

THE İMRALI POST

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

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Contents

Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan.....	2
DEM Party Co-Chairs apply to visit Öcalan in İmralı.....	2
Group from Aarau takes over freedom for Öcalan Vigil in its 649th week.....	4
Military aggression and occupation.....	5
Young Yazidi man kidnapped by ISIS in Shengal in 2014 freed by the SDF in Manbij.....	5
SDF Press Center publishes identities of four fighters who fell as martyrs on 21-22 November.....	6
Attack by occupation forces kills a man, injures three children in a village in Afrin-Shehba.....	7
HPG: Guerrillas shot down a Turkish drone.....	8
YPJ Commander martyred in Turkish drone attack.....	9
HRE: Ten mercenaries killed, eight others wounded in retaliatory actions.....	9
SDF: 17 Turkish-backed mercenaries eliminated in a village of Manbij.....	10
KCK: A new historical era has begun with the founding of the PKK.....	11
PKK: We are closer than ever to the freedom of Leader Öcalan and a solution to the Kurdish question.....	13
Villages in Manbij attacked 55 times in 24 hours.....	15
HPG: Three Turkish soldiers killed in Zap and Metina.....	16
Turkish army prepares new comprehensive operation in Besta.....	17
Femicide.....	17
Diyarbakır Governorate bans the slogan ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’.....	17
Women in Amed protest with erbanes and torches to mark 25 November.....	18
Men take to the streets in Amed in protest at violence against women.....	18
KJK: Crimes against women, together we say “Jin, Jiyan, Azadi”.....	19
Balance sheet of massacres and violations against women in North Kurdistan.....	24
150 women taken into custody in Istanbul.....	25
Human Rights Violations.....	26
MLSA 2024 Justice Monitoring Program Report: Thinking criminalized, detention as punishment.....	26
Prison sentence against journalist Beritan Canözer confirmed.....	27
New police operations in various cities, many people taken into custody.....	28
Journalist Havin Derya taken into custody.....	29
Number of people taken into custody in Şirnak increases to 23.....	29
Journalists and writers taken into custody in Amed appear in court.....	30
21 politicians sentenced to over 6 years in prison each.....	30
Nine writers and journalists released.....	31
Two journalists remanded in custody.....	31
Trustees and resistance of people.....	32
Dersim co-mayor Orhan calls on people to resist the usurpation of municipality.....	32
Dersim Municipality turned into a police station.....	33

DEM Party protests usurpation of Dersim and Ovacık municipalities.....	33
DBP calls on everyone to support the elected representatives of the people in usurped municipalities.....	34
People resist the police attempting to detain Co-Mayor Birsen Orhan in Dersim.....	35
31 bar associations call for respect for the will of the electorate and the rule of law.....	35
Konak: We won't surrender our will to occupying forces disregarding people's sovereignty.....	36
Women march in Dersim in protest at the trustees: Resistance will continue.....	37
Co-mayor of Dersim placed under house arrest.....	39
ÖHD: 261 people taken into custody after appointment of trustees in Mardin, Batman and Halfeti.....	40
Co-mayors prevented from entering the municipality of Batman.....	41
Co-mayor of Bahçesaray sentenced to three years and eleven months in prison.....	42
DEM Party-CHP meeting marked by messages for a 'solution'.....	43
Protest in Mardin: Resistance against trustees will continue.....	44
The municipality of Van's Bahçesaray district usurped by the AKP-MHP regime.....	45
Criminilization of Kurds.....	46
British police raid the Kurdish Community Centre and patriots' houses in London.....	46
Kurds terrorised by the British police in London resist.....	46
Kurds in London condemn attacks on Kurdish Community Centre.....	49
Lawyer Has: Police in London are posing as Turkish prosecutors.....	50
Resistance and celebration under police blockade in London.....	51
Thousands of Kurds in London protest British police raid of Community Center.....	53
Jeremy Corbyn: Attack on the Kurdish Community Centre is an attack on us all.....	54
Interview.....	55
Kartal: We must increase resistance.....	55
Duran Kalkan: PKK has become the history, identity and lifestyle of a people.....	57
Duran Kalkan: The greatest women's liberation struggle is the PKK struggle.....	60
Kalkan: The PKK's strength and invincibility lie in its capacity of transformation.....	64
Kalkan: Guerrilla became a vanguard force that educates, organizes, mobilizes, leads people.....	69
Kalkan: The PKK always seen Kurdish freedom in the democratization of Turkey and the Middle East.....	72
Kalkan: The Kurdish people will resist as they always did.....	77
Çiğdem Doğu: World War III is a war against society and nature, starting with women.....	82



Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

DEM Party Co-Chairs apply to visit Öcalan in İmralı

ANF | ANKARA | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Co-Chairs Tuncer Bakırhan and Tülay Hatimoğulları applied to the Ministry of Justice for a face-to-face meeting with Kurdish People's Leader, Abdullah Öcalan, who has been incarcerated

The application filed by Bakırhan said, “Together with our co-chair Tülay Hatimoğulları Oruç, we would like to meet Abdullah Öcalan, who is in İmralı F Type High Security Closed Penal Institution, in an open meeting. I request the necessary authorisation.”

Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım and Veysi Aktaş are kept under severe isolation conditions in İmralı F Type High Security Prison. Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan has been in solitary confinement since 1999, when he was abducted as a result of an international conspiracy.

The right of Abdullah Öcalan and fellow prisoners in İmralı to meet with their families is being denied by the authorities, citing “disciplinary penalties”. The reasons and file numbers of these disciplinary penalties are not shared with their lawyers despite all applications and objections.

From 27 July 2011 to date, only 5 lawyer visits were allowed between May and August 2019. The last meeting of lawyers with the Kurdish leader took place on 7 August 2019. During the last lawyer meeting 5 years ago. Öcalan stated that he could end the war completely within a week in the face of the possibility of conflict in Serekaniye and Gire Spî, saying that, otherwise, deep social wounds would be opened and the economy would not be able to bear this situation. However, his call for a solution and dialogue was left unanswered. After the meeting with Abdullah Öcalan 5 years ago, the ban on lawyer visits started to be implemented.

The last 6-month ban on lawyer visits to Öcalan and fellow prisoners in İmralı was issued by Bursa Execution Judgeship on 6 November. With this ban, the Kurdish leader has been banned from seeing his lawyer for 6 months at least 14 times in the last 8 years.

Öcalan’s last face-to-face meeting with his family took place on 3 March 2020 and his last telephone conversation on 25 March 2021.

After four years, the Kurdish leader met face to face with his nephew Ömer Öcalan on 23 October 2024. During the meeting, he stated that: “Isolation continues. If conditions are right, I have the theoretical and practical power to move this process from a ground of conflict and violence to a legal and political ground.”

The meeting took place amid discussions on possible talks with Öcalan. MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) Leader Devlet Bahçeli shook hands with the DEM Party group at the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) on 1 October, starting discussions about a possible resolution process with the Kurds. In his speech at the party's group meeting in mid-October, Bahçeli further called on Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı Prison to “unilaterally declare the end of terrorism and the liquidation of his organization”.

Group from Aarau takes over freedom for Öcalan Vigil in its 649th week

ANF | STRASBOURG | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

The Freedom for Öcalan Vigil was launched in Strasbourg on 25 June 2012. The action is taken over every week by Kurds living in Europe and their friends.

This week, the 649th, was taken over by a group of activists from Aarau. The group, which consists of members of the Basel Democratic Kurdish Society Center, includes Mahsum Özer, Serhat Kanat and Hasan Hüseyin Şahin.

Speaking on behalf of the group, Mahsum Özer said that the Kurdish people have been holding the vigil in front of the European Council for Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] for 13 years.

Mahsum Özer said: "Our Leader has been held in prison for 26 years and has been subjected to absolute isolation for 4 years. We condemn the occupying Turkish state that has imposed this isolation on our Leader."

The activist added: "We call out to international institutions that claim to defend human rights. We especially want the CPT (Committee for the Prevention of Torture) and the Council of Europe to implement their own laws. We want them to speak out against the brutality imposed on the Kurdish people and Kurdistan, and the usurpation of our municipalities. On the other hand, Kurds living in the diaspora, as well as those living in Kurdistan, must stand up for our Leader. The physical freedom of our Leader is directly linked to our freedom. The isolation imposed on our Leader undoubtedly is reflected on the entire Kurdish people. We call out to the entire public opinion to stand against the oppression and isolation practices of the AKP fascist government, and speak out. Our resistance will always continue. We will continue our actions, mobilization and vigil everywhere until our leadership is freed."

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Military aggression and occupation

Young Yazidi man kidnapped by ISIS in Shengal in 2014 freed by the SDF in Manbij

ANF | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) successfully liberated a young Yazidi man, Diyar Ali Raffo, who was abducted by ISIS in 2014 during the terrorist attack on the Shengal (Sinjar) region of southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq).

During a special operation conducted by the SDF's military operations teams (TOL) in the city of Manbij, Diyar was located and freed from a house. An ISIS terrorist cell was attempting to smuggle him to Turkish-occupied areas. Diyar sustained injuries during an ISIS hideout bombing.

Regarding his kidnapping and family's fate, Diyar said the following: "My name is Diyar Ali Raffo. I was born in 2004 in the village of Kocho, Shengal. My mother's name is Souda. I have two brothers and three sisters. My oldest sister, Amsha, tragically passed away at the age of 16. My other sisters, Shilan and Intisar, are approximately 17-18 and 20 years old, respectively.

When ISIS attacked our village, they gathered all the men and imprisoned them in the school. Women, children, and the remaining men were confined to the second floor. The men were then taken to an unknown location, and their fate remains uncertain.

Subsequently, ISIS forcibly relocated women and children, including my family. We were transported to Tal Afar, where I was separated from my mother and brothers. I was placed in a school with other children, while my family was detained in a prison near Zakho.

Later, I was taken to Mosul and lost contact with my family. ISIS subjected us to their religious indoctrination and forced military training. Those aged 14 and older were compelled to join their ranks."

Diyar did not willingly join ISIS but was kidnapped and coerced into their ranks. Now, liberated by the SDF, he yearns to reunite with his family in Shengal.

SDF Press Center publishes identities of four fighters who fell as martyrs on 21-22 November

ANF | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center published the identities of four fighters who fell as martyrs in different regions on 21 and 22 November.

In a written statement, the SDF said: "Our comrades Hogir Reqa (Firas Mihemed Bic) fell a martyr in the explosion of an ISIS mine in the village of Qeremox in Kobanê, while Heqi Qamishlo (Mihemed Ebas) fell as martyr in a traffic accident in Heseke. Rezan (Ehmed Ewad Rehal) fell as a martyr in a mine explosion in the Ezba town of Deir ez-Zor, and Dilsêr Bakur (Mehmûd Mihemed Qerataş) fell as a martyr in a traffic accident in Şiyûx, Kobanê."

'Our struggle will continue'

The statement underlined that all four fighters "fought with a spirit of sacrifice, and that they resisted both ISIS and the occupying Turkish state with a high spirit of comradeship." The statement offered condolences to the families of the martyrs, and added: "We will continue our struggle until victory."

According to the statement, the identity information of the martyrs is as follows:

Code Name: Hogir Reqa

Name and Surname: Fîras Bîco

Mother's Name: Selca

Father's Name: Mihemed

Place and Date of Martyrdom: Qeremox - 21/11/2024

Code Name: Heqî Qamişlo

Name and Surname: Mihemed Ebas

Mother's Name: Behiye

Father's Name: Elî

Place and Date of Martyrdom: Heseke 22/11/2024

Code Name: Rêzan

Name and Surname: Ehmed Rehal

Mother's Name: Wedha

Father's Name: Ewad

Place and Date of Martyrdom: Ezbe Town - 21/11/2024

Code Name: Dilşêr Bakur

Name and Surname: Mehmûd Qetetaş

Mother Name: Mihemed

Father's Name: Fedîle

Place and Date of Martyrdom: Şiyûx - 21/11/2024

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Attack by occupation forces kills a man, injures three children in a village in Afrin-Shehba

ANF | **SHEHBA** | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

The occupying Turkish state and allied gangs attacked Helisa village in the district of Fafîn in Afrin-Shehba Canton on Sunday. A 40-year-old civilian named Mihemed Arif Hac Mehmûd lost his life in the bombardment.

Hisên Mihemed Hesên Xelef (9), Murad Mihemed Hac Mehmûd (14) and Rosêl Mihemed Xelef (13) were icritically injured. But, later lost her life.

Fafîn is located about 20 kilometres southeast of Têl Rifat and 15 kilometres north of Aleppo. Since the renewal of the social contract of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (DAANES), the village has been administratively part of the Afrin-Shehba canton. Tens of thousands of people fled there in 2018 after Turkey and its mercenaries from the so-called 'Syrian National Army' (SNA) attacked Afrin.

Trapped in a no man's land between the Syrian regime and the Turkish occupation zone, which is partly a desert, the civilian population and infrastructure of Afrin-Shehba are repeatedly attacked. Fafin is a particularly frequent target of bombings. The international community is ignoring the crimes committed by its partner Turkey in northern and eastern Syria.

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HPG: Guerrillas shot down a Turkish drone

ANF | BEHDINAN | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

The Press Center of the People's Defense Forces (HPG) issued a statement to report on the resistance of the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla against the Turkish invasion in the Medya Defense Areas and the recent attacks by the Turkish army.

Guerrilla actions in Zap and Xakurke

According to the statement, on 21 November, on the western front of the Zap region, a radar system installed by the Turkish army in the Amêdî resistance area was destroyed by an HPG sniper. On Saturday, occupation soldiers in the area were attacked with heavy weapons. Fighters from the Free Women's Associations (YJA Star) intervened several times on Saturday in the western Zap region with semi-automatic weapons against an attempted advance by the invading troops to a guerrilla tunnel in the Girê Cûdî area.

The advance was stopped. In Xakurke, guerrillas attacked the occupying troops in the Girê Şehîd Hêmin area with heavy weapons on Friday and shot down a small drone over the Lolan area. The wreckage of the crashed drone was secured by the guerrillas.

Attacks by the Turkish army

As to the attacks by the Turkish army, the HPG reported that prohibited explosives were used four times against tunnel systems in the Girê FM and Girê Cûdî areas in the past few days.

The Xakurke, Gare, Metîna and Zap regions were bombed 39 times by fighter jets between 19 and 24 November. A further seven air strikes with attack helicopters were carried out on 21 and 23 November on the Girê Bahar and Girê Cûdî areas in the Zap.

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YPJ Commander martyred in Turkish drone attack

ANF | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

The General Command of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) announced the martyrdom of one of their commanders, Hevi Umud, as a result of an aerial attack by the Turkish state.

According to the statement, the YPJ commander was brutally targeted by a Turkish drone and lost her life while heading to Shengal (Sinjar) to participate in the ceremony commemorating the liberation of the city on November 10.

The identity information of the fallen YPJ commander is as follows:

Name and Surname: Saadiya Ahmed

Nom de Guerre: Hevi Umud

Mother's Name: Safiya

Father's Name: Mohammed

Place and Date of Martyrdom: Shengal, 10/11/2024

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HRE: Ten mercenaries killed, eight others wounded in retaliatory actions

ANF | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

Afrin Liberation Forces (HRE) published a statement providing information about their latest actions against the Turkish army and its jihadist mercenary troops in northern Syria. According to the statement, at least ten mercenaries were killed and eight others wounded in the Turkish occupation zone in Afrin and Azaz within two days.

Regarding the details of the latest actions on 22-23 November, the HRE stated the following:

On 22 November, a mercenary was shot dead by a sniper in the enemy line in Azaz. An enemy squad that tried to recover the body was also targeted and another mercenary was killed.

On 23 November, a mercenary was killed by a HRE sniper in the Shera region of Afrin.

On the same day, HRE units overrun the positions of the invasion troops in the Azaz region. Seven mercenaries were killed and eight more were wounded during the raid.

On the other hand, HRE units targeted the reinforcement troops that then moved into the combat zone to retrieve the casualties. The number of mercenaries killed or injured here couldn't be clarified, but a vehicle with a mounted machine gun was destroyed.



SDF: 17 Turkish-backed mercenaries eliminated in a village of Manbij

ANF | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Media Center issued a statement about an operation they carried out in the village of Buwaihij Al-Ajmi, west of Manbij.

The statement said: "In response to the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries' repeated attacks and aggression against our people, the latest of which was the massacre in the village of Al-Fatasa east of Ain Issa on 20 October 2024, which claimed the lives of three innocent children, and the repeated targeting of our displaced population in the Al-Shahba'a region, as well as in retaliation for the martyrdom of our heroic comrades in the village of Abdouki, our SDF forces, across all military formations, have launched numerous successful operations, targeting the positions of the Turkish occupation army and its mercenaries in the occupied areas of northern Syria."

The statement added: "On 24 November 2024, the forces of the Manbij Military Council of our SDF conducted a large-scale and targeted operation against the Turkish occupation mercenaries in the village of Buwaihij Al-Ajmi, west of Manbij. The operation involved raids, sniper attacks, the destruction of mercenaries' posts and their military vehicles, and the seizure of their weapons.

The operation, executed with complete success, targeted high-value objectives. Our forces infiltrated deep into the mercenaries' positions, engaging them in confrontation and inducing unprecedented fear among the mercenaries. Many mercenaries, attempting to flee the onslaught of our fighters, fell into pre-planned ambushes.

Our forces, maintaining the initiative throughout the clashes, continued eliminating enemy mercenaries and preventing them from regrouping. Desperate escape attempts were futile, as the bodies of most of the eliminated mercenaries fell into the hands of our forces. The majority of mercenaries were eliminated both inside and outside the military posts, in a climate of total surrender, a collapse of morale and will to fight, and the flight of their leaders."

The statement continued: "The operation resulted in the elimination of 17 Turkish-backed mercenaries, including key leaders, the wounding of six others, and the destruction of two military vehicles and three

military posts. Additionally, our forces seized nine weapons, including projectiles, ammunition, identity documents, and the mercenaries' mobile phones.

These mercenaries are the remnants of the terrorist organization ISIS, and they are responsible for widespread devastation in the region, the humiliation of our people, and the infliction of immense suffering upon the city of Al-Bab. The brutality of their actions led to massive protests against their presence, and they have now received their just punishment.

Following the successful operation, our fighters returned safely to their positions without incurring any losses."

The SDF forces said they have "consistently affirmed their right to respond legitimately to the attacks and aggression perpetrated by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries. We have carefully selected the appropriate time and location to execute this operation, which serves as compelling evidence of the sincerity, loyalty, and courage of our fighters in safeguarding our people and avenging the crimes committed by the occupation.

On this occasion, we extend our congratulations to all of our fighters who participated in the operation and express our immense pride in their accomplishments. This operation will be forever etched in the honorable history of our forces' operations against the remnants of ISIS and the mercenaries of the Turkish occupation."



KCK: A new historical era has begun with the founding of the PKK

ANF | BEHDINAN | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

The Co-Presidency of the KCK Executive Council issued a statement to mark the anniversary of the founding of the PKK.

The statement said: "With the emergence of the PKK, the era of genocidal, colonialist, and slavish history in Kurdistan has ended, and a new historical period based on freedom has begun. We salute this meaningful development with our most revolutionary feelings and congratulate Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan], the martyrs, the patriotic people of Kurdistan, the freedom guerrilla of Kurdistan, all PKK and PAJK militants, the comrades resisting in prison, all the women and youth, the peoples of the Middle East and the world, the revolutionary, democratic, socialist world, and progressive humanity struggling for equality, freedom, and democracy. While celebrating this meaningful development, we also commemorate the martyrs of the revolution and the struggle for democracy, the ones who enabled all the developments, with gratitude, offer our respect, love, and longing, and bow respectfully before their precious memories. We reiterate our pledge of loyalty and victory to the martyrs and state that we will realize their aspirations."

The statement added: "The struggle led by the PKK not only realized the resurrection of the Kurdish people, but also shook the foundations of the established order in the Middle East. At the beginning of the 20th century, the powers of capitalist modernity developed a new design of a nation-states system in the Middle East on the basis of their interests. While the resources of the Middle East were stolen and exploited through dependent nation-states, the peoples were taken into a colonialist, genocidal, racist, and fascist grip by the same nation states, deprived of their freedom on the one hand and made enemies of each other on the other.

The Kurdish people have been the most prominent of the peoples who have been completely deprived of their freedom, divided and fragmented, and taken into a process of denial and extinction. The treatment of the Kurdish people by the forces of capitalist modernity and the genocidal colonialist fascist nation-state forces has been the most unjust, cruel, and despicable treatment in human history. The Kurdish people have not only been taken into the process of division and disintegration together with their country, but their existence has been denied and deemed null and void. Its justified objections against this have always been suppressed by the joint attack of all these forces. However, this order, which was created and protected by the capitalist world system, entered a period of crisis, chaos, and blockage with the PKK-led struggle. Today's crisis in the Middle East based on the nation state mentality is essentially the result of the struggle led by the PKK."

The statement continued: "Undoubtedly, when it comes to the meaning and legacy of the PKK, its greatest contribution to humanity is the alternative system of free life developed by Rêber Apo. By developing the paradigm of a society based on grassroots democracy, social ecology, and women's liberation against capitalist modernity's domination and exploitation of the individual, society, and nature, by developing the democratic nation project to solve the problems that have become a deadlock in the Middle East, and by developing the democratic confederalism system that will save the world, Rêber Apo has proved that he has the most serious solution to overcome the problems of our time. The fact that his ideas are being embraced more and more around the whole world and that solidarity with the Kurdish people is developing more and more all over the world is the result of this. The global freedom campaign expresses this through organization and action. We can easily state that the PKK is a movement that has succeeded not only in putting the genocidal, exploitative, male-dominated mentality and politics of capitalist modernity into crisis but also in developing a solution model that will liberate the individual, society, nature, and women. In this respect, the PKK's emergence is historical, strategic, ideological, and political."

The statement underlined that "one of the fundamental principles that constitute the essence of the PKK is undoubtedly the value it attributes to women and women's freedom. By giving women the leading role within the PKK, Rêber Apo brought about a crucial historical difference, and historical developments were caused through this. Today, this fundamental principle of the PKK guides the women of Kurdistan, the Middle East and the world with the slogan 'Jin Jiyan Azadi'.

As a result, how and on what foundations the PKK emerged on the stage of history, on what dynamics of struggle it is based, how it has led to so many developments, and how it has survived and continued to create developments despite all the regional and international attacks is one of the most pressing issues that must be emphasized and understood. The PKK is a phenomenon that needs to be the subject of the most scientific research.

Once again, we congratulate the founding of our party, the PKK, to all peoples, especially the Kurdish people, women, our international friends and all the oppressed. In the PKK's 47th year of struggle, we wish everyone who struggles for an equal and free world great success. We express our greetings and love, and call on everyone to increase the struggle within the scope of the global freedom campaign, to work and struggle more for the construction of the free individual and democratic commune life."

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PKK: We are closer than ever to the freedom of Leader Öcalan and a solution to the Kurdish question

ANF | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

The Executive Committee of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) issued a written statement on the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the founding of the party. Underlining that the Freedom Movement is closer than ever to the physical freedom of Leader Apo (Abdullah Öcalan) and the solution of the Kurdish question on the basis of freedom, the PKK said: "To this end, it is necessary to develop the mass struggle for the physical freedom of Leader Apo at the level of mobilisation. Our people and friends, everyone must mobilise all their means for this struggle, fill their entire agenda with the struggle for the physical freedom of Leader Apo, lock themselves into this struggle and develop the struggle with all kinds of creative ways and methods. It is certain that such a total struggle will yield results and victory."

The PKK statement said: "Today marks the 46th anniversary of the founding of our party PKK on 27 November 1978. The Kurdistan freedom struggle led by the PKK is entering its 47th year. In this context, there are enthusiastic celebrations in every field. Our people and friends are enthusiastically celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the PKK and our Party Day with various events. First of all, we salute all these events and celebrations and wish all those who struggle for freedom and democracy great success in the 47th year of the PKK. We heartily congratulate all comrades, especially Leader Apo, our heroic guerrilla forces, women and youth, our patriotic people and democratic friends on the Party Day. We commemorate with deep respect, love and gratitude all our heroic martyrs, starting with our first great martyr, comrade Haki Karer and continuing up to our sacrificial martyrs, comrades Asya Ali and Rojger Hêlîn. We reiterate our promise to achieve their goals and keep their memories alive.

We are experiencing this Party Day with the great enthusiasm created by the greeting from Leader Apo. Women and youth, our people and friends welcome the greeting of Leader Apo and greet him with deep longing and respect with the actions they have developed in every field from Cologne to Batman and Der-sim. Our heroic guerrilla forces are trying to make sense of Leader Apo's greeting with the freedom actions they have developed in every field, especially in Zap and Metina. On this basis, we greet Leader Apo, who has become the leader of the liberation and freedom of all the oppressed, especially women, with deep longing, love and respect, and once again celebrate the 47th Party Day.

As is known, our party, the PKK, has led the Kurdistan freedom struggle for the past 46 years and brought this struggle to the brink of victory with the great gains it has created. By liberating the Kurdistan freedom struggle from reformist-submissionist understandings and nationalist, religious, sexist influences, combin-

ing it with a social freedom based on women's freedom and ecology, and bringing it to the line of fraternal life of peoples in democratic unity, it has made it the pioneering and fundamental power of the free and democratic life of humanity. It raised the Kurdish people to the level of the most influential people waging a struggle for freedom in today's world.

Leader Apo has become a global leading force showing the way of salvation to all the oppressed with what the great struggle of the past period has revealed and with the Democratic Modernity Paradigm he has developed. Today, on the basis of the Global Freedom Movement, this paradigm is spreading all over the world, meeting all oppressed groups, becoming concrete by turning into organisations and actions. All oppressed humanity unites its freedom and liberation with Leader Apo and strongly embraces the physical freedom struggle for Leader Apo.

The 46-year Kurdistan freedom struggle waged by the PKK under the leadership of Leader Apo has concretised itself as a Women's Freedom Revolution in its theoretical and practical development. It has made Kurdish women, who were in the position of slaves of slaves, conscious and organised in all respects and made them the pioneers of the freedom struggle at all levels. The events of '25 November, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women' clearly demonstrate this fact. Kurdish women, who have become conscious and organised through Jineoloji, are leading the women's liberation struggle in every field. Moreover, they are raising this struggle from being a fight against only visible violence to the level of a Women's Liberation Revolution against all forms of violence, visible and invisible. By questioning all kinds of male-dominated mentality and system since the hierarchy, they are gradually revealing a free life based on women's freedom.

On the other hand, during the past 46 years there have been countless attacks to destroy Leader Apo and the PKK. Therefore, the PKK struggle has been a multifaceted resistance against all kinds of attacks aimed at annihilation and liquidation. As a result, those who attacked the PKK to destroy it were either destroyed themselves or suffered great damage. While dozens of governments established with the aim of destroying the PKK disappeared into history, it was the PKK that survived and flourished. This is because the PKK is the Kurdish people's will for existence and freedom, and it is not possible to destroy the Kurdish people from the Neolithic Age. This is because the Kurdish people demonstrate this reality by saying 'PKK is the people, the people are here' in the squares.

Today, as the PKK enters its 47th year of struggle, these fascist, colonialist and genocidal attacks aimed at the destruction and liquidation of the PKK continue in many ways. Our movement, our people and our friends are resisting these attacks in every field on the basis of the Global Freedom Movement, which aims for the physical freedom of Leader Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question. The Freedom Campaign has entered its second year and at the end of the first year, it forced the AKP-MHP fascist administration to allow a meeting with Leader Apo and to develop various discussions on the Kurdish question, albeit fake.

On this basis, since the beginning of October, there have been various discussions in the dominant Turkish politics about Leader Apo and the Kurdish question. As the Movement, we have not closed the way for these discussions, but we have also encouraged them to deepen in a positive direction. However, it soon became clear that what the Bahçeli-Erdoğan duo is trying to develop is a new trick and game. With such unbalanced discourses, they want to divert the agenda and weaken the mass struggle developed by our people and our friends. The appointment of trustees to the municipalities in parallel with such discussions

and the massacre attacks clearly show the reality. This is what we will state to our people and friends here: There is nothing concrete that has reached us within the scope of the discussions in question. What is being done is a discussion in the press and among themselves. It is mainly a game aimed at deceiving us and distracting us. Therefore, we should not believe what is said on this basis and we should never become complacent and weaken the struggle for the physical freedom of Leader Apo. In fact, on such sensitive and important issues, we should not pay attention to the discourses in the press or otherwise, except for the official statements to be made by our Freedom Movement. The most correct thing is not to see or hear such things, but to concentrate with everything we have on actions aimed at the physical freedom of Leader Apo.

It is very clear that the Global Freedom Movement, which aims at the physical freedom of Leader Apo, has seriously challenged the AKP-MHP fascist administration and brought it to the point of collapse. The actions of our people and friends have exposed the İmralı torture, isolation and genocide system in all its aspects. The resistance of our heroic guerrilla forces in Zap and Metina has locked and bogged down the AKP-MHP fascism. So much so that global support and the KDP and Iraqi support are no longer enough. It was proved once again on 23 October that there is no target that the Immortal Fedayeen of Kurdistan cannot hit. For Turkey, there is no other solution left but to resort to the solution power of Leader Apo and to take democratisation based on Kurdish freedom as a basis. Because the attacks by the supranational global monopoly capital have become a serious threat to the status quo of the Turkish Republic. It is no longer possible to maintain the fascist, colonialist and genocidal mentality and politics. The only solution is democratisation on the basis of Kurdish freedom.

Therefore, as we enter the PKK's 47th year of struggle, we are closer than ever to the physical freedom of Leader Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question on the basis of freedom. However, it is also clear that this will not be realised without struggle or with insufficient struggle. For this, it is necessary to develop the mass struggle aiming at the physical freedom of Leader Apo at the level of mobilisation. Our people and friends, everyone must mobilise all their means for this struggle, fill their entire agenda with the struggle for the physical freedom of Leader Apo, lock themselves into this struggle and develop the struggle with all kinds of creative ways and methods. It is certain that such a total struggle will yield results and victory.

On this basis, we once again congratulate our people and our friends on the Party Day. We call on everyone to make effective celebrations and to combine the Party Foundation Anniversary activities with the struggle for the physical freedom of Leader Apo and to further expand the Global Freedom Campaign with more creative and effective ways and methods!"

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Villages in Manbij attacked 55 times in 24 hours

ANF | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

The Manbij Military Council Press Center issued a statement about the invasion attacks carried out by Turkey in the last 24 hours.

The statement said that the Turkish army and its gangs bombed the villages of Manbij with heavy weapons.

According to the statement, the village of Biwêhic was bombed with 38 mortars, the village of Boxaz with 10, the village of Cerad with one, the village of Um Celûd with 3 and the village of Korhiyok with 3. A young man named Mistefa Berekat Hesên (17) was injured in the gangs' bombardment of the village of Erebi Hesên in the northwest of Manbij.



HPG: Three Turkish soldiers killed in Zap and Metîna

ANF | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

The Press Center of the People's Defense Forces (HPG) issued a statement about the guerrilla resistance against the Turkish occupation forces in South Kurdistan and Turkey's recent attacks on the Medya Defense Areas. According to the statement, three Turkish soldiers were killed in the guerrilla actions. The guerrilla areas continue to be bombed daily by the Turkish Air Force.

The HPG gave the following details about the situation:

“Guerrilla resistance in Zap, Metîna and Xakurke

On the western front of the Zap region, a Turkish soldier in the Girê Amêdî resistance area was killed by a guerrilla sniper on 25 November. The following day, the occupiers in the Girê Bahar area were attacked with heavy weapons.

In the Metîna region, guerrillas attacked a Turkish military unit between the Bêşîlî and Dergelê areas with semi-automatic weapons on Tuesday. Two occupiers were killed, a position and a surveillance camera were destroyed. On the same day, the guerrillas intervened with semi-automatic weapons against an attempted advance by the Turkish army towards a tunnel complex in Şêlêzê. The soldiers then withdrew.

In Xakurke, fighters from the Free Women's Units (YJA Star) attacked the Turkish occupation troops in the Girê Şehîd Hêmin and Girê Mesken areas with heavy weapons on 24 and 27 November.

Turkish army attacks

Explosive-laden drones belonging to the Turkish army bombed a tunnel in the Girê Bahar area in the western Zap region twice on 25 November. In addition, the HPG reported a total of 34 air strikes with fighter jets between 24 and 27 November.

The areas attacked were Berbizinê, Girê Qele, Goşînê, Lolan, Kendekola and Sinînê in Xakurke, Deşta Nehlê, Zêvkê, Girê Zengil, Deşta Kafya, Mesken and Dêreşê in Gare, Bêşîlî and Serê Metîna in Metîna and Girê Bahar in Zap.



Turkish army prepares new comprehensive operation in Besta

ANF | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

It has been reported that the Turkish army is carrying out operations with secret units in the Besta region together with village guards in Şenoba (Sêgirkê) in Şîrnak and is preparing for a comprehensive operation in the Besta region.

The Şîrnak governor announced that 7 regions in the city center and districts were declared 'temporary special security zones' between 28 November and 12 December.

The ban in question covers the Besta, Gabar, Cûdî, Kurt Dağı, Kela Memê, Tehtareş, Faraşîn, Dolê village and rural areas of Botan.



Femicide

Diyarbakır Governorate bans the slogan 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî'

ANF | AMED | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

Before an event to be organised by the Free Women's Movement (Tevgera Jinên Azad-TJA) in Amed (tr: Diyarbakır) at the Ten-Eyed Bridge in Sur district, police officers from Diyarbakır Security Directorate called the women and informed them that the slogan 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî' (Woman, Life, Freedom) was banned on the grounds that it was 'propaganda of an organisation', namely the PKK.

While no official document was presented on the issue other than a verbal report, the official website of the governorate did not include a decision on the ban.

During the women's protests, police officers tried to prevent the chants of 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî', claiming that it was 'organisational terminology'.



Women in Amed protest with erbanes and torches to mark 25 November

ANF | AMED | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

The Free Women's Movement (Tevgera Jinên Azad -TJA) held a protest with erbanes and torches on the Ten-Eyed Bridge in the Sur district of Amed, wearing national costumes, as part of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women on 25 November. The women chanted the slogans "Jin Jiyan Azadî" and "Bijî berxwedana jina" while playing the erbanes.

Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM) Amed MP Adalet Kaya made a statement.

Kaya said: "Today, we learned that the slogan Jin Jiyan Azadî, which we have been shouting together with all women of the world in the streets, squares, parliament, everywhere in the world, has been banned by the governor of Diyarbakır. As women, we condemn those who put obstacles in front of women and the governor who made this decision. We condemn this prohibitionist mentality and say women's life and freedom with women everywhere in the country. We salute the struggle for life and education rights of women in Afghanistan. They are in the squares for their rights, and we say 'Zen, Zendeki, Azadî'. We will continue our struggle against the prohibitionist mentality. No power can stand against this struggle. We will never be afraid and will not obey against prohibitionist policies."

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Men take to the streets in Amed in protest at violence against women

ANF | AMED | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

On the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women on 25 November, men made a press statement in Amed (tr: Diyarbakır) province on Sunday.

A number of men came together in front of AZC Plaza for the action organised with the slogan 'Free women, free society'. The protesters opened the banner 'Woman is life, masculine mentality is a betrayal of life'. The police confiscated a banner with the photograph of Nagihan Akarsel, a member of the Jineoloji Research Centre and academician who was murdered by the Turkish state in Sulaymaniyah province, in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

Addressing the crowd, Peoples' Democratic Party (DEM Party) Amed Provincial Co-chair Abbas Şahin emphasised that violence against women has intensified during recent years. Pointing to efforts to consolidate the male-dominated mentality, Şahin said, "The mentality that develops special war policies, chooses women as the first victims of this special war, murders Gülistan Doku, İpek Er and dozens of others, and then applies impunity, shows that there is a conscious policy of hiding the perpetrators."

During the chants of ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadî’ (Woman, Life, Freedom), police officers tried to silence the protesters through announcements.

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KJK: Crimes against women, together we say “Jin, Jiyan, Azadî”

ANF | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

The Coordination of Kurdistan Women’s Union (Komalên Jinên Kurdistan, KJK) released a statement on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women and called for a common struggle for all women.

“The 25th of November is a day when women will develop their power and we should treat it as a day when the fight against violence grows, said the statement of KJK Coordination, which includes the following:

“Starting from the Mirabel Sisters, who were instrumental in the 25th of November Day of Elimination of Violence Against Women, from Roza Luxemburg to Sakine Cansız, Şilan Kobanê, Asya, Sêvê, Pakîze, Fatma, Evîn Goyî, Jîyan, Reyhan, Yusra, Nagehan, Zelal Haseki, Gulistan and Hêro Bahadin, we strongly condemn the murders of the women resisters and promise to carry the legacy of struggle they left us into the times of freedom. In social life, people from all generations – from childhood to youth, from adulthood to elderly – are murdered, raped, and tortured. There is the reality of women being exploited and insulted. Sometimes it is the bodies of women who were raped and murdered in front of everyone in the middle of the street, sometimes in dark corners, sometimes found in stream beds and dam waters, sometimes washed up on the shores or buried underground where no one can see corpses. There are women’s corpses thrown away without being buried in every inch of the world. There are babies who are raped and brutally murdered when they just opened their eyes to life. Women and children are exploited and their bodies invaded in a way that is beyond comprehension and emotion.

All women and children who were murdered and subjected to physical and mental violence are our reason for struggle and revenge. Holding massacres accountable is, for us women, on the one hand, a condition of living, and on the other hand, a justification. The war taking place worldwide, in the Middle East and in Kurdistan has reached the highest stage of our time and throughout the ages. The crises are intensifying in every aspect with the wars within the scope of the Third World War. Capitalist modernity is at a deadlock and the male-dominated system is decaying. In the middle of World War III, violence against women is increasing day by day. Unless women’s movements can wage an integrated, organized and self-defensive, militant and impeding struggle against this increasing multi-faceted violence, the violence will become more intense. It is as if the existing impasse is getting tighter; it further disintegrates women, society and nature and makes them weak-willed. As women’s movements, it has become a vital need for us to put self-defense, peace and solution policies on the agenda more strongly and effectively against these war policies around the world.

Violence against women, which pervades every moment and every area of daily life, derives its origin from these wars fed by power and nationalism. There are thousands of women and children affected by the war

that has been going on in Ukraine, the war that has been going on for more than a year in Palestine, the war that has just started in Lebanon, and the civil wars in countries such as Yemen, Sudan and Ethiopia. There is also a heavy massacre of women in regions such as Latin America, Afghanistan, India, and Iran. In the countries that are the center of capitalist modernity, which we call the Western world, there is a heavy massacre of women that is made more invisible, covered up and is almost a continuation of witch hunts. We are participating in these wars. We must say: stand against the fact that people are murdered in wars, raped, displaced, impoverished, and condemned to starvation and disease. Violence against women has both universal and local characteristics, originating from the hegemonic male mentality and system. At the same time, starting with women, this crime against nature, children and the whole society, is being developed in a holistic manner.

For this reason, we must be able to weave our fight against violence into an integrated line of struggle from local to universal. We must stand against it by ensuring the integrity of women, nature, children, and society. In this context, we must fully increase our fight against states, non-state gang structures, hegemonic masculinity, and all kinds of mentalities and institutionalizations developed by it, and dominant male individuals. We live in an age where violence has become habitual and social reflexes against violence have weakened. There are thousands of massacres and rape incidents whose perpetrators are not held accountable and are even rewarded. After each massacre or rape, the events are kept on the agenda for 5-10 days like a news tabloid, and then they are forgotten over time, covered up, and a similar incident occurs again a few days later. This is nothing but getting society, especially us women, accustomed to such events. Because of this, it is very important to reveal our clear stance against this developing special war violence, to give the message, “we will never get used to it, and we will never forget it” against the policies of normalizing and legitimizing all kinds of violence against women, and to determine the route of organization and struggle accordingly.

In general, there is a stagnation in the women’s struggle around the world. Although there is a fragmented women’s resistance and organization, it seems that it has fallen back from the intensity and tempo it had before the pandemic. Through this fragmentation, the hegemonic system is trying to further spread disorganization, hopelessness and discouragement. As all women’s movements, we must analyze this fact well and develop ways and methods that will further strengthen our struggle against the hegemonic male system. We must strengthen our united struggle strategy and tactics. A unity of struggle in which everyone participates with their own color against attacks by the dominant male system, states, sexist traditions and individuals. We must develop with education, organization, and self-defense. It doesn’t matter what nation, what religion, what color or race we have. We must meet with the philosophy and culture of Democratic Nation and Democratic Modernity, with the understanding that our differences are richness. We must increase our power to fight against nationalism, religiousism, scientism and sexism, which are the main sources of violence against women. As women’s movements, what can we do, what concrete steps can we take, what actions can we do, what organizations can we develop, in a way that will be permanent within the scope of self-defense, that limits, deters and ultimately exceeds male domination? There is a serious need for awareness and discussion on these issues. As women, we must break this deepened special war of the genocidal enemy and male domination. This requires a serious and concrete organization on the basis of self-defense.

'Jin, Jiyan, Azadi' Against Violence

The massacres of women in the Middle East region are on most agendas around the world. In the West, the impression is given that women are free, as if there were no such problem in Western countries where capitalist modernity prevails. By being ostensibly included in male-dominated power mechanisms, the misconception that women are free and equal is developed as a distorted perception by hegemonic masculinity. It is very important to make visible and expose the true face of the exploitation of women – who have been made invisible and turned into the queen of commodities – and the male hegemony of Western capitalist modernity.

As well as understanding the hard face of violence, it is also essential to understand its soft masked face, the aspect described as “soft power. Operations performed on the female body under the name of fashion, beauty and aesthetics turn every part of the female body into a commodity and put it on the market, restricting freedom by confining it to sexuality and the body, creating mental fragmentation in women by destroying the woman’s view of her own body, making women more vulnerable to the power of right-wing parties, statist wars and fascism. Being included and masculinized in the name of “will” are different versions of violence within the scope of soft power.

Again, the exploitation, rape and prostitution experienced by women who migrated to the West due to war and poverty in their own countries are also intense. One of the most serious problems of our age is what immigrant women experience. The EU and some Western states soften the concept of rape, reducing it to the discourse of “sexual abuse” and thus camouflage male violence. In fact, since there is no consensus on the concept of rape in EU law, there are problems in determining a common law against it. Rape is almost no longer a basic crime.

On the other hand, with the strengthening of right-wing fascist and religious tendencies around the world, the imposition of the “holy family” is intensifying. The rights that women have gained in many issues, including the right to abortion, are being regressed, and the discourse of “sacred motherhood” is being imposed by imprisoning women in the family and children. The ruling Islamic forces do this based on the discourse of “nature”, legitimizing all kinds of rape, subversion and violence according to its own ideological principles. Although our age is presented as a world of freedom not backwardness, and they seem to be opposed to each other, capitalist modernity and traditional modernity are essentially based on breaking the will of women and enslaving them, and they have a common point here. For this reason, we must better analyze and decipher the global and regional characteristics of hegemonic male policies, how they become a common fist against women, and escalate the struggle. There are women’s actions and resistance against femicide in Europe, the USA, Abya Yala, India, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Africa and the Middle East, in different parts of the world. As KJK, we salute all our resisting women friends and comrades. We call for our common struggle power to be further developed and for November 25th to be considered as a day when our common struggle against violence grows.

Every Murdered Woman is a Call to the Women’s Revolution

The Middle East is a hot war zone and massacres against women are happening more clearly. The execution regime of the Iranian state, the gang rule in Afghanistan, the nation-state structure and gang structures in Yemen, Sudan, North Africa and other Middle Eastern countries are in a serious attack against

women. Sexist states and institutions, sexist customs and mentalities claim their rights in all kinds of debilitating and murderous laws and policies – from execution to lynching, female circumcision, forced veiling, and child marriage. It is very important to resist and take action against each of these forms of attack. However, it is our primary responsibility to set the agenda against the executions of women on the 25th of November with actions, events and protests, and to expose the nation states, especially Iran, that practice inhumane forms of attack. There are hundreds of women who have been executed and are currently awaiting execution in Iran. As fellow strugglers outside, taking care of them is one of our basic women missions. By following the path of rebellion of Jina Amini and Şiler Resuli, we should expand the struggle of ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’ (Woman, Life, Freedom) together. We must be able to keep their memory and the memory of thousands of women like them alive. There are thousands of women and children murdered as a result of Israel’s attacks on Gaza. There is also the recent war against Lebanon and its consequences.

Palestinian and Lebanese women and children face the brunt of the consequences of this hegemonic and genocidal war. Apart from being massacred, they face serious problems such as hunger, poverty, disease, prostitution, rape and migration. It is of great importance to fight against these consequences of the Third World War. We must develop women’s solidarity and struggle partnership in this field as well.

Against Occupation, Betrayal and Male Violence, ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’

For Kurdistan, 2024 has been a year in which genocide and femicide continued to intensify. The AKP-MHP fascist government continued its genocidal attacks this year, targeting everyone everywhere in Kurdistan- from mountains to cities, from guerrillas to civilians, from women to children. Finally, with the attacks on Rojava and Shengal, it added a new one to the war crimes it has committed for years by targeting civilians, women and children, and community service institutions. The fascist Turkish state is committing crimes in all areas of Kurdistan – from Afrin to Yazidi women in Shengal, from Bashur to Bakur, Rojava and Maxmur. The AKP-MHP government is guilty of war, genocide, femicide, infanticide and ecocide in Kurdistan. It has been imposing this oppression on the Kurdish people and women for years.

On the occasion of November 25th, there should be a memory of the women and children who were murdered, tortured and raped in Kurdistan. We must shout out the names of each of them and make them a reason to fight. We must be the voice of the Yazidi women who are still captive in the hands of ISIS and the women who were displaced from their homes in Afrin and Serêkaniyê. While committing these crimes in Kurdistan without any laws or borders, the state mentality, soldiers, police, guards, special-ist sergeants, agents and gangs are also bleeding the Turkish geography with daily massacres of women and children. The consequences of this genocidal and femicidal dirty war are reflected in very serious consequences for Turkish women and children. In Turkey, nationalism, chauvinism and the sexism it provokes are at the level of disaster and chaos. The intellectual crisis of capitalist modernity has become an impasse in sexism. Violence is imposed on women and everyone, especially through men, and the reflection of war on daily life and the reshaping of society are carried out through this violence. In this way, it is very important for the women’s movements from Kurdistan and Turkey to jointly increase the struggle and expand the united women’s struggle and struggle for a solution against the source of violence. Women who resist in prisons also experience male state torture in the most severe forms. Women imprisoned in the prisons of Türkiye, Bakurê Kurdistan and Iran and women resisting in prisons in the Middle East and around the world are instantly faced with the sexist attacks of the male state. This November 25th, we must also stand in solidarity with all female comrades who resist in prisons wherever they are, reach out to them and carry their voices to the action areas. Especially the honorable resistance of our mothers who,

despite their illnesses resist the fascist genocidal Turkish state in prisons with the difficulties brought on by their advancing age, should illuminate our actions like a torch. Mothers of martyrs, Saturday Mothers and relatives of missing people whose children's bodies were not delivered or whose bones were given in a bag are the cornerstone of our struggle for women. As the KJK, we salute the honorable resistance of these brave mothers and reiterate our promise to further expand the culture of resistance we received from them on the occasion of the 25th of November.

Girls, and children in general, also face significant levels of violence and are more vulnerable. When we talk about women's self-defense, we should know that one of the main duties is the defense of children. The facts revealed in the situation of Narin made the disaster more visible. Children are either murdered or their will is completely broken. Preventing this is one of the most important tasks of women's movements. For this reason, on the occasion of November 25th, we must consider many dimensions – from child rape to massacres, labor exploitation and use in various forms – and comprehensively evaluate the issue of how we can defend our children. Children are all our children! We must protect them while they are still alive, not after they are murdered.

YJA Star Fights as a Model of Women's Self-Defense of Our Age

Women's army formation in Kurdistan has completed 32 years. YJA STAR, the pioneer of our women's army, is waging a very strong self-defense struggle against male domination, male state and sexist culture, as well as fighting against colonialism and fascism. Tactics, mental strength, professionalism and self-sacrificing spirit are in complete integrity. There is the reality of a female guerrilla force that bravely resists the Turkish army that fights with NATO support, and all banned weapons, from chemical weapons to tactical nuclear weapons. Thousands of female revolutionaries were martyred in this struggle, and great prices were paid. We commemorate Berwar Dersim, Beritan Nurhak, Axin Muş, Dr. Sara, Asya Ali and all our female comrades who were martyred while fighting against male violence, as well as all our male comrades in the person of Rojger Hêlîn, with love, respect and gratitude. All the female and male comrades who fell martyrs in this struggle are the martyrs of creating a democratic culture of free cohabitation against the culture of violence. Our promise to them on this occasion of November 25th is to be worthy of their memories and to achieve their goals. While YJA STAR played a leading role in this struggle, YPJ in Rojava, YJŞ in Shengal, and HPJ in Rojhilat took this struggle as an example and further strengthened and expanded the women's self-defense struggle. This struggle is an example and model for women in the Middle East and the world. It will be important to know and understand this example more and to organize it in accordance with its own foundations.

We Defend Ourselves With 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadi'

What will save women, girls, young women and our mothers from dominant male violence and massacres is self-defense, organization and struggle. Just as there is no salvation alone, without struggle, there is also no life without self-defense. If we women are organized and fight in self-defense, we can survive and become a source of life force. We can overcome this burgeoning male violence. Our struggle must create organization and self-defense and become the source of life. For this reason, we must turn every area of life into a battleground, establish women's platforms everywhere to tell the truth, and judge male domination through justice platforms.

To this end, as the KJK, we call on all world women's movements, especially women from Kurdistan and the Middle East, to organize around November 25th. Let's evaluate and expose male violence against women and at the same time develop self-defense awareness and organization against this violence.

Around the slogan "WE DEFEND OURSELVES WITH JIN JIYAN AZADÎ", we call on women to unite and increase our strength. In today's reality, where massacres have increased so much both physically and spiritually, let's defend ourselves and our lives with "JIN JIYAN AZADI", which Leader APO (Abdullah Öcalan) expressed as a magic formula! For this purpose, let's transform every area of life into areas of action and awareness, join hands and add your voices to ours. And finally, let's destroy male domination and build a free life."

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Balance sheet of massacres and violations against women in North Kurdistan

ANF | AMED | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

The Human Rights Association (IHD) Amed (tr: Diyarbakır) Branch Women's Commission announced the 1-year report on rights violations against women in the Kurdish region.

Branch board member Esra Saçaklıdır, who read the report on behalf of IHD, stated that violence against women is not only physical, but also psychological, sexual, economic, social and class violence.

Esra Saçaklıdır pointed out that domestic violence is seen as 'domestic issues' by society and the state and ignored, and that the decision to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention and the discussions on the abolition of Law No. 6284 have deepened gender inequality.

As a result of the unresolved Kurdish issue, the government's unlawful arrests of Kurdish women politicians and activists and their oppression in judicial processes are another form of violence against women, she underlined.

Esra Saçaklıdır remarked that the usurpation of DEM Party municipalities by government-appointed state officials was also effective in the increase in violence. She also drew attention to the torture and violence experienced by imprisoned women.

After the statement, lawyer Berfin Elçi listed the violations. According to the report, the provinces where women's right to life was violated the most were Urfa (21), Amed (16), Mardin (13), Van (10) and Antep (10).

The report includes the following data:

- At least 39 women lost their lives under suspicious circumstances.

- At least 7 women were driven to suicide and ended their lives.
- At least 49 women lost their lives and at least 12 others were injured as a result of domestic violence.
- At least 19 women lost their lives and at least 16 others were injured as a result of violence in the social sphere and at least 1 woman was subjected to sexual abuse.
- In Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, at least 68 women were murdered as a result of male violence in the domestic and social sphere and 7 women were driven to suicide.
- In total, at least 114 women's right to life was violated in a year.
- At least 57 women were murdered or found dead "at home", supposedly the safest place.
- Women were mostly murdered by their fathers, sons and married partners.
- Women were mostly murdered because they wanted to get divorced or because they had an argument about something. Some women were killed in their sleep, and some were killed by their relatives just because they did not bring water.

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150 women taken into custody in Istanbul

ANF | ISTANBUL | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

Women who did not recognize the arbitrary ban on protests imposed by the Istanbul Governor's Office, went to Taksim chanting the slogan "Jin Jiyan Azadî," to mark 25 November, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. In Taksim and its surroundings, where a state of emergency was declared, women walked from Tünel and Galata to Karaköy, breaking through police blockades.

The police blocked the way of the women, and took many into custody, throwing them to the ground with violence. The police also blocked the way of women who wanted to walk from Galata to Karaköy, the second point of the gathering, and stopped them. Women protested this arbitrary practice with slogans.

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Human Rights Violations

MLSA 2024 Justice Monitoring Program Report: Thinking criminalized, detention as punishment

ANF | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

The Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA) has [released](#) its *2024 Justice Monitoring Program Report*, detailing its observations of freedom of expression and press freedom cases during the 2023-2024 judicial year. As part of Turkey's most comprehensive court monitoring program, the report, titled "*Thought is a Crime, Detention is Punishment*", sheds light on the scale of freedom of expression violations and persistent issues with fair trial rights in the judicial system.

Anatomy of freedom of expression cases

Between Sept. 1, 2023, and July 20, 2024, MLSA monitored 281 trials involving 1,856 defendants. The majority of those on trial were activists (46.3%), students (20.25%), and journalists (19.7%), with 860 activists, 376 students, and 366 journalists prosecuted during this period. Politicians, lawyers, academics, and artists were also frequently taken to court for expressing their views.

The report highlights that most freedom of expression cases were initiated over criticism of government officials or participation in social protests. Activists and students were often charged with violating the *Law on Meetings and Demonstrations* (Law No. 2911) due to their involvement in protests.

Journalists face “terrorism” charges

Journalists were particularly targeted for their news stories and commentary. Among 187 defendants charged with "membership in an armed (terrorist) organization," 64.2% were journalists.

Other common accusations against journalists included “insulting the president” (38.1%) and “insulting a public official” (37.6%). Additionally, Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code—known as the “censorship law”—was increasingly used to prosecute journalists for allegedly spreading “misleading information to the public,” often in response to government-critical reporting.

State officials as complainants in numerous cases

The report also underscores the involvement of state officials as complainants. In 107 trials where Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, state officials, or police officers were plaintiffs, 230 individuals were tried. Journalists constituted 64% of the defendants in these cases.

Ongoing fair trial issues

Violations of the right to a fair trial were documented in 68.4% of the hearings MLSA observed. Problems included delayed hearings, interruptions during defense statements, denial of the right to speak for defendants, and inadequate courtroom conditions. The presence of police officers in courtrooms was also noted as a concern.

Arrests used as punishment

The report highlights how pretrial detention is used as a punitive measure against journalists. While 30 journalists were in detention as of Sept. 1, 2023, this number decreased to 21 by the end of the period. However, the findings reveal a troubling pattern: many journalists were held in custody for extended periods only to be acquitted later, or they were detained briefly—sometimes for five to ten days—before being released.

The full report can be found here: <https://www.mlsaturkey.com/images/RAPORLAR/freedom%20of%20expression%20report%202024%20final%201%201.pdf>

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Prison sentence against journalist Beritan Canözer confirmed

ANF | AMED | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

The Turkish Court of Cassation has confirmed the conviction of Kurdish journalist Beritan Canözer to a prison sentence for "PKK propaganda". The correspondent for the women's agency JinNews was sentenced to one year and ten months in prison five years ago by a criminal court in Amed for articles on social media. After the verdict is confirmed in the appeal proceedings, her arrest is expected.

Beritan Canözer has been working as a journalist for ten years. During this time, her home was searched six times by the police. She was arrested five times and was twice in custody for several months. Eight criminal proceedings were initiated against her. In three cases, she was accused of membership in a terrorist organization and acquitted in court. She was sentenced to a total of seven and a half years in prison in four different trials on charges of propaganda for a terrorist organization.

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New police operations in various cities, many people taken into custody

ANF | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

New police operations were carried out in many cities, including Amed, Istanbul, Batman (Êlih), Mardin (Mêrdîn) and Şirnak (Şirnex).

Amed

The houses of Amed's Peyas municipality co-mayor Cengiz Dünder, Mesopotamia Women Journalists Association (MKG) President Roza Metina, journalist Ahmet Sümbül, film director Ardin Diren (known for his movie *Every house is a school*), and teachers who are members of the Education and Science Workers Union (Eğitim-Sen) were raided in the morning hours. It was reported that the house raids continue and the number of detentions may increase.

Istanbul

In the operation carried out in Istanbul, journalists Erdoğan Alayumat and Bilge Aksu, Nimet Tanrıkulu, one of the founders of the Human Rights Association (İHD), Sevtap Akdağ, deputy co-chair of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Labor Commission, as well as İsa Özğan, Bahattin Bingöl, Halis Kandilci, Faysal Özdaş, Hamza Kaan, Leyla Doğan, Fersende Aksoy and Mehmet Yaşar Abatan were taken into custody. The house raids were carried out within the scope of an investigation centered in Eskişehir.

Çanakkale

In house raids carried out in Çanakkale, 11 young people, including DEM Party Gökçeada District co-chair Bedirhan Şeker and party executive Savaş Sarıbulak were taken into custody.

Batman

Journalist Mehmet Uçar was detained in a house raid carried out in Batman.

Mardin

In house raids in the Artuklu district of Mardin, 5 relatives, Mehmet Şimdi (40), Mehmet Şimdi (22), Mehmet Nur Şimdi (22), Medine Şimdi (20) and Roni Şimdi (17) as well as Hevidar Taş, Serhat Aktaş, Arif Elban and Arife Elban were taken into custody. The detainees were taken to the Provincial Police Department. It was stated that the detentions were made on the grounds of trustee protests.

Şirnak

A large number of people were detained in house raids in the Cizre (Cizîr) district of Şirnak.

Urfa

Four people were taken into custody in house raids conducted throughout Urfa (Riha). Former DEM Party Karaköprü District co-chair Ulaş Çoban, Kubilay Yıldız, Ayfer Haykır and Mehmet Demir were detained.

It was learned that the mother of H.A., who had a detention warrant, was beaten in a house raid conducted in the rural Atgûden neighborhood of Hewag (Bozova).

The detained individuals were taken to the Provincial Police Department.

Dersim

Four people were detained in house raids in Dersim. The names of those taken into custody are as follows: Şiyar Ataş, Veli Akyol, Aynur Can, SES Dersim member Enes Boran.

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Journalist Havin Derya taken into custody

ANF | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

The number of journalists detained as part of an investigation launched in Eskişehir has increased to 9.

It was reported that journalist Havin Derya was taken into custody in Antalya and taken to Eskişehir, where the investigation is ongoing.

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Number of people taken into custody in Şırnak increases to 23

ANF | ŞIRNAK | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Provincial Assembly member Müzeyyen Inan and 2 people whose names could not be learned were taken into custody following house raids carried out in the town of Ereban (Karalar) in Idil (Hezex), in the province of Şırnak.

The three people detained were taken to the Provincial Police Department.

20 people were also taken into custody in house raids carried out throughout Şırnak on Tuesday. Some of the people detained are: Zinar Elinç (17), Halil Kızılcın, Ömer Basan, Amed Sevim, Kadri İrtegun, Salih Urgan, Hakkı Belge and Nizar Akbaş. With the last three arrests, 23 people are now under custody.



Journalists and writers taken into custody in Amed appear in court

ANF | AMED | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

Journalists and writers detained in the police operations carried out in Amed within the scope of the investigation launched by the Eskişehir Chief Public Prosecutor's Office were referred to court. Journalists and writers whose statements were taken at the Diyarbakır Provincial Police Department on Wednesday upon the instructions of the Eskişehir Chief Public Prosecutor's Office were referred to the Diyarbakır Courthouse on Thursday to give their statements to the prosecutor's office.

The prosecutor conducting the investigation will take the statements of the journalists and writers via the Audio and Visual Information System (SEGBIS).

The names referred to Diyarbakır Courthouse are as follows: "Mesopotamia Women Journalists Association (MKG) President Roza Metina, director Ardin Diren, caricaturist Doğan Güzel, poet and writer Ahmet Hicri İzgören, journalist Ahmet Sümbül, writer and translator Ömer Barası, photographer Emrah Kelekçier and Figen Mamedoğlu Alp."

Bilal Seçkin and Berfin Atlı were taken to Eskişehir Courthouse to give their statements to the prosecutor. It is expected that the statements of journalists Erdoğan Alayumat, Suzan Demir and Tuğçe Yılmaz will be completed during the day and referred to the prosecutor.



21 politicians sentenced to over 6 years in prison each

ANF | ISTANBUL | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

The final hearing of the lawsuit filed against 38 people, including the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar and 78'ers Initiative Spokesperson Celalettin Can, members and executives of the Peoples' Democratic Congress (HDK), Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) and Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (HDP), was held in Istanbul on Thursday. The defendants are accused 'being members of an illegal organisation' and 'making propaganda for an illegal organisation'.

Some of the defendants and their lawyers attended the final hearing at the 28th High Criminal Court in Çağlayan district.

The prosecution repeated its final opinion for 35 defendants to be sentenced and 3 others to be acquitted on the mentioned charges.

Meral Hanbayat, the lawyer of DBP Co-Chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar, stated that her client is an MP for the DEM Party in Istanbul and has legislative immunity, asking for a stay of proceedings.

The court decided to suspend the trial of DBP Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar and sentenced 21 people including 78'liler Initiative spokesperson Celalettin Can and DEM Party Central Executive Board (MYK) member Elif Bulut to 6 years and 3 months each for “being an illegal organisation member”. The court sentenced 3 people, including DEM Party Istanbul Co-Chair Gonca Yangöz, to 1 year and 3 months each for ‘making propaganda for an illegal organisation’ and acquitted 13 people.

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Nine writers and journalists released

ANF | AMED | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

The statements of most of the journalists and writers who were taken into custody in house raids conducted in Amed and other cities as part of the investigation launched by the Eskişehir Public Prosecutor's Office have been completed.

Mesopotamia Women Journalists Association (MKG) chair Roza Metina, caricaturist Doğan Güzel, writer-translator Ömer Barasi and Berfin Atlı were referred to the judge with a request for judicial control. The request was accepted.

Director Ardin Diren, academic Abdurrahman Aydın, poet-writer Ahmet Hicri İzgören, photographer Emrah Kelekçiler and journalist Ahmet Sünbül were referred to the judge with a request for arrest. They were also released.

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Two journalists remanded in custody

ANF | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

231 people were taken into custody in simultaneous operations across Turkey on Tuesday. In addition to local politicians, human rights activists, trade union members and activists, the detainees also included a number of media workers and intellectuals, who are accused of having links to the PKK.

The writers and journalists detained in the operations in several cities included Erdoğan Alayumat (journalist), Tuğçe Yılmaz (journalist), Bilge Aksu (journalist), Ahmet Sünbül (journalist), Roza Metina (Mesopotamia Women Journalists Association (MKG) President), Bilal Seçkin (journalist), Mehmet Ücar (journalist), Suzan Demir (journalist), Ardin Diren (translator-director), Doğan Güzel (cartoonist), Hicri İzgören (writer), Ömer Barasi (translator-writer), Suzan Demir (journalist) and Baver Yoldaş (publishing house coordinator).

While some of the journalists and writers detained within the scope of the investigation launched by the Eskişehir Chief Public Prosecutor's Office were referred to the Diyarbakır Courthouse on Thursday to give their statements to the prosecutor's office, others were taken to Eskişehir Courthouse to give their statements.

Mesopotamia Women Journalists Association (MKG) chair Roza Metina, caricaturist Doğan Güzel, writer-translator Ömer Barasi and Berfin Atlı were released on condition of judicial control. Director Ardin Diren, academic Abdurrahman Aydın, poet-writer Ahmet Hicri İzgören, photographer Emrah Kelekçiler and journalist Ahmet Sünbül were referred to the judge with a request for arrest. They were also released.

Five journalists who were taken to Eskişehir were referred to the court with a request for arrest earlier today. While Bilge Aksu and Mehmet Uçar were remanded in custody, Serap Güneş, Erdoğan Alayumat and Tuğçe Yılmaz were released on judicial control conditions.

Journalists Bilal Seçkin, Suzan Demir and Havin Derya, who were also referred to court on a judicial control request, were released on judicial control conditions.



Trustees and resistance of people

Dersim co-mayor Orhan calls on people to resist the usurpation of municipality

ANF | DERSİM | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

The Dersim municipality, governed by the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) and Pulur (Ovacık) governed by the Republican People's Party (CHP) were usurped by the government through the appointment of trustees.

Addressing those waiting in front of the municipality, Dersim Municipality co-mayor Birsen Orhan, pointed to the police and said: "These are invaders! Just as they occupied Dersim in 1938, they have occupied our municipalities today. Come with us, let's fight together. Come, stand up to them, let's fight together."

The people of Dersim flocked to the front of the municipality building. The people, who pressed on the police barricades, chanted the slogans, "Get out of Dersim, occupying forces."

Speaking here, Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Dersim MP Ayten Kordu reacted by saying: "A trustee was appointed to the municipality against the will of the people. We will not accept the trustee. We will never bow down, we will not swear allegiance."

The people continue to gather in front of the municipality with slogans such as "We will win by resisting."



Dersim Municipality turned into a police station

ANF | DERSİM | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

On Friday night, the Dersim Municipality, governed by the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) and the Pulur (Ovacık) Municipality, governed by the CHP, were taken over by the government that ignored the will of the people.

The first action of the governor, Bülent Tekbıyıkoglu, who was appointed as trustee to Dersim Municipality, was to cordon off the municipality with concrete barriers in the early hours of the morning.

The Municipality has virtually been turned into a police station.

A new protest will be held in the city today with the participation of the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) co-chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar, the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) co-chair Tülay Hatimoğulları and other members of parliament.



DEM Party protests usurpation of Dersim and Ovacık municipalities

ANF | ANKARA | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

The DEM Party Central Executive Board (MYK) issued a written statement against the usurpation of Dersim and Ovacık municipalities.

The statement said: "The AKP government has once again confirmed its coup mentality against the will of the people by appointing trustees to Dersim and Ovacık municipalities. These trustee appointments are not only the usurpation of municipalities; they are a clear attack on the history, culture and values of the people. This intervention against a city like Dersim, a symbol of resistance and honor, is a futile imposition of surrender against the will of the people. However, history is a witness that Dersim will not bow down and surrender to tyranny."

The statement continued: "The removal of the freely elected representatives of the people is a usurpation of democratic politics. Trying to govern Dersim with trustees is an expression of fear against the people having their say. Neither Dersim nor other cities can be governed by trustees.

We hereby declare once more that the trustees will go, the will of the people will remain. We call on all democratic forces to stand up together against this coup and usurpation of will. We will not get used to it, and you will never get our people used to accepting this oppression."

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DBP calls on everyone to support the elected representatives of the people in usurped municipalities

ANF | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

A written statement was made by the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Central Executive Board (MYK) against the usurpation of Dersim and Pulur (Ovacık) municipalities. The statement said: "We do not recognize any decision that ignores the will of the people. We don't recognize the politics of trustees."

The statement added: "The AKP-MHP government, which has deepened its hostility towards the Kurdish people, continues to insist on ignoring the will of the people. The AKP-MHP government, which usurped the municipalities of Dersim and Pulur with trustees after usurping Mardin Metropolitan Municipality, Hakkari, Batman, Halfeti and Esenyurt, has once again directly targeted the will of the people and democratic values."

'The government has no legitimacy in the eyes of the people'

The statement continued: "We know very well that the trustee decision is intended to punish Dersim's multicultural and multilingual understanding of life, religious values and historical memory. The will of the people of Dersim, who was massacred by bloody policies in the first century of the Republic, is being targeted in the same way by trustee policies in the second century. This decision also targets the component and alliance law that was implemented in Dersim based on the will of the people and defends the future of democracy and freedoms. The attempt to punish Dersim, whose history is full of resistance against oppression and tyranny and has never bowed down, with these methods and targeting its choices will not yield results today as it did in the past. The AKP-MHP government, which is trying to extend its political life through usurpation of will, has no legitimacy in the eyes of the people."

The statement underlined that "the trustee regime, which also targets our co-presidency system, is also the enemy of women's gains. We will continue to vitalize our democratic ecological women's liberation management approach with our 'Jin, jîyan, Azadî' philosophy. Trustee policies are a political coup, and we will not recognize those who ignore the will of the people. What is essential for us is the will of the people, and we will continue our democratic struggle against every understanding that opposes this will. In this context, we call on all our people and democratic mass organizations to support the elected representatives of

the people for the future of democracy and freedoms. If there is a power that will determine the future of Dersim, it is the will of the people of Dersim!"

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People resist the police attempting to detain Co-Mayor Birsen Orhan in Dersim

ANF | DERSIM | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

On Friday, November 22nd, the AKP-MHP regime usurped the municipality of Dersim under the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) by appointing a trustee in the place of the democratically elected co-mayors, Cevdet Konak and Birsen Orhan. Both mayors were then removed from office and replaced by a trustee, Tunceli Governor Bülent Tekbıyıkoglu, following an instruction from the Ministry of Interior.

Masses gathered in the city center today and protested the usurpation of the municipality. As protests continued, Co-Mayor Birsen Orhan was intercepted by the police while on her way home on Sanat Street in the city centre. The police attempted to detain Orhan on the pretext of taking her statement.

People holding a vigil at the Seyit Rıza Square moved to Sanat Street and resisted the police who were then forced to set the co-mayor free.

Afterwards, the people marched again to Seyit Rıza Square with slogans and applause, chanting the slogans 'Dersim, claim your honour' and 'Kurdistan will be the grave of fascism'.

Co-mayor Birsen Orhan also came to Seyit Rıza Square and said, "The police summoned me to testify. If they happen to detain me, you should continue the struggle."

According to reports, Birsen Orhan will give a statement to the police together with her lawyer. The people's vigil in Seyit Rıza Square continues.

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31 bar associations call for respect for the will of the electorate and the rule of law

ANF | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

31 bar associations made a joint statement against the usurpation of Dersim and Ovacık municipalities through the removal of the democratically elected mayors and appointment of trustees in their places.

The written statement titled ‘We do not accept the trustee regime’ includes the following:

“We have learnt that trustees have been appointed to the municipalities of Dersim and Ovacık after the unlawful decision to appoint trustees to the municipalities of Hakkari, Esenyurt, Mardin, Batman and Halfeti. The principle of a democratic state of law includes the obligation to protect fundamental rights and freedoms. The right to elect and be elected, which is guaranteed by Article 67 of the Constitution, is the most fundamental element of a democratic society and is also the expression of a fundamental right. Even if there is a legal problem with the mayors elected as a result of the exercise of the right to vote, the method to be applied is to resolve this problem through an election mechanism among the members of the municipal council.

The trustee practice, in which the presumption of innocence is violated and the will of the voters is ignored, is clearly and multifacetedly in violation of the Constitution and international conventions to which Turkey is a party. This practice, which has undoubtedly turned into an administrative regime, produces no result other than causing severe damage to Turkey's democracy, maltreating the faith of voters and weakening confidence in the law. The trustee practice, a remnant of the state of emergency rule, has no legal and social legitimacy. As the undersigned bar associations, we resolutely emphasise our opposition to the trustee regime and call for an immediate reversal of this unlawful decision that usurps the will of the people and respect for the will of the electorate and the rule of law.”

The signatory bar associations are as follows: Adıyaman, Ağrı, Antalya, Balıkesir, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Burdur, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, Antep, Hakkari, Iğdır, İzmir, Kars, Kocaeli, Manisa, Mardin, Mersin, Muğla, Muş, Sakarya, Siirt, Şırnak, Urfa, Tekirdağ, Trabzon, Dersim, Van, Zonguldak.



Konak: We won't surrender our will to occupying forces disregarding people's sovereignty

ANF | DERSİM | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

The people of Dersim took to the streets following the seizure of Dersim Municipality, governed by the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party), and Pulur (Ovacık) Municipality, governed by the Republican People's Party (CHP), on the night of 22 November.

As protests continue, many politicians, parties, and activists have called for resistance against this trustee coup.

Speaking to ANF, Dersim co-mayor Cevdet Konak said: "On 20 November, a highly accelerated political decision was taken. They usurped the sovereignty of Dersim and Ovacık. They sentenced us to 6 years and 3 months on charges of 'membership in an illegal organization.' Dersim is familiar with these occupations; for over a century, throughout the history of the Republic, Dersim and Kurdistan have experienced the consequences of such occupations. At the same time, Dersim knows very well the tradition of resisting

these attacks. In this context, we have been fulfilling our duties and standing with our people for the past 7 months.

We are in the streets, neighborhoods, and squares, fighting to uphold our values and the historical responsibilities entrusted to us. On the evening of 22 November, they surrounded Dersim Municipality in a manner reminiscent of the oppression of the 12 September [military coup] and the 1990s."

"We will not surrender our sovereignty to the occupying forces"

Konak underlined the Dersim people's determined resistance against the usurpation of their sovereignty, and added: "The people of Dersim have shown immense resistance in every neighborhood. The people of Dersim, who resisted in every street and square, were confronted by soldiers and police trying to intimidate them using their weapons. Let them know this very well: we will never surrender our will to the occupying forces. The people of Dersim are fully aware of the harm these forces have inflicted. This usurpation of sovereignty will never be tolerated. With our dances, our songs, and our slogans, we will continue our fight against the AKP-MHP fascism and their colonial governor to the very end."

"If this is a crime, I will continue to commit it tomorrow"

Calling on the peoples of Kurdistan and Turkey to join the struggle, Konak continued: "We say to all the friends of Dersim: this is the land where Deniz Gezmiş, Mahir Çayan, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, Mazlum Doğan, Sakine Cansız, Aysel Doğan, and their comrades were buried. For this reason, everyone must protect this land, this soil, this municipality, and its sovereignty. A mayor's duty is not only to clean the streets. A mayor always stands with the people. We have attended the funerals of our people's loved ones, protested the construction of dams and hydroelectric plants. They said these actions were crimes. I will continue to commit these so-called crimes today and tomorrow. We call on all our friends to stand with Dersim."



Women march in Dersim in protest at the trustees: Resistance will continue

ANF | DERSİM | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

On 22 November, the AKP-MHP regime usurped the municipality of Dersim under the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) by appointing a trustee in the place of the democratically elected co-mayors, Cevdet Konak and Birsen Orhan. Both mayors were then removed from office and replaced by a trustee, Tunceli Governor Bülent Tekbıyıkoglu, following an instruction from the Ministry of Interior.

Dersim Women's Platform organised a march from Sanat Street to Seyit Rıza Square in the city centre on Sunday in protest at the usurpation of the municipality. Among the participants were the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar, DEM Party Group Deputy Chair Gülistan Kılıç Koçyiğit, Van Metropolitan Municipality Co-Mayor Neslihan Şedal.

Speaking on behalf of the protesting women who stopped in front of the blockaded municipality, DEM Party Group Deputy Chairperson Gülistan Kılıç Koçyiğit condemned attempts to usurp the will of the people and underlined that the people of Dersim have never compromised on their stance but defended their identity and essence as they have faced many tyrants throughout history.

Gülistan Kılıç Koçyiğit continued: “Dersim buried 70 thousand shroudless people in 1938. The rulers of this country do not want to give up oppression. The mentality responsible for what happened in 1938 is the same as the mentality that appoints trustees all over Kurdistan today. We are faced with a government that ignores Kurds, Alevi and women, and in a real sense operates the enemy law. We have never stepped back against this power. They have been usurping our will for 3 terms now. In response, our people put forward their will every time.”

Referring to the resistance of the people against the usurpation of their municipality, Koçyiğit said, “The trustee had the municipality surrounded with concrete barriers. Why? Because he knows he is not legitimate, the people do not want him, he is a thief. The people of Dersim do not consent. Those who are not legitimate, who usurp the will of the people can only sit behind concrete barriers. As long as we exist in this country, as long as those who want democracy, the Kurdish people, women and the oppressed exist, we will put the biggest set in front of this oppression by the AKP.”

Stressing that everyone from Dersim would stand against this oppression, Koçyiğit saluted the resistance and said, “We will win, our people, Dersim, Kurdistan and Turkey will win. Let no one have any doubt. We will build a country where we will live with equality, freedom, democracy and peace. We struggle for this.”

After Gülistan Kılıç Koçyiğit's speech, the crowd continued to march to Seyit Rıza Square.

Speaking at Seyit Rıza Square, politician Sebahat Tuncel highlighted women's objection to the usurpation of the municipality and said: “The usurpation of the people's will is the greatest crime against humanity. This is not only a matter of Dersim, Kurds and Mardin. We will protect our municipalities. Dersim is a history of pain and resistance. It is the history of oppression and opposition to oppression. Tunceli is the name of the operation against the city in 1938. It is not that we do not know history. They want to make us forget our history and leave us rootless. The reason why the Kurdish question is not solved today is the policy of denial, annihilation and assimilation. We want to live with our own language and identity. Dersim is the city of Alevi, Kurds and socialists. As women, we say enough is enough. We will not submit to political, physical or economic violence. We will build an equal, free and democratic life together. Each time we respond to the trustee mentality, we get stronger.”

Sevda Karaca, EMEK Party MP for Antep, said, “We resist every day so that there will be a future in this country. We resist against the trustee violence of the AKP government. The women of Dersim know well what a trustee means. ‘Woman, life, freedom’ (Jin, Jiyan, Azadi) is the truth of our lives. Let our anger be the fearful dream of the trustee.”

Sevgi Yılmaz, Secretary General of the Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions (KESK), referred to the attacks on Palestine and said, “Like our sisters resisting in Palestine, we will raise the resistance of our sisters against the trustee in Dersim. Where is Gülistan Doku? Who killed Narin Güran? We are in a country where this is still not explained. We will continue to resist.”

Democratic Alevi Associations (DAD) Co-Chair Kadriye Doğan saluted the Dersim resistance and stated the following as she addressed the government: “You will be defeated in Dersim as you repeat the shame and cruelty of the past. Were you able to bring those people to their knees? You could not and cannot bring them to their knees. You will be buried behind your walls. Women will have the last word in the 21st century. We will win. Those who resist will win.”

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Co-mayor of Dersim placed under house arrest

ANF | DERSİM | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

On Friday, November 22nd, the AKP-MHP regime usurped the municipality of Dersim under the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) by appointing a trustee in the place of the democratically elected co-mayors, Cevdet Konak and Birsen Orhan. Both mayors were then removed from office and replaced by a trustee, Tunceli Governor Bülent Tekbıyıkoglu, following an instruction from the Ministry of Interior. The reason given for the usurpation is a not yet legally binding prison sentence against Dersim co-mayor Cevdet Konak for alleged membership of a ‘terrorist organisation’.

Co-mayor Birsen Orhan has been placed under house arrest and banned from leaving the country. The Kurdish politician for the DEM Party is accused of inciting the people and insulting public officials, as her lawyers announced after the decision of a court of emergency on Sunday evening.

Orhan went to the police headquarters on Sunday to give a statement as an accused. She was first referred to a court, then to Tunceli Criminal Judicature of Peace on Duty with a demand for her arrest on the charges of ‘inciting people to hatred and hostility’ and ‘insulting a public officer’. After testifying to the judge, she was released in the evening on condition of judicial control and placed under house arrest with a ban on leaving the country. The accusations against Birsen Orhan relate to statements she made against the appointment of a trustee to Dersim Municipality.

Birsen Orhan had called the trustee appointment ‘occupation’ at a protest rally and called the governor an ‘instrument of occupation’. She criticised the court ruling against Konak as politically motivated and the result of a politicised judiciary that plays into the hands of the AKP government of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in his campaign against his opponents. According to her lawyers, it is still unclear whether and when charges will be filed.

On Friday, the mayor of the CHP-governed district of Ovacık, Mustafa Sarıgül, was dismissed along with Cevdet Konak and replaced by an AKP official. Sarıgül was on trial in the same case as Konak and, like his counterpart, was sentenced to more than six years in prison. The verdict in the trial, which has been going on for ten years, was unexpected on Wednesday, with the defendants not being given any opportunity to defend themselves. The DEM Party and the CHP accuse Erdoğan of having predetermined the verdict.

With the depositions in Dersim, the number of municipalities usurped in Turkey since October has risen to seven. The DEM Party mayors of the cities of Batman, Mardin and Halfeti and the CHP mayor of Esenyurt, the most populous district of Istanbul, had been removed from office at the beginning of Novem-

ber and the end of October, and their colleague in Hakkari as early as June, also on charges of alleged 'terrorism'.

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ÖHD: 261 people taken into custody after appointment of trustees in Mardin, Batman and Halfeti

ANF | AMED | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

The Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD) announced the report it prepared regarding the usurpation of Mardin (Mêrdin) Metropolitan Municipality, Batman (Êlih) and Halfeti (Xelfetî) municipalities. ÖHD co-chair Ekin Yeter and many people attended the meeting held at the ÖHD building in Amed.

The 130-page report was read by ÖHD General Directorate member Muhittin Muğuş, and included the rights violations committed by the police against the protests that took place between 4 and 13 November 2024.

Muğuş spoke about the debts left by the trustees appointed to municipalities for 3 terms, the bans, and the pressures on the Kurdish language and culture, and added that 147 municipalities belonging to the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), Democratic Regions Party (DBP) and DEM Party have been usurped since 2016, and that DBP, HDP and DEM Party executives were taken into custody and arrested after the appointment of trustees.

Muğuş noted that 95 trustees were appointed to DBP municipalities, 48 to HDP municipalities, 5 to DEM Party municipalities, 2 to AKP municipalities, and 1 each to MHP and CHP municipalities. He noted that after the 2024 local elections, 5 municipalities, 1 of which a metropolitan municipality, were taken over by the government, and added that after the appointment of a trustess, Hakkari (Colemêrg) Municipality co-mayor Mehmet Sıddık Akış and Esenyurt mayor Ahmet Özer were arrested. Drawing attention to the fact that the Ministry of Interior appointed trustees for the 3rd time to Batman and Mardin and for the 2nd time to Halfeti, Muğuş noted that a total of 105 council members were dismissed from their duties.

'The people's right to vote was violated'

Muğuş said that the right to vote of over 880 thousand voters was violated, and 105 councils ended their duties, and added that the total debt to the 3 municipalities from the previous term was around 8 billion 400 million TL. Reminding that a 10-day ban on protests was imposed after the usurpation, Muğuş stated that meetings and demonstrations were attacked in many places, and that pepper spray, plastic bullets, pressurized water, handcuffing people behind their back, playing nationalist songs, not giving food and water as well as physical force was used in these attacks.

Detention, arrest and torture

Muğuş stated that 215 people were detained in Batman, 37 of them were sent to prison, 115 people were released on condition of judicial control (house arrest for 5 people). He reported that 16 people were detained in Halfeti, 10 people, including a child, were sent to prison, and 6 people were released on probation. Muğuş noted that 10 out of 30 people detained in Mardin were sent to prison, and 13 people were released on probation.

Muğuş also noted that 57 out of a total of 261 people taken into custody were sent to prison.

Muğuş said that an investigation has been launched into a total of 217 social media accounts protesting the appointment of trustees.

Muğuş said: "As a result of the appointment of trustees to municipalities and the dissolution of the municipal councils, which are the 'decision-making body of the municipality', the minimum democratic basis for the participation of the people/citizens in the administration has been eliminated. The principle that municipalities should be 'administered by an elected municipal administration and municipal council' has been suspended. With the appointment of trustees, the right to vote and be elected, which is an indispensable element of a democratic society, has been suspended. In the provinces where Kurds predominantly live, the practice of appointing trustees has become a common practice, justified by the concept of 'terrorism'. The removal of co-mayors from office without concrete justification is a violation of guaranteed rights."



Co-mayors prevented from entering the municipality of Batman

ANF | BATMAN | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

The municipalities of Batman, Mardin and Halfeti, which were won by the DEM Party in the local elections of 31 March this year, were usurped on 4 November through the removal of the democratically elected co-mayors by the Ministry of Interior and appointment of trustees in their places.

Batman Governor Ekrem Canalp, who was appointed a trustee to replace the deposed co-mayors Gülistan Sönük and Yeşil Işık, had a poster reading 'One state, one flag, one nation, one homeland' hung at the entrance of the municipality.

The usurper Canalp, who had the municipality surrounded with police barriers, assigned a large number of police officers from Batman Provincial Security Directorate to 'take security measures' inside the municipality.

In the municipality building, which is besieged by the police and monitored by helicopter at night, the usurper Canalp had the X-Ray device, which had been removed by co-mayors Gülistan Sönük and Yeşil Işık, reinstalled. The usurper also reintroduced the practice of body search and X-Ray scanning of people entering the municipality.

The police prevented the unlawfully removed co-mayors Gülistan Sönük and Yeşil Işık and municipal council members from entering the municipality. The group was stopped 100 metres before the municipality building and then blockaded by the police.

The group protested the blockade with the slogans 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî' (Woman, Life, Freedom) and 'Bijî berxwedana Batmanê' (Long Live the Resistance of Batman), DEM Party Batman Provincial Co-Chair Mustafa Mesut Tekik said, "We see the trustees as an attack on the will of the people. We do not accept this. Our struggle will continue until those elected are reinstated."



Co-mayor of Bahçesaray sentenced to three years and eleven months in prison

ANF | VAN | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

After the DEM party's landslide victory in the local elections on 31 March 2024 in North Kurdistan, the state is looking for reasons to depose co-mayors and replace them with trustees. To do this, long-delayed files are being brought out of the basements of the judiciary. Another such case seems to be happening in Bahçesaray (Miks) in the northern Kurdish province of Van. There, after nine years of protracted proceedings, the city's co-mayor, Ayvaz Hazır (DEM party), was sentenced to three years and eleven months in prison under the politically charges of "membership in a terrorist organization" and "committing crimes in the name of a terrorist organization."

On 24 December 2015, a complaint was filed against Hazır for participating in a protest in 2015. The 4th High Criminal Court of Van passed its verdict on Thursday in the case involving 15 defendants. Now the appointment of a receiver is also looming in Bahçesaray.

In a similar way, receivers were appointed in Cölemêrg (Hakkari) immediately after the elections and in Dersim last Friday. At the moment, Êlih (Batman, run by the DEM Party), Mêrdin (Mardin, run by the DEM Party), Xelfetî (Halfeti, run by the DEM Party), Cölemêrg (run by the DEM Party), Dersim (Tunceli, run by the DEM Party), Pulur (Ovacık, run by the CHP) and Esenyurt (run by the CHP) have been appointed trustees.



DEM Party-CHP meeting marked by messages for a ‘solution’

ANF | ANKARA | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) co-chairs Tülay Hatimoğulları and Tuncer Bakırhan met with Republican People's Party (CHP) Chairman Özgür Özel in Ankara on Friday.

After the meeting, a joint press conference was held at the CHP Headquarters where the meeting took place.

Speaking here, Bakırhan stated that the CHP is the founding party of Turkey and a party with a very deep-rooted history, tradition and heritage: “Turks, Kurds and other peoples made great efforts, fought great struggles and formed an alliance in the founding of the Republic of Turkey. The 1920 Parliamentary Assembly was already diverse, reflecting this alliance. It included all the colors. The 1921 Constitution was also in line with this historical alliance. But over time, both that constituent assembly, the historical Kurdish-Turkish alliance and the inclusive understanding in the 1921 Constitution were denied and rejected. The problem has come to the present day, but no one has benefited. Both the economy and energy of the country are flowing into other channels due to the Kurdish issue that has not been resolved for a century.”

Bakırhan continued: “The CHP can play a very important role in a solution to the Kurdish issue not only by speaking and contributing, but also through its past experience and knowledge. We are sure it will. Today, we focused on how we can increase the common grounds, what we can do for the democratization of Turkey, what we can do for the formation of a democratic ground together with the circles both in the opposition and in the social opposition. It was valuable and important. Another agenda was the appointment of trustees to municipalities. Trusteeship is slowly moving towards an administrative regime in Turkey. Previously, trustees were appointed only to DEM Party municipalities, now trustees are being appointed to CHP municipalities as well.”

Özgür Özel also spoke out against the usurpation of municipalities through the appointment of trustees by the government.

Özel said: “I express this once again; we think that a process based on transparent and sincere social consensus should be carried out, that this should be done in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and that it should not exclude any party, any segment of society. In the construction of a social consensus, the most vulnerable segments of society should be taken into consideration.

Should the process be sincere and transparent, Turkey as one and as a whole can transform a process that it has not been able to solve for 40 years and that has cost Turkey a lot, that has caused us all a lot of pain, both morally and materially, into a social peace process with a social consensus. This would benefit everyone in Turkey. It would save Turkey from many risks in the region in which it finds itself in international relations. In this respect, nothing has changed in our stance on the first day. We want a country where everyone resident feels equal, sees themselves as equal and lives equally within this equality. We are ready to take all steps for this.

I hope that we would like to live together in a process where all political parties can establish dialogue with each other on appropriate grounds, where no one marginalizes or demonizes anyone else, and where the word has value.”

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Protest in Mardin: Resistance against trustees will continue

ANF | MARDIN | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

People's resistance against the usurpation of municipalities continues in Mardin. The protesters gathered at the entrance of İstasyon neighbourhood and held a banner reading ‘Trustee is a coup, don't touch my will’. The Peoples’ Democratic Congress (HDK) Co-spokesperson Ali Kenanoğlu, Peoples’ Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) MPs Saliha Aydeniz and Beritan Güneş Altın participated in the demonstration on Friday.

Speaking here, Devrim Demir, elected co-mayor of Mardin Metropolitan Municipality, pointed out that the people have been struggling against the usurpation of their will since the removal of the democratically elected co-mayors. Stressing that they would not surrender their will, Devrim Demir said, “Those who usurped our will today should know well that we did not and will not accept this. We continued our work among our people and will continue to do so. We will not bow to this policy that does not recognise our will and our identity. We will continue our work in alternative ways among our people and grow our organisation.”

Speaking after, HDK Co-spokesperson Ali Kenanoğlu pointed out that the trustee policy suspended democracy. Underlining that the government wants to design the country with the desire for a one-man regime, Kenanoğlu noted that the political will of the Kurdish people was targeted. He continued: “In the whole Kurdistan geography, we have seen that the trustees have imprisoned themselves. The people are free and they are in prison. They cannot go out from behind concrete and iron barriers because they know that what they do is not legitimate and not in favour of the people.”

Stating that the trustees were condemned by the people, Kenanoğlu said, ‘Gold in jewellery shops, baklavas... The west recognised the trustee with those photos. They did not know what a trustee was in the western part of the country. They got to know the trustees when this theft and investigations, accusations and dismissals were expanded to the west. With the usurpation of the Esenyurt Municipality, they also learned how this work was done by trickery.”

Drawing attention to the unrest and instability in the country, Kenanoğlu criticised the budget allocated for the war. He concluded: “There is no solution other than living together in a common homeland. Therefore, instead of daily operations in which politicians and artists are arrested, we need to think and put forward together how we can establish lasting peace in these lands.”

Kenanoğlu added that they will continue their struggle to frustrate the war and trustee policies of the government.



The municipality of Van's Bahçesaray district usurped by the AKP-MHP regime

ANF | VAN | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

After the DEM Party's landslide victory in the local elections on 31 March 2024 in North Kurdistan, the state is looking for reasons to depose co-mayors and replace them with trustees. To do this, long-delayed files are being brought out of the basements of the judiciary.

On Friday, the AKP-MHP regime usurped the municipality of Bahçesaray district in Van province after co-mayor Ayvaz Hazır was sentenced to 3 years and 11 months in prison for 'committing crime on behalf of an illegal organisation without being a member of an illegal organisation'.

According to reports, the democratically elected but unlawfully ousted co-mayors Ayvaz Hazır and Nebahat Benek were replaced by the district governor, Harun Arslanargun.

With the deposition in Bahçesaray, the number of municipalities usurped in Turkey has risen to eight.

The municipality of Hakkari was usurped by the government immediately after the local elections on 31 March.

Ahmet Özer, the CHP mayor of Esenyurt, the most populous district of Istanbul, was removed from office and imprisoned on 31 October. He was replaced by Istanbul Deputy Governor Can Aksoy.

The DEM Party municipalities of Batman, Mardin and Halfeti were usurped on 4 November.

On November 22, the municipality of Dersim under the DEM Party and the municipality of Ovacık district were usurped by the AKP-MHP regime by appointing trustees in the place of the democratically elected mayors who had been sentenced to prison two days ago. Dersim Co-Mayor Cevdet Konak and Ovacık Mayor Mustafa Sarıgül were sentenced to 6 years and 3 months imprisonment each in the lawsuit filed 10 years ago for alleged 'membership in an illegal organisation'.

On 25 November, Birsen Orhan, the deposed co-mayor of Dersim, was placed under house arrest and banned from leaving the country.



Criminalization of Kurds

British police raid the Kurdish Community Centre and patriots' houses in London

ANF | LONDON | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

In the morning, British police raided the London Kurdish Community Centre (KCC) and the homes of many Kurdish patriots and politicians.

According to reports, the doors of the houses were broken by the police with sledgehammers in the operations carried out by hundreds of police officers who searched the houses in detail.

While the searches at the Kurdish Community Centre in Haringey continued, the entrance and exits of the street where KCC is located were closed.

Police units also carried out searches in the houses of Kurdish patriots.

The co-chair of Kurdish People's Assembly (KHM) Trkan Budak, Assembly employee Ercan Akbal, Kurdish writer, politician Ali Poyraz and Kurdish People's Assembly Foreign Affairs Representative Agit Karataş have been detained so far.

During the raid in the house of KHM co-chair Trkan Budak, her brother Hayri Budak was injured while trying to prevent the police from breaking the door by force.

Ali Poyraz was detained with handcuffs behind his back, while the people in the house were forced to the ground and subjected to the harsh attitude of the police.

Kurdish People's Assembly Co-Chair Sait Suru called on all revolutionary patriotic and democratic groups to gather in front of the Kurdish Community Centre in Haringey.

— ★ —

Kurds terrorised by the British police in London resist

HIKMET ERDEN - NEJLA ARI | LONDON | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

The British police raided the London Kurdish Community Centre (KCC) and the homes of Kurdish patriots simultaneously in the morning hours. The Co-chair of the Kurdish People's Assembly (KHM) in Britain, Trkan Budak, Kurdish People's Assembly Foreign Affairs Representative Agit Karataş, Kurdish

politician and writer Ali Poyraz and young Kurdish activist Mazlum were taken into custody. A statement released by the London Anti-Terrorism Police claimed that the raids were directed against people and organisations with links to the PKK.

The attacks by the British police against Kurdish activists and organisations reached the level of torture.

The police raided the Kurdish Community Centre at around 03:00 at night, smashed all the doors with sledgehammers, forced those inside to the ground and used violence.

The police confiscated all technical and communication equipment and scattered everything in the KCC building under the pretext of 'search'.

A Kurdish patriot named Tayfur Özer was hospitalised after fainting due to the violence he suffered at the hands of the British police during the raid. KCC activist Hakan Nemir was also subjected to police violence and suffered bruises and swelling on his feet and face.

The police forced the people in the KCC building out and detained a young Kurdish activist named Mazlum. The police blockaded the whole street and confiscated many materials found inside the building without any supervision of lawyers.

It is reported that the police used the right of 'occupation' at both the Kurdish Community Centre building and the houses they raided for 9 days on the grounds of presence and investigation.

The operation of the British police was not limited to this. Violence was also used during the raids on the homes of the detainees. The police handcuffed the detained Kurdish activists behind their backs and applied psychological pressure on women and children.

While the police applied psychological violence to the 15-year-old child of detained Ali Poyraz, his wife Birsen Poyraz said that the practices of the British police were no different from the fascist practices of the Turkish state.

Speaking to ANF, Birsen Poyraz said, "This is persecution against the Kurdish people. This is torture. They put psychological pressure on my children. They carried out this raid while we were all asleep. We are people who have never even hurt an ant. This operation is directed against the Kurdish people. These people are not terrorists. The British state serves a fascist state. I call on the ruling Labour Party to put an end to this immorality."

It is reported that the house of KHM Co-Chair Türkan Budak was also stormed and her brother Hayri Budak was injured during the raid.

KCC activist Hakan Nemir stated that the police entered the building of the association by breaking the doors and said, "They started to attack us without any justification. We were injured in the process. This was torture. We are not terrorists. The terrorists are those who torture us in this way and oppress the Kurdish people who have fled fascism and taken refuge here."

A Kurdish patriot named Tayfur Özer, who was hospitalised after being beaten, condemned the police violence and said: “We came here because of persecution and fascism, but we realised that the British police are no different from the Turkish police. They started beating us as soon as we entered. I got bruises on my eyes and face as a result of the beating. I fainted due to the violence and I was hospitalized. This is cruelty to a people. This people is an honourable people. And we will never compromise our values. Shame on them; shame on their oppression.”

Upon hearing about the raids, Kurds and their friends started to gather in front of the Kurdish Community Centre in Haringey, chanting ‘Terrorist police’, ‘Shame on you’, ‘Bijl Serok Apo’ (Long Live Leader Öcalan).

Alevi and revolutionary organisations also joined the demonstration in front of the KCC building, chanting ‘PKK is the people, the people are here’ and ‘Down with fascism’.

Kurds also condemned the police and said, “We saved this world from barbarians like ISIS. We were good people while we were fighting and dying. We suffered 11 thousand martyrs for the honour of humanity. You, on the other hand, are raiding our institutions for the dishonourable fascist and ISIS-supporting Turkish state. You are shameless and immoral.”

Representatives of the Alevi Federation of Britain, Tohum Cultural Centre, DAY-MER, Gik-Der and many democratic mass organisations joined the protests in front of the association building. The British police also attacked the protests here. Targeting women and young people, the police used violence and detained many people. While the representatives of democratic mass organisations reacted to the harsh attitude of the police, the tension between the people and the police continues.

People living in the area of the Kurdish Community Centre building wrote ‘Free Kurdistan’ on the windows of their houses.

Internationalists also supported the protests in the Haringey area, while Kurds demanded that the police leave the building, the home of the Kurdish people, immediately.

People chanted ‘PKK is the people, the people are here’, ‘Biji Serok Apo’, ‘Shame on you’ and blocked the street from time to time.

While police helicopters constantly hovered around the building, the British police made a statement on its official website, claiming that the Kurdish Community Centre was associated with the PKK. It grabbed attention that the police distributed flyers, asking the community what they thought.

It is stated that the police prepared for the operation days before.

Providing information about the detentions, lawyer Ali Has stated that the operation was justified on the grounds of the ‘PKK’ but the police did not provide any information at the moment. He pointed out that this operation was based on the anti-terrorism law and that the current raids on Article 41, which states that raids are carried out on the grounds of suspicion of a crime without a court order. Ali Has said that the legal process has started, and the detention period may be extended by citing the anti-terrorism law.

The Democratic Forces Union in Britain also made a statement condemning the operation against the Kurdish people and institutions and announced that a big march will be organised tomorrow evening at 17:00 in front of Turnpike Line Station.

Exactly one year ago, on 27 November 2023, the Kurdish Community Centre (KCC) in Haringey was raided by police officers from the British Home Office. Activists filed a complaint against the raid, calling it 'unlawful'.



Kurds in London condemn attacks on Kurdish Community Centre

ANF | LONDON | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

On Wednesday, British police raided the London Kurdish Community Centre (KCC) and the homes of many Kurdish patriots and politicians.

The Kurdish Community in London issued a statement condemning the raid. The statement said: "In the early hours of Wednesday morning, the Kurdish Community Centre in London, UK, was raided by British police. Many patriots and politicians in London had their doors broken down, and arrests were carried out.

The Co-Chair of the British Kurdish People's Assembly, assembly workers, and politicians have been detained. During the raids, police used violence and detained individuals with hands cuffed behind their backs, displaying an aggressive attitude."

The statement added: "Patriots who were forced to migrate from Turkey to Europe due to the denial of the Kurdish people's right to live, exist, and engage in political activities, as well as the imposition of oppression and slavery, are now facing attacks and attempts to criminalise them in the UK.

We, the Kurdish community in London, strongly condemn the recent unjust and heavy-handed raid conducted by British police on our community spaces. This aggressive act is not only an attack on our people, but also an affront to the principles of democracy, justice, and human rights that the UK claims to uphold.

For decades, the Kurdish community has contributed to the cultural, social, and economic fabric of this city. We have peacefully advocated for our rights, supported democratic principles, and sought to highlight the injustices faced by Kurds around the world. The police's disproportionate use of force and targeting of our community undermines trust, fosters fear, and perpetuates the marginalisation of minority groups."

The statement continued: "We demand accountability for this raid and a clear explanation for the actions taken. We call for an independent investigation into the police's conduct and an end to the criminalisation

of our community. No community should live in fear of being targeted for their identity, heritage, or political beliefs.

Our community stands resilient in the face of this aggression. We will continue to advocate for justice, equality, and peace, and we urge human rights organisations to stand with us in solidarity during this troubling time.

We condemn these raids that took place in London. It is unacceptable for democratic community centres to be subjected to such actions without justification. We demand the immediate release of all detained patriots and politicians, including the Co-Chair of the British Kurdish People's Assembly."

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Lawyer Has: Police in London are posing as Turkish prosecutors

ANF | LONDON | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

The first day of interrogation of 7 Kurdish activists who were taken into custody in London in raids on the Kurdish Community Center and homes by the Anti-Terror Teams affiliated with the Metropolitan Police in England has ended.

The health conditions of Kurdish People's Assembly co-chair Türkan Budak, KHM employee Ercan Akbal, Kurdish politician and writer Ali Poyraz, Kurdish Foreign Relations Representative Agit K., Kurdish women activist Berfin K., Kurdish youth Mazlum S. and Doğan K., who were detained after their homes were broken with sledgehammers by police, are good.

British police detained the Kurdish activists on the basis of the Anti-Terror Law. Questions about the PKK were asked during the first day of questioning.

The lawyer of the Kurdish activists, Ali Has, said that no concrete evidence has been presented so far. He said that police put the Kurdish Community Center through the criminalization process with this operation, and added: "They divide the interrogation into several parts. General questions about the PKK; are you a member or a sympathizer? Clearly, they are trying to associate my clients with that organization. They have not presented anything concrete at the moment. This is pure criminalization."

They are trying to intimidate Kurdish society

Lawyer Has said that the Kurdish activists were asked questions like 'We think you are a terrorist. What do you think?'. He added: "The interrogations were not based on anything concrete. There are no complaints about my clients. These are predetermined names. They are all taken at the same time. Simultaneous raids are carried out. Normally, they would go at 7 in the morning. However, simultaneous raids are carried out at 03:00 at night. This is practically torture at that time of night."

Lawyer Has drew attention to the fact that the operation was prepared in advance, and added that, while the Kurdish centre was being raided, news of the raid was simultaneously served to all newspapers.

The lawyer said that the police were trying to turn a civilian institution into something criminal, and added: "What they are saying is, there is a picture of Abdullah Öcalan, there are pictures of martyrs... These alone are not elements of a crime. Moreover, the centre is private property."

Has drew attention to the fact that the police asked young activists Doğan K. and Mazlum S. about the political cases filed against them in Turkey, and said that, in fact, "police were posing as the Turkish prosecutor."

The lawyer added: "The police are trying to put the Kurdish Community Center in a difficult position, claiming that it is the headquarters of the PKK in England. And the reason for the arrest is Article 41. The National Security Act was passed in England in 2023. While that law was being passed, an addition was also made to the Terrorism Act. According to this article, the police are granted extensive powers and the right to question anyone without concrete evidence that they have committed any crime under the Terrorism Act. Currently, Kurdish activists have been detained based on this article."

Lawyer Has said: "The force used is disproportionate. They want to intimidate the Kurdish community here and create fear."



Resistance and celebration under police blockade in London

ANF | LONDON | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

Following simultaneous operations by the British police against Kurdish Community Centre (KCC) employees and Kurdish activists in London early Wednesday morning, the resistance continues. The co-chair of the Kurdish People's Assembly, Türkan Budak, Kurdish People's Assembly (KHM) employee Ercan Akbal, Kurdish politician and writer Ali Poyraz, Kurdish Foreign Relations Representative Agit K. Kurdish female activist Berfin K. Kurdish youngsters Mazlum S. and Doğan K., who were detained during raids where the doors of their houses were broken with sledgehammers, were questioned at the police station. Kurdish citizens are resisting on the street where the Kurdish Community Centre is located, occupied by the police following a raid.

The Kurds stated that the police occupation was realised at the request of the Turkish state and demanded that the British police give up their attack. The British police responded harshly to the demand and attempted to close the street where the KCC building is located with iron barriers. Kurds tried to prevent the police from setting up barriers. While the police attacked the people, many people, including women, were injured and two Kurdish women were hospitalised.

Those injured and beaten said, "We came here fleeing from the oppression of the Turkish state. Now we are facing the oppression of the British. They should be ashamed. They are doing this to us because the Turkish state wanted it."

While the police prevented people from approaching the KCC building, the searches by anti-terror teams continued throughout the day. The British intelligence officers, who covered their faces with black masks,

confiscated all technical equipment, flags and archives of the organisation. While the materials were being transported to the police headquarters in vans, Kurds protested against the vehicles of the intelligence agents by shouting 'Shame on you' and 'Immoral'.

Activists set up tents in front of the police barricade, singing songs reflecting the values of the Kurdish people. Internationalists also supported the demonstrators. British internationalists protesting the attack against the Kurdish people's institution in front of the police barricade emphasised that a historical shame was committed against a people who have been fighting against the barbaric ISIS gangs for the honour of the world.

Irish journalist Mark Campbell criticised the police and the British government and said that the PKK saved the honour of humanity in the Middle East. To Mark Campbell's question 'What is the PKK for you?' the people responded with the slogan 'PKK is the people, and the people are here'.

Masses in front of the Kurdish Community Centre resisted the police on one hand and celebrated the Resurrection Day (founding of the PKK on 27 November 1978) in the middle of the barricades, and danced to the songs of artists Mir Perwer and Merwan Şan. During the celebration in front of the police barriers, slogans such as 'PKK is the people, and the people are here', 'Down with fascism', 'Bijî serok Apo', 'Shame on you', 'Be serok jîyan nabe', 'Terrorist Turkish state' were frequently chanted. Democratic mass organisations also sent a message to the celebration, during which songs were played and sung together.

Speaking here, İshak Milani, Co-Chair of the London Kurdish People's Assembly, stated that the Kurdish people should protect their institution and said: "Today is the anniversary of the founding of the Kurdish freedom movement. We are celebrating the national resurrection festival, which was gifted to us, with enthusiasm in this environment of oppression and persecution. We are giving the following message; this people is right. You can never tear them away from their cause and values. We are an honourable people. We will never leave our comrades or our organisation alone. We protect our values. We follow the path shown to us by our martyrs. We walk on the path of the democratic ecological women's libertarian paradigm that Reber Apo has shown us. Bijî PKK, bijî Reber Apo!"

Seyit Suruç, Co-Chair of the Kurdish People's Assembly in Britain, said the following: "You are carrying out an operation against a people. You are organising an operation against our institutions and employees at the request of the Turkish state, which supports ISIS and has drenched the Middle East in blood. This is immoral and despicable. The British state thinks that they can intimidate us by raiding our organisations. We have been waging a breathless struggle for 47 years. Ask those who persecuted us. We have never kneeled down, never backed down. You cannot stop us with death, pressure and violence. Give up this dishonourable approach. And once again we say; Bijî Serok Apo, Bijî PKK!"

After the speeches, the people lit candles drawing the PKK flag because the flags and banners were seized. The crowd responded with applause, shouts and slogans.

In protest against the operations against Kurds, 6 people started a hunger strike. The hunger strikers continue their action in the tent set up on the street where the KCC building is located. Making a statement on behalf of the activists, Sara Devrim said, "We are resisting inside and outside. We will continue this action until this persecution stops, until our friends are released and the police leave the Kurdish institution."

Feryal Clark Demirci, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for AI and Digital Government, also expressed her concern about the raid on the Kurdish Community Centre on her social media account, saying that she was aware of the unrest it caused in society and that she had forwarded the issue to the relevant ministers.

In addition, the Migrant Workers Cultural Association (Gik-Der) called for participation in the resistance in front of the KCC building, condemned the attack and called for increasing solidarity.

In the meantime, the Democratic Union of Forces (DGB), which consists of Kurdish, Alevi, revolutionary, leftist and socialist organisations and local institutions in London, will stage a protest march today. The march to the blockaded KCC building at Turnpike Line Station will start at 17.00. DGB called for strong participation in the march.



Thousands of Kurds in London protest British police raid of Community Center

HIKMET ERDEN | LONDON | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

Thousands of Kurds marched to the Kurdish Community Center in the London borough of Haringey, after the raid by the British police. The march was organized by the Democratic Forces Union.

Following the simultaneous operation by the British police on 27 November against the London Kurdish Community Center and Kurdish activists, the protests initiated by the Kurds and their friends continue. The interrogation of the 7 Kurds taken into custody in the operation continues at the police station. It was reported that the British police applied to the court to extend the detention period of the Kurdish activists for another 7 days with a court order.

It was learned that the 6 Kurds taken into custody during the protests the day before were released, but they were banned from entering the Haringey area.

The police occupation of the Kurdish Community Center building continues.

The front of the KCC building continues to be closed with iron barricades. In addition to the barricade, hundreds of police are constantly on standby. It was also learned that the investigation of the anti-terror teams and intelligence officers in the KCC building continues.

While Kurds set up tents on the street where the occupied KCC building is located, a group of hunger strikers continue their protest opposite the police barricade.

Meanwhile, restaurants, cafés and markets in Haringey have closed their doors for several hours to protest the police occupation of the Kurdish Community Center. Hundreds of people have visited the tent where

the hunger strikers are located throughout the day, and tensions have frequently erupted between the police and the public.

Yusuf Açı on behalf of the United British Democratic Forces, said that dozens of British politicians, such as British Foreign Secretary David Lammy, have visited the Kurdish Community Center many times. "Those who come and ask for support from these institutions are raiding the KCC today. Then our duty is to defend our institutions without taking any steps back. This position is a position created by the Kurds. We will defend our position until the end. There is no stepping back an inch."



Jeremy Corbyn: Attack on the Kurdish Community Centre is an attack on us all

ANF | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

Following the simultaneous operation by the British police on 27 November against the London Kurdish Community Center and Kurdish activists, the protests initiated by the Kurds and their friends continue. The interrogation of the 7 Kurds taken into custody in the operation continues at the police station. It was reported that the British police applied to the court to extend the detention period of the Kurdish activists for another 7 days with a court order.

Jeremy Corbyn, former Labour Party leader and currently an Independent MP for Islington North in the British Parliament, made a statement on the operation against the Kurdish Community Centre and its employees.

The statement by Corbyn includes the following:

"I am deeply alarmed by the raid on the Kurdish Community Centre by large numbers of riot police.

The Centre is an important cultural space for the diverse and inclusive communities of North London. It provides support for refugees who have fled war and persecution, and a space for the Kurdish community to come together. Its services and classes are a lifeline for many.

Attacks on one community's institutions or its democratic freedoms is an attack on us all.

I am proud to represent a constituency with a vibrant Kurdish community. They have changed our part of London for the better – and their resolve is an inspiration to millions of us seeking to build a more just and peaceful world."



Interview

Kartal: We must increase resistance

ANF | 23 NOVEMBER 2024

In an interview with ANF, KONGRA-GEL co-chair Remzi Kartal described reports from the special warfare center claiming that Abdullah Öcalan is not being listened to by the Kurdish Freedom Movement as "utter lies."

Kartal said that the special warfare system is resorting to lies about alleged disagreements between the Kurdish Freedom Movement and Öcalan, adding: "This is completely false. It is part of the comprehensive attack policies conducted by the special warfare center."

Kartal underlined that the AKP-MHP government is in a deadlock militarily, politically, and economically, and called for resistance to grow in all areas.

Some special warfare sources are spreading reports on social media claiming that you have met with the Turkish state, allegedly with Öcalan participating via phone. What do you have to say about this?

As you mentioned, Turkish media circulated reports suggesting that we had a meeting with some AKP politicians at a hotel in Brussels. This is entirely false news, an utter fabrication. There has been no such meeting with the AKP or the Turkish state. In fact, there isn't even a dialogue going on. These reports are purely part of the manipulative misinformation campaigns orchestrated by the special warfare center to mislead the public."

"Targeting Kurdish politicians in Europe"

In response to the targeting of Kurdish politicians in Europe, especially through Turkish special warfare centers and media outlets, KONGRA-GEL co-chair Remzi Kartal said: "The purpose of these fabricated reports and of the so-called journalists affiliated with Turkish special warfare centers is to target Kurdish politicians living in Europe. Their aim is to put pressure on European countries and create a political clampdown. By naming specific individuals, they hope to achieve certain results in this regard. We are aware that such publications targeting Kurdish politicians - whether inside Turkey or abroad - have this underlying intention. However, the special warfare centers and the media operatives serving them will not succeed in this effort.

We want to make it absolutely clear to the public that they must remain vigilant. The democratic media should also expose and inform the public about these so-called journalists who serve the special warfare policies. This is an essential responsibility."

"Turkish special warfare efforts have intensified"

Kartal also highlighted that Turkish special warfare forces have increased their activities recently, employing all kinds of methods to separate the people from the struggle and to instill fear. He addressed the Kurdish people and democracy forces, and said: "It is critically important for our people and democracy advocates to correctly evaluate this process and fully understand the policies of the AKP-MHP government. The government's efforts to crush the struggle have completely failed.

Their policies have collapsed. Turkey is experiencing a severe economic crisis; they have achieved no military results and are in a deep political decline. In this context, they have launched one last extensive and widespread assault. Bahçeli (leader of the MHP) has been tasked with a mission by deep state forces, and this mission involves planning comprehensive attacks on all areas of struggle. Their aim is to conduct a broad offensive against the movement.

However, I want to clearly state that this plan will also fail. This phase - what we can call the final phase - is a collapse process for the AKP-MHP government. The developments in Turkey and the broader Middle East, with the emergence of a widespread war and the transformative dynamics of this period, will lead to significant changes. The resolution of the Kurdish issue and a new democratic process in the region will emerge as the AKP-MHP government collapses and fails in its efforts.

In this context, our people and democracy forces must not succumb to fatigue or disorganization due to these attacks. On the contrary, during this final phase, we must intensify our efforts to neutralize the AKP-MHP government. Against their attacks on municipalities, political parties, intellectuals, journalists, civil society organizations, and legal professionals, democracy forces should organize a stronger democratic front and elevate the struggle."

"Campaign for Öcalan's freedom"

Kartal emphasized the ongoing campaign for Önder Apo's freedom and the resolution of the Kurdish question, which has entered its second year. He said: "Across the four parts of Kurdistan and abroad, a major campaign is being conducted for Öcalan's freedom and the resolution of the Kurdish issue.

The primary goal of this process is Öcalan's physical freedom and a solution to the Kurdish issue. In this regard, our people must understand the nature of this period correctly. The fascist, centralized system represented by the AKP-MHP government is in a state of collapse. Therefore, they are adopting an attack strategy born out of panic. In response, we need a comprehensive, organized struggle. Across the four parts of Kurdistan, in Turkey, abroad, and internationally with all our internationalist allies, we must effectively carry out the 'Freedom for Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question' campaign. This process must culminate in freedom.

We must focus entirely on achieving Öcalan's physical freedom. All our efforts and attention should be directed towards this goal. On this basis, I wish success to our people and allies in this struggle."

Duran Kalkan: PKK has become the history, identity and lifestyle of a people

ANF | BEHDINAN | 24 NOVEMBER 2024

In this interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the importance of the PKK on the occasion of the 46th anniversary of its founding.

Kalkan talked about how the ability to change has enabled the PKK to continue to strengthen itself over the decades despite the most adverse circumstances.

We are approaching the 46th anniversary of the founding of the PKK. It emerged on the stage of history as a national liberation movement, but however, with the processes of change and transformation it has gone through, it has become a movement that transcends this definition. How would you define the PKK today?

As a movement and as a people, we are approaching the 46th anniversary of the PKK and are entering the 47th year of the freedom struggle. I salute all comrades, the women and the youth, our guerrilla forces, our people, our international friends, and particularly to the founder and leader of our party, Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan]. In the 47th year of the struggle, I wish outstanding success to all those waging the freedom struggle. At the same time, I commemorate with love, respect, and gratitude all our heroic martyrs, starting from the first great martyr of our party, comrade Haki Karer, to our most recent martyrs, comrades Asya and Rojger. I thereby reiterate our promise to achieve their goals and keep their memories alive.

In these past 46 years, the PKK has always been one of the most discussed topics in Kurdistan and Turkey. In fact, this is not limited to Kurdistan and Turkey; it has been one of the most discussed topics in the whole region and even in the world. This is something that still continues today. It shows the importance of the PKK for Kurds, for Turkey, for the Middle East and the world, and for humanity. It shows that it has a great meaning and value. Otherwise, there wouldn't be so much discussion. Although one doesn't want to mention it too much, Suleyman Demirel, one of Turkey's politicians, had a famous saying: 'They stone the tree that bears fruit.' The fact that it has been discussed so much shows that it has borne a lot of fruit. Because the discussions were multifaceted, they were both positive and negative. The most beautiful words, the most meaningful poems, and the most touching songs were written about the PKK, and at the same time, the harshest words, insults, and so-called criticisms were also made against the PKK. Everyone evaluated it according to themselves, and they continue to do so.

Rêber Apo has made the most beautiful, correct, and meaningful evaluations of the essence of the PKK. And first and foremost, it is our great martyrs who shaped it. It is comrades like Mazlum, Hayri, and Sara that have formed the definition of the PKK. They lived as the most beautiful PKK members and made the PKK meaningful and play a role.

At the time of the founding of the PKK, the world was different. Freedom struggles were also different. There was the Soviet Union, and national liberation movements – the independence and freedom movements of the colonized peoples – were developing all around the globe. Humanity was at such a point of

the most revolutionary, radical, and libertarian thought of the period. That was what the PKK took as its basis. It developed and strengthened as a socialist-led national liberation movement. It defined itself in this way. And this was natural. But already then, it was still not exactly the same as other national liberation movements. For example, according to the understanding back then, it should have had a relationship with the Soviet Union, and it always defined the USSR as a strategic ally, but the Soviet Union did not recognize the PKK ideology and struggle. They didn't accept it. It had already opposed Kurdish struggles in many periods before.

The difference came from this: Kurds were defined as a society under colonization and genocide, but the other colonies of the world are colonies of this or that state or several states. Kurdistan was a colony of the global hegemonic structure of the globalized hegemonic system of capitalist modernity, the global hegemonic structure of the ruling and statist system. As such, even if it envisioned a nation-state, it always found itself in contradiction and conflict with the unity of nation-states embodied, for example, in the UN. That is what made it different from the very beginning.

Again, its development was different. Marxists evaluate that capitalism develops national consciousness and organization. But in Kurdistan, as Rêber Apo stated, capitalism did not play such a role. Indeed, capitalism pushes nationalization here too, but this nationalization is not the nationalization of the Kurds; it is the nationalization of the states that establish sovereignty over the Kurds, of those states, of the nations that give them an identity, Turkish nationalization, Arab nationalization, Persian nationalization. For Kurds, this means national extinction.

As the struggle in Kurdistan continued and developed, and as the socialist and national liberation struggles in the world further developed, these differences increased and deepened. And Rêber Apo evaluated every development of this process and showed it to the world. As a result, the system united its different currents in order to be able to launch an international conspiracy attack for the annihilation of Rêber Apo on October 9, 1998. It gave no place to Rêber Apo, Kurdish freedom and independence. It became antagonistic and hostile to the Kurds. It launched an attack that envisioned the destruction of Kurdish existence and freedom. As such, no matter how much ideological and political work and how much of an armed struggle, the realization of a nation-state as a solution in Kurdistan was made impossible.

The struggle for it was met with the attack of the international conspiracy. While analyzing the conspiracy and defining the struggle against it, Rêber Apo evaluated the general situation in depth and developed what today is known as the paradigm shift. He broke away from the nation-statist ideology and turned the PKK into a party of the democratic nation. It ceased to be a party centered on power and the state and turned it into a democratic socialist party that is based on social ecology and women's freedom. It changed its mentality, ideological line, politics, program, strategies, tactics, and style. Thereby, a new PKK was defined.

The new PKK is conducting a revolution of truth. Rêber Apo made this clear in his prison writings and stated that the truth revolution is a revolution of mentality and of the approach to life; an ideological revolution. Paradigmatically, the PKK is no longer power-statist; it no longer envisions a nation-state solution. It is based on women's freedom. It is a party of free women. From the beginning on, it gave importance to women's liberation, but gradually it transformed itself into a women's liberationist party that puts the women's liberation revolution on the highest agenda. At the same time, it is also an ecologist party. It rejects the imperialist, capitalist attack that envisions the destruction of nature as well as society. It stands

against the destruction and consumption of nature. Such an ecologist party, of course, envisions a moral and political society as its basis. Ideologically, it is based on the free individual and the democratic commune.

Another characteristic of the PKK is that it says what it does and does what it says. It does not leave the implementation of what it says for later. It applies it within the party, it applies it in the guerrilla, and within the women's and youth struggle. The PKK puts its ideology and mentality into practice. It is a party that envisages unity of thought, action, and life. With the new paradigm, this characteristic became much more developed and embodied. The new PKK can be defined as a democratic-socialist party based on women's freedom, social ecology, and moral and political society.

What has the PKK achieved throughout the past decades? What is the situation of Kurds in the context of the development and transformation of the PKK? What has the PKK changed and created in Kurdistan society? How has it affected the peoples of the region?

Something that I have already said on the occasion of previous anniversaries can be repeated here. These questions can also be asked the other way around. In other words, what would have happened in the past 46 years if the PKK had not existed? What would be the situation of Kurds and Kurdistan? Based on this question, one can try to come up with an evaluation. What would have happened then? The name of the Kurds would have been forgotten. Kurdishness would have been completely assimilated and disappeared. Kurdishness as a national identity, Kurdish society as a social structure, as one of the most ancient still existing societies, would have disappeared. This is not an exaggeration. These are not forced words to praise the PKK. The situation of the Kurds and the situation in Kurdistan at the time of the emergence of the PKK and of Rêber Apo are known.

Let's go back to that time; let's remember it. How organized was the Kurdish society? Was Kurdishness a value that was embraced, or was it a value that was hidden, avoided, rejected, and denied? It was the latter. The dominant, colonizing, and genocidal forces were denying it, insulting it, and doing everything to destroy it. The PKK put an end to all this. It revealed the historical identity of the Kurdish people, renewed and changed the people. It brought them together with free and democratic communal values and truly created a totally new situation for Kurdish society. It created the free Kurd, the free Kurdish society, the democratic system, and life, and it did this on the basis of women's freedom.

It did it on the basis of social ecology. It did it on the basis of the free individual and the democratic commune, that is, a sharing society, a politics free from all forms of exploitation and oppression. It created such a structure and values. It made Kurds at peace with themselves, made them love themselves, and made them embrace their own identity. The PKK made them live their own truth with enthusiasm and without antagonization. This is an important aspect of the struggle. It made Kurds at peace with themselves; it made Kurds understand themselves. Without making enemies of others, it has brought them together to live together as brothers, side by side, together, under the umbrella of the democratic nation, within the system of democratic confederalism.

All developments in Kurdistan bear the stamp of the PKK. Kurdishness did not come into existence with the PKK, of course. It is one of the most ancient societies in history. Kurds did not resist only with the PKK. The entire history of the existence of this people is characterized by resistance. Life in Kurdistan, life in Mesopotamia, is all about resistance. Kurds have always resisted, but the resistance of the last 50 years

has been through the PKK. In the last 50 years, it was the PKK that marked the resistance, represented it, and brought up all the achievements created through it. It pioneered resistance. It was the gradual systematization and transformation of Rêber Apo's feelings, thoughts, and evaluations that turned to life. It started from one individual; from there it turned into a group, then into a party, became a guerrilla, and became a people. For decades, Kurdish society has been shouting the chant everywhere: 'PKK is the people; the people are here.' The PKK has gone beyond being a party. It went beyond being a freedom movement, a resistance movement. It has become the culture, language, history, lifestyle, and identity of a people. It has reached a structure that represents its past and future. There is a society that expresses itself through this party. This society finds its most beautiful values in the PKK and with Rêber Apo. Taking all this into account, if there had been no PKK, there would have been nothing left in the name of Kurdishness and Kurdistan.

The Kurdishness and the Kurdistan created by the PKK do not resemble any other people or country. It is a completely different reality of society. Today it is a center of attraction for everyone, particularly Rojava. It used to be said that this region was, particularly for women, the most oppressed and enslaved area in the Middle East. The Rojava Revolution was a women's freedom revolution. Women took a great lead and gained will.

Rojava and the Euphrates basin was an area where so many different peoples are intertwined, where contradictions and conflicts were developed the most under the ruling, statist mentality, and politics. Now all of them live together under the roof of democratic confederalism and the democratic nation, as brothers and sisters. They have no problems, no contradictions, and no conflicts that they do not or cannot create solutions by themselves. It became like this in the shortest time. It has become a model in an exemplary position. A democratic society is being formed. There has been an exemplary life without power and state for ten or twelve years. A life that is currently unique in the world. Therefore, it is a center of attraction for everyone in search of a new life. And there are many such searches in the world, and they find the answer to their search in Rojava, in the paradigm of Rêber Apo.



Duran Kalkan: The greatest women's liberation struggle is the PKK struggle

ANF | BEHDINAN | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

In the second part of this in-depth interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the significance of democratic confederalism as well as the women's revolution that is taking place in Kurdistan under the leadership of the PKK and PAJK.

What is the significance of democratic confederalism and the solution model of the democratic nation in a territory characterized by violence, conflict and war such as the Middle East? Why is this model seemingly so vital for different peoples, beliefs and even marginalized communities?

The Middle East, Kurdistan in particular, is a historically multilingual, multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-sectarian territory. It is an area where many different societies are intertwined with each other, where many different social realities have developed alongside each other and have been shaped over a long historical process. It is the area where sociality and natural society have developed. It is also the area where power and state structures have developed and taken shape and ruled for the longest time. What do democratic confederalism and democratic nation mean in such an area? It means the free self-organization of all identities and their free participation in the unity of the democratic nation, in the framework of democratic confederalism. Within this unity, they can freely live in their own uniqueness. All identities, religious identities, national identities, social identities, see their uniqueness in the freedom of the others in the democratic nation model, under democratic confederalism. They see their existence in the existence of the other. They see their life in the life of the other. However, religious, nationalist, sexist, ideological patterns, and liberalism express exactly the opposite. It is this thinking that to ensure one's own existence, the destruction of others is needed, that to ensure one's own freedom means the enslavement of others. As an example, Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] evaluated Israel, which is currently launching heavy attacks. It is trying to ensure its existence by destroying those around it. It follows a mentality that by enslaving those around it, the Jews will be free. As Rêber Apo said, this is impossible.

By destroying others, the Jews cannot exist and be free. No one can. But all these mentality patterns and currents of thought see their own future in marginalizing, destroying, oppressing, and enslaving others and accept and foresee this as the truth. This is what is turning the Middle East into a bloodbath. So many religious and sectarian divisions, so many ethnic divisions, so many social divisions, and contradictions; if they all clash with each other, a deadlock emerges. The democratic nation, democratic confederalism, is a movement to set an end to this. It is a movement to eliminate the bloodbath, these contradictions and conflicts. And it does so through a change in mentality, through an important revolution of mentality. It means the elimination of the understanding that 'others must disappear, everything must be mine'. It envisions a democratic, socialist, sharing, and communal life. It is not about saying, "Let me live!" but about saying, "Let everyone live!". It is about saying, "For me to be free, everyone else must be free!" It envisages developing and ensuring freedom under democratic politics.

As the mentality and the concepts of democratic nation and democratic confederalism developed by Rêber Apo on the basis of the new paradigm are carried forward, they have a great impact on societies and the various ethnic structures in the region and in the world and thereby become a center of attraction. It becomes a way out, a way of salvation for everyone. The hegemonic system is hostile; they attack, but the societies see it as a way out. In the Middle East, states are preventing the spread of these ideas, but in different suitable areas of the world, they find the opportunity to spread more and to be more influential. If these opportunities are utilized, they will lead to very rapid developments. A new life, a new order of relations, a new existence for humanity. It starts a new era, a new history. Against the 5,000-year-old male-dominated mentality and system of power and the state, and against the 500-year-old male-dominated mentality and system of capitalist modernity, it envisages a new era of life, a new historical process that is compatible with natural society, that makes peace with nature, and that envisions humanity living freely and fraternally in happiness. It is clearly seen that it has already led to important developments and will lead to more.

A women's revolution is taking place in Kurdistan under the leadership of the PKK and PAJK and based on the philosophy and efforts of Rêber Apo. How did this revolutionary process develop, and what changes did it bring about within society? What are the reasons for the women's liberation struggle being constantly and deliberately targeted by the states?

Historically, these issues have been evaluated and discussed. The PKK's new paradigm, the struggle that is developing in Kurdistan under the leadership of the new PKK, is seen, discussed, and evaluated primarily on the basis of the philosophy of women's liberation, within the framework of defining and developing the women's liberation revolution. This is a current situation.

In order to be able to assess how it came to this point, it is necessary to examine Kurdish society historically. On the basis of which characteristics was a society that could survive and sustain itself in the midst of so much fighting in Mesopotamia, be shaped? There are historical realities for this, and there are many social dimensions that need to be taken into consideration for this. What happened historically in Kurdish social organizations and women's participation in social life is also important for today. It is not a society in which the power and state systems are highly developed. It is the least developed in society. It is a society that has not realized empowerment and statehood. What does this mean? It means that women play a very active role in society. It means that, to a certain point, women's freedom and leadership still prevail in society. Statehood and empowerment are expressions of male dominance; they are its products. It is a result of the politics of the dominant male mentality. Since historically, this is not as deeply rooted in Kurdish society as in many other societies, this already makes a big difference.

As for the development in the PKK, Rêber Apo is a personality passionate about freedom, and this from his childhood on. His development of the movement is also like that. His passion for research on the Kurdish identity and struggle for freedom has created so many achievements and brought about so many developments, making him a true pioneer of his people. It made him a personality that overcame many difficulties and obstacles. The same thing manifested itself in the problem of women as the most oppressed, exploited, and enslaved gender. He approached this issue seriously from the very beginning. As he understood the Kurdish reality, he tried to understand the reality of women, and as he analyzed the Kurdish reality, he analyzed women. This is how the evaluation and analysis of women developed, and of course, when it came to the point of founding a party, Rêber Apo saw the power of women, the power of women marching towards freedom and struggling for freedom, as the most fundamental force of this party.

One of the core calls in the PKK founding declaration was made to women and was prepared by Rêber Apo. It is still a strong call that affects everyone who reads it. He called for creating a new life with the PKK by destroying all forms of slavery, fighting against all forms of domination, and envisioning a free society and a free Kurdistan. This was an important call, but since the mentality and ideological system of real socialism were still in the foreground at the time, it took some time before the realities corresponding to the call became the defining factors in the political and organizational framework of the PKK. How was it initially received back then? It was perceived as one of the many arms of the movement, as a pillar of struggle and organization. The pioneering struggle for women's freedom was not initially seen as fundamental. But the women's organization took the issue very seriously. It developed from the mid-1980s onward.

It developed in Europe and spread to other areas. Women had already participated in the PKK when it was still a group, and later, through the breakthrough of August 15, when the guerrilla struggle was imple-

mented, many women joined its ranks. The more problems arose in the guerrilla struggle and the more corresponding solutions developed, the more the importance and role of women in the struggle became apparent. Accordingly, the issue of women's freedom and the issue of the family were more on the agenda of Rêber Apo, and he evaluated them more. After the 3rd Congress, with the establishment of the Mahsum Korkmaz Academy, Rêber Apo's theoretical evaluations deepened. It was multifaceted and developed in many dimensions, but there were two main dimensions of Rêber Apo's deepening at that time. One was the dimension of the guerrilla struggle, and the second was women's liberation. These developed in parallel to each other. They deepened, complemented, and strengthened each other. Gradually, this had a great impact on society. Not only did the participation in the guerrillas increase, but from the beginning of the '90s, the women-led national resurrection revolution, the serhildans, developed. This marked the beginning of the women's liberation revolution and gave birth to the 'Party of Free Women in Kurdistan' (PAJK). Women's militancy developed; the autonomous women's guerrilla developed, which today is embodied as 'Free Women's Units – Star' (YJA-Star). Consciousness, ideology, and the organization and struggle based on it developed are intertwined with each other.

With the new paradigm, Rêber Apo took women's freedom as a fundamental pillar of the paradigm. The ecological society, the ethical and political society, and the freedom of women; these are the three main pillars of the ideology of Rêber Apo. He addressed the need for women's freedom on many levels, and, accordingly, developed 'Jineoloji' as a science of women. The Kurdish woman embraced and participated in this by struggling under the most difficult circumstances, taking on all kinds of risks and tasks, and assuming the responsibility and duty of leading the struggle for their country and nation. Thus, the ideology of women's liberation, and the women's liberation revolution came to the agenda. On the basis of PAJK, KJK, and YJA-Star. It became a movement to create a new life, a new society, a new revolution. It defined the 21st century as the century of women's freedom. This development affected all the movements related to women's issues in the world. It revealed the narrowness and inadequacy of feminist movements, movements that fought for women's rights and for materialistic equality to reduce the oppression of women. It drew them to the women's liberation revolution.

Rêber Apo created the slogan "Jin, Jiyan, Azadi" and called it the 'magic formula'. It indeed has become a magic solution, a pioneering force for the problems created by the power and state system. Humanity is marching under the leadership of women. It is marching with the Jin Jiyan Azadi revolution. The women's liberation struggle and revolution is not just a part, a branch, but the vanguard of the struggle for freedom and free life. It constitutes the basis of social freedom; it expresses its leadership. It envisages overthrowing and changing male dominance in every aspect.

Now we are approaching November 25th; it is called the international day against violence against women. It is followed by November 26 and 27, the anniversary of the founding of the PKK. Creating a women's party, creating a women's liberation revolution, and thereby turning the struggle against violence against women into a women's liberation revolution was the most appropriate approach, and it still is. This needs to be evaluated together. November 25 finds its best meaning in the reality of the PKK on November 26 and 27. The greatest women's liberation struggle is the PKK struggle. A struggle that finds its representation in the foundation of the PKK. Some people narrow the definition of violence too much. They envision it as material violence and oppression. But it is not like that. By exposing not only visible violence but also invisible male-dominated violence against women and by envisioning a women's liberation revolution that fights against it, the PKK is a movement that strongly wages the struggle for women's freedom and equality as women's identity against the male mentality and system. This reality is much better seen

and understood by women today. Women realize the meaning of PAJK's leadership more and more. They understand more deeply the Jineoloji developed by Rêber Apo. They participate more than anyone else in the global freedom campaign for the physical liberation of Rêber Apo. They embrace it and they lead it. Because they see and understand with their lives and experiences that Rêber Apo is indeed the strongest companion of women.

This will be the fundamental revolution of the 21st century. And the statist structures are attacking this because it is the women's liberation revolution that most concretely exposes and confronts the mentality and political system that creates the state and power. It analyzes not only the state and power, but most crucially the mentality and hierarchy that lead to it. It analyzes male dominance beyond the state and power. It reveals the male-dominated mentality and system that is internalized in all areas of life beyond the rough appearance of the state and power. In this respect, they fear women. The struggle for the revolution of women's liberation consciousness unmasks them the most. The struggle for women's liberation exposes the male-dominated mentality and system, the power and state system the most; it shows its brutality, its unacceptability, and its inability to live the most. Therefore, the ruling statist forces are afraid of the women's liberation struggle. That's why they attack. In the past, some struggles for women's rights did not reveal their faces at all. They were even trying to win it for themselves. This is due to liberalism. They were under its influence, but now the women's liberation revolution that is developing on the basis of Jineoloji is shattering and eliminating all this. It completely unmasks them and reveals the truth in all its depth. Therefore, the power and the state system are afraid. It sees its own end coming. It sees that it will lose everything in the women's liberation revolution. Things have changed. Women are seen as the most dangerous and are therefore attacked, oppressed, and arrested. Women understand this reality better than anyone else; they educate and organize themselves accordingly. Men who become conscious and organized on the basis of women's liberation see this reality. Free women and men who strive for liberation can analyze this reality together and struggle more effectively. No matter what they do, the male-dominated mentality and politics, the power and state system will not be able to destroy this consciousness and the organization and struggle it creates. On the contrary, this consciousness, organization, and development will destroy the male-dominated mentality, politics, and the power and state system. It will make the 21st century a century of a free and democratic society based on women's liberation.

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Kalkan: The PKK's strength and invincibility lie in its capacity of transformation

ANF | BEHDINAN | 26 NOVEMBER 2024

In the third part of this in-depth interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the significance of democratic confederalism as well as the women's revolution that is taking place in Kurdistan under the leadership of the PKK and PAJK.

You said that the PKK is a movement of leadership. How should that definition be understood? What is the reality of leadership in the PKK, and what is the role of Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan]? How should the participation of this reality be?

That is correct; the PKK is a movement of leadership, and that is related to being a pioneering movement. It is not an ordinary movement. It is not a movement that gives power and support to something. On the contrary, it is a movement that analyzes, evaluates, criticizes, takes positive aspects, rejects negative aspects, and envisions a new life. It is a revolutionary movement, a movement of great change. It does this as a pioneer. It is undoubtedly a movement of leadership that is leading the way, preparing a new and free life, and exploring and creating the paths to get there.

Rêber Apo made a decisive contribution to the birth, establishment, and everything of the PKK. Rêber Apo's role is decisive. The roles of others vary accordingly. There are those who contribute more, those who contribute on average, those who contribute less, and, of course, there are those who obstruct. From the beginning, the role of Rêber Apo has been decisive. It is a fact that Rêber Apo is the one who contributes the most, from forming the movements' thoughts, theory, program, strategy, tactics, leadership, training cadres, to leading the party, forming the guerrillas, and leading the people. He has always been at the forefront, spends the most effort, and makes the greatest contribution.

The PKK did not take shape through a bunch of people sitting around a table, discussing, agreeing on some principles, forming a common administration, and establishing a party. There are such movements, such parties. They have tried to emerge in Kurdistan throughout history, but the PKK was not like that. From the beginning, the PKK was a movement shaped around Rêber Apo and formed on the basis of joining Rêber Apo. Rêber Apo determined, developed, and created all the measures, principles, and values of the movement. Others joined him and became one with Rêber Apo. Becoming a PKK member, joining the party, becoming PKK, means joining Rêber Apo, forming and organizing around Rêber Apo.

This is an important aspect, an important feature of the PKK. This is what leadership means. Rêber Apo said that participation in the leadership is based on consciousness and belief. Some participate with consciousness and some with conviction. But the most correct way is to participate with both, as he said. This is how to reach truth. He also stated that this is how comrades like Mazlum and Hayri participated, and they became the most successful party members. Consciousness means understanding the truth of Rêber Apo. Of course, belief means participating and being attached to the truth. But just seeing and evaluating the truth is not enough. In order to be a good revolutionary, militant, or patriot, the truth must be well understood and set into practice. Participating with knowledge, understanding, and belief is the right participation; it brings out the most successful revolutionism and patriotism.

In the past and now, especially on the basis of the new paradigm, we question the way of participation in the PKK and in the reality of the Rêber Apo more. There are many things we arrange according to our own wishes, and one thing that falls within this framework and is much discussed is emotional participation. "I have participated according to my emotions." That's not how it works. That's not how you join the PKK. On the contrary, Rêber Apo evaluates the emotion that is not thought through and not organized as a great danger. The power of emotions, when they are well-thought-out and organized, is a power that cannot be destroyed. But an emotion that is detached from thought and organization, through which no action arises, opens the way for great dangers and prepares the way for fanaticism. Emotional participation must be well analyzed and evaluated as a step towards the PKK and towards leadership. It could be a start,

but Rêber Apo and the party must be well understood. With this, together with deep thought and conviction, participation can take place. The mistakes and damage caused by emotional participation must be overcome.

To this day, the PKK is not fighting with the Turkish army, the second largest in NATO, but is actually fighting against NATO's Gladio. It is a force that not even states could withstand, but the PKK seems to have managed to strengthen itself in the resistance against it. How has the PKK made it to the present day? In other words, what are the characteristics of the PKK that have kept it alive?

This actually is a good definition; the question is well put. It really reveals the PKK's strength. It expresses what kind of war it is fighting and against whom it is fighting. You ask how it was able to fight against these forces? Where did it find the courage and strength to wage war? And how did it survive while fighting against such a powerful force?

Well, especially for the last 26 years, these attacks have been carried out at the level of an international conspiracy. It directly targets Rêber Apo. The capitalist global hegemony directly plans, organizes, and executes it. It is the same now as it was in the beginning. There has been no change in this regard. Of course, it is not just the Turkish army, the Turkish state's special warfare system, or the Turkish intelligence that conduct these attacks. From the very beginning, and on an increasingly prominent basis, the PKK has been fighting the NATO system, Gladio, and beyond that, the power and state system, the male-dominated mentality and system. These are multileveled struggles: ideological struggles, conscientious struggles, moral struggles, cultural struggles, literary struggles, and struggles of emotions.

These express a struggle as great as war, as great as political war, as great as social war. Even more than that. How does the PKK do all this? How has it survived? The essence of it needs to be evaluated on many dimensions. It is essentially based on its own strength, the strength of autonomy, the strength of the people, especially women, young people, and workers; after all, it has also adopted the name of the party of working people. How did it become such a strong autonomous force? This has to do with Rêber Apo's approach and view of life. It can also be linked to the concrete situation in Kurdistan. There was no other option in Kurdistan. There was a situation where there couldn't be any hope of getting support from others. There was no forming of alliances to hope for. Those who tried to collaborate with the state were more dangerous than the most worthy agents. A society and a country ignored and destroyed by the global dominant structure of the capitalist system.

Who are you going to get support from? Everyone is part of this system, and the ruling power and state system are against you. There was the Soviet Union that said it was an alternative. But they didn't support either. In fact, as the Kurdish freedom struggle and the organization of the PKK gradually developed, the Soviet Union declined, and on the basis of its ideological contradictions, it dissolved and collapsed. There was seemingly no basis left. Rêber Apo saw this reality very well from the beginning. His awareness of history was very strong in this regard. He learned lessons of history well. In other words, he always questioned the situation of the resistance in the first quarter of the 20th century, the results of the resistance in the 19th century, and why these resistances were defeated, crushed, and failed to succeed. And thereby he realized that one has to rely on one's own strength, one's own power, but of course this is not enough; relying on one's own strength is not enough.

One will rely on one's own strength, but one will also have to rely on the people, on the power of people. One will believe that people who become conscious, educated, and organized are the greatest power. Technique is, of course, power; weapons are power; money is power; but the greatest power is the conscious and organized man. The greatest power of struggle is the apoist militant, the sacrificial militant, the PKK cadre. How did Rêber Apo define this by saying that it is the truth that has been rendered organized and activated? Bringing a person to this state is the greatest power. There is no power that can prevent it. This is not an exaggeration; we don't need to prove it. The most recent example is the attack aimed at TAI in Ankara, which is the reality shown in Asya Ali and Rojger Helin. The place attacked is one of the most protected and is secured by the joint force of 40 states. But still, nothing could prevent that revolutionary militancy. This is the PKK strength.

How is it possible to create such militancy? By analyzing life and living according to the findings. The power of Rêber Apo needs to be seen, as do his persuasiveness, sincerity, consistency, and power of analysis. He offers a new life. He reveals the characteristics of this life and defines it as humane life. Based on this, he reshapes and educates human beings with their emotions, mindsets, and souls and creates a new free, conscious, and organized human being. This lies in Rêber Apo's power to explain the truth and analyze life. He reveals the facts and truths at this level. There is no cheating, no wrong. He analyzes the concrete situation that reveals and shows everything clearly. Accordingly, he educates people and creates such a force. The power that makes the PKK invincible is this sacrificial militancy, the consciousness that creates it, the paradigm, the last line, the line of democratic civilization, the theory of democratic modernity. As long as this reality is taken as a basis, everyone should know that no one can defeat the PKK; the PKK will remain invincible. It has been like this until now. It will be like this from now on too. It is probably best to seek and understand the secret here.

What especially distinguishes the PKK from other national liberation movements and Kurdish parties? What is the secret of the PKK? How did the PKK turn into an ideological, political, military and social reality that is perceived by everyone?

We have already partially touched this above. There are many things that distinguish the PKK from other organizations and Kurdish parties. It differed in the way it defined, recognized, analyzed, and thought about the Kurdish reality, the reality of Kurdistan. It also differed with his commitment to Kurdish existence and freedom. Rêber Apo said that if he had not succeeded in uniting himself with the existence of the Kurdish people and the free existence of the Kurds with his own existence, he could not have created any of these developments. Kurdish patriotism and libertarianism are about dedication and not for material gain, not to become a civil servant or to make a name for oneself. He did not accept such a way of life for himself. He refused the seemingly beautiful material life.

The other Kurdish organizations did not. They lived like civil servants of an organization. They wanted to threaten the state a little bit and get more space for their civil servanthship. They were begging for a little more share of the exploitation of Kurdistan and Kurdish society for themselves. They were not breaking away from the system. They envisioned living within the system. Therefore, their so-called Kurdishness, patriotism, revolutionism, and socialism always led them to develop their individual lives, to take some space, or they remained weak and powerless. They were not strong, strong-willed, or assertive. There was too much expectation on the outside. Instead of relying on their own power and developments, they had this kind of empty Kurdishism based on blunt nationalism. In other words, there was a 'materialist revolutionism'. Therefore, they associated with the socialist system and liberalism. They evaluated the Kurdish re-

ality on the basis of their own interests. Therefore, they could not break away from the system. They always sought reconciliation with the system and were reformists. They could not build an effective struggle within the system. When they came into contradiction or conflict, they immediately disappeared. Because they were under the control of the system. They did not have a structure to fight against the colonialist, genocidal mentality and system under all circumstances.

The PKK was not like this. It criticized their reformism, surrender attitude, primitive, reformist, and petite bourgeoisie nationalism. The PKK criticized them intensely. On the basis of these criticisms, Rêber Apo both formed his own understanding and line and shaped himself according to them by educating himself on this basis. He did not become like them. When the conditions changed a little and the attacks increased, those in control disappeared. They tried to hold the PKK responsible for their liquidation due to their own approach and style. Their misconceptions were at that level. They did not assess the conditions in Kurdistan correctly; they were not committed to Kurdish freedom. They did not educate and organize themselves in a way to wage a true struggle for freedom under all circumstances. They could never get out of colonialist genocidal control. Those who were under control disappeared in a short time.

Also, other forces and organizations had been liquidated, but the PKK managed to always protect itself in these developments because it was open to change and transformation. Rêber Apo criticized the dogmatism but also gave self-criticism and said that we were also affected by this dogmatism. But we must know this; nevertheless, in the 20th century, Rêber Apo was the least dogmatic personality, the one who approached the process most openly and creatively. As he developed with the struggle, he deepened this creativity even more. He was constantly aware of change and transformation and envisioned renewing himself and the movement. He was always looking for innovation, not repeating what already existed, repeating things he had memorized, and doing what he had done over and over again. His questing characteristic never disappeared. His innovative attitude deepened; he was not afraid; he did not shy away from change, transformation, and innovation.

The paradigm shift did not come out of nowhere. And the change, development, and renewal in Rêber Apo did not happen only with a paradigm shift. There were always changes and developments step by step throughout the process. The paradigm shift against the international conspiracy actually foresaw a radical self-criticism, a radical renewal, and change. This is where the PKK's strength and invincibility lie. In its transformation. Rêber Apo said that his most fundamental characteristic is his change-orientation. The power to defend something, to persistently defend it, to create it is also its character. He never gives up on that. This is the reality, the reality that made him struggle against so many attacks, that gave him the strength to fight. The international conspiracy, the attempt to destroy him, failed. So they put him in the İmralı system of torture, isolation, and genocide.

They said now it was over. They said the PKK had a maximum of six more months to live. No one believed that there would be any more struggle, but Rêber Apo believed in himself; he trusted himself. He trusted in his own strength and called on the organization and the people to follow him. And our movement and our people responded to this call of our leader. It was Rêber Apo that succeeded. Rêber Apo created success where everyone else was surrendering. This is not a normal, ordinary situation. Rêber Apo overcame any difficulties and obstacles and created new things starting from scratch, all of this with its own power. It is necessary to assess and understand Rêber Apo's leadership qualities in all their dimensions.

It is this characteristic that makes the PKK so strong and invincible. This is how Rêber Apo was able to take down every hindrance in front of him. No other leader in Kurdistan has been able to lead uninterruptedly for more than 50 years. Despite the attacks of the international conspiracy, Rêber Apo did not interrupt the march of leadership. There is nothing similar in the world. He showed the strength to struggle for such a long period. The PKK gains success to the extent that it understands and implements the thoughts of Rêber Apo, organizes itself accordingly, and takes action. The more they put it into practice, the more successful it is. The more it understands, the more it puts it into practice. Sure, there are criticisms and self-criticisms in this regard. Sure, there are a lot of inadequacies; one needs to see that too. But the secret really lies in this creative, innovative power, this power of change. Anything that cannot change itself and that repeats the old cannot succeed, even if it is the PKK.

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Kalkan: Guerrilla became a vanguard force that educates, organizes, mobilizes, leads people

ANF | BEHDINAN | 27 NOVEMBER 2024

In the fourth part of this in-depth interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about how the approach of the PKK changed through the years.

How has the PKK's approach changed in relation to the war that was originally started with the establishment of the HRK, continued by the ARGK and is now being waged by the modern and professional guerrillas? How do you assess the level that the guerrilla struggle has reached? Also, the action against the TAI in Ankara is currently being discussed in both a political and military context. What can you tell us about this? In this context, how has the understanding of fedai developed in the PKK?

The guerrilla, defense, self-defense, resistance, and war are concepts that are being discussed broadly and should be discussed even more. As the attacks of the AKP-MHP fascism increase, as the fascist, repressive mentality and politics in Europe, America, and other parts of the world develop and strive towards power, this becomes everyone's concern. That European discourse of democratic systems and possibilities disappears. Everyone's situation is getting more similar to each other. Therefore, revolutionaries and socialists are discussing these concepts again.

In the past, they have moved away from this. When the Soviet Union dissolved, there was despair and pessimism. There were more ruptures, but now, as they are influenced by the apoist thought, which is renewing itself and emerging as a new leadership with a paradigm shift, and as fascist oppression, terror, persecution, and threats increase, these concepts are coming to the agenda again for socialists. They become issues that need to be discussed, understood correctly, and applied by finding practical solutions. From the beginning, the PKK envisioned this for Kurdistan and took it as a basis.

People ask what the PKK's differences from other organizations are. Like we stated before, there was one main difference: other organizations could not break away from the system. The PKK was able to do this by focusing on the mentioned concepts. How can one exist, protect one's existence, achieve freedom, and

protect even what one has won without being able to break away from a system that practices so much oppression, persecution, violence, massacre, and genocide without being able to resist its armed attacks? This is not possible. This is why the PKK was right from the beginning. It did not make a mistake in this regard. Other organizations, those who claimed to be the Kurdish leadership, said one thing, and Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] said another.

A fundamental aspect that distinguished Rêber Apo from them was that he was not mistaken on this issue. His correct understanding of the Kurdish reality, the reality of Kurdistan, and more importantly, his courage and sacrifice to fight against this reality. Many others could see it, but they did not have that courage, that will, and that strength. He recognized the enemy, analyzed the theory of force, analyzed war, and analyzed the warlike structure of the power and state system. He analyzed the wars of self-defense waged against it, and on this basis, he saw the guerrilla as the most fundamental method, as the basic method that enables the weak to fight and win against the strong, as a mentality, as a style, and he trained, equipped, and organized the guerrilla, starting by organizing himself accordingly. With no other option left to struggle against the fascist military regime of September 12, the guerrilla offensive was launched on October 15, 1984.

Based on the basic conception and understanding of the guerrilla and the prevailing theory of war, many conclusions could be drawn. The guerrillas in Kurdistan were not detached from previous experiences with guerrilla warfare, but they did not implement it one-to-one. Concepts were adapted according to the specific situation in Kurdistan. This was possible through Rêber Apo's creative approach. He took the practical experience as the basis. He has looked at the practical experiences with guerrilla warfare, how the guerrilla must develop, and how it can be successful. The experiences made in other countries were not repeated one-to-one in Kurdistan, though. He looked at the conditions under which a guerrilla could be successful in Kurdistan and developed a guerrilla theory accordingly, transforming the guerrilla into a partisan movement. No ordinary army was created. Yes, there was talk of a people's army, but the guerrilla had succeeded in developing a new methodology that was not joined by the ignorant but only by those who educated themselves and became militants of the party and developed a corresponding understanding. This is how the guerrilla developed in Kurdistan.

It gradually moved away from old experiences with others, more and more with its confidence in its own power, its organization, its level of consciousness, and its courageous and fedai struggle. The PKK created a guerrilla that was fully based on socialist, communal, and collective principles and was able to implement the life of the party among its ranks at the highest rank, living a socialist life. That was something others were lacking. They were after power and a statist mentality and followed an ordinary understanding of commanders and soldiers. At the beginning, the PKK actually wanted to follow that too, but it was recognized that this could not be successful under the circumstances in Kurdistan. The power of the enemy, the way actions could be carried out, but also the connection to the people were all very different from elsewhere.

The guerrilla was the party's form of organization and action in practice. It was always a force of education, organization, and action. The Kurdish guerrilla was never a narrow military force. Neither theoretically did Rêber Apo define it as such, nor in practice did the HRK, ARGK, or later the HPG become a guerrilla movement organized along such a narrow military line. No, it was always an ideological, political, and active force. The guerrilla became a vanguard force that educates, organizes, mobilizes, leads, and commands the people. Party leadership was embodied in the guerrillas, both in action and in daily life.

This has gradually deepened with the paradigm shift and has become even more concrete. Since the time when the guerrillas were still fighting for the establishment of a Kurdish nation state, it has undergone a major transformation. When it broke away from the nation state mentality and became a democratic and social movement based on women's liberation and ecology, it became a self-defense force of society. It had already defined itself as a social self-defense force before; the PKK was shaped as such a self-defense force, and the guerrillas emerged as the most active striking vanguard force, constituting 80 to 90 percent. But then it broke away from the aim of gaining power and establishing its own state. Its targets have changed, its way of striking has changed, and so has its internal organization. A new guerrilla emerged, and a new guerrilla leadership that realized the line of democratic modernity was formed. But it is not possible to defend society just with guerrillas. The guerrilla is professional revolutionism, vanguardism. For whom will it be a pioneer? For society, first and foremost for women, young people, workers, and laborers, so that they can defend themselves.

Kurds used to be a peasant society. And so the guerrillas developed in the countryside within the village society. The guerrillas developed in the mountains, which were inhabited mainly by peasants. With the paradigm shift, Rêber Apo envisioned a struggle that unites the struggle in the mountains, the cities, and the plain. Later, society was separated from the mountains, villages were burned down and destroyed, and people were concentrated in the cities. The self-defense force is where society is. It will be in society; it will be based on society. Now there is a guerrilla vanguard developing on this basis, and there is a struggle for self-defense based on this. Guerrilla leadership is more professional than ever before and symbolizes party militancy. It is based on its own strength and is most competent in applying its own strength.

The peak of this was the action against the TAI in Ankara. Those who carried out the action were militants of the 'Battalion of the Immortals'. The most professional and trained force ideologically, organizationally, and militarily. It is a force that knows no obstacles and successfully overcomes all kinds of hindrances. No power can hold it back. The fascist AKP-MHP and its state could not prevent Asya Ali and Rojger Helin regardless of all the force it receives from NATO, Russia, and everywhere else. This is the peak of guerrilla leadership. This is the professional guerrilla. It has organized and shaped itself in many such structures, and now, as you say, these are being discussed both politically and militarily.

How can it be evaluated militarily? It shook both the Turkish state and, in fact, everyone else as well. The state has done a lot of propaganda, saying that it is in control of everything and that no guerrilla activity can take place anymore. It said, "We have ended terrorism." Well, it turned out that it was empty propaganda. Neither could they prevent the guerrillas from taking action, nor were they capable of preventing them.

The action against the TAI proved once again that there is no force that can stop a militant who is trained and organized in the ideology of Rêber Apo, who gains a courageous and fedai character, and who participates in this life correctly with consciousness and conviction. There is no enemy that such a force cannot strike and defeat. There is no victory it cannot achieve. It set an example for the guerrillas. They realized what Rêber Apo meant when he said that the human is the most advanced technique, superior to all technique. This is the war of the vanguard professional guerrillas. Liberation and freedom cannot be achieved without it. Politics may change, new political structures may develop, but society always needs defense.

"There can be no rose without thorns," said Rêber Apo. He came up with the theory of the rose. If you want to be a rose, you will have to have thorns. In order to remain beautiful as a rose, you will have to

have thorns that will prick the hand that reaches out to you. If you want to live freely, you will always have to have the power of self-defense to resist attacks on your free life. You will have to have a defensive mechanism, have to be conscious and organized, and you will have to be capable of taking action. If one leaves the protection of oneself to an outside force, then there is no real protection, no freedom. One has to form one's own self-defense. Self-defense of society needs to be developed, especially by women and youth. We are still at the beginning in this regard. There are many shortcomings. In fact, as I pointed out, the guerrilla was aiming to create a regular army along the lines of the nation-state; it was going to be its pioneer, but now the guerrilla aims to create social self-defense along the paradigm of ecological and democratic society, based on women's liberation. It aims to turn the people into their own self-defense army. It aims to create a people defending themselves and fighting for their own defense. The defense line of democratic modernity is based on this.

Right now there is not much I want to add to the political discussions surrounding the attack aimed at the TAI. Many circles are discussing the circumstances in their own way according to their own interests, but one can say that as long as there is the so-called Kurdish problem, that is, the mentality, politics, and attack with which the Turkish state targets the Kurdish people, aiming for their annihilation, there will be such resistances. Everyone should be aware of this. No one can prevent this resistance. Maybe it will happen again today, maybe tomorrow, maybe at some other time, but it will definitely happen again. In order to exist, in order for Kurds to live free, they have to do this. They have acquired such consciousness. There is no point in pulling left and right. They eventually showed everyone the right path. They revealed the existing danger. If you want to get rid of the danger, then be serious, approach the Kurdish question correctly, and work on a solution. It was revealed once again that there is no other solution for the Kurds, for society in Turkey, or for the Turkish state other than the solution power of Rêber Apo. And it also became clear once more that what the state currently calls a solution is a disaster. There was a time when they thought they could do whatever they wanted with the Kurds. That is long gone. Those who thought so have burned their fingers. To summarize, politically, we can only say that we invite and call everyone to common sense.

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Kalkan: The PKK always seen Kurdish freedom in the democratization of Turkey and the Middle East

ANF | BEHDINAN | 28 NOVEMBER 2024

In the fifth part of this in-depth interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the 46th anniversary of the PKK as well as the way the organization will enter the new year of struggle.

The Kurdish freedom movement is entering a new year of struggle. This transition is characterized by various discussions. While the international pressure for the release of the peoples' leader Abdullah Öcalan is increasing, and accordingly, the demand for a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, the Turkish state is trying to escape this, trying to play with the agenda and creating false expectations. What can you tell us about this?

The PKK is entering its 47th year of struggle more prepared, planned, and determined than ever before. We will develop the 47th year struggle with the central aim of physically liberating Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan], becoming stronger in every field and achieving important results. This is our stance; this is how we enter the year. Based on this, we salute the 47th anniversary of our party and call on all comrades, our people, and international friends to struggle harder and be even more successful in the 47th year struggle.

Not long ago, we received the greetings of Rêber Apo. I greet him with deep longing and respect. On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the founding of the PKK, I congratulate Rêber Apo's. I state that in the 47th year we will fight stronger and achieve greater success following the path of the Rêber Apo and the party.

On October 23rd, Rêber Apo's nephew Ömer Öcalan came to Imralı, and they held a meeting. Rêber Apo expressed the situation clearly in this meeting. He expressed essentially two points: firstly, the isolation continues, and secondly, he said that if the appropriate conditions are created, he has the power to play a role, to play a role in the solution of the Kurdish question and democratization. While revolutionary, democratic, and patriotic circles are discussing and trying to understand what Rêber Apo expressed in order to take steps, other circles are speculating in a negative way and searching for ways to ensure their own interests.

The developing struggle and the level that the Third World War has reached, which continues on a global scale, have indeed put the Turkish state, particularly the AKP and MHP fascism, into a complete deadlock and brought it to collapse. This catastrophe is stemming from the state's anti-Kurdish colonialist, genocidal mentality, and politics, and mainly from the AKP and MHP fascist dictatorship. We were warning them many times that they were dragging Turkey into a catastrophe. But they did not listen; they did not want to listen; they did not want to understand. Now that reality has caught up with them and imposed itself on them, they started to panic. They started to speak about Kurdish-Turkish brotherhood, called for national unity, expressed their fear of Israel attacking them, and said Rêber Apo should come and speak in the parliament. But they didn't just invite him to talk, as if he is in a position where he can go wherever he wants and speak wherever he wants; they wanted to force him to declare the liquidation of the movement.

The Turkish press is a center of special and psychological warfare, and they are doing heavy propaganda, claiming and speculating many things, many of them far away from any reality. They are trying to discuss Rêber Apo in the same way. It has become clear that they have made no preparations for the circumstances they are currently facing. When they realized the danger that they were facing, they started to put forward some things in panic and try to divert the agenda. They want to direct public opinion.

Our global freedom campaign aiming for the physical liberation of Rêber Apo has faced a lot of difficulties. It exposed the system of isolation, torture and genocide of Imralı. This exposure has spread all over the world. Now, everyone is aware of this situation. Politicians, lawyers, artists, academics, intellectual circles, women, young people, all kinds of societies, and peoples. No one who hears about the Imralı system

can fit it into any form of law and morality. Everyone who hears about the Imrali system demands the freedom of Rêber Apo. Accordingly, there is very serious pressure created by this. Obviously, the conspirators wanted to alleviate it, to weaken it, to loosen our level of action. They started with random discussions, dropping a word here or there, creating hopes and expectations, trying to change the general agenda in order to push through their own and thus weaken the struggle. That was their calculation.

But their masks fell rather quickly. Indeed, the action by comrades Asya and Rojger revealed everything. It destroyed their calculation, the game. It unmasked them. Our people should not listen to the games of the conspirators. They have no meaning, no value. They say a lot of things about us, about the PKK. None of them are true. They are hoping that if they say something, it may be totally wrong and empty, and repeat it dozens of times, people will start to believe it. Therefore, no one should pay attention or listen to them. As Rêber Apo clearly put it, the isolation continues. That indicates the necessity to struggle against it. He said that if appropriate conditions are met, he is able to play a role. That means we should focus on this. How can appropriate conditions be created? Through struggle. So the duty falls on us, on everyone of us, to increase the struggle further. The guerrillas must struggle more intensely, as must the people in the four parts and abroad, particularly the women and the youths. Everywhere we must develop our struggle for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. There must never be any misconception, regression, or relaxation in this regard. But I'm convinced that no one will fall for their games anyway. However, it may be that some people have question marks in their heads, which is why we want to show them the real situation.

On November 16th in Cologne, Germany, our people once again revealed their stance. On February 17th, the global freedom campaign had a peak, and it marked the point from when this campaign started to be a mass mobilization. The Kurdish people, their international friends, those who organize and carry out the campaign abroad had clearly expressed their loyalty to Rêber Apo, how much they want Rêber Apo's physical freedom, and how much they see themselves in this freedom. What was shown back then in February was now again made clear a couple of days ago in the rally in Cologne. Also, the protests of our people, women, and youth continue in all four parts of Kurdistan. The people are standing up in Rojava and also in northern Kurdistan; the resistance against the attack of implementing trustees continues uninterrupted. The Turkish state never stopped attacking and continues to conduct massacres.

While on the one hand, they block and forbid Rêber Apo from meeting his relatives or lawyers, they try to confuse people's minds day and night through the organs of the special war they call the press. This is a special war, and people must not believe them. After all, the facts and the situation are clear. They left almost no stone unturned in Rojava. And on November 6, they gave a new six-month disciplinary punishment to Rêber Apo, and eventually they have already prepared the next one to announce in May.

The issue is clear. If they want to do something, they should take some steps; they could do it easily. If they had really changed their mind, renounced their fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality, and politics, and now favored the solution of the Kurdish question, they could act accordingly. Rêber Apo is in front of them. The Kurds have never let a hand that reaches out to them hang in the air. Now they are not at a level where they cannot understand the situation. That is something they seemingly do not understand.

We can define their agenda as fabricated, developed to create grounds for new fascist attacks, to create grounds to realize through fascist usurpation what they could not get through elections. Without being fooled by these, we will develop and deepen our struggle for Rêber Apo. We need to raise an uproar against the ban on visits with lawyers and family members. We need to expose them in legal circles all over

the world. There is no justification for the ways they act. The ongoing discussions have nothing to do with reality. It's all a game. We as a whole people, in the four parts of Kurdistan and our international friends abroad, develop our global freedom campaign and take up the struggle. We will enrich actions everywhere, making them more permanent and more result-oriented. We will develop new methods of action. Like this, the truth will come out. Everything will become clear.

The PKK is entering its 47th year and can look back on a long history of resistance. What can we expect in the coming year and what discussions are currently taking place, particularly with regard to Turkey and Turkish society?

The PKK was officially established with the first congress held on November 26 to 27, 1978. So now it is the 46th anniversary and, accordingly, there are celebrations everywhere. In particular, the news of Rêber Apo's health and his greetings have made the women, the youths, our people and international friends in the four parts of Kurdistan and abroad extremely excited and enthusiastic. All of this is reflected in these celebrations on November 27th.

There are also actions on the occasion of November 25th, the international day for the elimination of violence against women, which means the struggle for women's freedom. The PKK is a women's party and the essence of the PKK's struggle is the struggle for women's freedom. Rêber Apo has become the leader of this by developing Jineoloji. For more than 50 years he has been pioneering it. The united struggle of women shows itself in the streets every day. Kurds in all four parts of Kurdistan and all over the world developed actions on this occasion as well.

I would like to greet all these actions, rallies, seminars, marches, and other gatherings celebrating the anniversary of the founding of our party. I congratulate all comrades, especially Rêber Apo, our heroic guerrilla forces, our women and youth movement, our people, and our international friends on their party feast. I wish them great success in their struggle for freedom and democracy in the 47th year of the PKK. Again, by commemorating comrade Haki Karer, the first great martyr of our party, I commemorate with respect, love, and gratitude all our heroic party martyrs and martyrs of the freedom struggle, starting with comrade Haki Karer and extending to today's pioneers, comrades Asya Ali and Rojger Helin. I reiterate once again, on the occasion of this party anniversary our promise to keep their memories alive and achieve their goals.

There is a need for the reality of the PKK to be recognized and well understood. This means a correct understanding of the reality of Rêber Apo. There is a certain effort in this direction. In fact, for the last 40 or 50 years, the reality of Rêber Apo and the PKK had been one of the most discussed topics in Turkey and in many other parts of the world. There is no regression in this. In its 46th year, the PKK has waged a struggle equal to previous years. With great courage and sacrifice, it has overcome all difficulties and obstacles, set the agenda, and developed a struggle that imposes the democratization of Turkey and the Middle East on the basis of Kurdish freedom on the entire political environment. The debates show this. If this were not the case, the PKK would not be discussed so much today. Moreover, there would not have been so many falsehoods about the PKK. There would not have been so much work to confuse the public, especially the Turkish public, to distort their consciousness and their knowledge about the PKK. These are the results of the PKK's 46th year of struggle. It is an indication that this struggle is having more and more influence on Turkish society. A correct understanding of the relationship between the PKK and Turkey is needed.

The PKK is a movement with its own uniqueness and distinctive characteristics, and never before has there been a leadership like that of Rêber Apo. He was laying the organizational foundations of the PKK at the Cubuk Dam with Kurdish young people; he was staying in a house with Haki Karer and Kemal Pir, carrying out joint revolutionary work with two revolutionary young people from the Black Sea region, laying the foundations of an organization in Kurdistan. There was no problem with working and discussing with revolutionary youth from the Black Sea region. That is the level of relationship, the level of understanding with the Turkish people that is needed. It started with ADYOD, founded in the spring of 1974, then continued as FKBDC in the early 80s. Today it has come to HBDH. The PKK is in all alliances that want Turkey to be democratized. It is not detached from the reality of Turkey. The reality of the PKK reveals how Kurdish liberation and the democratization of Turkey go hand in hand, how they are not contradictory but two fundamental developments that feed each other and are indispensably linked to each other.

No one can say that the PKK is a narrow power and that it is not concerned with Turkey's problems. Just as it broke away from narrow Kurdish nationalism, struggled against primitive nationalism, reformist, surrenderist petite bourgeoisie nationalism, and transformed itself into a Kurdish freedom movement that envisions the democratization of Turkey and the Middle East, it also struggled against social chauvinism, which is the effective cause of the Turkish problem. What is meant by this social chauvinism? An understanding has been created that the existence of the Turks excludes the existence of the Kurds and that their existence makes freedom impossible. The ideology of the Turkish state is directed against the Kurds. Therefore, they were not able to analyze Turkey correctly. They could not develop the revolutionary line in the struggle correctly. Now, just as the break with Kurdish nationalism and the struggle against it was not a break with Kurdishness, Kurdish existence, and Kurdish freedom, but on the contrary, a better integration with them, the break with Turkish social chauvinism and the struggle against it is not a break with Turkish society and Turkish democratization, but on the contrary a stronger integration with it.

In the context of the İmralı trial, Rêber Apo said, "We have waged a struggle for democracy in Turkey; we cannot accept anything else." He emerged from the revolutionary democratic movement in Turkey. The PKK and the reality of Rêber Apo need to be understood from this aspect by looking at the historical developments. In addition to understanding its connection with Kurdish society, the Kurdish people, Kurdish history, and its unity with Kurdish reality, we must also see and understand its connection with Turkish society, Turkish democratization, Middle Eastern democratization, and, moreover, with free and democratic humanity. From the beginning, the PKK has always considered these strategically. It has always seen Kurdish freedom in the democratization of Turkey, the democratization of the Middle East, and the free and democratic march of humanity. It defined them as strategic allies, saw them, and carried them out in this way.

As we enter our 47th year, the struggle of the 46th year has revealed these realities, and they are affecting the environment in Turkey. So many circles are discussing, trying to understand, and are trying to understand honestly. We salute them, we respect them, but there are many, many more who try to deflect.

What will the 47th year struggle look like? We are entering this year on the basis of the global liberation campaign aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and on the basis that the campaign has started to yield practical results. We have declared that the physical liberation of Rêber Apo will no longer be a propaganda demand but will become a fact that will be realized step by step in practice. Based on this, we will develop the struggle for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo in a planned and organized manner everywhere. We are prepared for this as a movement. There are no problems or weaknesses in evaluating the

past, foreseeing the future, and planning the 47th year struggle through our leadership, all our cadres, and our committees. They are extremely clear, precise, and determined; they have the power to identify and plan tasks, and these are being done.

We are entering the 47th year on the basis of the accumulation of the struggle of the 46th and previous years. We are more prepared, planned, and determined than ever before. We will develop the 47th year struggle with its central aim of achieving the physical freedom of Rêber Apo, much stronger in every field, and we will win big. This is our claim. On this basis, we salute the 47th anniversary of our party and call on all comrades, our people, and international friends to struggle harder and win more in the 47th year struggle.

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Kalkan: The Kurdish people will resist as they always did

ANF | BEHDINAN | 29 NOVEMBER 2024

In the sixth part of this in-depth interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the 46th anniversary of the PKK as well as the way the organization will enter the new year of struggle.

War is also a reality of the struggle for freedom. What can you tell us about the latest developments in this direction?

Regarding the war, the HPG and YJA Star commands and our central headquarters make the necessary statements and publish balance sheets at the end of each month. Every day there are actions in West Zap and Metina. There are actions from Haftanin to Xakurke. The Medya Defense Areas are heroically resisting the invasion attack launched on July 3 with the support of the Iraqi administration. We can state that the invasion attack has failed.

They said that they would set an end to the guerrilla until summer, then they said fall, and now it is the end of November. They said that there would be some good news that they would announce, but every promise of them ran empty. Their General Chief of Staff was going to make a statement or the Minister of Defense was going to explain how they were successful in Zap, but there was nothing to announce. On August 15, they had a meeting with Iraq. Maybe there will be a statement on November 27th as well. They shall explain; the public is waiting for an explanation from them. They said they would close the lock. Have they closed it? Haven't they locked themselves? Aren't they stuck in a quagmire? It is very strange. And it is as if they have made everyone believe it. They are propagandizing in the Middle East and all over the world. They make so much propaganda that they are beginning to believe it themselves. They are surprised every time they hear that the guerrillas have carried out another action in the Zap and that soldiers have been shot again. They deceived many circles with lies about how they destroyed the PKK. By saying that, they gained power and support from everyone. But the reality is not like that; those who know this will stop supporting them. They will be ridiculed. They always postpone "the end of the PKK." It goes on and on like this. The reality is that the war continues. The war is also going on in northern Kurdistan. Our central headquarters command stated in its statements that now the focus lies more on northern Kur-

distan again. There will be new developments in this regard in the coming period. The war continues in the cities as well. Actions are taking place every day. There are military operations taking place. We see that the war is gradually spreading from the Medya Defense Areas and northern Kurdistan to the cities. But of course the war in the Medya Defense Areas is important. The KDP gave all kinds of support. Most recently, Iraq gave support. These planned attacks, occupation attacks, are in their 10th year. 10 years ago, in October 2014, they had planned and decided on the basis of the so-called 'collapse action plan'. 10 years have passed, and they have not been able to achieve even the narrowest of their goals.

They face a difficult situation. They mobilized all their means to succeed. They stopped all of Turkey's finances, all of Turkey's economy, everything, and spent everything on this. Now everything is collapsed. If they had gotten results here, maybe they would have predicted them. They didn't get results here either. Therefore, their failure in the war brings their collapse as a system, as a fascist government, as a colonialist, genocidal mentality, and politics. Therefore, they are really experiencing a collapse and a deadlock against the guerrilla. It is a complete bog down. The effects of this will be seen more in the coming period.

What will develop will have a serious impact on the fascist AKP and MHP regimes. In the beginning, the guerrilla struggled to develop tactics; there was inexperience; they had difficulties with changes, but now they have accumulated a great deal of experience in tunnel and mobile team warfare. Now they are in a position to understand the attacks coming at them, they are developing protection measures against them, and they are carrying out offensive actions themselves and are constantly striking. This will be the case for a long time to come. The guerrilla's striking power is known. Rêber Apo said, "There is no action that a guerrilla unit, no matter how small, that has educated and strengthened itself cannot carry out successfully, no enemy that it cannot defeat." This was seen latest in the action and attitude of comrades Asya and Rojger. The action targeting the TAI showed the striking power of the guerrilla. It showed everyone that there is no enemy target that it cannot hit, that it cannot enter, that it cannot strike. This shows the peak the guerrilla has reached in its struggles. On this basis, I once again salute the guerrilla fighting heroically all over Kurdistan, especially in Zap and Metina, congratulate their successes, and commemorate its heroic martyrs with respect, love, and gratitude. I wish them all great success in the coming winter.

The attacks on the political and social level, especially in northern Kurdistan, have recently increased in intensity and the state has once again appointed trustees for several municipalities. What can you say about this? What is your message to people?

Democratic political circles are evaluating the situation, putting forward their positions, making decisions, planning, and developing a struggle. Our patriotic people, particularly the women and the youth, are participating in every field, and a great resistance is being shown. In Merdin (tr. Mardin), Xelfeti (tr. Halfeti), Elih (tr. Batman), and Shevshek (tr. Esenyurt), the Kurdish people show great resistance against the attack in the form of appointing trustees. Now the people of Dersim (tr. Tunceli) are standing up. Dersim does not kneel; Seyit Riza did not kneel. The people of Dersim do not bow their heads; they resist. The Kurdish people resist; Kurdistan resists against these attacks. Of course they will resist; there is no other way.

The situation shows how fake the discussions about the current process are. It is simply unbelievable how mendacious they are. There is hardly anything comparable in the world. It is also unbelievable that there are still people who listen to them after all the massacres and all the invasion attacks, after all the ways they have been abused and exploited. The democratic political arena should also make good use of the current

situation. It would not be good to lose what was gained by not taking a stand against such approaches in time. One must be able to protect and defend what one has gained. This aspect is important.

The people's municipalities and the people's service centers should be in the hands of the people. The state should not interfere. It is necessary to address why the state tries to intervene here. That's where the problem lies. A municipality won with 65 percent of the vote, and they won't let them organize it themselves. Fascist laws made it like this. The centralist state, the state that leaves nothing to the community, does this. Democratic society must reject this. It must fight against this. It must develop its own alternative. It must create a democratic people's administration, a local administration. Not everything can be done with money. They can collect aid among themselves; they can organize themselves as a municipality. They can do their own work. It is necessary to frustrate this usurpation called trusteeship through various methods. It seems to me that this is actually due to not being able to overcome statism, not being able to organize and develop democratic governance and democratic alternatives sufficiently. These should be emphasized more.

I mean what shall I say in this regard? We are a force of struggle. We say resistance. "Resistance is life!" is the saying comrade Mazlum Dogan has coined. Resistance leads to victory, surrender leads to betrayal. Resistance, more resistance, and more resistance; there is no other way but this. There is no other way, no other method but to grow and develop resistance against fascist aggression and usurpation. We need to organize more, fight more, and resist more.

Now, for the third time, a trustee is being appointed in Mardin. There are elections every five years. That's fifteen years. For fifteen years the people show their will, and for fifteen years the state goes against it and appoints whoever suits it better instead. So what is the point of that election? Was there any meaning to elections in Turkey then? Are they democratic elections? It is obvious that the election is a game. The people should no longer take this into consideration, and neither should anyone else; we can't. We were actually doing a test run. Now no one in Turkey will have any credibility anymore, neither in municipal elections nor in other elections. Because the will of the people is not validated. The will that rules it, the will of the fascist chief, the will of the palace coups as it wishes. It changes it whenever it wants. It happens through war, through struggle, through resistance. So what are the people of Kurdistan, the Kurdish people, the youth, and young women going to say? They work so hard, hold elections, win them, and then the state comes and takes it away from them. So, what should they do? They must break the hands that reach out to them. That means war; it means self-defense. The people have to organize their own self-defense. Right now they try to take the will of the people by force of arms, by force of police; they cannot take a step if there is a revolutionary force against them that will counterbalance that force.

The Kurds are not without an alternative. There is the PKK. We call on young people and young women to join the PKK, join PAJK, join the guerrilla, and concentrate on self-defense organization. Fascism, colonialism, and genocide cannot be overthrown by elections. If you don't fight in the language they understand, you can't push them back. What is the struggle in the language they understand? Guerrilla struggle. This can be in the city, in the mountains, everywhere. It can be developed everywhere.

We didn't want it to be like this, but the other side does. As I said, Kurds work with alternatives; the PKK works with alternatives. Therefore, if they say it cannot be done through elections, we will respond with war, struggle, and resistance. We will respond with serhildan. We will develop people's war, self-defense war, and people's serhildans. If they use force, we will know how to impose revolutionary force against

their fascist force. Kurds have this courage, this consciousness. The PKK is the name of this consciousness, the name of this organization, the name of this action. The PKK expresses this will in Kurdistan. It is the will and self-defense of the Kurdish people in spirit, emotion, thought, consciousness, and action. The PKK will become stronger. The PKK struggle will develop more.

To prevent this, they are developing all kinds of special war attacks. There are gangs everywhere. They are trying to develop all kinds of corruption to prevent the youth, young women, from participating in the freedom struggle in the guerrilla. Drugs, prostitution, theft, gangsterism – they develop everything. We need to take to the mountains more against them. They need to be held to account. The special war cannot be prevented by just discussing it. It needs to be discussed, and awareness must be raised, but essentially, it is necessary to organize and take action against it. When there is no revolutionary organizational action against them, they appear to be strong. As soon as they are confronted, as soon as they are held to account, they cower in their places. There is a great new future for the Kurdish youth. There is a free life, a new life. This is the consciousness of this youth. It has been fighting for almost fifty years, waging a struggle for freedom under the leadership of Rêber Apo.

The developments show the necessity to correctly, seriously and disciplined approach the struggle. The struggle will continue in all respects. Fascist mentality, system, colonialist, genocidal power – what else can be expected from AKP and MHP? Of course they will attack, but we will develop a resistance and struggle that will destroy those attacks with much greater strength on every front, everywhere. The trend is in favor of the development of the revolutionary struggle, the struggle for freedom, the struggle for democracy. Fascism is shrinking, being squeezed, being forced. It is in a deadlock, it is experiencing insolvency. If we organize ourselves more and mobilize ourselves for more effective struggle, we will win. I invite everyone to such an attitude once again.

We would now like to take a look at the Third World War. Can you give us an outlook on this?

Since 1990, the Third World War has been developing and spreading through various stages. The whole world is involved in this. At this point, beyond its ideological and political dimension, the military dimension is also emerging, intensifying, and spreading. The danger is increasing in that dimension as well. Many people were looking at the election in the US. Trump became president with the propaganda that he would stop the ongoing wars. But just before he became president elect, there was a discussion of nuclear war over Ukraine. The US, Britain, now France, and many other powers are encouraging the Ukrainian government to use more weapons, to use new weapons. Most recently, France has taken steps in this regard. They even announced that they would send troops. It is an astonishing situation. One understands the efforts of the US, but why this effort of Europe, especially Germany and France? The US and the UK started this war. They pushed Europe and Russia back with this war situation. The US competence has improved. But is Europe so weak-willed? Is it so obedient to the US? Whereas in the past they used to say that NATO is brain dead, that it cannot protect Europe, that an European army is necessary, and that Europe must have a new defense system, now these things are happening as if they were never said, as if they were never recorded.

There is a possibility that Trump would gradually cool down the war in Ukraine. When he gets into office this is most likely to be the development. We thought that if the supranational monopoly capital wanted it that way, it would elect Trump president. Trump was indeed elected. But now, even before he takes office, the Biden administration is escalating the war in Ukraine. Maybe the last things are being played out.

There will be a retreat, maybe. But it is a dangerous game. They are playing a dangerous game of nuclear weapons. The war may become more widespread and deepen in the Middle East. We don't think Trump will follow a very different policy on this issue. After the attacks on Lebanon and the war with Hezbollah, Israel is gradually increasing its attacks on Syria. They may hit Iranian targets in Syria more. The issue of what the Syrian administration will be and how the Syrian system will be shaped may come to the fore more. This may be the more influential agenda of the coming days, weeks, and months. There is an open situation for this.

Iran seems to be making efforts to prevent this. Iran's stance has always been to withdraw from the war. Despite these attacks, there does not seem to be a different attitude. But it is not clear how effective and preventive it will be. With the Israeli attacks, the US and NATO have gained military superiority in the Middle East. They will probably escalate them further. In other words, they will target Iran's extraterritorial forces more. They are forcing Iran to compromise with its own hand. Or alternative democratization may develop.

The same is true for Turkey. Turkey panicked a bit when the first clashes happened. Israel's attack on Hezbollah and the war in Lebanon provoked it first. Supposedly Israel and Iran would fight. Both of them would be dependent on Turkey in the Middle East, and Turkey would be an effective power outside the war, like a mediator. Turkey realized that the Israeli attacks were not like that, that they were aimed at striking a blow against the status quo. When they realized that the center of the war would gradually shift to Turkey and that the tail of the war would break in Cyprus, they panicked. Now they are probably making different, deep calculations. They are trying to distract with some debates and psychological warfare. Bahçeli made an exit in this regard. We called on him to be serious, but he was not consistent. He could not show a political stance equal to his serious stance in his statements. We don't know how the next process will be. But the outlook for Turkey is not good. As long as the AKP and MHP fascism continue its current rule, as long as this power in Turkey remains in this form, as long as the Kurdish-hostile, fascist, anti-democratic, dictatorial rule continues, Turkey will face great dangers. It will enter a catastrophe. So much so that a similar imposition will come to Turkey. Either it will completely surrender to the new Middle Eastern capitalist modernity that Israel wants to develop together with the Arabs, or if the democratic alternative does not develop, if Kurdish freedom and democratic Turkey do not develop, Turkey will disintegrate. There is no other way for Turkey within the system. Its options are either to disintegrate or to surrender to the Israeli order.

Apart from this, the only possible salvation for Turkey is democratization on the basis of Kurdish freedom. An alternative democratic Turkey must emerge, unite its strength and reach the power to protect itself from all these attacks. Especially those who love Turkey, intellectuals, politicians, democratic forces, true patriots of Turkey must see this situation. They must oppose AKP and MHP fascism on this basis. They must unite with Kurdish freedom on this basis. They should try to save Turkey from this disaster, knowing that this can only be realized on the basis of the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. Our efforts have always been on this basis, but not only with us, there must be a general rising up in Turkey to put an end to this trend. This is our expectation and effort. We hope we will see this soon.

Çiğdem Doğu: World War III is a war against society and nature, starting with women

ANF | BEHDINAN | 25 NOVEMBER 2024

Çiğdem Doğu, an executive board member of the KJK (Community of Kurdistan Women), spoke in this interview with ANF about the character of the unspoken Third World War against women, society and nature.

What can be said about the character of World War III? What methods, tactics and strategies are the capitalist world systems and nation-state regimes using in the Middle East and beyond?

World wars are anchored in the minds of humanity as processes in which states in mutual alliances officially declare and wage war against each other, in which millions of people die and suffer great damage in a wide geographical area. Since the two world wars were fought in this way, World War III is being approached in a similar way, resulting in a similar pattern. As is well known, both world wars led to successes of socialist, democratic and national liberation struggles of the oppressed and to lasting achievements.

The most important conclusion for the forces of capitalist modernity is that the Third World War is being fought on the basis of preventing possible achievements of the oppressed and societies. There is a holistic approach to both reshaping the world according to their own capitalist interests and to liquidating the existing fighting power of the peoples and oppressed in the implementation of this shaping strategy and neutralizing possible fighting dynamics at an early stage. For this reason, the war is being fought with means that are too protracted to be compressed into a period of a few years and too rich to be limited to a few countries and addressed with a single method. War is everywhere, although in different forms and in some areas it is more visible and intense.

Deepening and expanding the war

From cold war methods to hot war methods, from the use of hard power to soft power, from nation-states to non-state structures, all ways of physical and special warfare form the basis of this process. World War III is characterized and fought as a struggle of capitalist modernity against all societies, nature and women. Another important feature of this war is that it is protracted and long-lasting. The powers of capitalist modernity deepen and expand the war by drawing on the entire accumulation of power and experience of the central civilization. In shaping its new system that transcends national borders, global capital skillfully uses all kinds of nationalism, religious fanaticism, sexism and scientism.

War is made invisible through fragmentation

It is very important for the forces of capitalist modernity to make war invisible so that they can carry out their strategy without damaging the nation-state structure, which is an obstacle to the global circulation of capital, and without causing a revolutionary development for the oppressed. So the more skillfully nationalism, religion, sexism and scientism are used within nation-states, the more invisible the world war character of violence becomes. The intensive use of violence in a geography makes war more visible, but the

fragmented use of violence within each nation-state prevents this. A state of open war dominates societies, the oppressed, and plays a role in the development of a more integrated and powerful strategy of struggle. Societies react faster and more strongly to a war that they see open.

World War III has not just started

World War III is directed against societies, women and nature and has been fought in this way for almost 30 years. It is being conducted without naming it and without making it visible, by giving the impression that it is limited to the internal structure of nation-states and some of their enemies. This process is being carried out in a very clever and ruthless manner. In this context, it is important to point out that World War III has not just started now, as is sometimes suggested. It began in the 1990s, when the US targeted Iraq. Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] had already made this observation many years ago, and the strategic value of this observation is much better understood today.

New phase since 7 October

The period since 7 October 2023, after Hamas's attack on Israel, and the war that Israel has continued to wage to this day represent a new phase of World War III. Netanyahu's declaration in his first statements after 7 October that the maps are being changed and the situation that has now emerged are a clear indication of this.

It would be a positivist approach to limit the discourse on changing maps to a purely political meaning. The maps of the hegemonic system, the calculation of new energy routes, geostrategic and geopolitical calculations essentially denote massacres of societies, women and children. This should never be forgotten.

To what extent does this war fuel misogyny? And in what ways do nationalism, religious fanaticism, sexism and scientism, as the fuel of fascism, affect the existence and identity of women today?

The main goal of global capital is to break the will of society, and society means women first and foremost, and women mean life. While the capital is male-dominated, society is female-oriented. Social life is moral-political life, and it is women who maintain, implement and keep moral-political life moving. The mother of social life in material and spiritual terms is woman. From the first hours of domination to today, the main strategy for suppressing social will is based on suppressing the will of women. In this respect, there is a history and the experience and corpus of male-dominated power created by that history. While this accumulation and experience itself is constant, the level reached by male-dominated capital and the need to overcome all limits require methods and forms of politics that go beyond the usual.

Destruction of organized resistance

The answer to your question can be found precisely at this point. Since World War III is based on the long-term destruction of the will of society, therefore also the will of women, and the associated construction of hegemony, nationalism, religious zeal, scientism and sexism become the main weapons. These four elements, also called hybrid wars, play an enormous role both as physical and as special elements of warfare. They divide and fragment society down to its atoms, weakening in particular the moral-political strength of women and making them incapable of offering organized resistance to male-dominated capitalist power. By applying polarizing and corrosive ideological methods, societies, women and men, reli-

gions, nations, individuals are incited against each other and made to fight each other. In the atmosphere of this war, the moral-political force is weakened to the greatest extent. When the principle of moral-political life, the consciousness of being a community, is weakened, there is no longer any strength to resist.

War against society and nature

For this reason, we consider World War III as a war against society and nature, starting with women. This war is very deliberately not named, it is made almost invisible. How can we define the massacres of women with a thousand faces all over the world, in the Middle East and in Kurdistan, other than with the term war? In what period have there been such intense massacres of women, massacres of nature, social degradation and degeneration of life? Even a general and rough overview makes us clearly see that we are dealing with a massive femicide in almost every geography and on every square meter of the world. It is a big lie to claim that this war violence against women only occurs in some "backward" countries and that it is caused by individuals. This claim is part of the special warfare to conceal the war against women. We know very well that those in power use national, sectarian and cultural differences in societies to provoke nationalism and religious fanaticism. In doing so, they provoke male-dominated violence and make femicide commonplace by creating areas of conflict.

What is happening today in Turkey, Yemen, Sudan, Ethiopia, Libya, Afghanistan, etc.? If we look at the massacres and exploitation of women in these countries, we can see very clearly how these methods are applied and produce results. On the other hand, if we look at the places that capitalist modernity calls developed countries, where there are no hot conflicts, we see that these methods are now being applied more visibly and women are being attacked.

Tactical projections of the war against women

A very important point, of course, is that the war against women must not be limited to the results of conflicts that arise from the provocation of nationalism and religious fanaticism. This is really very important. Because if we do not see the special aspect of war, namely the aspect of not physically killing women, but of completely transforming their body and soul into a market commodity, we have an incomplete and therefore wrong approach to the strategy of World War III. The tactical projections of war that women face at every moment range from the devaluation of female labor to the transformation of every organ of the female body into a sexual commodity, which takes femininity to an extremely degrading and humiliating level.

This war is causing terrible disruptions in women, in their physicality, psychology, spirituality and relational world. A woman whose body and world are torn apart means a divided society and a fragmented nature. That is why our world has become a world without love, without light, without meaning.



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