifices they have made to protect the region and the world from terrorism and criminality.

There is no doubt that the SDF faced many difficulties and challenges during and after its establishment, starting with the armament and material challenges to attacks from various parties, most notably ISIS and the Turkish occupation state. However, these obstacles served as a test for the SDF's national, moral, and humanitarian project. By overcoming these challenges and using them as motivation for further struggle and resistance, the SDF achieved significant victories and defeated hostile forces that attacked the region."

The statement underlined "the SDF's ability to overcome difficulties and challenges demonstrated its strength and determination, providing a foundation upon which the aspirations and dreams of all components of the region could be built.

From this position, the SDF liberated one region after another, freeing millions of people and establishing a larger front to combat ISIS, the most powerful terrorist force.

The liberation of thousands of square kilometers, countless villages, and towns was not merely a numerical achievement. Still, it is the result of thousands of martyrs wounded SDF fighters, and countless moments of pain, joy, sacrifice, and battles to liberate millions of people held captive by ISIS and other terrorist forces.

Through the sacrifices of its fighters, the SDF has become a worldwide symbol of the region. Discussing the SDF is synonymous with discussing the region's history, identity, diversity, and the courage of its young men and women.

Based on its achievements, the SDF and its regional components have established relationships with numerous international powers, most notably the international coalition. The SDF has become the central focus of discussions regarding the war against ISIS terrorism, recognized as the only force that, despite its modest material capabilities, defeated ISIS and expelled it from vast geographical areas, culminating in its military defeat at Baghouz."

The statement said that "nine years after its establishment, the SDF has grown stronger and more resilient in all areas, despite facing numerous challenges and attacks. It has made significant advancements in armament, increased its personnel, and enhanced its training and operational capabilities. Its fighters are highly disciplined, professional, and adept at creating appropriate conditions to prepare for any emergency.

The SDF's experiences in recent years, during which it simultaneously faced attacks from the Turkish occupation, ISIS, and other hostile parties, have demonstrated its ability to adapt and overcome challenges. The SDF has not relied on pre-existing conditions but has created appropriate conditions and areas commensurate with its challenges, whether through new tactics in defense and attack, fortifications, training with advanced weapons, or building morale and material resources."

The statement continued: "The hostile parties' attempts to eliminate the SDF through large-scale attacks, sowing discord, and plotting have failed. On the contrary, the SDF has become stronger, more resilient, and more determined than ever to achieve the goals and aspirations of its martyrs, protect the region and its people, and liberate the occupied areas. The SDF is committed to proving that attacks will only strengthen its resolve and determination.

Once again, we congratulate the families of our martyrs, our people, and all our fighters on the ninth anniversary of the Syrian Democratic Forces' founding. We pledge them to achieve more honorable victories for a brighter tomorrow of freedom and dignity."

— ★ —

KDP places photo traps for the Turkish state against guerrilla forces

ANF | 14 OCTOBER 2024

New documents have emerged regarding the KDP's support and complicity in the Turkish state's invasion attacks.

According to new footage released by RojNews, the KDP's Asayish (public order) officer in Bilê district in Barzan region is setting photo traps to spy on the people of the region and the guerrillas.

The footage shows Asayish employee Ferhat Muhammed, who also sells car accessories, preparing a photo trap to be placed in a guerrilla area on 26 August 2024 and delivering it to the KDP Asayish officer.

On 1 September 2024, the Asayish officer in Bilê activated and tested the photo trap in his room. The photo trap recorded the events that took place in the room throughout the day.

According to the report, on 5 September 2024, the KDP Bilê Asayish officer and two people with him took this photo trap and placed it on a path they thought the guerrillas would pass through. It is understood that the photo trap, which was set up to spy on the people and the guerrillas, recorded this crime step by step.

— ★ —

Occupation forces shell villages in Afrin-Shehba and Manbij

ANF | 14 OCTOBER 2024

According to a statement by the Manbij Military Council, the Turkish state and affiliated gangs shelled the villages of Ewn Dadat, Hoşeriyê and Toxarê in the canton with howitzers.

The Turkish state and its gangs also shelled the villages of Hesacik, Werdiye, Hasîn, Xirnêta and Elî Qerê in Afrin-Shehba Canton.

Detailed information about the attacks on both regions was not immediately available.

Violent scenes and attacks, which often result in deaths and injuries, are a bitter reality in the autonomous region of North and East Syria. Rojava is experiencing a war that has been waged with varying degrees of intensity since 2016, following Turkish invasions that resulted in heavy losses between 2016 and 2019 – in addition to regular air offensives that have almost completely paralysed the infrastructure of the self-governing areas. The fact that Ankara has been able to maintain its aggressive course and commit war crimes and human rights violations in the context of its imperialist aspirations to expand the zone of occupation in Syria, while systematically violating international humanitarian law, is also due to the international community's widespread ignorance of the state terror that its partner is inflicting on the people of northern and eastern Syria.



More than 19,500 people have crossed from Lebanon to North-East Syria

ANF | 15 OCTOBER 2024

The crisis desk established by the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (DAANES) to monitor the victims of the war in Lebanon announced the number of citizens who have recently arrived in northern and eastern Syria.

According to the statement on Monday, 19,502 people arrived in the region, including 74 Lebanese, 6,050 women and 6,305 children. In addition, 19 bodies have been delivered to the region.

Due to the difficulties and security risks faced by migrants in Lebanon, the Autonomous Administration is closely monitoring the situation of the victims. The crisis desk is working to ensure that those coming from Lebanon reach the settlement areas safely and to meet their basic needs. Humanitarian aid and shelter services are provided for the arriving groups.



Bafil Talabani to Barzanis: You sold out the Yazidis and Kurdistan lands

ANF | DUHOK | 15 OCTOBER 2024

PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) President Bafil Jalal Talabani gave important messages during the election rally in Duhok on Monday.

Talking about the unity of Kurdistan, Talabani addressed Barzanis; “When was the last time you talked about the unity of Kurdistan? You sold out the Yazidis, you harmed them. Isn't this dishonourable?”

Talabani said, “400 of our villages have been evacuated, the invaders occupy our lands every day in co-operation with you. Is this the Kurdish identity?”

Bafil Talabani also stated that he had met with Masoud Barzani a few years ago and that he had made a special request for him to meet with his friend Mazlum Abdî, and that Barzani did not agree to this.

At the end of his speech, Talabani said: “The aim was to prevent such incidents. We wanted to create a peace process with our brothers and sisters in Syria and Qandil, but you did not allow it. What is happening today is the result of this.”



At least 27 people kidnapped in Afrin and Azaz in ten days

ANF | 15 OCTOBER 2024

The Violations Documentation Centre announced that the Turkish state and allied gangs kidnapped at least 27 people in the occupied Afrin and Azaz regions between 1-10 October.

The names of the kidnapped civilians, whose aftermath is not known, are as follows:

Silêman Mehmud Welîd (47), Mehemed Menan Mehmud (40), Kolin Mihemed Şêx Ebdi (28), Nidal Qelender (41), Ebdullah Hisên Elî, Xesan Mihemed Esakira, Xalid Ubeyd Mistefa (44), Ciwan Nezmî Hemîd (41), Selah Henan Omer (53), Kawa Mistefa Mistefa (40), Qehreman Mistefa Hesên (50), Mihemed Heyder Îbrahîm (70), Mihemed Mistefa Hesên (48), Mihemed Elî Seydo Elo, Heysem Îzet Osman, Mihemed Arif Subhî (46), Mihemed Hisên Hisên (45), Nûrî Mihemed El Îsa, Ehmed Bîtar, Mahîr Mehmûd, Seîd Hesên Elo (58), Elî Xelîl Elo (31), Mihemed Osman Yûsif (36), Hesên Mistefa Seydo Salan (29), Rifet Mistefa Cafer (55), Hisên Hec Ebdo (44), Nûrî Mistefa Seydo (60).



Invaders fired 108 howitzers and mortars on villages of Manbij

ANF | MANBIJ | 16 OCTOBER 2024

The Manbij Military Council Press Liaison Centre announced in a statement last night that the occupying Turkish state and allied gangs have targeted Manbij villages with 108 howitzers and mortars, 10 grad missiles and 2 armed and suicide drones since early Tuesday morning.

The statement said the aggression targeted the villages of Ereb Hesen, Derec and Toxar, northwest and west of Manbij.

In addition, an officer and a soldier were killed in the shelling of a Damascus government forces position in Ereb Hesen village.



Economist Müftüoğlu: AKP's armament expenditures are too high

ANF | 16 OCTOBER 2024

Labour economist Özgür Müftüoğlu criticised the imposition of another burden for the sake of war industry on Turkey's people, who are already unable to provide even the most basic needs, nutrition and shelter due to the crisis.

According to a bill submitted by the AKP to the Parliament to provide new resources to the Defence Industry Support Fund, credit cards with a limit of over 100 thousand TL will be charged an annual fee of 750 TL for the defence industry. However, the government allocated 529 billion liras for the 'defence budget' last year and approximately 971 billion liras in 2024. Economist Özgür Müftüoğlu spoke to ANF about the attempts to collect money from citizens with a new threat perception after the AKP's 'Israel will attack Turkey' discourse, while huge shares are allocated from the budget to the war economy.

Müftüoğlu noted that the ground for this regulation was prepared with an authorisation given to the President last spring and said the following: "Some regulations on this issue were also brought to the Parliament. This was a regulation on the authorisation of the President to add appropriations. There were regulations granting the President the authority to add appropriations in the event of insufficient appropriations for the modernisation of the Turkish Armed Forces and support for the defence industry. In other words, there was an effort to transfer resources to the war industry outside the budget. The arms industry is one of the areas where the AKP has provided the most investment and incentives, especially in the recent period. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) Global Military Expenditure report, Turkey's defence industry increased by 37 percent from 2023 to 2024. In the 2028 targets, we see that a continuous increase is aimed for. Continuously promoting the arms industry has been on the Turkish government's agenda for a long time, and it has been doing so to a great extent. It is also proud of this. In the elections in 2023, it brought a warship and made a show with UCAVs and UAVs. To summarise, the AKP's armament expenditures in the recent period are too high."

'The resources are not enough, and the budget deficit is growing'

Özgür Müftüoğlu remarked that savings were made currently in many areas of public service due to the economic crisis, but spending on armaments increased. He continued: "There is an economic crisis and a so-called saving will be made. It is made in the transportation of students. They make the children walk.

Savings are made in the cleaning of schools, children go to school hungry, or savings are made in health and so on. But there is no saving both in the pomp of the government and in the transfer of resources to capital. At the same time, there are no savings in the armament. These areas have always been excluded. Therefore, the resources are not enough, and the budget deficit is growing. They think of laying the burden on the people again. In order to legitimise this, I think, Erdoğan said in his speech in the Parliament that Israel would threaten Turkey by acting on the promised land. There is no basis for this. They mold the perception of a threat and say, 'Should we be like Lebanon, Palestine, Syria?', 'Let's not be like that, then let's spend more on weapons and make investments'. For example, there is the issue of S-400s; the money has been paid and it just stands. On the other hand, there is the F-35 project, for which billions of dollars were paid. This money has always been made with resources saved from public services."

A rule in capitalism: every supply creates its own demand

Müftüoğlu pointed out that the private sector and the capital gained from these policies and explained the following: "The state does not produce its own weapons, the private sector does, and these are profit-oriented places. Every resource you transfer to the arms industry actually returns to someone as profit. Today, for example, who makes the most profit? Baykar. Who is Baykar? Erdoğan's son-in-law. Therefore, resources are transferred to close circles in this way. You are putting another burden on people who cannot even provide their most basic needs, nutrition and shelter due to the crisis. Why? So that businesses and companies that already have huge profits can make even more profit. Secondly, there is a rule in capitalism that every supply creates its own demand. If something is produced, it must be utilised. For example, in order to get out of the 29 crisis, Roosevelt called for an armament campaign. Then World War II broke out. Therefore, this production creates demand, that is, it brings war along with it. War policies and war expenditures may seem like an economic issue or a foreign policy issue, but they are highly interconnected. As long as armament generates profit, neither wars nor war policies will disappear. In order to produce consent to this, they also call those who oppose this regulation 'Armenians, Greeks or DEM Party supporters'. They are trying to do this by further increasing the polarisation among the people."

— ★ —

Nechirvan Barzani in Ankara for talks with Erdoğan

ANF | ANKARA | 16 OCTOBER 2024

Kurdistan Region President Nechirvan Barzani made a sudden visit to Ankara four days before the critical parliamentary elections in the Kurdistan Region.

Barzani arrived in Ankara and is expected to meet with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The visit also coincides with the expansion of the Turkish state's occupation attacks in Southern Kurdistan (Northern Iraq). According to the PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) leader Bafil Talabani's remarks at an election rally in Duhok, more than 400 villages in the Behdinan region alone have been evacuated 'due to the betrayal of the KDP' and 'the occupation of the Turkish state'.



KDP agent confesses: Zekî Şengalî was murdered with MIT-KDP partnership

ANF | 18 OCTOBER 2024

The confessions of a KDP agent were broadcast on the programme 'Dijminê Kokê' on Çira TV.

The programme featured the confessions of an agent involved in the assassination of KCK Executive Council Member İsmail Özden (Mam Zeki Şengalî). Yazidi Coordination Member Mam Zekî Şengalî and his security guard Mahir Serhat Şengalî were martyred in an air strike carried out by the Turkish army in Shengal on 15 August 2018.

A KDP agent named Şefîq Cuno confessed to the crimes he committed on the TV programme and gave information about the partnership of KDP, the ruling party in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq) and MIT (Turkish intelligence service) in the murder of Zeki Şengalî.

The confessor said that when Zeki Şengalî returned from the commemoration ceremony for the victims of the ISIS massacre in Kocho village, he sent photos and information to the KDP's intelligence service about the vehicle he was travelling in.

Agent Şefîq Cuno stated that, based on this information, Zeki Şengalî was killed in an airstrike carried out by the occupying Turkish state on 15 August 2018.

Background

Zekî Şengalî, a member of the Shengal Yazidi Coordination and the KCK Executive Council, was killed in an airstrike by the Turkish army on August 15, 2018. The attack on the Yazidi Kurd's vehicle occurred on his way back from a commemoration ceremony in the village of Kocho. The village had been almost completely wiped out by ISIS on August 15, 2014.

Zekî Şengalî, who is affectionately called Mam (Uncle) Zeki by the Yazidi population, was born in 1952 in the Kurdish province of Batman. Repression and oppression in Turkey drove many Yazidi Kurdish families to flee. This was also the case for the Özden family, who went to Germany in 1969.

Zekî Şengalî became involved in the Kurdish freedom movement at an early age, joining it in 1987. Because of his political work, he was imprisoned in Germany for a time starting in 1990. Şengalî did not compromise despite the oppression and threatened danger. His revolutionary personality impressed many people. Mam Zeki's son Qasim Özden (Sîpan) and his niece Xanê Esmer Demir also joined the Kurdish freedom movement and died in the guerrilla struggle.

In 1999, Şengalî made the decision to go back to Kurdistan. Once there, he first moved to Êzîdxan, the land of the Yazidis in southern Kurdistan. In Shengal, Şêxan and many other places, he worked to organize the Yazidi population. When ISIS attacked Shengal on August 3, 2014, Mam Zekî returned there and took part in building his own autonomous structures as a member of the Shengals' Yazidi coordination.

— ★ —

Femicide

Hevrîn Xelef, a pioneer for the future of Syria

NUJIYAN ADAR | QAMISHLO | 12 OCTOBER 2024

Hevrîn Xelef was the Secretary General of the Syrian Future Party, which is guided by a grassroots democratic initiative principle, and a beacon of hope for a diverse, democratic Syria. Five years ago, on 12 October 2019, the then 34-year-old was murdered together with her driver near Qamishlo in the course of Turkey's war of aggression against the autonomous region of North and East Syria.

Members of the so-called '123 Battalion' of the jihadist militia 'Ahrar al-Sharqiya', which is part of the SNA (Syrian National Army) proxy invasion force, dragged Hevrîn Xelef from her car and mutilated her body before executing her. According to the autopsy report, the politician's body showed numerous injuries, including many bullet wounds and fractures to her legs, face and skull. Her scalp was partially detached and her hair was pulled out.

Following her murder, Hevrîn Xelef's name was given to a square in the Guillotiere neighbourhood of Lyon, France, to the Garden of Healing in Berlin, to the bridge over the 'Rio Rivi Freddi - Cold River' in the municipality of Berceto in Parma, Italy, to the nursery of Qamishlo and the garden of Raqqa in North-East Syria. In 2019, she was awarded the 'Margerita Troli Award' given annually by the Municipality of Capoa in Italy and the 'Young Activist' award of the 'Italian Coalition for the Rights and Freedom of Civilians' (Coalizione Italiana per la Libertà e i Diritti - CILD). Hevrîn Xelef's name was also included in the 'Feminist Hope Archive' prepared by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) on 1 October 2020.

ANF spoke to a long-time companion of Hevrîn Xelef, Samira al-Aziz, who is now deputy co-chair of the Syrian Future Party. The two women met in 2011, shortly before the revolution in Rojava.

Hevrîn Xelef was born on 15 November 1984 in the village of Rêhanik near Dêrik and studied civil engineering in Aleppo. After the revolution of 19 July 2012, both women worked in the structures of the autonomous administration, Samira al-Aziz said: "Hevrîn initially worked for the energy committee and I for the education committee. Between 2015 and 2018, we therefore often met in joint committees. Hevrîn's influence and contribution in these structures was clearly visible. She made constructive suggestions and pushed developments forward.

As co-chair of the economic committee of the Cizîrê region, she initiated projects for the economic prosperity of the people. She was future-oriented and wanted to broaden women's horizons in particular. As Secretary General of the Future Party, founded in Raqqa in 2018, she became a political and diplomatic pioneer for justice and equality for all ethnic groups in Syria. She was a Kurdish politician who defended the Rojava revolution and motivated many women to work in politics.

She did not limit herself to the Kurdish population. She pursued projects to bring peoples together. That is why she sought dialogue with all population groups and was also in close contact with representatives of Arab tribes. She was aware of her responsibility and role and acted with appropriate care and foresight.

She interacted with young people and women in a very good and loving way. She was a young woman herself and was a master at making others feel valued. Her brutal assassination still hurts as much today as it did on the first day. She believed in a free and united life for the people of Syria and fought for it until the last moment. Now it is our task to continue her fight. Women must organise themselves to play a leading role in the unity of Syria.”

Ahrar al-Sharqiya massacred many civilians, including Kurdish politician Hawrîn Xelef. Abu Hatim Shakra, one of the commanders of the Ahrar al-Sharqiya group accused of committing war crimes by the UN, graduated from the Artuklu University in Mardin on 6 June 2023, where he enrolled under the name Ahmed İhsan Fayyad al-Hayes. The same name was also on the agenda with his voting in the elections held in Turkey on 14 May 2023.

— ★ —

Many detained as soldiers attack Peace Mothers demonstrating in Silopi

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 15 OCTOBER 2024

Members of the Peace Mothers' Assembly gathered in the Başverimli (Tilqebîn) town in Şırnak's Silopi district under the slogan 'No war, peace now'. A number of Peace Mothers from Amed, Van, Batman, Mardin, Hakkari, Urfa, Siirt and Mersin participated in the demonstration at a point close to Khabour Border Gate.

The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) MPs Sabahat Erdoğan and Zeynep Oduncu as well as many others joined the protest of the Peace Mothers.

The Turkish military attacked the mothers while they were protesting with applause and chants. Many Peace Mothers were detained during the crackdown.

— ★ —

Body of 21-year-old Rojin found on the bank of Lake Van

ANF | VAN | 15 OCTOBER 2024

The body of Rojin Kabaiş, a university student who had been missing for more than two weeks, has been found on the shore of Lake Van, according to Turkey's Minister of the Interior, Ali Yerlikaya.

The 21-year-old girl had last been seen on 27 September when she left her on-campus dormitory in Van after dinner. Her housemates found her mobile phone and several personal belongings on the shore of Lake Van and notified the dormitory management, who reported her missing to the police a day later and notified her family.

Rojin Kabaiş was brought from Amed (tr. Diyarbakir) to Van by her father two days before her disappearance. She lived in a student dormitory and studied education. Her family believes that suicide is out of the question. Her father, Nizamettin Kabaiş, said that his daughter had moved to Van with great hope and had no enemies. "The night she disappeared, she called her mother and said that she was buying a few things at the market and would return to the dormitory," said her father.

— ★ —

Women stage a silent march for Rojin Kabaiş in Amed

ANF | AMED | 16 OCTOBER 2024

The body of Rojin Kabaiş, a university student who had been missing for more than two weeks, was found on the shore of Lake Van on Tuesday. The 21-year-old girl had last been seen on 27 September when she left Seyyid Fehim Arvasi Girls' Dormitory on the university campus after having dinner. Her roommates found her mobile phone and several personal belongings on the shore of Lake Van.

Rojin Kabaiş had been brought from Amed (tr. Diyarbakir) to Van by her father two days before her disappearance. She studied education and lived in a dormitory. According to her father, Rojin moved to Van with great hope and had no enemies: "The night she disappeared, she called her mother and said that she was buying a few things at the market and would return to the dormitory." The family believes that suicide is out of the question in the case of their daughter's death.

Rojin Kabaiş's body was brought to Amed after an autopsy at Van Forensic Medicine Institution (ATK). Rojin's family was accompanied by Van Metropolitan Municipality Co-Mayors Neslihan Şedal and Abdullah Zeydan, and members of the Peoples' Democracy and Equality Party (DEM Party).

The young woman was laid to rest at the Yeniköy Cemetery in the central Bağlar district earlier today. The funeral was attended by DEM Party co-mayors of Amed Metropolitan and district municipalities, members of the Free Women's Movement (TJA), Democratic Regions Party (DBP) and hundreds of people.

The Kabaiş family is receiving condolence visits at the Abdurrahman Enç Condolence House.

A large number of women, including members of women's organisations, co-mayors of municipalities, DEM Party Women's Assembly Spokesperson Halide Türkoğlu, politician Gültan Kışanak and many others staged a silent march behind a banner reading 'Femicides are political and ideological'.

Speaking in front of the condolence house after the march, Berfin Polat, a member of Rosa Women's Association, said, "Today we are here for the women who were murdered, disappeared and found dead under suspicious circumstances, remembering them in the person of Rojin."

Berfin Polat said, "All our hard-won rights are being taken away by perceptions such as "reform" and "innovation". We know how impunity policies and trials invite this dark scene. We have no other choice but to fight against this. We will continue to raise our voice and objections on the streets. We promise that we will continue the struggle."

Van Metropolitan Municipality Co-Mayor Neslihan Şedal said, "We will find the murderers of Narin and Rojin. They politically decide about our lives, and when we object to this, they murder us, isolate us and put us in prison. Today, thousands of women are with Rojin's family. We make a promise here. Our struggle will continue until this case is solved."



Bar Association on Rojin Kabaiş's death: There was negligence, we were excluded from the process

ANF | VAN | 17 OCTOBER 2024

Van (Wan) Bar Association issued a statement to correct the misleading information given to the public regarding Rojin Kabaiş, a student at Yüzüncü Yıl University (YYU) who went missing in Van on 27 September and whose body was found 18 days later.

Bar Association President Sinan Özaraz, Van Bar Association Women's Rights Center, Freedom for Lawyers Association (ÖHD) members and many lawyers attended the press conference.

'There were many negligences'

Bar Association President Özaraz touched upon what happened since Rojin Kabaiş disappeared. He said that they have been following the file since the first day, and added: "Some of the negligences are the dormitory staff's late notification of the family and law enforcement, and the late notification of the family. The prosecutor's office's failure to effectively control the entrances and exits to the university, and the failure to take strict security measures, especially for the village area next to the university, were also serious deficiencies. We always told the prosecutor's office that it needed to make up for these deficiencies as soon as possible and that a file, like the Gülistan Doku file, would emerge as the process progressed. However,

the prosecutor's office continued to follow the file, keeping us out of it and giving answers such as 'we are doing what is necessary.'"

Özaraz stated that Rojin Kabaiş's lifeless body was found by one person, and emphasized that the ministry provided false information that Rojin Kabaiş was found by law enforcement officers. Özaraz said: "We, as civil society organizations, Wan Bar Association and Women's Rights Center, wanted to follow the forensic medicine process (ATK). The prosecutor's office tried to keep us out of the ATK process. Although we told him that we, as a bar association, had the right to have a representative at the ATK, and that we could have a lawyer and a specialist doctor in the field, our request was rejected by the prosecutor's office."

— ★ —

Peace Mothers deported 9 days before hearing

ANF | BATMAN | 17 OCTOBER 2024

With the military destruction operation launched on 22 June in the village of Bilêxşê in Gerçüş (Kercews) district of Batman (Elîh), entry and exit to the village was banned, and the blockade lasted until 6 July.

The 11 people taken into custody in the house raids following the attack were released, but upon the objection made by the Batman Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, nine people, including Peace Mothers Emine Kaya (54), Nezete Bölek (58) and Sare Kaya (59), were remanded in custody.

An indictment was prepared against the mothers held in Batman M Type Closed Prison. The indictment accusing the Peace Mother of "aiding an illegal organization" was accepted by the Batman 2nd High Criminal Court.

The first hearing will be held on 24 October. Nine days before the hearing, however, the three Peace Mothers were deported to Erzincan Women's Closed Prison. It was also confirmed that the mothers' families and lawyers were not informed about the deportations.

— ★ —

Peace Mothers: We will continue to be human shields until the war stops

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 17 OCTOBER 2024

Members of the Peace Mothers Assembly held a three-day vigil for peace against war in Silopi district of Şırnak province.

The vigil was organised with the demand ‘No to war, peace now’. Many Peace Mothers from Amed, Van, Batman, Mardin, Hakkari, Urfa, Siirt İzmir and Mersin took part in the action.

The vigil was held in front of the building of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Tilqebîn Town Organisation.

The participants of the press statement on Thursday included Peace Mothers from different cities, DEM Party MPs, members of the Association for Assistance, Solidarity and Culture with Families who Lost Relatives in the Cradle of Civilisations (MEBYA-DER), and members of the Federation of Associations for Assistance and Solidarity with the Families of Prisoners and Convicts (TUHAT-Fed).

DEM Party Şırnak MP Newroz Uysal Aslan said, “The mothers were on vigil for peace against the ongoing war in Kurdistan. As always, mothers have shown their stand for peace and for the end of the war. From the parliament to the streets, from Gemlik protests to freedom protests, here too, the Peace Mothers wanted to show the way to a solution.”

Newroz Uysal Aslan underlined that the peace demand of the mothers is the peace demand of the entire Kurdish people.

Noting that this demand is ‘the peace demand of Abdullah Öcalan who is resisting in İmralı’, the DEM Party deputy said, “The mothers have continued their vigil for 3 days against all kinds of difficulties. Today they end their vigil here. The war in the Middle East, the oppression in Bakûr (North Kurdistan), the approach to the Kurdish question require seriousness, the right approach and concrete steps in every sense. Mothers have manifested their approach for peace here.”

Peace Mother Emine Eren addressed KDP officials and said, “On behalf of all mothers for peace, I call out to Barzani; we are here to stop the war.”

Emine Eren said, “They should take their hands off the blood of Kurds. We will continue to be human shields until the war stops. We are ready for peace, we do not want war.”

The statement ended with the slogan ‘Bijî berxwedana dayikan’ (Long live the resistance of mothers) and applause.

Human Rights Violations

Turkey bans Kurdish-language film Rojbash from commercial release

ANF | ANKARA | 12 OCTOBER 2024

The Culture and Tourism Ministry has blocked the theatrical release of Rojbash, a film that tells the story of a group of Kurdish stage actors reuniting after 25 years.

The ministry deemed the film "unsuitable for commercial circulation," a decision that prompted a legal challenge from the Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA), which announced that it had filed a law-suit seeking to overturn the ban.

The film premiered at the First Düsseldorf Kurdish Film Festival last April, and was screened at the Berlin Kurdish Film Festival this week.

Peoples' Equality and Democracy (DEM) Party MP Sinan Çiftiyürek submitted a parliamentary question to Culture and Tourism Minister Mehmet Nuri Ersoy, raising concerns about censorship.

The question asked for clarification on the reasoning behind the ban and whether the film predominantly being in the Kurdish language played a role in the decision.

The MP also requested data on the ministry's support for Kurdish theater and cinema over the past five years, including the number of Kurdish-language films that have been banned and the reasons for their prohibition.

The MP also asked how many Kurdish-language films or theater productions have been banned by the ministry over the past five years, and what were the reasons for these bans.

— ★ —

Radio and Television Supreme Council revokes Açık Radyo's terrestrial license

ANF | ANKARA | 12 OCTOBER 2024

The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) has revoked Açık Radyo's terrestrial broadcasting license. The Supreme Council imposed a program suspension penalty on the radio five times because broadcasters used the expression "Armenian Genocide" in the "Açık Newspaper" program on 24 April. Now it revoked the license of the 30-year-old radio.

The Ankara 21st Administrative Court, where the radio filed a lawsuit regarding the decision to suspend broadcasting and impose a fine, suspended the execution of the sentence. RTÜK's objection to this decision was rejected, and the radio announced that it would continue broadcasting.

Açık Radyo said in a statement: "We hope that the suspension of our terrestrial broadcasting life will be temporary and will end as soon as possible. Açık Radyo, which will enter its 30th year of broadcasting in exactly one month from now, has served as a megaphone for civil voices in many areas, from the struggle for the environment and climate to public health, from gender equality to multiculturalism, as shown by the numerous awards it won. We will continue our duty as an independent medium that is not limited to radio frequencies but extends to design, literature and social sciences, from performing arts to plastic arts. We invite all our listeners, professional organizations and the international public opinion to raise their voices against this RTÜK decision that causes an irreparable loss in terms of press and broadcasting freedom in Turkey."

— ★ —

4 DEM Party members, including district co-chair, detained in Kahya, Adıyaman

ANF | ADIYAMAN | 14 OCTOBER 2024

Turkish state forces conducted house raids in Kahta district of Adıyaman and detained 4 people, including DEM Party District Co-Chair Sait Dilek.

The raids took place in the morning hours. DEM Party District Co-Chair Sait Dilek and DEM Party members Sinan Süt, Nuri Karlı and Hasan Şahin were detained and taken to the District Security Directorate.

Those detained on the allegation of 'making propaganda for an illegal organisation' are expected to be taken to the courthouse after the procedures at the police headquarters.



ETHA editor Pınar Gayıp taken into custody

ANF | ISTANBUL | 14 OCTOBER 2024

Lawyer Sezgin Keleş, who was sentenced to prison for ‘simple sexual assault’, filed a criminal complaint against ETHA (Etkin News Agency) editor Pınar Gayıp for her news reports.

Pınar Gayıp went to Kocamustafapaşa Şehit Sinan Acar Police Station in Istanbul’s Fatih district to give her statement.

Pınar Gayıp was taken into custody on the grounds of an arrest warrant issued against her in a different file. She is expected to be referred to the courthouse after a health check. Information on the file in question could not be obtained.



Şebnem Korur Fincancı to be forcibly brought to court for a new trial

ANF | ISTANBUL | 14 OCTOBER 2024

A new trial against the renowned forensic scientist and human rights activist Şebnem Korur Fincancı before the Istanbul 31st Criminal Court of First Instance began on Monday, initially without the defendant. The 65-year-old and her defence lawyer Meriç Eyüboğlu were, according to their own statements, unable to attend. However, as the court was not informed of this, the court ordered Fincancı's compulsory appearance. The hearing is now scheduled to begin on 27 January 2025.

Fincancı is accused of ‘belittling the Turkish nation’ under the so-called Turkishness paragraph. The background to the accusation is that Fincancı expressed suspicion of torture in the case of a man kidnapped from Kyrgyzstan. Orhan İnandi, a Turkish-Kyrgyz dual national, was kidnapped in Bishkek in May 2021 by the Turkish intelligence service MIT on the orders of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and brought to Turkey. The motive for the kidnapping: İnandi was the founder and president of the Sapat education network, which is associated with the Islamic preacher Fethullah Gülen, who is in exile in the US. Erdoğan's former ally is held responsible for the alleged coup attempt of 2016, and followers of his movement are persecuted worldwide.

After the kidnapping, Erdoğan presented a photo of İnandi showing him tied up in front of a white wall, flanked by two large Turkish flags. Around six months after İnandi's abduction to Turkey, further images emerged that were taken in a prison yard and show him with a bandaged arm. According to his relatives,

he can no longer use his arm due to the violence and torture he suffered at the hands of MIT and Turkish police officers.

Asked for her expert opinion as a professor of forensic medicine and a leading international expert on the documentation of torture, Fincancı told the media that it was entirely possible that Inandis' injuries were the result of severe torture. The Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, on the other hand, sees this expertise as a 'deliberate humiliation of Turks' and submitted an application to the Ministry of Justice for approval of an indictment against Fincancı under Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code. Charges under this article are subject to the authorisation of the Minister of Justice. The ministry promptly complied with the request, which casually stated that there was no torture in Turkey. Ankara has been trying to silence Fincancı, who is considered an uncomfortable critic of the regime, for some time.

Article 301 is probably the best-known Turkish law in Europe. Until 2008, the section still regulated 'insulting Turkishness', but the law was reformed under pressure from the EU. The outdated version now states: 'Anyone who publicly disparages the Turkish nation, the state of the Turkish Republic, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the government of the Turkish Republic or the state judicial organs will be sentenced with six months to two years in prison.' The article is considered an extremely effective instrument against the opposition. Opposition members and unpopular intellectuals are repeatedly hauled before the courts in Turkey for allegedly disparaging Turkishness, in order to restrict freedom of expression and fundamental rights.

This is not the first time that Şebnem Korur Fincancı has appeared in court. The former president of the Turkish Medical Association (TTB) was sentenced in January 2023 to two years and eight months in prison on charges of 'terrorist propaganda'. In a television interview with the Kurdish channel Medya Haber, Fincancı had spoken out in favour of an independent investigation into the use of chemical weapons by the Turkish army against the Kurdish guerrillas. An appeal against the verdict is still pending before the Court of Cassation.

— ★ —

Political genocide: 269 people detained in 36 cities

ANF | 15 OCTOBER 2024

Turkish state forces conducted political genocide operations in 36 cities. According to reports, a total of 269 people were taken into custody.

It is stated that political genocide operations were conducted due to the demonstration organised by the Democratic Institutions Platform in Amed (Diyarbakır) on 13 October to demand freedom for Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan and a political solution to the Kurdish question.

— ★ —

Five kolbars tortured by Iranian forces in Mariwan, one in serious condition

ANF | 15 OCTOBER 2024

According to Eastern Kurdistan media, 5 kolbars (load carriers) from Mariwan city were detained and tortured by Iranian state forces on 13 October.

According to reports, one of the kolbars is in serious condition due to torture and was taken to Mariwan hospital.

Kolbars

Eastern Kurdistan has descended deeper into poverty through the years due to deliberate policies by the Iranian regime and stands out as one of the poorest regions in Iran. Compared to other regions, the area has seen significantly less investment and development has been deliberately curbed. Agriculture and industry weren't allowed to develop, and as a result, unemployment rose to the highest in Iran.

Faced with policies of discrimination, oppression and impoverishment, carrying smuggled goods is not a choice but a must for survival.

Kolbar comes from the Kurdish words, "kol" (back) and "bar" (load). Kolbars make their living carrying loads along the perilous borderline. Their loads include cigarettes, mobile phones, clothes, housewares, tea and seldomly alcohol. They walk through dangerous terrain to continue this trade between Southern and Eastern Kurdistan. The goods they bring are sold at high prices in Tehran, but the kolbars who risk their lives for them are paid very modestly.

The intermediaries who take the deliveries and find buyers in cities are called kasibkars. Kolbars and kasibkars range from 13 to 70 years old. Some only finished elementary school, while others are university graduates. They carry loads, because they can't find any other employment.



Yeni Yaşam newspaper issue to be confiscated over the headline 'The Kurds' dream is to meet Öcalan'

ANF | ISTANBUL | 15 OCTOBER 2024

The Turkish judiciary ruled to confiscate the issue of Yeni Yaşam newspaper published on 13 October with the headline 'The Kurds' dream is to meet Öcalan'.

The decision was taken by Istanbul 9th Criminal Judicature of Peace on the allegation of ‘making propaganda for an illegal organisation through the press’.

Istanbul 1st Criminal Judicature of Peace had also issued a confiscation order for the issue of the newspaper dated 7 October 2024. Writer Fırat Can's article ‘World War 3, chaos in the Middle East and the way out’ was presented as a justification for this decision.



At least 16 people detained in Amed and Malatya

ANF | 16 OCTOBER 2024

Turkish state forces raided many houses in Amed (Diyarbakır) in the morning hours as part of a political genocide operation and detained at least 15 people. It is reported that the raids were carried out with the arbitrary and systematic accusation of ‘making propaganda for an illegal organisation’.

On the other hand, Turkish forces raided a house in the rural neighbourhood of Hisarcik (Qalik) in Darende district of Malatya based on an investigation conducted by Darende Chief Public Prosecutor's Office.

The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) district co-chair Süleyman Bozkurt (76) was taken into custody.

Bozkurt was taken to Darende District Security Directorate without the reason for his detention being disclosed.



DEM Party İnegöl district building attacked

ANF | BURSA | 16 OCTOBER 2024

According to the information received, an unidentified person broke the camera and windows of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) İnegöl district organisation last night.

DEM Party members who were in the vicinity of the district building at the time of the attack caught the attacker and handed him over to the police.

DEM Party İnegöl District Organisation executives and party members gathered in front of the district building and condemned the attack.

DEM Party Provincial Co-Chair Deniz Büyük stated that the attacks, which have become routine, are organised attacks and emphasised that they will not back down in the face of any attack.

Deniz Büyük called on all democratic organisations and the public to attend the press briefing they will make in front of the district building at 19.00 today to protest the attack.

— ★ —

Court rules for the release of all detainees in the Şenyaşar family attack case

ANF | URFA | 18 OCTOBER 2024

The trial process that began with the massacre of the Şenyaşar family by the bodyguards and relatives of former AKP MP İbrahim Halil Yıldız in the Suruç (Pirsûs) district of Urfa (Riha) on 14 June 2018 continues.

The 8th hearing of the case opened against a total of 30 people, 4 of whom in prison, was held at the Malatya 3rd High Criminal Court.

Prisoner Fadıl Şenyaşar, who lost his father and two brothers in the attack, attended the hearing from Diyarbakır No. 2 T Type Prison via Audio and Video Information System (SEGBİS). Other jailed defendants, Enver Yıldız, Mekail Şimşek and Celal Yıldız also attended the hearing via SEGBİS.

Emine Şenyaşar, who lost her husband and two sons in the massacre, could not attend the hearing due to health problems.

The prosecutor requested the release of all defendants in custody and an extended investigation (expansion of the prosecution).

Şenyaşar family lawyers pointed out that the request for release was appropriate and requested the release of Fadıl Şenyaşar. The other defendants' lawyers also made the same request. The court panel ruled for all arrested defendants to be released and put under house arrest. The next hearing will be held on 21 February 2025.

— ★ —

Former co-chair of Kurdish Research Association sentenced to 6 years and 3 months in prison

ANF | ISTANBUL | 18 OCTOBER 2024

Eyyüp Subaşı, former co-chair of the Kurdish Research Association (Komeleya Lêkolînên Kurdî), was sentenced to 6 years and 3 months in prison. In a statement on the social media account, the association noted that Subaşı was imprisoned for a while in 2023 and said, “Eyyüp Subaşı, the former co-chair of our association, was unlawfully arrested a year ago. In the second hearing held today, the court unlawfully sentenced him to 6 years and 3 months in prison.”

The statement reacted to the verdict, stating: “Kurdish language activities, Kurdish activism and the protection of rights should not be penalised. We call on the public not to remain silent in the face of these unjust attacks and penalties. The sole purpose of these incidents is to criminalise and stop Kurdish activities. We cannot accept it in any way.”

— ★ —

Interview

Kalkan: The system of capitalist modernity means war and aggression

ANF | BEHDINAN | 12 OCTOBER 2024

In the second part of this extensive interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, describes the interests in the current Third World War and explains where this war will extend in the future, and what effects it will have, particularly for Kurdistan, Turkey and the Middle East.

The international conspiracy is closely intertwined with the ongoing Third World War. This is something you have mentioned several times. What exactly does that mean? What can you tell us about it?

While there are those who are still puzzling over whether there will be such a war, it has to be said that this war has already been going on for years in various places. Generally speaking, this war has been going on for 35 years. Before, we used to say that those who were not in the war could not see and understand it. And it is really like that. People can only really understand something if it affects them directly and immediately. I guess we have reached this level of consciousness because we have been affected so much. The fact that the most powerful mental revolution in history has taken place in Imralı is linked to the system; it is linked to the scope, depth, historicity, and globality of the attack. Those who are not aware of this and

live simple, individualistic, and narrow lives can see the world in a rosy light and say that just some events are disturbing. But there is indeed a world war raging.

As the capitalist system of modernity became the global hegemonic power, wars became globalized and World Wars emerged. The system of capitalist modernity means war and aggression. Before reaching the global level, these wars were local and regional. Once the system became global, that is, when the statist system took over the whole world, wars became world wars, and world wars have been going on ever since. Why it was divided into World War I, World War II, and World War III is related to the Soviet Revolution in Russia in 1917. That revolution reduced the intensity of war. It made the warring powers declare a ceasefire. Because it opposed this system by creating an alternative world. They had to declare a ceasefire out of fear of it. That is how the First World War ended. Otherwise, it did not end with the planning of the war itself; the system did not bring its own planning to a conclusion.

The so-called Second World War was Hitler's Germany's objection to this armistice. German capital wanted to try its luck with Hitler's fascism and dominate global capital. The Soviet Union prevented this. It was mainly the Soviet resistance that defeated it. In the early 90s, when the Soviet Union dissolved, there was no obstacle for the global capitalist system of modernity to wage a World War. Real socialism must be criticized ideologically in terms of mentality, style, and system, but we must also give it its due. In two certain parts of the 20th century, from 1920 to 1940 and from 1950 to 1990, a truce occurred in between the Word Wars. They said they would represent world peace, and they had the right to say so because it was the existence of the Soviet Union that created the armistice. It was not only the existence of the Soviet Union as a state, politically and militarily, but also ideologically; it was the existence of socialism. This was the alternative to capitalism, the emergence of an alternative life and world. The fear of this forced the monopolies of capital to compromise instead of confrontation, or to limit and minimize the conflict.

They did this through various international institutions that they created. After the First World War, they created the League of Nations, and after the Second World War, they created the United Nations. They also created other institutions and made them accountable. The system itself did not come out of the war. It was the existence of the Soviet Union, the October Revolution, that forced it out of the war, forced it to leave the war, forced it into an armistice. It was the existence of the search for an alternative world. After this disappeared, the world entered war again.

The initial war was the German-British war. It was called the 'war for a new division of the world'. The essence of that war was to share sovereignty over energy resources and routes, the exploitation of the riches of Asia by Europe. Britain had become the 'Empire on which the sun does not set'. The British capital had become the hegemonic capital; it had established sovereignty over all of Asia. The newly developing and strengthening German capital wanted a share of this and objected, demanding a bigger share. It wanted to establish more influence over energy resources and routes. This is how the war emerged. They built constructions accordingly. At the beginning of the war, there was the transportation of the riches of Asia to Europe and the marketing of goods produced in Europe in Asia because the population was in Asia, the riches were more in Asia, and consumption was higher in Asia. European capitalism could exist only with the raw materials and markets of Asia. Because it had to make a profit. The logic of the business was maximum profit; with an ever-growing greed for profit, it would attack wherever there was wealth, wherever the market was big.

Based on this, they wanted to create a trade and energy route from Europe to Asia. It started as the Berlin-Baghdad-Basra Railway Project. It was also a British project. The British wanted to create a trade route to Asia, to India particularly. Abdulhamid allied with the Germans and gave the project to them. The British opposed this and allied with France and Russia. When the administration of the Committee of Union and Progress formed a war front with the Germans, they entered the war. It was seen that Germany would build this road; therefore, it would become effective in the exploitation of Asia through India. Against this, Britain, France, and Russia entered the war to seize Ottoman lands. They started the war in 1914. In 1916, Britain-France and Russia reached an agreement on how they would share the Middle East. In other words, they mapped out how the capitalist modernity system would become global hegemonic and how they would share the Middle East. At the end of 1917, with the Soviet Revolution, Russia withdrew from this agreement and therefore from the war. As the Russian front remained weak, the environment of the war changed. On the one hand, it threatened to seek alternative socialist alternatives, and on the other hand, it broke the war alliance. Britain and France drew something in the Middle East with the result they achieved against Germany, but in the absence of Russia and the presence of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, the Republic of Turkey was established.

It is considered Mustafa Kemal's success. His success lies in the fact that he read and saw this political and military situation well and foresaw that he could create a certain development based on this new situation. He saw and evaluated the new situation created by the Soviet revolution. It also relied on the Ottoman army, which was left standing after Russia's withdrawal, and mobilized the resistance power of the Kurdish people. With this, he went to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and had the State of the Republic of Turkey recognized. The ruling powers, Britain and France, accepted this. Because they needed it to defend themselves against the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, and also because, according to that model, it was Russia's territory anyway, they shared their own territory, and they compromised with it. Using it as a model, they envisioned shaping and developing the nation-state system of global capitalism in the Middle East. This was the case until 1990. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1990, war resumed. Based on the current developments, based on the results 35 years later, we see that the fight over the energy route is still at the center. There is a fight over where the trade route will pass. That is what the Ukraine war is about. Russia and China made an alliance; they wanted to pass the energy route through the north of the Black Sea on the basis of China's 'Belt and Road' project, in agreement with Europe through Ukraine. The US intervened there. For this reason, it risked withdrawing from Afghanistan and strengthening NATO. On the other hand, Turkey wanted to develop an alternative; they fought with Turkey. In the end, the war that started in 1990 was the desire to create such a secure energy route.

So you would say that the strategy of the 'New World Order' and the later accompanying 'Greater Middle East Project', after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, was essentially developed by the US to pave the way for such an energy route?

Yes, that's why they made Iraq invade Kuwait and then used that as a justification to put troops in the Gulf. They tried to control the Persian Gulf from the land and sea. Not enough, they launched invasion attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, using the September 11, 2001, Twin Tower attack as a pretext. They tried to take the Gulf and its environs under military control both through Saudi Arabia and by extending it to Iraq and Afghanistan. It was a struggle to secure that part of the road project they envisioned. They created a justification for this. Saddam's invasion of Kuwait was a pretext. But they did not destroy Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War against Iraq. They kept Saddam Hussein in Baghdad for more than ten years, living with him. Because they were not ready, they did not have the power, and they were afraid. Most of all,

they were afraid of the developments in Kurdistan. In such a situation, the freedom struggle developing in northern Kurdistan would spread to the South; it would be effective in Iraq through the South, and even when the Soviet Union could not be an alternative, those who feared the Soviet Union feared that they would face a more dangerous situation through Kurdistan, so they kept Saddam Hussein alive.

In southern Kurdistan, they established the Hewler administration in 1991 with the Operation Hammer Force, the aim of which was to encircle Baghdad from the north, but also one main aim was to prevent the PKK, the Kurdish freedom movement, from entering southern Kurdistan. It was to prevent the unification of northern and southern Kurdistan in the struggle for freedom. In 1991, the US initiated the administration of Hewler with Operation Hammer Force, and Rêber Apo wanted to create a free Kurdistan with the liberated areas of Botan and Behdinan and make a move for democratization in Turkey and Iraq. There were two opposing projects. It was America's project that was implemented. The project envisioned by Rêber Apo could not be implemented in practice. These two confronted each other at that time. With the Hewler administration, they prevented the PKK from entering southern Kurdistan with the Hammer Force Operation. They created the KDP-PUK administration and supposedly gave it Kurdish status. Thus, they blocked it and created an alternative force against the PKK. Otherwise, there was no KDP or PUK.

In 1988, they had all scattered; they had all left. Some were in eastern Kurdistan, some in northern Kurdistan, some in Europe; they had no one in southern Kurdistan. This was also the beginning of the conspiracy. It was a preparation to encircle the PKK. Before the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, they needed to completely destroy Saddam Hussein's regime in order to gain more control over the Gulf. In order to do this, they first envisioned making the PKK and Rêber Apo ineffective. They acted cautiously out of fear that there would be an alternative development and that they would be weak. In the First World War, they did not have such experience; they did not have such fear. In fact, the October Revolution was born partly out of that vacuum. The Bolsheviks took power in Russia with a very weak force; because the ground and the environment were open, there was no alternative to them. In that respect, the system was not afraid of them, so it tolerated the creation of such a vacuum. The Bolsheviks took advantage of that vacuum, but from 1990 onwards the system did not want to leave any vacuum. It tried to neutralize anyone who could be an alternative. In order to neutralize the PKK as an alternative, it brought the international conspiracy to the agenda before attacking Baghdad. It wanted to attack Baghdad by destroying Rêber Apo and neutralizing the PKK. They could not destroy him, but they attacked Baghdad by placing him under the Imrali isolation system, hoping that they would achieve results there.

Thus, in the first two decades, it seemed that they took control of the Gulf and its environs. After 2010, they want to control the Eastern Mediterranean in order to utilize the popular uprisings called the "Arab Spring," the opposition in society against the Arab nation-state dictatorships, and the reaction that has developed in line with their own interests. With this, they went after the statist radical Islamic groups. They both overcame the Hosni Mubarak regime and took control of Egypt and North Africa to a certain extent by controlling the Ikhwan-i Muslumin regime. Together with ISIS, they envisioned disintegrating and weakening Iraq and Syria and further developing their influence in those regions. All of this was actually to take control of the Eastern Mediterranean as the second part of the energy route. While the US was still planning this route, and before it had finalized it, it had a plan to lay it across the Iraqi border and take it to the Mediterranean through northern Syria. The reason why it went to war against ISIS in Kobane and allied itself with the Kurds was actually the approach of creating and securing the area for the energy route. This was their plan and project. But Turkey prevented this. It put pressure on the US by attacking from Jarablus and occupying Idlib. The resistance in Rojava developed very quickly militarily and could

not achieve such effectiveness. In this situation, Turkey frustrated this plan of the US. So they envisioned the sea as a safer place, and in fact, they announced this road project at the G-20 summit in India in 2022.

They have made agreements with the relevant players and have completely secured the Gulf side. They also made agreements on the Eastern Mediterranean. There was an Israeli-Arab agreement. Egypt, Germany, and other countries made agreements. There were Egypt-Iran and Saudi-Iran agreements. They ensured the security of the Gulf partly on the basis of these agreements. They tried to do this by cleaning up the remaining rough edges. They also prepared Greece and southern Cyprus. For years, the US and Germany specifically prepared Greece for such a project. They have both equipped the islands militarily and created their ports.

Why is it in the interest of the Turkish state to obviously sabotage the announced road project? What does it hope to achieve through this?

After the announcement of this road project, Turkey realized that it was being excluded and objected to it. First, Turkey wanted to develop an alternative with the Azerbaijan-Armenia war; it wanted to connect Azerbaijan to Turkey by road and create a highway coming directly from Central Asia. In response, Iran and Israel put pressure on Azerbaijan in the Zangezor Strait and frustrated Turkey there. Now, Turkey wants to do the same with Iraq. Under the name of 'Development Road Project,' it is trying to create an alternative route from the Gulf to Europe through Turkey. They do not raise a voice against it, but they are in the process of implementing their own projects. Turkey wanted to organize the Development Road with Iraq and make it an alternative, and by putting Hamas in place, it wanted to frustrate the road project announced in India. Hamas' attack on Israel was on this basis. Turkey was behind it. They did it with the hand of Tayyip Erdogan himself. Supposedly, they were going to make Israel an unsafe zone. Actually, it was the US and Israel who wanted this; they wanted to find an excuse and create a war that would enable them to remove Hamas and Hezbollah, the obstacles in front of them. Hamas created this, and Turkey pushed Hamas into this. They say Iran pushed it, but this has nothing to do with Iran. Some people say that Iran should have agreed from the beginning. Personally, I am not of that opinion. It's not that Iran has completely dismissed them, but Iran has to deal with this way in the Persian Gulf. Therefore, it is not in a war that will frustrate this path. Many leftist circles claim this; especially the Turkish state, the AKP government, is doing this, and everyone is following in their footsteps. It has become so much so that Tayyip Erdogan has now become the leader of the anti-US and anti-Israeli front. He has been speaking in recent days, saying, 'We are the leader; everyone will follow us', but this is all false and lies. The US and Israel are using Tayyip Erdogan. First they directed Tayyip Erdogan to guide Hamas to be crushed by Israel, then they provoked Hezbollah, saying that when Hezbollah is fighting in Lebanon, Iran will join them. And now they have created the Lebanese war. Turkey is successful in creating war. Why is Turkey doing all this? It wants to disrupt this road project. It wants to keep the war there and prevent it from coming closer. Because the energy route will pass through the Eastern Mediterranean, all these wars are to create the 'security' of the Eastern Mediterranean. A significant part of the Eastern Mediterranean borders Turkey.

The biggest port in the Eastern Mediterranean will be southern Cyprus. When the road reaches southern Cyprus, they will annex the north. There will be no one left in Northern Cyprus. If Turkey wants to object to this, it might face a heavy reaction. Turkey prevented the road from passing through northern Syria so that the Kurds would not benefit from it; now, it itself has been left off of the road. Until now, all energy routes have passed through Turkey. They called themselves the bridge between Asia and Europe. They said

that their strategic position is very important; everything passes through them. Indeed, everything from east to west passed through Turkey. From south to north, everything was passing through Turkey; all of them were passing through the Bosphorus. Now the Bosphorus is excluded. All of Turkey is excluded. Thus, Turkey's strategic importance is lost. One, it was important against the Soviet Union; they made an agreement in Lausanne, and this has disappeared. Two, it was a trade route and was important, and with this project it disappears. For the system of capitalist modernity, the current Turkish state has no special importance.

On the other hand, the center of the war is Turkey. The First World War started over the Ottoman Empire. The continuation of the Ottoman Empire is Turkey. In fact, the French-British part of the division of the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire by the British-French-Russian alliance was realized; the Russian part was not. The Turkish state was established in the areas given to Russia. The state of the Republic of Turkey is not compatible with the global hegemonic plan of capitalist modernity; it is against it. The state that contradicts it the most is the Turkish state. Because according to that plan, there was no such state. In the end, even after Russia withdrew, they concluded the Treaty of Sevres. They did not give the Straits, the Aegean, or Kurdistan; they gave the Turks a tiny place. In fact, before that, in the division of Russia-Britain-France, maybe Turkey did not exist at all. The fact that it became such a state was purely temporary; it is not in line with the global hegemonic plan of capitalist modernity.

The existence of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union revealed this. Now, in their absence, capitalist modernity is restructuring itself as a global hegemonic system, taking into account current developments but also eliminating the aspects that contradict it. And it is Turkey that is experiencing the most contradictions. In this respect, Turkey is actually the center of the war; it will end in Turkey. The big fight will take place in Turkey. This is due to both the restructuring of the system in the Middle East and the energy route that has been created. Turkey's rulers realized this, albeit a little late. They saw the energy route late; they realized it when it was announced, and immediately Tayyip Erdogan brought up the Karabakh War to frustrate this route.

Recently, they have realized it a little bit, so they are doing everything to turn the war into a war between Iran and Israel, between Iran and the US, in order to keep the war outside of themselves. The idea is to have an Iran-US war so that no war comes to Turkey and Turkey's position is preserved. Just as in the British-French-Soviet Union conflict the Turkish Republic was established, now they want a US-Iranian war so that Turkey is left untouched or the global capitalist system is dependent on Turkey. They want to protect the current Turkey. But this will not happen. Turkey has made all kinds of provocations for this.

— ★ —

Kalkan: Israeli war is a war of the system. US and NATO are behind it

ANF | BEHDINAN | 13 OCTOBER 2024

In the third and last part of this extensive interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the war against Gaza.

What exactly is the system of capitalist modernity trying to achieve with the war in Gaza and Lebanon? What exactly Iran wants to do? How can the stages of this war develop? Where is Turkey in this war, and how is it reflected in Turkey?

The Iranian leadership was more prudent in the Gaza war. It did not make itself a party to the war. But Hezbollah is different; Hezbollah can be considered a force organized by Iran. The Hamas-Iran relations were different from the Hezbollah-Iran relations. We were saying that Iran would not give the opportunity for such a war in Lebanon, that it would not make itself a party to the war, and if we look now, in its current state, it is trying not to do so; its statements show that. Iran still says that they do not go to war against Israel. But it could have protected Hezbollah. For example, it could have pulled back; they didn't fight in the Persian Gulf. Why did it drag Hezbollah into the war in Lebanon? Is that what it wanted? Some people say that Iran made a deal and sold out the Hezbollah leadership. Is this the truth, or was it powerless? Because there were many provocations. The Turkish provocations were too many. Was it unable to prevent the provocations, and such a war was entered into? We don't know this exactly. But what is clear is that after Gaza, Lebanon would be next, then Syria, then Cyprus, and Turkey. This will go on like this.

The free press is reporting about Rêber Apo's assessments of Israel. On this basis, it reports the construction of the state of Israel. Yes, they are trying to create a Jewish society. They bring people from all over the world; in fact, the state of Israel is the headquarters of the global capital in the Middle East. The Jewish capital is very influential. They want to make it effective on this basis. They want to ensure its security and make it the center of the energy route. Thus, they will create the new Middle East with the Israeli-Arab alliance. Obviously, the Iranians are also in this alliance, and they have compromised. The Iran-Saudi and Iran-Egypt agreements ensured this. They did not openly agree with the US, but Iran's agreement with Saudi Arabia and Egypt was an agreement with this system.

Turkey is in contradiction with this system, even if it is in NATO. The Israeli war is a war of the system. The US and NATO are behind it. The US has decided to bring in additional military forces and navy; it has increased its military power step by step. When Iraq invaded Kuwait and the Gulf Crisis began, within the first three months the US brought 150 thousand troops to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Arab Emirates, and the Middle East. Now the Gaza war has started; it has brought its entire navy to the Eastern Mediterranean, to the Red Sea. This time it is holding the Middle East from the sea. Back then it held the main places by land, and now it is holding them by sea. Israel is fighting on their behalf.

Also, Israel's method of warfare is a bit like ISIS. It uses a shocking, effective, striking style. This is what it did in Gaza, but it did it even more against Hezbollah. It did it both by blowing up the pagers and by striking the headquarters from the air and with the support of intelligence. It wants to shock the other side; it wants to shock everyone. It wants to create an atmosphere of 'Israel cannot be fought, Israel cannot be opposed'. It uses its technical and intelligence power. This is the case in all new wars. Now it has launched a ground operation. Most probably, it will impose the disarmament of Hezbollah, but if not that, it will at least foresee the disarmament of a large area of Lebanon close to the Israeli border, creating a buffer zone. There used to be a UN peacekeeping force in the early 80s, made up of many states. They created a buffer zone between the Palestinians and Israel. Then, when the Palestinian guerrillas withdrew from Lebanon with the 1982 attack, they ended that force. Hezbollah filled all those gaps. Hezbollah filled both the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the peacekeeping force and the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Palestinian guerrillas.

Now they are going to push them back completely. They will ensure the following: One, there will be no military threat to Israel from Lebanon. Two, there will be no Lebanese threat to trade in the Eastern Mediterranean; on the contrary, Lebanon will adapt and participate. They can create this in a short time. The result against Hezbollah shows that this will happen. Hezbollah suffered a heavy blow. How did it take it? Why was it so unprepared? One cannot know the exact reasons, but we know this: Communication is important in organizational functioning, and they made it extremely technically dependent because it was constantly monitored by intelligence. When the technical connection was severed by blowing up the devices, Hezbollah became unable to manage itself. That's when intelligence came into play faster. This technical attack and the breakdown of communication are linked to the complete destruction of the administration in a few moves. Hezbollah relied on Iran. In fact, it was supporting Hamas, but in the statements of Hassan Nasrallah, at the beginning, he did not envisage much war with Israel. He was saying things close to Iranian policy. Gradually, in the last period, provocations have increased, and they have reached a confrontational situation. They probably wouldn't carry out such an attack; diplomacy was in effect, France, etc. were making diplomatic initiatives, and it was as if there was a vacuum; Israel took advantage of the vacuum and struck a blow. It did not last as long as Hamas. The whole leadership was almost eliminated. In fact, Hezbollah controlled an area like Hamas. All of South Lebanon was in the hands of Hezbollah; it is based on the Shiite community; it has a social basis. It was also an example of an underground organization.

Now they are still saying that they will resist the ground operation, but we don't know how much resistance there will be. There will be a certain resistance, but when the leadership is eliminated, it will be difficult for them to carry out the resistance. If the leadership had not been eliminated, they could have resisted more than Gaza because they have rural areas. If they have developed a strong underground, and Hezbollah's work was cited as an example for this, they may be able to do some things. Hezbollah also participated in the Syrian war and has experience from there. If Israel attacked Lebanon the way it attacked Gaza, Lebanon would also have a hard time. If it had attacked with an invasion method from the beginning, it would have been hit, and Hezbollah would have resisted more strongly. In fact, Israel's tactics are very effective. First break the contact, then hit the leadership. No matter how much warrior power or underground preparation, after these two blows, they will not be led, they will not be able to communicate, and there will be no leadership. Like this, it is difficult to resist. Still, one cannot say anything for sure, but the conflict situation in Lebanon may not last as long as Gaza. This is how it can be evaluated.

We cannot say anything about what will follow in Syria. There is mainly Russia's influence in Syria. One does not know whether the rematch of the Russia-Ukraine war will take place in Syria or whether they will keep Ukraine separate and Syria separate. These are the internal relations of the system, conflicts of interest. Maybe Russia will fight in Ukraine, but in Syria they can compromise on the basis of not going completely outside the system. So far, the US and Russia have carried out operations in Syria in a certain alliance. This was the case until the road conflict. After the war in Ukraine, this situation deteriorated a bit, but that line has not completely broken down either. Both the situation of the Assad regime, the situation in Syria, and Russia's presence in the Mediterranean are essentially there. If they clash with Russia, it will be difficult, and Turkey is one of the forces that will encourage Russia to clash with the US. If that happens, Turkey will secure itself.

If the US-Russia conflict develops, just as the Turkish Republic survived on the basis of the US-Soviet conflict, now it wants to survive on the basis of the US-Russia conflict. If so, it may survive. But for now, we don't know for sure, but if they come to an agreement with Russia so that Syria is no longer an obstacle to

trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, then Turkey will be next. The surgery in Turkey will be done through Cyprus. It will be connected to the energy route. Turkey will be asked to completely surrender and become a servant. They will leave no room for self-determination. If it does not do so, they will dismember Turkey.

There is the planning of the Treaty of Sevres. Before that, there are the plans of the Brest-Litovsk Agreement. On the basis of them, they will dismember Turkey. Rêber Apo wrote about this fifteen years ago and warned them many times. He said that the things they rely on would tear them apart. They did not listen. AKP-MHP fascism has led Turkey into such a disaster. Rêber Apo also said: "There is no place for the current Turkey in this system. There is no Turkey in the global capitalist hegemony. Therefore, Turkey can only exist with an alternative system. Through a free Kurdistan, a democratic Turkey can emerge. If it turns towards pioneering the creation of democratic confederalism in the Middle East, Turkey can preserve its existence." This was Rêber Apo's project. His warnings were on this basis. Instead of taking this into consideration, they wanted to destroy the PKK, to completely intimidate and neutralize Rêber Apo through isolation. They wanted to intimidate the Kurdish people through isolation and attacks on the PKK. In other words, the AKP, Tayyip Erdogan, and Devlet Bahçeli gambled, thinking that they could survive by relying a little bit on Russia, by provoking others, and by launching invasion attacks. But on the contrary, they directed them all towards this. They also allowed invasion attacks on Rojava and southern Kurdistan. They did this in order to put Turkey under more control. Therefore, the situation in Syria depends on Russia's attitude. If there is no war there, the center of the war will be Turkey; contradictions and conflicts will intensify in Turkey. We must see this absolutely clearly. The current Turkish Republic will cease to exist.

It seems that the system is afraid to intervene in Turkey because of the PKK's presence. Is it because of this fear that they allow the Turkish Republic to cross the borders and carry out invasion attacks?

The Turkish Republic has already abrogated Lausanne when it invaded Idlib, poured troops into Jarablus, and attempted a military invasion of southern Kurdistan and the Medya Defense Zones. According to the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey was not to enter these borders. By launching a military invasion, it has abolished the borders; therefore, it has abolished Lausanne. Now the restructuring is taking place through the energy route. If they solve the problems in Lebanon and Syria, the Arab-Israeli problem will be solved. The way is completely paved for Israeli-Arab reconciliation. The new Middle East will be built accordingly, and most probably Iran should be reconciled with this, because Iran was not in a position to be disintegrated in the First World War; Iran's integrity was there for the capitalist system to become a global hegemony. The Ottoman Empire was disintegrating; there was still no Turkey. Therefore, most probably the Iranian regime will be kept in the system by exerting pressure on it, but Turkey will be reshaped; the process is heading in that direction. Maybe this process is being delayed, and the main reason for the delay is again the existence of the PKK. They are still afraid of making the necessary interventions in Turkey because of the PKK's existence.

That is why they allowed and supported the Turkish invasion attacks. They added the KDP to this, and now they have also added Iraq. All of this is actually carried out by the global capitalist system. They are doing it to weaken the PKK. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe extended the deadline by one year to weaken the PKK. They are afraid of any intervention in Turkey if the PKK is strong. An example of this happened in Russia. There was a vacuum in the system; a handful of Bolshevik organizations took over. Now they are afraid that if they develop a conflict situation in Turkey, the PKK would be too strong and would take over Turkey. They are trying to weaken the PKK and lure it into compromise in

Rojava. If they achieve results there, they will spread the war to Turkey. They will develop the operation in Turkey. After that, there is no telling what will happen to Turkey or the Kurds.

The alternative to this is a democratic Turkey and a democratic Middle East based on Kurdish freedom. Rêber Apo developed this formulation. He said, "Free Kurdistan, Democratic Middle East." Then he created the "Democratic Middle East Confederalism." It is the Democratic Nation and Democratic Confederalism projects that could prevent the attacks, conflict of interests, and fragmentation of the Middle East through capitalist modernity and could bring the Middle East to a position where free, democratic, and brotherly peoples live together. They did not allow Rêber Apo to implement this. They forced Turkey to war with Rêber Apo and the PKK. The 'cokturme planı' is not only the plan of the AKP-MHP; it is the plan of the forces carrying out the Kurdish genocide. It is necessary to see it this way. The situation is very critical. When they launched attacks on Rêber Apo and the movement, yes, we carried out a resistance at some level, but we could not develop an activity to break all this. This could have been prevented if the AKP-MHP administration had been overthrown earlier, if the awareness and organization of democratic modernity had spread more in the Middle East. But this was not achieved. Tayyip Erdogan and Devlet Bahçeli are still in power and continue their projects. This, too, is supposedly in opposition to the system, but it is part of the system. It is not outside the system, although it has relations with Russia and some other powers. Therefore, there is something effective that the global capitalist powers are developing through Israel in order to realize their plans. After Lebanon, the US will step in during the Cyprus process; the US made a security agreement with southern Cyprus; Israel also made an agreement; they held joint military exercises; they developed some ports for trade. The US and some powers will then directly intervene.

It can be seen that we are in a very important process. So is the situation of the war in Kurdistan. So is the expansion of the Third World War in the Eastern Mediterranean. The developments in Lebanon have revealed this situation. There are those who wonder whether this will spread to Iran; it seems very difficult and rather unlikely. We thought that it would not be like this in Lebanon, but it did not happen as we thought. Because provocations can lead to different situations. We should not say that it will happen one hundred percent, but the tendency in Iran is to reconcile with the system and stay out of the war. But we have to take into account the possibility of war; we have to take into account the possibility of staying out of war. We have to consider the situation in Syria. We should try to develop our struggle more strongly for what should happen if it is Turkey's turn.

Considering the situation you have assessed in detail, what is the role of the Kurdish freedom movement? What do you think has to be done?

So far we have not been able to implement our line effectively, sufficiently, and successfully. They wanted to annihilate us; yes, we are preventing annihilation, but we have not been able to develop an activity that would disrupt the plans of the other side. Now they want to weaken us and make us like Hezbollah and Hamas and dominate Kurdistan completely. If we frustrate this, what Rêber Apo calls 'intermediate solutions' may come to the agenda. The situation in Rojava may generalize a bit. We must be open and ready for that too. In this sense, we need to handle the practice in North and East Syria better and evaluate it more accurately. We need to carry it out in a more planned and effective manner. It is necessary not to become too dependent, but we should not think that we will be left alone there with only our own power, with no one else, without seeing our own real situation. Either you spread it around; in Kurdistan, in other parts of the Middle East, you bring out the power and democracy of the peoples and rely on it, or

you will be in reconciliation. Otherwise, there is no other way to survive. In this sense, approaches that are too submissive are also wrong; approaches that are shortcuts and detached from reality are also wrong. We must not fall into these situations. Therefore, we must see this reality and accordingly be in a position to carry out more planned, more organized reconciliation and alliances better. We must not be destructive; we must not eliminate them; that is also wrong.

By making the struggle more effective as much as possible and spreading more in the region and the world on the basis of the global freedom campaign, it will serve us to some extent to develop the alternative of democratic modernity against the global capitalist modernity system's total domination of itself. There are possibilities and opportunities for this, but it is necessary to assess correctly, to be organized, and to be able to fight more effectively with a creative style. When we realize this, we will definitely succeed. The conspiracy is a process intertwined with the world war. It can be handled and evaluated differently. In order to successfully wage the struggle against the conspiracy and to understand today's events, it is necessary to correctly understand the reality of the world war in which the conspiracy is intertwined.

This means that success can be achieved through struggle; many plans of the conspiracy were foiled. It has been defeated many times. Now the global freedom campaign is the finale of this. It aims to achieve the physical freedom of Rêber Apo by breaking the İmralı torture system. This can be realized. The lessons of 26 years of struggle show us this. The fact that 26 years of struggle have repeatedly broken the attack plans of the international conspiracy proves the fact that the conspiracy can be completely shattered and destroyed. Therefore, if the struggle is carried out more accurately and effectively, results can be achieved, and such a stage has been reached. This needs to be well understood. We must be more faithful and hopeful in the struggle. We must act more planned and organized. We must act more creatively. We must be more courageous and sacrificial. We have really reached the stage of achieving results, and we must be in an action that can realize this, consciously seeing that results can be achieved and believing in it.



'The campaign for Öcalan's freedom and a solution for Kurdistan must be continued with rich methods'

ANF | BEHDINAN | 15 OCTOBER 2024

In an extensive interview with ANF, Mustafa Karasu, member of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council, talked in detail about the resistance and struggle for the physical freedom of the Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan and the democratic solution to the Kurdish question.

We publish the first part of the in-depth interview below.

What is the basis and methods Abdullah Öcalan, the peoples leader, uses to carry out his relentless resistance against the international conspiracy that has been ongoing for 26 years?

The history of Rêber Apo's (Leader Abdullah Öcalan) struggle and resistance under the conditions in İmralı is full of lessons. Striking examples of ideological and political genius can be observed there. There is a

revolutionary who faced the greatest enmity of the 20th century and who wages an epic struggle against it. The Kurdish people's struggle for freedom is represented in the most accurate and competent way there. Under the conditions of solitary confinement, he managed to add great value to the struggle for freedom and democracy of both the Kurdish people and all humanity. Rêber Apo's life in Imrali is historic. He did not waste a single day and instead devoted himself to the question of the free and democratic life of the Kurdish people. This life is a life dedicated to all humanity.

From the very moment he was abducted, Rêber Apo started to search for ways of how to frustrate this conspiracy and focused on how to get through this process with the least damage to the freedom struggle. He did not panic, nor did he ever become pessimistic. As a leader of the peoples, he spends every second thinking about the free and democratic life of these peoples, regardless of the circumstances. He constantly focuses on how to frustrate the conspiracy with a strategical and tactical struggle. On February 15, 1999, when he was abducted from Kenya, his only thoughts were in this regard.

Rêber Apo is a leader who takes stock of each day, learns lessons from each development, and thus makes it a style to work and struggle even more. Having such a character and such an approach, he became a leader and grows in his work day by day. He considers a day in which he did not solve problems, did not overcome contradictions he encountered, or did not create a development, as a day that was not sufficiently used. He has made it a basic philosophy of life to fit full and productive work into every day. In this sense, he lives a reality that is unparalleled in the history of mankind. It is a reality that is based on a philosophy of struggle, of life.

From the very first moment of his captivity, Rêber Apo always asked himself the question 'What to do?' and based every single step he took on the answers he found that would bring him closer to the goal of frustrating the conspiracy and ensuring success. The environment created through the conspiracy was completely aimed at annihilation and liquidation. Rêber Apo therefore focused first and foremost on breaking through this environment in order to create a basis for struggle. From his captivity, he sent a message to those who were responsible for the conspiracy that it was now important for them to find a solution to the Kurdish question that was not based on coercion and did not arise from a complex. With this approach, Rêber Apo tried to win those forces to approach the solution of the Kurdish question positively. This was the first tactic of the struggle against the conspiracy. It can be said that it was a tactic developed by Rêber Apo according to the reality of the Turkish state at that time and the character of its rulers. Thus, the first attack of the international conspiracy, which was hysterically aimed at annihilation and liquidation, came to nothing. The first months of the conspiracy passed using this tactic.

With the dissolution of real socialism, Rêber Apo deeply evaluated the internal reasons that led to this. Undoubtedly, there were attacks by imperialist and capitalist powers, but the dissolution was seen mainly due to internal factors. Rêber Apo acted with the understanding that it is not possible to draw the right lessons and make corrections without recognizing that wrong and incomplete internal factors are also caused by deficiencies and inaccuracies in theory. He engaged in questioning, criticism, and self-criticism like no one else and did this without falling into the situation of giving up on socialism and becoming a leftist within the system. While criticizing real socialism and the theoretical and organizational line that created it, he strikingly expressed the purpose of his criticism by saying, "Insistence on socialism is insistence on humanity."

In its political report to the 5th Congress, the PKK concretely put forward its criticism of real socialism and the theoretical mistakes of Marxist leaders through the PKK's new ideological, theoretical, organizational, and operational line. The 5th Congress of the PKK was taken as a congress of renewal and change in socialism. Rêber Apo is in the understanding of evolving this change step by step towards the paradigm he envisions. The conspiracy was also directed against Rêber Apo's efforts to bring about this change and transformation in the PKK and the entire socialist movement. The conspirators, seeing that with these efforts of Rêber Apo, the PKK would overcome its shortcomings and become more effective in its struggle, aimed to prevent Rêber Apo from making the Kurdish people's freedom struggle more effective on the basis of the new paradigm.

After his imprisonment, Rêber Apo accelerated his efforts for the ideological, theoretical, and organizational change he wanted to create. He believes that one of the reasons for the conspiracy to be possible was the deficiencies, inadequacies, and mistakes in the ideology, theory, and way of organization. On the other hand, he believes that as long as the imperialist and capitalist system, which is responsible for so much injustice in this world, is not held accountable, the struggle for freedom that the Kurdish people are waging cannot progress and succeed. Bringing the imperialist and capitalist system to book would also be taking revenge on the international conspiracy. In short, Rêber Apo acted with the understanding that without solving the problem of capitalism and its system, neither the Kurdish people's nor humanity's problem of freedom and democracy can be solved. Based on this understanding, Rêber Apo embarked on a phase of investigation and did not come to an agreement with the hegemonic forces. He did not allow his struggle to be liberalized, nor did he allow himself to be forced to kneel before them. Instead, he has immersed himself in the question of how he can wage a more intensive, more successful struggle against the hegemonic forces. When one examines Rêber Apo's research and the line of struggle he exemplified on Imrali, one must evaluate these aspects correctly.

Rêber Apo had been socially connected since his childhood. Seen in this light, it was his social perspective and his corresponding search that ultimately led him to socialism. However, the understanding of socialism that he believes in and practiced has always included a deep sociality. He has always criticized ideological, theoretical, organizational and practical understandings that do not respond to the sociality he thinks. In this respect, he had critical approaches even before the collapse of real socialism, and he made the understanding and approach to socialism that he found correct a part of his personality.

After the collapse of real socialism, he concretized these criticisms further. In order to struggle effectively and successfully against capitalism in captivity in Imrali, he addressed the inadequacies in ideology and theory more comprehensively and brought serious innovations to the understanding and theory of socialism. With his new understanding of socialism based on the free woman, ecology, and a democratic society, he attacked capitalism at its roots. With his analyses and the paradigm he put forward, he started a new era of struggle that would bring the end of capitalist modernity. This was also a true homage to Marx and Engels, who 150 years ago raised the flag of struggle against capitalism. If there is a worthy student and follower of Marx and Engels, it is Rêber Apo. To never criticize what Marx and Engels said and to express it exactly the same way today is not a correct form of commitment. Rêber Apo has brought socialism to the deepest and most comprehensive level in human history with great responsibility in order to make it successful and to prevent the situation of real socialism from ever happening again.

With his deepening in Imrali, Rêber Apo has not only saved the Kurdish people's freedom struggle from obstruction and created a line for the right struggle and success, but he has also put the line of overcoming

the obstacles in front of the freedom struggle by analyzing the capitalist modernist system and its policies in the Middle East. Because Rêber Apo understood very well with his decades of experience and knowledge that the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom cannot be successful without solving the Middle East and the world system. In short, if the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom is to be successful, it will be based on the solutions laid out by Rêber Apo. Rêber Apo has deciphered the codes of capitalist modernity, the reaction in the Middle East, the hegemonic powers, and the countries of the region that rule over the Kurds. On this basis, he paved the way for the success of the freedom struggle.

By putting forward the dimensions of democratic modernity against all dimensions of capitalist modernity, in other words, its alternatives, Rêber Apo has directly attacked not only the five thousand-year-old statist system and its last representative capitalist modernity, but also the root of the male-dominated system.

By revealing and exposing the entire reality of the male-dominated statist system and by refuting all its ideological, theoretical, and moral foundations, he has started a period that will bring about its downfall. After the paradigm put forward by Rêber Apo, it is difficult for states, the capitalist system, is already certain that this determination will be realized. and the male-dominated system to survive for a long time. Rêber Apo has said that the 21st century will be the century of women. And it is already certain that this determination will be realized. Since all forms of domination and exploitation are based on the domination and exploitation of women, the 21st century will also be the century in which the end of the statist system and capitalist modernity is approaching. Rêber Apo wages such a historic struggle against the capitalist modernist forces leading the international conspiracy. In this way, he held to account those who established the Middle Eastern order based on the genocide of Kurds in the 20th century. By analyzing the situation in the Middle East as well as in the Turkish state in detail, and by adapting the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom and his own analyses accordingly and thus making them more influential, Rêber Apo has launched a great struggle against the occupying Turkish state and all the forces that play a role in the international conspiracy.

Although the pressures and attacks of the Turkish state are intense, the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom has become more comprehensive and deeper in all four parts of Kurdistan. Today, the Kurdish question has become a more visible political and social question in northern Kurdistan and Turkey; even more so, it has become a regional and international question. In this respect, the 26-year struggle in İmralı has frustrated the aims of the conspirators, and even though Rêber Apo is still held captive, the international conspiracy has lost and Rêber Apo has won.

The global campaign 'Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question' has entered its second year. Looking at the results of the first year of its struggle, what is to be expected from the campaign in this upcoming year?

Launched on October 10 by international friends of the Kurdish people, the global freedom campaign has been generally successful so far. It was especially strong internationally. Thus, the grounds for expanding this campaign globally have become very strong. If this ground is utilized well, this campaign will gain momentum and grow globally. If comprehensive and good planning is done in this regard, a giant step will be taken in 2025 for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. The first year has shown that such strong potential exists. In particular, the more Rêber Apo's paradigm is discovered by the people, the more the campaign is growing exponentially. It is not only about the freedom of a people and its leader. Embracing

Rêber Apo's paradigm is the most fundamental factor that enables this campaign to grow. One has to see how effective the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom and the struggle to liberate Rêber Apo can be when it is equipped with a strong ideology. More effective and concrete results can be achieved by strengthening the ideological and intellectual dimension of this campaign.

The women's movements of the world in particular will support this campaign more strongly in its second year. As Rêber Apo's ecological approach becomes known, ecological movements, like women's movements, will become an important force in this campaign. At a time when capitalist modernity has brought humanity to a dead end, the non-state model of democratic confederalism, the women's liberation line, and the ecological approach will affect entire humanity. This will add great strength to the struggle for the freedom of Rêber Apo and a democratic solution to the Kurdish question.

In short, the second year of the global campaign will be a year in which the women's movement will take the lead, intellectuals who form the conscience of the peoples will participate more, and ecologists and laborers will see this campaign not only as a campaign of support and solidarity but as their own struggle for freedom and democracy. The first year of the campaign pushed institutions such as the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to take certain steps. In the second year, this will intensify. It will lead to results that will push the states to take steps. Undoubtedly, this will be due to the democratic public opinion created by the campaign.

While the struggle against the international conspiracy is, above all through the global campaign, being waged all around the world, a very intense struggle is also going on in Kurdistan. When it comes to Kurdistan, particularly the North stands out. On October 13th, an important demonstration against the conspiracy was held in Amed (tr. Diyarbakir), despite its ban by the Turkish state. How do you evaluate this?

When it comes to Kurdistan in general, the struggle in northern Kurdistan always stands out. It is northern Kurdistan that has been influencing and determining the struggle in all parts of Kurdistan for 50 years. Northern Kurdistan has always been a pioneer in the struggle for the freedom of the Kurdish people and the embrace of Rêber Apo. Northern Kurdistan has been participating in the campaign launched by our international friends on October 10 with important actions and struggles. In the second year of the campaign, the struggle in northern Kurdistan and Turkey will be even more powerful and effective. The actions and struggle in the first year have shown that northern Kurdistan is capable of waging a bigger struggle. Even though the state aimed to prevent further participation by imposing bans, our people overcame the obstacles and made their voices heard. It should be known that the higher and more effective the struggle in northern Kurdistan, the more it affects all parts of Kurdistan and abroad. The struggle in northern Kurdistan gives great momentum to the struggle everywhere. 50 years of struggle have shown this reality. The October 13th rally is a beginning. It is also an important measure of how the second year of the campaign will develop in northern Kurdistan, in all of Kurdistan, and abroad. The campaign for physical freedom for Rêber Apo and a political solution for Kurdistan must be continued with rich methods. The Kurdish people, especially the youth and women, can raise the struggle through many methods. It is important not to be limited to one or two methods of struggle. The youth, women, and all our people should know that the stronger the participation in the protests, the greater the impact. The Kurdish people are the people of Newroz and serhildan (Kurdish word for popular uprising). In this respect, it cannot be said that actions with high participation cannot be organized. When the youth, women, and people are touched, when organizing is seen as the most fundamental task, these people of Serhildan are capable of demonstrating this everywhere.

In the first year of the campaign, both Rojava and Europe played a crucial role. In fact, both have always stood up and fought when it comes to Rêber Apo. We saw this reality once again in the first year of the campaign. When the international conspiracy against Rêber Apo was realized, our people in Rojava and Europe stood up and strongly showed their reaction against it. They showed an exemplary attitude in this regard. For this reason, Rêber Apo expressed his special gratitude to the people of Rojava and our people in Europe in his prison writings. In the second year of the campaign, the peoples of Europe, Rojava, and North and East Syria will again participate in the struggle to free Rêber Apo at the highest level.

The fascist Turkish state's attacks to occupy Kurdistan continue uninterruptedly. One of the centers of these attacks are the Medya Defense Zones (Areas on the border between North, South and East Kurdistan/ South-East Turkey, North Iraq and West Iran, that are under the control of the Kurdish freedom guerrillas). By collaborating with the KDP, the Turkish state wants to push the agreement with the Iraqi government to its maximum. At this point, what has been revealed by the war?

For more than four years, the Turkish state has been conducting an intense attack on the Medya Defense Zones with all the means of war, banned weapons, and internal and external support. At the moment, the Israeli attacks are on the agenda. Every day, the Turkish state attacks more than Israel's attacks on Gaza or Lebanon, bombing the entire area and using banned weapons. It bombs the tunnels, which have become the guerrillas' bases of resistance, around the clock. It is trying to neutralize the coordinated tactic of team-tunnel warfare by the guerrillas through bombings with all kinds of weapons, poisonous gases, and other banned weapons. For more than four years, the new warfare of the guerrillas with the tactic of coordinated tunnels and mobile teams has been a thorn in the side of the Turkish army. In these four years, the Turkish state has used perhaps a hundred times more bombs than the US used in all its years in Vietnam. Dozens of UCAV's are constantly hovering over the Medya Defense Zones. The guerrillas are fighting against the Turkish army, which is constantly under the protection of dozens of drones. This resistance will go down in the history of warfare as an example of sacrifice at its peak. We can say that the war being fought every day and in every tunnel is historic. There is a group of sacrificial guerrillas who march on the enemy with great enthusiasm, as if they were going to a feast. People that resist like this and wage a sacrificial war like this are people that have achieved freedom. Now the history of this freedom is being written. No matter what difficulties are experienced, no matter what price is paid, the result of this history is the freedom of the Kurdish people.

While the war intensifies in the Medya Defense Zones, also in northern Kurdistan, both the military operations of the Turkish state and the resistance of the guerrillas against it are continuing. In 2024, dozens of guerrilla actions took place in northern Kurdistan, in which many soldiers and police officers were killed or wounded. However, the Turkish state has a policy of not publicizing its losses in northern Kurdistan. At the same time, in 2024, dozens of guerrillas were martyred in the struggle in northern Kurdistan.

The Turkish state and the anti-Kurdish forces have realized that the freedom struggle is standing firm despite all kinds of attacks. It is not possible to dissuade these people from their struggle for freedom. No matter how much they persecute the Kurdish people and make them pay a high price, these people will continue their struggle until they achieve their freedom. The Turkish state must have understood this; if not, it will wallow in a dead end that will end itself.

The Iraqi government has committed a great crime by making an agreement with the Turkish state. For 50 years, the Kurdish freedom struggle has fought only for the freedom of its people. It has never fought

against any country or political power in the region based on any foreign power. It has always had good relations with the governments formed after the intervention in Iraq. The Kurdish freedom movement has fought the most intense struggle against ISIS, the biggest threat Iraq has faced in the last 20 years. For this reason, both Iraqi prime ministers during the war against ISIS thanked the PKK leadership. If it were not for the PKK's struggle against ISIS, there would be neither the Iraqi government nor the southern Kurdistan administration. The administration of southern Kurdistan had also thanked the guerrillas for this. Apart from the current prime minister and a handful of people who played a role in this agreement, the members of the Iraqi government and political forces have realized that the agreement with the Turkish state was a historical mistake. An Iraqi government that has come to an agreement with the Turkish state against the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom has no future. A government that has lost its moral, conscientious, and moral values will not last long. In fact, our resistance reveals their reality as well. They are falling into the situation of a government that has lost its social support. In short, that agreement is an agreement that the Iraqi people do not accept.

Turkish state officials had been saying, "This summer we will end the resistance; the PKK will end." Now they are afraid of the blow they themselves will receive in the fall and winter. They live every day with the fear of how far away that summer is, just like their soldiers are counting the days until they are released. As for the KDP, it has already finished itself with the betrayal it committed in this four-year war. It has turned into a political corpse with no moral value and no political legitimacy. Even if it lives with the support of foreign powers, it is just a living corpse.

What would you like to say about the elections that are to be held in southern Kurdistan in this environment in which the occupation attacks continue?

The KDP will go into the elections as a political corpse solely being held by crutches. The KDP has nothing to offer the people. As far as we observe, it is trying to carry out the special war that the AKP-MHP government practiced in the elections in Turkey under the conditions of southern Kurdistan. It is clear that there will be no fair elections in the areas where the KDP dominates. Just as state officials in northern Kurdistan go to the villages and say, "If there are no votes for the AKP here, we will hold you to account," the KDP has such pressure on the villages and neighborhoods. Villages and neighborhoods are under threat, blackmail, and pressure from the KDP. However, even if the KDP tries to get votes in this election through pressure and buying some people, it will fall even further behind the previous election. In the previous election, it did not even get the votes of 15 percent of the people of southern Kurdistan.

In this election, the people must go to the polls and punish the KDP for paving the way to the mountains, plains, and cities of southern Kurdistan for the Turkish Republic. For this, the people of southern Kurdistan should go to the polls and vote for patriotic candidates who are against this treason. It is about burying the betrayal that supports the Kurdish enemy, which has opened Kurdistan to occupation and genocide. The KDP is blurring patriotism with collaborationism and treason in Kurdistan. This is the biggest danger for the Kurdish people. Therefore, this election must clarify patriotism and treason. This is what we have to say about this election.

Karasu: Bahçeli's handshake with the DEM Party is a new game

ANF | BEHDINAN | 16 OCTOBER 2024

In an extensive interview with ANF, Mustafa Karasu, member of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council, talked in detail about the domestic political situation in Turkey, explaining the significance of Bahçeli's handshake and the artificial discussions about a possible solution process and elaborating on the steps now required of the democratic forces.

You repeatedly analyze that because it cannot achieve any results on the battlefield, the Turkish state is increasing the repression and persecution of Kurdish society, which is also leading to a decay in Turkish society. The number of rapes and murders of women and children continues to rise, while corruption and poverty continue to spread and push people to their limits. The opposition in Turkey blames the economy for this. Is this the right analysis? Can solutions be achieved through what the opposition is trying to put on the agenda?

The Turkish state is waging a war to suppress the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom. It is waging this war in the dirtiest way, as a special warfare. In the early 1990s, special warfare was launched in order to suppress the Kurdish freedom struggle by using all kinds of dirty methods. Thousands of villages were burned down, 17 thousand political murders, referred to as 'unsolved murders', were committed, and tens of thousands of people were tortured and imprisoned. The pioneers of this period of dirty war were Tansu Ciller, Dogan Güresh, and Mehmet Agar. At that time, enmity against Kurds, the PKK, and Rêber Apo (Leader Abdullah Öcalan) was rampant. In those years, a concept emerged that whoever was hostile to Rêber Apo, the PKK, and the Kurds gained economic benefits and political and social prestige. Kurdish enmity, chauvinism, and nationalism were provoked to such an extent that society was unable to think normally. This chauvinism and Kurdish hostility had left no moral and conscientious values in Turkish society. People of culture and art, the creators of goodness, beauty, morality, conscience, and justice, were also heavily polluted. We still remember how Ahmet Kaya, who was well known in Turkish society, was attacked when he said that he would include Kurdish songs in his upcoming cassette. This situation of people of culture and arts was clear evidence of the level of decay and degeneration. Rêber Apo emphasized that both the state and society in Turkey decayed in the 1990s.

A big part of the war against the Kurdish freedom movement has always been the special warfare, and the military warfare has mainly been considered as a means to bring it to a conclusion. Undoubtedly, especially since 2015, the military war and the special war have gone hand in hand. Since March 2015, when Erdogan ignored the Dolmabahçe Agreement and imposed severe isolation on April 5, 2015, the most intense special war in Turkey's history has been put into effect. With the AKP's alliance with the MHP after the June 7, 2015 elections, this special war has been waged unbridled. While Hizbulkontra was used in the 1990s, ISIS has been used since 2014. Kurdish hostility has been taken to a much higher level than in the 1990s.

The war, which was waged with cruder and a handful of methods in the 1990s, continued after 2015 with several times more dirty methods. They wanted to take away the Kurds' breathing space everywhere. As the war escalated, dozens of politicians were arrested on a daily basis. MPs, co-mayors of municipalities, and provincial and district executives of political parties have been arrested. An example of this cannot be

found anywhere else in the world. Back then, Suleyman Soylu said, 'The PKK is a women's party,' and so their terror was unleashed on female politicians and members of women's organizations; thousands were detained, and women were imprisoned at a rate not seen in any country in the world. A dirty war policy was also waged on the youth. In order to prevent Kurdish youth and women from becoming politicized, drugs and prostitution were popularized as an attack within their concept of special war. Again, sports, especially football, were also used for this purpose. Even making the team favored by Kurdish youth the champion in the Super League has been used as a special war method in this direction. Art and culture in Turkey have also been manipulated to incite militarist, chauvinist, and nationalist sentiments. Attempts have been made to create a historical consciousness that ignores different identities and beliefs. Kurds have been living together with all the other peoples of Turkey for millennia. However, the Kurds, with whom they have lived for millennia, have been seen as enemies for defending their identity, language, and culture. The Kurds, with whom they live intertwined in the metropolises of Turkey, are seen as enemies. Kurds have been attacked for speaking Kurdish and singing Kurdish songs. Crimes against Kurds were considered normal and not punished. An attack of chauvinism and nationalism has been escalated against the Kurds. Can there be morality and conscience in a society that looks at its neighbors and those it has lived with for a thousand years in such a way?

Kurdish hostility and the use of all kinds of dirty methods against the Kurdish freedom movement have made the whole society a part of the dirty war. Many people, even among civilians, have seen themselves as militants of this war. The AKP-MHP government has created such an understanding of duty in society. Enmity against the Kurdish people and the freedom struggle have been brought to such a level that even those who do not approach the Kurds in the same way as the AKP-MHP have been marginalized. They are labeled as traitors and PKK supporters. In every speech, Tayyip Erdogan and Devlet Bahçeli have attacked and insulted those who do not follow them, thus creating an unprecedented polarization in society. Even the AKP's base was disturbed by this polarization. This is one of the main reasons why the AKP's votes have been steadily declining and why they lost in the last local elections.

Nationalism and chauvinism, whose language, style, and method is that of violence, have rotted society. Its mentality is patriarchal. In a country where such polarization is created, everyone looks at each other with suspicion and is ready to use violence. If there is so much violence in society, so many rapes of women, rapes, and violence against children, it is the policies of the AKP-MHP government, especially over the last ten years, that have created this. This is in the MHP's genes, and the AKP has become completely MHP-ized. Its language, style, and policies have created a society that sees others as enemies and is prone to violence. Since the AKP and MHP have no tolerance for political forces and politicians other than themselves, this is how society has been shaped. If violence, gangs, violence against women, and rape have increased in Turkish society, it is not because of economic problems. Maybe at most ten percent of such attacks stem from the background of economic problems. It is the government policies, state administration, and prevailing political mentality that create these problems. Wherever chauvinism and nationalism are incited at this level, the tendency towards violence increases. Many films and TV series in recent years have also been militarizing society.

A democratic political solution to the Kurdish question is necessary for the solution of all problems in Turkey. It is also necessary to solve the Kurdish question in order to calm down this social mood in Turkey and to prevent decay, corruption, and violence. The special war against the Kurds is rotting society. The war against the Kurds is so unjust and contradicts human values that it is not possible to wage this war according to normal laws and regulations. For this reason, in the dirty war against the Kurds, they obey nei-

ther their own constitution nor their own laws. Even their fascist-spirited constitution and laws do not allow them to wage this dirty war. Those who do not see the source of the problems in Turkey as the dirty special war being waged on the Kurds either close their eyes to this war or are indirect partners in it. The real democrats and politicians of Turkey must recognize this reality and wage a struggle in this regard.

The CHP emerged as the leading party in the municipal elections and created an expectation in society. What impact do you think its subsequent policies have had on Turkish politics since then?

The reason why the CHP emerged as the leading party in the municipal elections is the reaction of the people against the policies pursued by the AKP-MHP government for ten years. The discontent created by the AKP-MHP alliance rather than the policies pursued by the CHP led to this result. The anti-Kurdish policies of the AKP-MHP government after 2015 were also effective in this result.

After Kurdistan, Kurds are concentrated in the Marmara, Cukurova, Aegean, and Mediterranean regions. These are also the areas that determine the economic, social, cultural, and political direction of Turkey. The Kurds have become a social force that influences political developments in these areas. The position of the Kurds in these areas is at a level to play an important role in the democratization of Turkey and the solution of the Kurdish question. What made the CHP the leading party was the high number of votes it received in these areas. The democratic forces, including the Kurds, expected the CHP to recognize this reality and show an attitude in line with democratization. Any political power that does not produce policies in line with the solution of the Kurdish question cannot be democratic. It cannot claim to be democratic.

The CHP has focused on economic problems to tangent Turkey's main social and political problems. Undoubtedly, there is a serious economic problem in Turkey. Except for a certain rich and upper middle class, there is serious poverty in Turkey. It is understandable that the CHP is interested in this problem, but it is the war policies that have created this economic problem. Kurdish hostility turns governments into war governments. As a matter of fact, Tayyip Erdogan asked the people raising their voices against the poverty, "Do you even know the price of one bullet?" Most of the bombs they let rain down on the mountains are bought from abroad, and there are many other huge war expenditures. They are feeding tens of thousands of mercenaries and gangs; huge resources are transferred to special warfare. Then there are also the bribes that are given to many sectors, individuals, and foreign governments. In short, the war against the Kurds is creating the economic problems. The CHP does not see the root cause of the economic problems.

A significant part of society's reaction to AKP-MHP stems from social problems created by injustice, polarization, and partisanship. Society expects the CHP to take steps towards democratization. But the CHP has not taken any steps in this regard except for some rhetorical ones. It has not developed a policy on the Kurdish issue. For example, it could have established a commission in the parliament for the solution of the Kurdish question and for the parliament to deal with this. Can a parliament that will not take part in such an important issue claim to solve Turkey's problems?

On the other hand, instead of fighting against the AKP-MHP policies that the society is rejecting, it is conducting a policy that normalizes their 20-year-old policies. With the so-called normalization policy, the CHP gave the AKP-MHP government a breathing space and normalized Erdogan, who has spilled so much blood of the peoples of Turkey through at the years, polarized society, normalized injustice, turned the judiciary into a militant organ of the policies he pursues, and established a complete despotic system. The political style of Turkish politics has neither normalized nor democratized; the 9-year policies of Erdo-

gan and the AKP-MHP government have been normalized. Instead of 9 years of practices being held to account, these practices have been softened and made acceptable. The new CHP leadership has done exactly what Erdogan wanted. As a matter of fact, Erdogan has recovered from the shock of his electoral defeat and started to take initiative again.

Undoubtedly, it is understandable that the CHP wants to appeal to the AKP's base and win it for itself. If it is to remain Turkey's leading party, such a policy is to be expected. If the CHP is not going to remain in its old mold, it is understandable that it appeals to the AKP's base. This cannot be done by normalizing Erdogan's policies and practices. It can achieve this goal solely with the right policies and discourse. The CHP did not win over the AKP's base through normalization; on the contrary, it helped Erdogan retain this base.

In short, the CHP failed to respond to the expectations of society. Democratization can only come through a struggle against undemocratic policies and practices. Otherwise, democratization does not come by begging Erdogan to do one or two steps. With its ideological and political approaches, the CHP has not been in a stance and effort to play a role in democratizing Turkey.

The role of the democratic and leftist circles in Turkey and Kurdistan, which can be defined as the real opposition, is very important. While the AKP-MHP fascism is increasing oppression and persecution, are democrats, left-socialists, and the oppressed as a whole able to raise the struggle against it at the same rate?

It is obvious that the organization and struggle of the Kurdish democratic forces and the Turkish democratic political forces and the left will be decisive for the democratization of Turkey. The level of democratization of Turkey on the basis of the solution of the Kurdish question will be determined by the radical democratic forces, especially the left and democratic forces. The quality and level of the discourse and steps taken by the political forces within the system in the direction of democratization will also depend on the organized power and struggle of the radical democratic forces. It would be a mistake to expect significant democratization steps from the CHP or any other political force within the system that will ensure the solution of the Kurdish question. In Turkey, there have been defined borders and an ideological and political understanding for a hundred years. Although there is a tendency and effort to go beyond these boundaries in some areas according to the economic, social, cultural, and political developments in Turkey, there is still no political party or force that can overcome these ideological and political barriers and democratize Turkey in the real sense. Of course, some leftist forces, especially the socialists, have taken important steps in overcoming these ideological and political barriers. After September 12, the leftist forces, whose power was scaled back, are still struggling to recover and become stronger.

Undoubtedly, the Kurdish freedom movement and the Kurdish democratic political forces have played an important role in the survival and recovery of the left and democratic forces of Turkey. However, the radical democratic forces are still far away from having the desired impact because they have not yet achieved a common program on democratization and a common struggle on this basis. However, left democrats in Turkey have a strong tradition and legacy of struggle. If they could form a common platform of struggle, they could determine the political developments in Turkey. The democratic political power of the Kurdish people is at a level to play an important role in ensuring the emergence of such a force of struggle. Since its emergence on the stage of history, the Kurdish freedom movement has been working for a joint struggle with the real democratic forces of Turkey. Our movement believes that this is how Turkey can and will be democratized.

I want to emphasize once again that the democratic forces of Turkey cannot play their role without joint struggle with the democratic forces of the Kurdish people. Likewise, the Kurdish democratic forces cannot achieve democratization on the basis of the solution of the Kurdish question without being in alliance and joint struggle with the democratic forces of Turkey in the current conjuncture. It is this joint struggle that will mobilize the other political forces of Turkey towards democratization.

This alliance and partnership must essentially be based on a joint struggle. Undoubtedly, since the elections are also part of the struggle for democratization, it is important to enter the elections jointly. There are efforts on the Turkish and Kurdish fronts to negate alliances. These are wrong and shallow views; superficial approaches. Some emotional and reactionary attitudes. Those who do not want the Kurdish democracy forces and the democracy forces of Turkey to cooperate are anti-democratic. Those who do not want a solution to the Kurdish question, the Turkish state, the ruling forces, and intelligence organs are trying to create such perceptions. They know that a joint struggle will strengthen the Kurdish struggle and frustrate the genocide policies. That is why they want to isolate the Kurds. Opposing alliance policies because of some mistakes and shortcomings weakens the political power of the Kurds and harms the struggle of the Kurdish people.

At the opening of the Turkish Parliament, MHP President Devlet Bahçeli shook hands with DEM Party deputies, which raised a debate on whether there could be a new solution process. How do you evaluate this situation?

Why did the MHP leader, who is an enemy of the Kurds and in fact has no other policy and goal than the genocide of Kurds and turning Kurdistan into an expansion area for Turkish nationhood, shake hands with DEM Party members? It is known what Devlet Bahçeli has said about Kurdish democratic politics, including the DEM Party. Then why did he shake hands? Devlet Bahçeli explained his own reasons for the handshake. It is clear that this justification is not correct. Before the opening of parliament, Tayyip Erdoğan visited Bahçeli at his home. The handshake and the new policy, or rather the new game against the DEM Party, were decided during this meeting. Most probably Erdoğan planned this game and got Devlet Bahçeli to accept it. Since Erdoğan knew Bahçeli and the MHP well, he made a proposal that Bahçeli would accept. We can say that this is a plan that the MHP line will gladly accept. Besê Hozat, our co-presidency of the KCK Executive Council, considered this a new game setting because of the character, policy, and practices of the AKP-MHP government and the genocide policies they still insist on.

Immediately after this handshake, some circles started to spread that “The People’s Alliance is starting a new solution process with the DEM Party.” First of all, I want to underline that there was no real solution process between 2007 and 2015. Rêber Apo had a policy and efforts to bring the AKP government into a solution process. All of Rêber Apo’s speeches, messages, the documents he presented, and most recently the Dolmabahçe Agreement, which was presented on February 28, 2015, in Dolmabahçe with members of the government in a live broadcast on all TV channels, were also for this purpose. A close examination of the Dolmabahçe Agreement reveals this reality. This agreement was presented to us before it was published. As the administration, we suggested that two more concrete articles be added. When these suggestions were made, Rêber Apo said, “What was put in the agreement is sufficient.” Unbeknownst to some, the statements that Rêber Apo criticized this agreement and found it insufficient are untrue. Rêber Apo wanted to bring the AKP government and the state into the solution process with this agreement. However, he rejected this agreement because Erdoğan and the state officials he was in contact with did not have an understanding of resolution. In fact, the Turkish National Security Council in October 2014 decided

on the “collapse plan” (Plan that the Turkish government, or rather the deep state of Turkey in coordination with NATO forces, forged secretly during the so-called ‘peace process’. The state abruptly broke off talks with the Kurdish movement in 2015 and escalated the situation as part of this plan, which could literally be translated as a ‘plan of forcing them to their knees’.) For some to say that “the PKK brought the process to an end” is a total lie and contrary to reality.

Both Rêber Apo and our movement were in favor of a reasonable solution. For this reason, Rêber Apo and our movement used very careful language and approach. Rêber Apo acted with the approach of encouraging both the government, the state, and the public opinion for a solution process. Undoubtedly, our movement, Kurdish democratic politics, and the real democratic forces of Turkey have always been in favor of a reasonable democratic political solution to the Kurdish question. It engages with every political force that wants such a solution. Above all, this is an important and indispensable step for the democratization of Turkey. Considering the reality of Turkey and its century-old policies, only those with a democratic mindset can take this step. In Turkey, it is not possible to take a step towards solving the Kurdish question and at the same time have a democratic mentality. In the reality of Turkey, such a situation is out of the question.

AKP came to power in 2002 with some democratic discourses. Since Islamic circles had been subjected to some oppression in the past, there were some democratic-minded people among them. It is important to know that the process that brought AKP to power started with the military coup of September 12. In order to completely liquidate the Kurdish people’s demands for freedom and to isolate and encircle the Kurds for this purpose, it was decided to bring political Islam into the state. In other words, they were brought into the system to be on the side of the state policy in completing the Kurdish genocide. This policy should not be forgotten when evaluating the AKP and political Islam. In the process of bringing AKP and political Islam into the state, there were objections and resistance. Therefore, the AKP government found it necessary to appeal to the people’s aspirations for democracy in order to overcome such obstacles. It also gave soft messages to the Kurds. Moreover, since it had the problem of being fully entrenched in the state and since a violent confrontation with the Kurdish freedom movement would weaken it as a government, it asked for a ceasefire from our movement through various intermediaries. Although Rêber Apo did not find the timing right, he accepted this situation in order to bring the government and the state into a solution process. He made a great effort in this regard. However, since Erdogan and the AKP government did not inspire confidence, in this process he mainly focused on strengthening all democratic forces in Turkey, including the Kurdish democratic forces. He presented projects to bring the Kurdish democratic forces and the democratic forces of Turkey into alliance and joint struggle. He also made important developments in this regard. Rêber Apo’s suspicions were confirmed. Erdogan rejected the Dolmabahce Agreement, which would have been an important step for the solution process. Rejecting this agreement meant declaring war on the Kurdish freedom movement and all democratic forces. The “collapse plan” had already been prepared in the summer of 2014. The Dolmabahce Agreement was rejected within this framework. Since then, the dirty war waged in Kurdistan and the attacks against the democratic forces are known.

So, it seems hard to believe that the AKP-MHP government, which has waged a 9-year dirty genocide war, will develop a solution process. What is currently being suggested through some channels would mean that the MHP has suddenly thrown all policies and goals, especially the genocide against the Kurds, overboard and is pursuing a completely new policy. Are there any serious signs, however small, of such a radical change?

Can there be anything as good and beautiful for Turkey as a solution to the Kurdish question? Of course, we and the Kurdish democratic movement have always expressed that we are in favor of a democratic solution. The fact that some opposition channels are discussing the solution process as if it were a bad thing cannot be explained by any logic. Discussing the solution process as if it is something negative without discussing the backstory is understood by the Kurdish people and democracy forces as anti-Kurdish and anti-democratic. The discussion of the channels that call themselves opposition should say that the Kurdish question must be solved as a necessary requirement for the democratization of Turkey, but the MHP and AKP mentality cannot solve this problem. If they want to solve the Kurdish question and make peace with the Kurds, then they should put forward the steps they will take to solve it. If they want to unmask the game set up by the MHP and AKP, they should do it. The Kurds should point out that the current policies are obvious and that they will not be part of this game. They can say that the AKP-MHP government has set up such a game in order to prevent the Kurds from struggling, to confuse some Kurds in order to carry out the Kurdish genocide policy more easily, and to weaken the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom by telling them to oppose the PKK. Unless they see clear steps and policy changes, they should take that stance. The law is being violated in İmralı, severe isolation is being practiced, the prisons have become houses of death, thousands of politicians are in prison, and there are daily arrests and repression on Kurdish culture. Until these situations change, there can be no sincere intention to solve the Kurdish question.

Kurds can take such an attitude. However, if the opposition debates on the negativity of the solution process, this would not be a democratic understanding; it would be an undemocratic attitude. In fact, it would be an endorsement of the AKP-MHP government's policies so far. In fact, it is important what attitude will be taken in this process. It will also reveal the direction of the CHP's policies will be. The CHP could openly take the initiative by saying, "If there is a solution to the Kurdish question, we will support it." It would put the CHP on the real democratic line. In this way, they will no longer be able to accuse the CHP by saying, "You are on the side of separatists; you are on the side of this and that." Contrary to the approach put forward by some in the opposition channels, the CHP itself can take the initiative in solving the Kurdish question. In this way, it would frustrate the AKP-MHP policy of blaming the opposition and stalling the Kurds. The biggest obstacle to the CHP becoming a real social democratic party is the accusatory and blaming approach of the MHP-AKP and some circles that prevent the CHP from developing policies on the Kurdish issue. The CHP can overcome this situation and become a real social democratic party by taking advantage of the messages given by the AKP-MHP to the DEM Party. If it fails to overcome the fact that some people in its opposition channels are turning the resolution of the Kurdish issue into a negative debate, the CHP will lose the image it had during the municipal elections and will thus fall into the game set up by the AKP-MHP. Another important reason for the MHP and AKP's instrumentalization of the Kurdish question is the lack of a real democratic or social democratic stance and program in Turkey. As is well known, everywhere in the world, leftist forces and those who call themselves social democrats take a positive approach to such problems.

The Turkish state has generally waged a special war against the Kurds. The AKP-MHP alliance is the culmination of this special and dirty war against the Kurds. Nothing positive can be expected from the AKP-MHP government on behalf of the Kurds. The MHP cannot be compared with nationalist and fascist parties in other countries of the world. Fascist parties in other countries have other goals and programs. The MHP has only one goal: to end the Kurds. It would be a great blunder not to look at every discourse and step associated with the MHP within this framework.

The AKP-MHP fascist alliance has set a trap for the DEM Party and the democratic political space. They will make calls; they will impose things that the DEM Party cannot accept. And when the DEM Party and democratic forces do not do what they say, they will increase their attacks even more by saying, “We reached out to the DEM Party; we opened space; we offered opportunities; we gave them the chance to make politics, but they did not respond.” This seems to be the game they have set up. As a matter of fact, in response to a journalist’s question, “What steps can be taken for this process?” Erdogan said, “You give your answer.” When the journalist replied, “This process will continue without taking any steps,” Erdogan said, “Right,” and confirmed the journalist. This is what they are really thinking. Of course, the Kurdish democratic forces should say, “We are ready for a solution, but do this and that, especially the lifting of the isolation in Imralı; we are already a party of Turkey; we want Turkey to be democratized by solving the Kurdish question.” Undoubtedly, as long as these steps are not taken, they should continue their attitude and struggle against the AKP-MHP government. Thus, they must expose this game set up by the AKP-MHP.

It is also important to point out one thing here that reveals what kind of a party the MHP is. The day before, Devlet Bahçeli had made all kinds of insults against the CHP and Ozgur Ozel, and at the opening of the Parliament he said to Ozgur Ozel, “What we said is a matter of politics, don’t take offense”. This is the reality of politics in Turkey. This is the most basic characteristic of the special war; that is to deceive the public. What they say openly is to deceive the people. However, the reality is that they are pursuing a different policy. How such a thing can be said is really incomprehensible. Devlet Bahçeli, in his own person, has revealed what a Turkish politician is. A politics that deceives the people is being carried out. This statement alone is enough to end the political life of a politician. Whoever says this should never appear in front of the public again. In this respect, Devlet Bahçeli’s handshake is also in line with the politics of special war. Trying to make something out of Devlet Bahçeli’s handshake and his rhetoric is to fail to understand the reality of the Turkish state, especially the Kurdish genocide policy, which is the fundamental policy of the Turkish state and which is still being carried out.



Karasu: Turkey has been left out of the equation in the Middle East

ANF | BEHDINAN | 17 OCTOBER 2024

In the third part of this extensive interview with ANF, Mustafa Karasu, member of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council, talked about the current situation in the Middle East and the re-

gion, focusing in particular on Turkey's policy and the way Tayyip Erdoğan is trying to save his own power in this phase.

One year has passed since the October 7 attack by Hamas. Israel's extension of the war to Lebanon has greatly increased the dangers in the region. What has this one year of war shown, and what are the prospects for future developments?

It was known that Israel's immediate goals were to crush Hamas and Shia Hezbollah. Israel was already preparing for this. When Hamas attacked Israel, killing more than a thousand civilians and capturing hundreds, Israel saw this as a historic opportunity to go for its goals. It was Erdoğan's administration that made Hamas carry out this action. Thus, it aimed to sabotage both the energy route through Israel and the Abram Accords between Israel and the Arab countries. By ordering this attack, Erdoğan played the role of an agent provocateur in realizing the plans of Israel and the US for the region. Since Erdoğan's personality is known, many powers are using him through certain provocations. Even though Erdoğan uses heavy anti-Israel rhetoric and portrays the US as its partner, he is an agent-provocateur used by the US. Erdoğan is a politician whose policies expose Turkey to the greatest dangers.

Erdoğan had Hamas attack Israel in the name of protecting Turkey's geopolitical position. However, with his policies and with his blackmailing of allies, he himself has played a role in destroying Turkey's geopolitical position. Thus, the fear of losing its geopolitical position, which is Turkey's main source of political power, has alarmed Turkey. The Turkish state's incoherent policy of protecting its position only through threats and blackmail has exacerbated its predicament. The policies from which it once gained short-term benefits have now rendered Turkey policyless.

The AKP-MHP government's Kurdish genocide policy is the main factor that has put Turkey in a deadlock. So much so that it wants everyone to approach the Kurds the way it approaches them, and as a result, it has become problematic even with its allies. On the other hand, the fact that it is so intensely focused on the Kurdish genocide brings many powers to take advantage of this weakness of the Turkish Republic. In return for their support to the Turkish Republic against the Kurdish freedom movement, they have Turkey in the palm of their hand in many areas. It is not possible for a Turkey that is locked only on the Kurdish genocide to conduct effective politics in the Middle East. It is using and exhausting not only its economic but also its political and diplomatic means in the war against the Kurds. Turkey's efforts to preserve its geopolitical position on the basis of realizing the Kurdish genocide are putting Turkey into more dead ends. In addition to losing its geopolitical opportunities, the problems it is having with its allies have thrown Turkey out of all political equations in the Middle East.

The US gives full support to Israel's attacks. This means that Israel will increase its political and military influence in the region by neutralizing Hamas and Hezbollah. Iran, on the other hand, will lose its alliances in the region and turn inward, which will change Iran's regional policies. Except for Iraq, its political influence will either disappear or be limited. The Houthis will continue to pursue Iranian-influenced policies for a while, but they will not carry out attacks in the Red Sea as they do today anymore, nor will they be in a position to force the Saudis. In short, there will be significant changes in the political situation compared to before October 7, 2023. Even if there are mutual attacks between Israel and Iran, in the end, Iran's regional policy based on its external forces will be limited. This will also have implications for Iranian domestic politics in the medium term. Undoubtedly, the establishment of Israeli influence and the containment of Iran will not solve the problems in the Middle East. It is not possible for Israeli policies,

the US, and the regional nation states to solve the problems. Therefore, in the Middle East, where states do not solve problems and even aggravate them, a period will be entered in which the peoples themselves will be more in the position to decide over their own fate.

It is clear that Israel cannot carry out a regional policy based on its foreign support and military power. In this respect, it is clear that it will also have to change its policy. A step in this direction has already been taken with the Abrams Accord. Israel can only secure its existence within the framework of a regional agreement and democratic relations with the peoples of the region. From this point of view, I want to point out once again that the solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can only develop and become permanent through Democratic Confederalism, in which each Democratic Nation and community has the will to administer itself. There is no other solution. Otherwise, enmity, tension, and conflict will continue. It is clear that a solution inevitably imposes itself.

Turkey cannot make Israel look unstable and insecure and block the energy route agreed by the G20. It does not have the power to stand up to such hegemonic powers. Their blackmail will no longer work. The only way for Turkey to feel secure is to solve the Kurdish question and democratize. When Turkey democratizes, it will be able to have a political, economic, and cultural impact on the peoples of the Middle East.

In addition to Israel, it is above all the Turkish state, or more precisely the fascist Erdoğan, who is propagating the war. He is trying everything to further expand the war and is trying to stage himself as a friend of the Palestinian people through lies in order to exploit them. Now the fascist Erdoğan is talking about Israel having its eye on "our country." What is Erdoğan trying to achieve with such rhetoric?

Turkey has acted with the approach that if the war becomes widespread, not only will it be needed, but also the Abram Accord will collapse and an environment will be created in which a significant part of the energy route will pass through its geography. It was their calculation that if Israel and Iran went to a full-scale war, Iran, its main rival in the region, will be weakened and Israel will be dependent on Turkey. The main reason for its anti-Israel stance is not its friendship for Palestine; it wants Israel and the US to take Turkey into consideration in the region. It is not like Erdoğan is allied with the US on the one hand and anti-Israel on the other. He feels very marginalized and wants to be taken into consideration. This is how Turkey's policy behind its anti-Israel stance should be understood.

They know that Israel will not attack Turkey. But with such rhetoric, he mainly aims to achieve two goals. First of all, by putting a country like Israel on the agenda in this way, Turkey imposes on both the US and Israel, which has influence over the US and Europe, to take it into consideration in the region. It sees the loss of its geopolitical position as a question of survival. This is because it fears that if it loses its geopolitical position, the US and Israel will approach Turkey negatively. For this reason, by being anti-Israel and constantly saying things to the US, it wants to dissuade these powers from their negative attitudes towards it and even to be taken into consideration politically. It has always pursued this policy until now. Now Erdoğan says that if he does this, he will achieve results. Of course, the context has changed a lot; it is debatable how much this policy will yield results.

Secondly, while the war continues in the region, Erdoğan is trying to create a common external enemy and align the entire opposition and society behind him against it. Maybe the opposition is even aware of this, but it seems to have an effect on society, so they give in. All politicians and state institutions know that Israel will not attack. The foreign and defense ministers who give information in closed session also know

this. In closed session, they probably used the one sentence in the Torah about the promised land as a justification for their claims. On the other hand, they are trying to frighten the public and political forces that if Israel spreads the war, many refugees would come. Until now, Israel's best friend in the Middle East was Turkey. Many powers are interpreting it differently by saying that Turkey is in Israel's crosshairs. the second Israel. Now they are interpreting it differently by saying that Turkey is in Israel's crosshairs. They are trying to use the religious feelings of the society. There is no threat from Israel, but it is clear that AKP-MHP policies are a great threat and danger for Turkey. As a result of these alliance policies, Turkey has been turned into a problematic country both at home and abroad, and they have put Turkey in a weak position both at home and abroad with Kurdish hostility.

Behind the statement "Israel's eyes are on our land," Erdoğan says that Rojava and North and East Syria are under Israeli control and that calculations are being made on Turkey from there. All their policies, relations, and discourses are based on Kurdish hostility. Whoever does not support them in their Kurdish hostility at the level they want, they accuse them of dividing and dismembering Turkey. Even when they say that Israel has "eyes on our land," they say so in order to target the Kurds. This is how they are trying to increase the social support for their attack on Rojava. Thus, if it crushes Rojava, Israel will no longer have "eyes on our land." So in conclusion, they are saying that Israel has its eyes on their homeland, and in order to prevent this, they need to invade Rojava and North and East Syria and carry out the Kurdish genocide. That is the main expression of Erdoğan's rhetoric.

While Tayyip Erdoğan is the representative in Turkey and the Middle East for regression, injustice, lawlessness, immorality, misogyny and many other reprehensible things, he tries to present himself as a man of justice, law and human rights. He even stands before the United Nations and says that he will teach humanity a lesson. How should this be judged?

Erdoğan is a complete demagogue. He is a demagogue who talks as if he has good qualities that he does not have and characterizes his opponents with the worst things. There has never been a politician in history who distorts the facts so much. It can be said that he is a master at this. He is a master of demagoguery.

About a month ago, he spoke about the importance of justice at the opening of the new judicial year. He listed one after another all the beautiful words and evaluations that have been said in history on this subject. He said things that everyone would approve of. However, throughout his rule, especially in the last ten years, he did the opposite of all these things. There was only one thing he got right: the construction of courthouses. After all, states build big courthouses so that the public will be afraid. The policies pursued create so many criminals or people are easily accused that they build big courthouses. In fact, the largest number of prisons were built during the AKP rule. In the last ten years, injustice in society has increased so much that there is so little trust in the justice system as never before in the history of Turkey. Prosecutors and judges have come under the direct control of the government. Especially in the political sphere, injustice has reached its peak. Erdoğan has repeatedly given instructions to prosecutors and judges. Through the Ministry of Justice, they are instructed how to approach which crimes. At first, the Fethullahists dominated this field, but then a judicial system directly under the command of the AKP was formed. When the MHP joined the alliance, MHP supporters became influential among prosecutors and judges as well. Political cases are being directly intervened in. Thousands of people, especially Kurds and democratic politicians, have been imprisoned on trumped-up grounds. They have enacted a so-called anti-terrorism law that enables them to claim that everyone is associated with terrorism and throw them into

prisons. The cases of Selahattin Demirtas and Osman Kavala are proof of how the law has been put in the service of political power. The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) makes a decision, but then Tayyip Erdoğan intervenes, opens a new case, keeps them in prison, and thus lets the decision of the ECHR come to nothing. Selahattin Demirtas and Osman Kavala are just two well-known of countless other examples. This is what is being practiced on all opponents, especially Kurds. Among nation states, the Turkish state ranks among the lowest in law and the highest in corruption.

Especially in the last ten years, injustice has peaked in this country. Turkey has become an unjust country. Yet Tayyip Erdoğan stands on the podium and talks about how much importance they attach to law and justice without blushing. Shamelessness indeed! One of the most crucial characteristics of being human is to be ashamed and blush when there is a reason for it. Erdoğan does not have a trace of these beautiful human qualities. For Erdoğan, justice is for himself and his cronies. Others, especially political opponents, do not have this right. According to Erdoğan, justice is not applied to them; they deserve to be treated unjustly. In front of many institutions, there is a figure of a blindfolded woman with a scale in her hand, representing justice. When justice is administered, one does not look at who the person is. Erdoğan's courts, on the other hand, look first and foremost at who it is and if the person might be against them. The most resonant slogan in Turkey right now is 'right, law, justice'. It has become the first priority of the people of Turkey. It is said that 'justice is the foundation of property'. At the very moment, as justice has collapsed, the state has also rotted and collapsed.

Erdoğan is a man without conscience. After all, the unjust cannot have a conscience. He talked about human rights and conscience at the UN. Turkey is at the bottom of the human rights rankings. Erdoğan has ruled this country for 22 years. Is there anyone else in the world who says to a power or a society he is fighting against that he will do what is necessary, even if it is a woman or a child? Even Netanyahu did not openly say that he would take action against women or children. Erdoğan talks about Netanyahu bombing mosques, but Erdoğan's fascist government also bombed and destroyed more than ten mosques with the pretext that there were PKK members inside. In Roboski, Erdoğan ordered the massacre of a group of people, mostly children, on the allegation that there was one PKK member among them. However, there was not a single militant in this group. None of the murderers of children, women, or civilians killed by soldiers and policemen in Turkey have been prosecuted. There is impunity for soldiers and police officers. They are not punished because the fight against terrorism would be weakened. There are thousands of such cases that happened during the AKP rule. During the self-administration resistance in the cities of northern Kurdistan, Tayyip Erdoğan personally gave orders for massacres to soldiers and policemen, telling them "you don't need to worry about judicial persecution." He gave orders to burn people alive.

The Turkish state massacred thousands of civilians, women, and children during the invasions of Afrin, Serekaniye, and Gire Spi. Erdoğan gave the order for this. Just a day ago, two children, who were siblings, were massacred in Minbij, and there were even more wounded in the family, including further children. There are hundreds of such incidents in Rojava and North and East Syria. Again, hundreds of civilians, dozens of them children, were killed in the bombings of the Medya Defense Areas. All of this is happening under Erdoğan's rule. More bombs are being dropped on the guerrillas than Israel is dropping on Gaza. The Turkish state's UCAVs are on the hunt to murder people everywhere. They massacre people without discriminating between guerrillas and civilians. The gangs and mercenaries they organize kidnap people in Afrin. Hundreds of thousands of people in Afrin, Serekaniye, and Gire Spi were forced to leave their lands after the invasion attacks of the Turkish state. These people are trying to survive in tent cities under the most severe conditions.

Erdoğan's government is a misogynist government. Even though it is so, it presents itself as a defender of women. However, misogyny and femicide in Turkey peaked during the AKP rule. All women's movements are struggling against the misogynist policies of the AKP government. Because they see the AKP government as having a mentality that puts women under the domination of men since it conducts a family policy in which the man is recognized as the head and the will of the woman is completely absent. While women see Tayyip Erdoğan as the representative of the dominant male and patriarchal mentality, he almost tries to present himself as a feminist. The extent to which he is a demagogue is also seen in this approach.

The AKP government is the pioneer of reaction, anti-democracy and misogyny not only in Kurdistan and Turkey but in all the Middle East. The crimes committed during the AKP rule are incalculable. Yet they still talk about justice and human rights! There are 25 million Kurds in Turkey, but neither their identity, culture nor language is recognized. Through state force, oppression and massacres, Kurds are being subjected to cultural genocide and Turkified. This unjust, unscrupulous, immoral man who pursues a policy of genocide against the Kurds wants to convince the people, that he defends the Palestinian people! He wants to completely occupy Rojava and North and East Syria and expel the Kurds from their lands and commit genocide through demographic change, and at the same time he tries to lecture humanity at the UN! This is how shameless, unscrupulous and immoral Erdoğan is. He really excels in hypocrisy and shamelessness.



Opinion

Yilmaz: The attack on the Kurdish language is not independent of the Kurdish question

ANF | AMED | 15 OCTOBER 2024

Despite the fact that the Kurdish language and culture have a rich and deep-rooted heritage with thousands of years of history, the oppression and assimilation policies against the Kurdish language and Kurdish identity unfortunately continue in a hostile manner. Especially recently, young people singing in Kurdish in Turkey have been subjected to racist attacks and imprisoned, while Kurdish language institutions have been raided and their administrators detained. Behind these attacks on the Kurdish language and culture lie the racist and assimilationist policies of the AKP-MHP government, while the 'special war' policies against the Kurds form the basis of these attacks.

Speaking to ANF about the attacks on Kurdish language and culture, Human Rights Association (IHD) Amed (Diyarbakır) Branch President Ercan Yılmaz said: "The attack on the Kurdish language is not independent of the Kurdish question. There has been a monist understanding since the foundation of the Republic. With the amendments made after the 1921 Constitution, efforts were made to make the whole so-

ciety monotypic. We are still discussing some of the laws that were passed; there were tragicomic rules against the use of the Kurdish language on the street and in life, up to fines. In the 90s, when it was no longer possible to deny that the Kurdish language and Kurds existed, there were some steps taken by the state to criminalise the Kurdish language and Kurds. This process continued in this way until 2011-2012.

‘Racist attacks and discriminatory attitudes also directed against the Kurdish language’

Afterwards, with the start of negotiations on the resolution of the Kurdish question, a little bit of discussions on the Kurdish language and the existence of Kurds began in Turkey’s society as a whole. However, with the resumption of the conflict process after 2015, many of the racist attacks and discriminatory attitudes against Kurds were also directed against the Kurdish language. Dozens of Kurdish concerts and theatre performances were banned. With the beginning of the trustee appointments in the (Kurdish) region, systematic attacks were carried out against the multilingual municipality understanding that had been operating before the trustees, and this situation has continued until today.”

Pointing to the resumption of multilingual municipalism with the re-winning of the municipalities, Yılmaz continued: “Kurdish-language kindergartens, conservatories and courses started to operate again. Multilingual signboards started to be hung again. Here, too, we saw the government’s attack; bilingual signs on the roads were erased by law enforcement officers upon the request of governorships and district governorships. This is actually the final stage of the attack on the Kurdish language and culture. Not long ago, the Minister of Interior visited Diyarbakır. When he came to Diyarbakır, he referred to Feqiyê Teyran, as he knew that Diyarbakır was a Kurdish city and had been acquainted with this fact for years.

‘Kurds demand the removal of obstacles to the use of Kurdish in social life’

However, shortly after he left the city, he organised attacks against the Kurdish language in many cities in the region and implemented many measures to prevent the use of the Kurdish language in social life. The issue of the mother tongue is a matter on which all Kurds in Turkey agree. Kurds demand education in their mother tongue and the removal of obstacles to the use of Kurdish in social life. The government needs to listen to these demands.”

‘Pragmatist daily politics come into play’

“There is nothing acceptable about approaching the issue of keeping Kurdish culture and language alive with nationalist and racist understandings,” Yılmaz said: “There has been such an approach for a century. Kurds still insist on using their mother tongue. This insistence appears as the most natural human right. When ministers come to the region and commemorate Kurdish thinkers, writers and scientists, immediately afterwards, the law enforcement forces under his command carry out an attack against the Kurdish language.

Here, pragmatist daily politics, incompatible with universal human rights law and far from the solution of the issue, come into play. We have experienced for many years that this does not contribute to the solution to the issues. What needs to be done is to bring the language issue to a universal standard.”

Contact e-mail: imralipost@freeocalan.org

Websites: freeocalan.org | ocalanbooks.com | Videos: vimeo.com/freeocalan