THE İMRALI POST

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

Issue № 134 / 3 January 2025 ★ Contact: imralipost@freeocalan.org

## Contents

**Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan....3**
Activists from the UK take over Freedom for Öcalan Vigil in Strasbourg....3
DEM Party delegation returns from İmralı....3
Abdullah Öcalan: Positive contributions are essential for the process to succeed....5
KCK: Leader Öcalan's perspective will be the compass of our struggle in the new year....6
Activists from Nancy take over Freedom for Öcalan Vigil in Strasbourg....7
DEM Party delegation to meet other parties after visit to Imrali....8
**Prisons....9**
Political prisoners Warisha Muradi and Pakshan Azizi finally meet their families....9
Prisoner in Dumlu reports increasing rights violations amounting to torture....9
Ill prisoner Adsız taken to hospital....10
Fahriye Ceylan released after spending 32 years in prison....10
**Military aggression and occupation....11**
SDF: 22 mercenaries killed, 25 wounded....11
Salih Muslim: We are part of Syria and want to be included in the solution....11
SDF: ISIS takes advantage of Turkish attacks on our areas and targets our forces in Deir ez-Zor....13
14 SNA mercenaries killed in clashes with Manbij Military Council....14
DAANES: Protecting diversity and pluralism in Syria is an urgent necessity....14
SDF: 17 Syrian National Army members killed....15
Turkish soldiers kill a civilian in a village of Van....15
Roboski Massacre, an unending mourning....16
Vigil at Suruç-Kobanê border on day 6: We must defend Rojava....17
Six mercenaries killed in Manbij countryside....18
Drone strike injures two civilians in Tabqa as attacks on North-East Syria continue....18
Several mercenaries eliminated in a series of operations by Serekaniye Military Council....19
Vigil at Qamishlo border on day 17....20
SDF hits radar system belonging to the Turkish state in Manbij....21
HPG: Guerrillas stop Turkish army advance attempt in Girê Cûdî....21
SDF destroys radar systems and an armored vehicle of Turkish occupation forces....22
UCAV attack against Internal Security Forces checkpoint in Ain Issa....22
Invaders attack water station and wheat storage in Ain Issa and Til Temir....23
HSM publishes war balance sheet for 2024....23
Turkish army bombs Qereqozax bridge....26
YPJ fighter martyred in the battle of Qereqozax....27
Vigil at Nusaybin-Qamishlo border: Rojava is our honour....28
A member of Internal Security Forces killed in ISIS attack in Rojava....29
One wounded in Turkish artillery shelling of a village in South Kurdistan....30

SDF shoots down Turkish reconnaissance drone....30
Two members of the SNA gangs surrender to Manbij Military Council....30
Turkish UCAV bombs sugar factory in Tabqa....31
Occupation forces shell Qereqozaq....31
A mercenary killed, a radar system destroyed in retaliatory actions by YPJ....31
New heavy attacks against Tishrin Dam....32
SDF condemns the terrorist attacks in Manbij, Tal Rifat and Deir Jammal....32
SDF refutes claims by the 'Syrian Network for Human Rights'....33
Thousands in Nusaybin march to Qamishlo border....33
Occupation forces shell villages in Til Temir and Zirgan....35
A tank destroyed and dozens of invaders killed in Ebu Qelqel....35
Vigil at Kobanê border on its 11th day....36
People in Sheran set up self-defence battalion named after Martyr Dilovan....36
72 invaders killed in clashes in villages of Manbij....37
YPJ announces the martyrdom of three fighters....37
Drone attack on administrative building near Tabqa....40
Thousands march to the border of Kobanê in solidarity with the resistance of Rojava....40
**Feminicide....43**
Kurdish women call for the recognition of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria43
YPJ: 2025 will be the year of women's revolution and the victory of the people....44
**Human Rights Violations....45**
Dicle Fırat Journalists Association announces legal report for 2024....45
Access to Mezopotamya Agency and Yeni Yaşam websites blocked....47
DEM Party Youth Assembly spokesperson taken into custody....47
10 people taken into custody in Kocaeli for posting photos of journalists killed in Northeast Syria. 48
59 kolbars killed, 287 others injured in 2024....48
**Interview....49**
Sozdar Avesta: The determination of the Kurdish people is greater than all dangers....49
Sozdar Avesta: 2025 can be a year of great success, despite the dangers....54
Cemil Bayik: The freedom for Öcalan initiative should be positively concluded in 2025....56
Cemil Bayik: AKP-MHP government failed to liquidate the Kurdish Freedom Movement....59
Bayik: The only way to solve the crisis in the Middle East is the democratic nation....62
Bayik: An alternative to the government is possible with a right approach to the Kurdish question. 69
Besê Hozat: Abdullah Öcalan is Turkey's last chance....72
Besê Hozat: The Third World War is raging and the Middle East is being redesigned....78

—★—

# Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

## Activists from the UK take over Freedom for Öcalan Vigil in Strasbourg

**ANF | Strasbourg | 27 December 2024**

The Freedom for Öcalan Vigil was launched on 25 June 2012 in Strasbourg, to demand the end of isolation in Imrali and the release of the Kurdish People's Leader.

The vigil has reached week 653 and has been taken over by a group of activists from the United Kingdom. The group, which consists of members of the Sheffield Democratic Kurdish Community Center, included Ismet Serhad and Gezgör Kanîreş.

Speaking on behalf of the group, Ismet Serhad said: "The physical freedom of Leader Öcalan also means a democratic and peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. As Kurdish people, we will both liberate our Leader and protect our achievements."

Serhad added that everyone should raise their voices against the Turkish attacks against Rojava, and called on Kurds to defend the revolution. "Just as we defended Kobanê ten years ago, - he said - we must defend Rojava today. We must work for our national unity in order to protect our achievements."

—★—

## DEM Party delegation returns from İmralı

**ANF | 28 December 2024**

The Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) MPs Sırrı Süreyya Önder and Pervin Buldan travelled to Imrali Prison Island to meet with Abdullah Öcalan earlier today after the Turkish Ministry of Justice granted the requested visit permit.

While the delegation returned from İmralı, DEM Party made the following statement: "Our delegation consisting of Pervin Buldan and Sırrı Süreyya Önder held a meeting with Mr Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı today. This meeting has ended and our delegation has returned. Our delegation will share information and evaluations about the content of this meeting with the press and the public in the following hours."

Sırrı Süreyya Önder and Pervin Buldan were members of the İmralı Delegation during the talks between the Turkish state and Abdullah Öcalan between 2013 and 2015. On 28 February 2015, the 'Dolmabahçe Consensus' was declared in Istanbul. The agreement was a ten-point plan negotiated between Abdullah

Öcalan and the Turkish state to resolve the Kurdish question. The peace process was terminated shortly afterwards by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The founder of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, has been held incommunicado on the prison island of Imrali since his illegal abduction from Kenya to Turkey in 1999. The last contact with him was a visit from his nephew, Ömer Öcalan, on 23 October.

## Background

Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım and Veysi Aktaş are kept under severe isolation conditions in Imralı F Type High Security Prison in the Sea of Marmara.

The right of Abdullah Öcalan and fellow prisoners in Imralı to meet with their families and lawyers 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 Serekanîye 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 the isolation continued and that he would be able to move the conflict from the level of violence to a political and legal level if the necessary conditions were in place.

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".

On 12 December, Asrin Law Office made a new application to the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) requesting "an urgent (ad-hoc) visit to İmralı Prison in the face of the reality that the current conditions in İmralı have continued in uncertainty since your last visit on 22 September 2022

and have gradually hardened, and that the conditions have reached a new level in a period of more than 2 years."

—★—

# Abdullah Öcalan: Positive contributions are essential for the process to succeed

**ANF | 29 December 2024**

DEM Party MPs Pervin Buldan and Sırrı Süreyya Önder met with Abdullah Öcalan in Imrali on Saturday. They issued the following statement about the meeting:

"On 28 December 2024, we held a comprehensive meeting with Mr. Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı. His health is good, and his morale is high. His assessments aimed at finding a permanent solution to the Kurdish issue were of profound importance.

During the meeting, which included an assessment of recent developments in the Middle East and Turkey, Mr. Öcalan presented positive solution proposals to counter the dark future scenarios being imposed.

The general framework of his thoughts and approach can be summarized as follows:

- Strengthening the Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood once again is not only a historic responsibility but also a matter of critical urgency and significance for all peoples.

- For the process to succeed, it is essential that all political groups in Turkey take initiative without getting caught up in narrow, short-term interests, act constructively, and contribute positively. One of the key platforms for these contributions will undoubtedly be the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM).

- The events in Gaza and Syria have shown that the resolution of this issue, which external interventions attempt to turn into a chronic problem, can no longer be delayed. The contributions and proposals of the opposition are also crucial for achieving a solution proportional to the seriousness of this issue.

- I possess the necessary competence and determination to provide the required positive contribution to the new paradigm supported by Mr. Bahçeli and Mr. Erdoğan.

- The delegation will share my perspective with both the state and political circles. In this context, I am ready to take the necessary positive steps and issue a call.

- All these efforts will elevate the country to the level it deserves and will also serve as a valuable guide for democratic transformation.

- This is a time for peace, democracy, and brotherhood for Turkey and the region."

—★—

# KCK: Leader Öcalan's perspective will be the compass of our struggle in the new year

**ANF | Behdinan | 31 December 2024**

The Co-Presidency of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council released a statement regarding the current developments in the region, the meeting of the DEM Party MPs with the Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı and the upcoming new year.

The KCK statement on Tuesday includes the following:

"Humanity and our people are entering a new year. In the last year, the Third World War of partition continued in the world, in our region, and in our country, deepening, causing great loss of life and injuries, and spreading to new areas. This war is affecting all humanity in the most severe way. Hunger, thirst, inadequate access to health care, poverty, unemployment, and deterioration in living conditions are becoming more widespread.

The colonialist genocidal Turkish state, backed by the conditions arising from the Third World War, has done everything it could to liquidate the Kurdish freedom struggle. It has maintained the isolation of Rêber Apo (Leader Abdullah Öcalan) continued to use all kinds of chemical weapons against the guerrilla, committed endless lawlessness, including the most severe torture of prisoners struggling for freedom and disregarding the universal rights of law, and implemented the state of emergency laws against our people. The oppression of women has continued unabated, and arbitrary arrests, massacres, and rape have become almost commonplace. In particular, the appointment of trustees to many elected municipalities has been the most striking colonialist practice in terms of showing great intolerance to the Kurdish people's ability to live according to their own identity and free will.

In the course of the developments in Syria, the gangs and mercenaries of the SNA affiliated with the fascist Turkish government have displaced more than a hundred thousand of our people; women and children have been deliberately massacred within the scope of the genocidal practices targeting the Kurdish people in North and East Syria.

The attacks against our people and the Kurdish freedom movement predominantly aim to break the will to resist, to break the hope and belief to live freely and humanely on their own lands. However, the resistance of Rêber Apo under the most unrelenting isolation conditions and the heroic resistance of the Kurdish freedom guerrilla, despite the use of all kinds of banned weapons and the most advanced technology by the Turkish army, have thwarted and devastated all the calculations of the fascist government. We commemorate with respect and gratitude all freedom fighters who were martyred in this resistance and all over Kurdistan. We take responsibility for their memory by raising the struggle and achieving victory.

The resistance of our people, the workers and women under the slogan 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadi' prevented the colonialist fascist government from achieving its goals. Especially the struggle in the framework of the global campaign 'Freedom for Abdullah Ocalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question' was intensified by our movement, people, and their international friends, and therefore has gained a universal character. It played an important role in dispelling the darkness they tried to force upon us and has revealed freedom on the horizon.

The meeting between Rêber Apo and the DEM Party delegation in Imrali on December 28th was a direct result of Rêber Apo's unprecedented stance in Imrali prison and the resistance of the Kurdish freedom movement, our people, and its international friends all over Kurdistan and the world. In this meeting, by taking historical responsibility and in contradiction to the darkness they want to impose, Rêber Apo once again put forward his positive, solution-oriented, and horizon-opening point of view. In addition to the solution of the Kurdish question, the democratization of Turkey, and the solution of the problems in the Middle East, he unveiled with great conviction that a just peace is an urgent task all over the world and thereby is creating new hope and faith for all peoples from all cultures, particularly for women and workers. He summarized his ideas in seven points, which define our duties to be fulfilled and give new strength and hope to the movement and people.

As the freedom and peoples' movement, we declare that our leader's views announced at the end of 2024, which are worth a manifesto, will be our compass of struggle in the new year. We call on our people, all our friends, all political segments, and all democratic forces who are in favor of the solution of the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey to struggle on this basis. With the belief that the new year will bring the physical liberation of Rêber Apo, the solution of the Kurdish question, the democratization of Turkey and the region, peace and stability in our region and the whole world, we congratulate Rêber Apo, all comrades, women, and workers who struggle for freedom on the new year."

—★—

# Activists from Nancy take over Freedom for Öcalan Vigil in Strasbourg

**ANF | Strasbourg | 2 January 2025**

The Freedom for Öcalan Vigil was launched in Strasbourg on 25 June 2012 to demand an end to isolation in Imrali and freedom for Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan. The vigil continues in its 654th week, and in the first week of 2025, it has been taken over by a group of activists from Nancy.

The group includes Murat Torun, Piri Kızılay, Uğur Aslan and Mehmet Yurtsever. Murat Torun spoke on behalf of the activists, and said that the hopes of making the new year a year of freedom for Leader Öcalan and the peoples have increased.

Torun said: "In this historical process, we call on our people to increase the struggle everywhere, to unite around the values of struggle, and to support the Rojava Revolution."

—★—

# DEM Party delegation to meet other parties after visit to Imrali

**ANF | Ankara | 2 January 2025**

The Press Office of the People's Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) issued a statement about some planned meetings following the DEM Party delegation's meeting with Leader Abdullah Öcalan on 28 December.

The statement said that Ahmet Türk (co-mayor of Mardin, now replaced by a trustee) will join the DEM Party delegation, which includes Sırrı Süreyya Önder and Pervin Buldan.

According to the statement, the delegation is scheduled to meet with the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Numan Kurtulmuş, at 1.30pm, and the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Devlet Bahçeli, at 3pm in Parliament today.

The statement said: "On 28 December, our Parliament deputy Speaker Sırrı Süreyya Önder and our MP Pervin Buldan met with Mr. Abdullah Öcalan in Imrali. As previously announced, the delegation is now embarking on a series of meetings with political parties represented in Parliament.

After the Imrali visit, the delegation first briefed our co-chairs Tülay Hatimoğulları and Tuncer Bakırhan on the developments. Today, accompanied by Kurdish politician Ahmet Türk, the delegation will meet with the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Numan Kurtulmuş, and the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Devlet Bahçeli".

The statement added: "The delegation, comprising Pervin Buldan, Sırrı Süreyya Önder, and Amhet Türk, will also meet various civil society organizations, labor unions, and professional associations after completing their meetings with political parties in Parliament.

The purpose of these meetings is to provide information about the Imrali visit and gather opinions and suggestions. Once the meetings are concluded, the delegation will make a detailed public statement and provide updates to the public."

—★—

# Prisons

## Political prisoners Warisha Muradi and Pakshan Azizi finally meet their families

**ANF | 27 December 2024**

Kurdish political prisoners Warisha Muradi and Pakhsan Azizi are held in Evin Prison in Tehran. The two women activists have been sentenced to death, and are constantly denied rights such as medical treatment and visits from their lawyers and families by the Iranian authorities.

According to reports, both prisoners have finally been allowed to meet with their families on 22 December. The meeting lasted one hour.

—★—

## Prisoner in Dumlu reports increasing rights violations amounting to torture

**ANF | Erzurum | 27 December 2024**

Rights violations are increasing in Erzurum Dumlu High Security Closed Prison No. 2. In a phone call with his father Samet Kaya on December 25th, prisoner Ramazan Kaya spoke about the rights violations they are subjected to.

Ramazan Kaya stated that the prison is turning into a torture center day by day and the most basic human needs such as water, food and electricity are being used as an instrument of torture against them.

"Yesterday we were not given water until noon. When we asked why, they laughed and insulted us. Some guards seem to be specially selected. They approach us like enemies. When raiding the wards, the guards attack and insult everyone. The prison director tries to provoke political prisoners and drive them to suicide. In addition, although we press the call button to ask for help to solve the water and electricity problems, the ringtone of the button is turned off and we are prevented from getting help. Sick prisoners are denied the right to treatment. Their condition is getting worse day by day. The prison administration is doing this deliberately."

Kaya stated that after an imposition of solitary confinement and prevention of visitations, they are now fined and see their right to open air arbitrarily restricted.

He remarked that the prison administration kind of grants them the right to drink water, eat and watch TV whenever it wants.

Ramazan Kaya added, “I don't know what will happen to me after the phone call. The policies here are not independent of the policies in İmralı. We are not even allowed to breathe here. That is why we expect all civil society organizations and the public to be sensitive. We are not abandoned and we call for awareness by our people and the whole public.”

—★—

# Ill prisoner Adsız taken to hospital

**ANF | Van | 29 December 2024**

Ill prisoner Burhan Adsız, who is in Van Prison, was taken to the Van Regional Education and Research Hospital on 26 December. Adsız has liver problems, and was sent to prison after his sentence was upheld. Adsız's illness worsened while in prison.

## Report confirms that 'he cannot stay in prison'

Adsız, whose condition was worsening, was released after the Van Yüzüncü Yıl University Dursun Odabaş Medical Center Health Board issued a report stating that he "cannot stay in prison" on 17 December 2015. After the sentence was upheld in 2023, Adsız was again put in prison. His health condition came to the agenda once more with a new report prepared by the Van Education and Research Hospital Health Board on 2 January 2024. This report stated that "as a result of an investigation it was established that Burhan Adsız could remain in prison."

—★—

# Fahriye Ceylan released after spending 32 years in prison

**ANF | 31 December 2024**

Fahriye Ceylan was held in Alanya Type L Closed Prison in Alanya. She was released on Monday after 32 years in jail. Ceylan was detained and sent to prison in 1992 in Amed and sentenced to life imprisonment by the State Security Court (DGM) for "disrupting the unity and integrity of the state".

Ceylan’s release was postponed 6 times. The woman was imprisoned when she was only 18 years old, and was held in jails in different cities, Amed, Êlih (Batman) and Adana, before being transferred to Alanya Type L Closed Prison. Ceylan could be released in January 2022. However, her release was postponed 6 times for different excuses, such as "not making a sincere statement", "not showing signs of remorse".

On Monday, Fahriye Ceylan was welcomed by her relatives, Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) and TUAYDER executives in front of the prison.

—★—

# Military aggression and occupation

## SDF: 22 mercenaries killed, 25 wounded

**ANF | 27 December 2024**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) said in a statement that "on Thursday, our forces responded to the comprehensive invasion attack by the Turkish state and its gangs. As a result, dozens of gangs were killed and dozens were injured. Their tanks and military vehicles were destroyed."

The statement added: "As a result of the resistance, 22 gangs were killed, and 25 gangs were injured. Due to the severe blows, the gangs had to flee and hide.

Martyr Harun units also hit the gangs' points and places where they gathered 4 times. As a result, many gangs were injured and their military vehicles were destroyed."

—★—

## Salih Muslim: We are part of Syria and want to be included in the solution

**ANF | 27 December 2024**

Following the attacks launched by Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) and resulting in the overthrow of the 61-year-old Baath regime, the balance in Syria has changed. Turkey, which is trying to turn the balance in its favor, has become the first country to establish contact with HTS leader Ahmed al-Shara at various levels in order to expand its influence through the new administration that will be formed in Turkey. Al shara met with the Director of the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) İbrahim Kalın on December 12 and Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan on December 22 in Damascus.

Democratic Union Party (PYD) Presidential Council Member and former co-chair Salih Muslim spoke to MA News Agency about Turkey's recent Syria policy, meetings with Damascus and approach to the Kurds.

Salih Muslim, Turkey's two recent visits to Damascus were part of new plans for the Kurdish people in the region, stated that there was no clear information about the content of the talks. Muslim said, "We do not know exactly what was discussed in the talks Turkey held with Damascus. However, it seems that Turkey is giving the message, 'Don't come to the table with the Kurds, don't establish any relations with the Autonomous Administration.' At the center of all their policies is to prevent the Kurds acquisitions."

## "Turkey wants to control Syria"

Turkey says it wants peace in Syria, but, Muslim said, "these statements are not honest. Turkey says it wants a Syria cleansed of terrorism. However, their definition of 'terrorist' includes the Kurdish people and the people in the Autonomous Administration who are living peacefully in the region. They shamelessly describe the YPG and SDF as terrorists and use this as an excuse to intervene in Syria. This is unacceptable. Turkey's stance resembles France's mandate over Syria in the past.

Today, Turkey wants to take Syria under its own control with all its might. However, this is unacceptable for neither the people nor the future of Syria."

## 'SDF was formed to defend the people'

Muslim said: "The SDF, YPG, and YPJ emerged after 2011 as a result of attacks on our people and our achievements. We organized to defend ourselves on our own lands. If they were to lay down their weapons, this would only be possible if the threats are eliminated. If the attacks on our people stop and assurance is given, there will be no need for weapons.

However, we are still under threat at the moment, and for this reason, we cannot give up our defense. The threat to not only the security of the Kurdish people, but also to the Arabs, Syriacs, Turkmens, and all other people living in the region must be eliminated. As long as our achievements are targeted, these forces represent our natural right to defend ourselves."

## 'No direct conflict with HTS'

Salih Muslim said that there has been no direct conflict between HTS and the Kurds to date, and added: "The messages we received were that they would not attack the Kurds, and they have kept their word so far. Groups under Turkish control are constantly attacking us. HTS's recent statements were that all armed forces in Syria should be connected to Syria. We do not completely reject this. We also do not want Syria to be separated. However, this is possible if the threats against our people are removed. Colani is also against the existence of groups under Turkish control and wants to break them up. If Turkey withdraws its hand from Syria and ends its efforts to create separation there, we can reach an agreement with al-Jolani."

## The importance of unity among Kurds

Muslim pointed out that they have ongoing talks with the ENKS (Kurdish National Council in Syria), and said that despite Turkey's policies to prevent the unity of the Kurds, they want to achieve positive results. Muslim added: "We have always been in favor of unity so that the Kurds can achieve their goals and their demands are met.

Our talks with the ENKS are ongoing, despite their links with Turkey. They came together with the coalition and Mr. Mazlum Abdi and expressed their demands. We plan to hold talks with other Kurdish parties in the future. We aim to go to Damascus, representing all the peoples. We want to solve the problems with the new Syrian administration. We are also a part of Syria and want to be included in the solution process.

We can put everything on an official basis by enacting laws together. Resolving problems through dialogue is the healthiest way for all of us."

—★—

## SDF: ISIS takes advantage of Turkish attacks on our areas and targets our forces in Deir ez-Zor

**ANF | 27 December 2024**

The Media Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) released a statement reporting attacks by ISIS in North-East Syria amid the increasingly ongoing attacks by the Turkish state and allied mercenaries called the Syrian National Army (SNA).

"In light of the state of tension prevailing in Syria, the attacks launched by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on the regions of northern and eastern Syria, and the preoccupation of our SDF forces with countering the attacks of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on all our regions, the terrorist organization ISIS is trying to take advantage of the chaos prevailing in Syrian territory to revive itself and have the strength to carry out terrorist acts, mainly targeting the areas of north and eastern Syria, given that they are the most secure and stable," said the SDF statement on Friday.

According to the SDF, a number of terrorist acts were conducted by ISIS terrorist cells in Deir ez-Zor region on Thursday evening.

In Markada in the eastern countryside of Deir ez-Zor, an ISIS cell targeted a vehicle belonging to the military discipline forces, resulting in the martyrdom of one of the fighters.

In Al-Shuhail town, another ISIS cell attacked one of the SDF vehicles, leading to the martyrdom of a fighter.

In Dhiban town, an ISIS cell fired an RPG shell at the local water station, causing material damage but no casualties.

"These attacks come at a time when the region is witnessing security tensions coinciding with the attacks of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on the areas of northern and eastern Syria, and it has become clear that the danger of ISIS increases as the occupation launches its attacks, which explains the organic relationship between ISIS and the Turkish occupation," SDF stated.

—★—

# 14 SNA mercenaries killed in clashes with Manbij Military Council

**ANF | 27 December 2024**

Turkish state forces and affiliated Syrian National Army (SNA) mercenaries attacked Til Arish and al-Alush villages near the town of Abu Qalqal, southeast of Manbij and in the northern countryside of the Tishrin Dam. The aggression was launched from two sides at around 14.00 local time on Friday afternoon.

Clashes broke out after the Manbij Military Council fighters responded to the attacks.

According to initial reports, at least 14 mercenaries were killed and dozens were wounded in the fighting. Reports say that clashes in the area are ongoing.

—★—

# DAANES: Protecting diversity and pluralism in Syria is an urgent necessity

**ANF | 27 December 2024**

The Democratic Autonomous Administration of North East Syria (DAANES) released a statement regarding the latest events.

Remarking that the recent events on the Syrian coast against Alawite population, as well as the burning of Christmas trees in Hama and Homs, do not serve Syria's interests or its future, DAANES stated the following:

"With the rapid developments in Syria and after the fall of the Ba'ath regime, it is essential to move towards adopting a mindset that builds a modern Syria. The unity and solidarity of the Syrian people is a historical necessity in developing a national administrative model for Syria based on justice and equality.

The diversity in our Syrian homeland is a historical richness with national and societal value. This richness reflects the true identity of Syria, which the Ba'ath regime stripped away and obscured.

What is happening on the Syrian coast against our Alawite brothers, as well as the burning of Christmas trees in Hama a few days ago, and also in Homs, does not serve Syria's interests or its future. Preserving Syrian national diversity and richness is a crucial foundation for building a strong Syria.

We in the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria affirm that protecting Syria's diversity and pluralism, and respecting symbols, customs, and traditions, is an urgent necessity. Moreover, safeguarding the rights and responsibilities of all affiliations, sects, and components is a national duty that cannot be compromised.

We also emphasize that continuing to adopt a misguided approach in dealing with any component of Syria by any force or party will have negative repercussions. It will not serve stability in Syria and will lead to clashes and conflicts that we see as a threat to Syria's unity. This is something we have strived to prevent for many years by adopting our line based on the Democratic Nation project, where the unity and solidarity of components are grounded in partnership and shared struggle against projects that fuel conflict and discord."

—★—

## SDF: 17 Syrian National Army members killed

**ANF | 28 December 2024**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center issued a statement confirming that "on Friday (December 27) at around 01:00, gangs attacked our forces on the fronts in the villages of Ebu Qelqel and Elush. Violent clashes took place when our fighters responded to the attacks."

The statement added: "The gangs suffered heavy blows in the clashes. At the beginning of the clashes, a group of mercenaries was completely destroyed. The enemy, who put a large reinforcement into the village where the clashes took place, was heavily hit by our forces. Apart from one of our fighters being slightly injured, our forces suffered no casualties in the clashes."

The statement continued: "The Martyr Harun Unit also destroyed four vehicles belonging to the gangs hidden around the houses and a group of gangs. During the resistance of our fighters, 17 gang members, including the commander of the gang group called 'Northern Commando Brigade' (Mehavir el Şemal), were killed. 40 gang members, including gang leaders, were injured."

—★—

## Turkish soldiers kill a civilian in a village of Van

**ANF | Van | 28 December 2024**

Seyithan Durdu, a 40-year-old citizen living in Avzêrk village in Saray district of Van, was attacked by Turkish soldiers on Saturday.

Durdu, who was riding on horseback towards Rêya Laz'a region around 04.00 in the morning, was targeted by fire from a military vehicle of the Turkish army on the road to Axûrk neighbourhood.

Eyewitnesses stated that Durdu fell off his horse and was seriously wounded. He was taken to Özalp State Hospital with the help of the local people.

According to reports, Seyithan Durdu died due to internal bleeding before he was taken to the hospital. His body was taken to Van for post mortem examination.

—★—

## Roboski Massacre, an unending mourning

**ANF | 28 December 2024**

Thirteen years ago today, 34 young people were killed in what has been known since as the Roboski massacre. None of those responsible for the air strike that killed the civilians has been brought to justice. Two of the victims' relatives are in prison, and 34 others are on trial.

On 28 December 2011, Turkish air forces bombed a group of mostly under 18 border traders in the northern Kurdish province of Şırnak. The slain border traders had loaded their mules with two canisters of diesel fuel, one kilo of tea and one kilo of sugar each. Suddenly, a rain of bombs fell on them.

All civil and military tribunals have closed ranks around the military. After all domestic legal channels had been exhausted, an application was submitted to the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). However, as the lawyers for the victims' families had submitted missing documents two days too late, the ECtHR rejected the application in May 2018.

The legal process for the Roboski massacre is emblematic of how the judiciary in Turkey works. None of those responsible has been held accountable. Veli Encu, who lost his brother Serhat in the air strike, and Barış Encu, who lost his brother Nevzat, were imprisoned for protesting the massacre. Proceedings are pending against 34 people because of the protest against the then District Administrator, Naif Yavuz. They are accused of "propaganda for an illegal organisation, insulting the army and attempted murder". Another 16 relatives are under trial as they attended a memorial service. Dozens of family members have been fined.

Veli Encu was sentenced to five years in prison and has been tried in five other cases. Barış Encu was also imprisoned for almost two years; he was sentenced to over six years in prison for his posts on social networks.

### Turkish Army: "An unfortunate mix-up"

19 of the 34 victims of the Roboski massacre were under 18. Only four people survived the attack, all seriously injured. The young men between 13 and 38, whose families lived off the border trade, were returning from South Kurdistan when the bombing of Turkish fighter jets began at 9:37 pm. The bombing continued until 10:24 pm.

The Turkish General Staff later stated that since the group had taken a route also used by the PKK, the decision had been made to attack them. They were thought to be "terrorists". Hours before the first air strike, at around 6:39 pm however, drone images had already been watched and revealed clearly that the people were recognizable as border traders. The local military police (Jandarma) were also informed of every smuggler's activity, as they collected illegal customs duties.

In any case, it is known that the guerrillas do not use long routes like the border traders and do not move in such conspicuous groups and with mules. The responsible military in Ankara must have been aware of this too. The current head of state, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who was prime minister at the time, promised to investigate the incident. However, it was Erdoğan himself who personally thanked the Chief of Staff for the bombing. Indeed, it was Erdoğan who gave the order.

—★—

## Vigil at Suruç-Kobanê border on day 6: We must defend Rojava

**ANF | Urfa | 28 December 2024**

The vigil started in the Suruç district of Urfa on the border of Kobanê in protest at the invasion attacks against North and East Syria continues on its 6th day. The vigil was launched under the leadership of the Democratic Regions Party (DBP), Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) and Free Women's Movement (TJA).

Activists on Saturday paid tribute to Kurdish journalists Cihan Bilgin and Nazım Daştan, who were killed in a Turkish drone attack in Rojava on 19 December, and the victims of the Roboski massacre, which claimed the lives of 34 people, mostly minors, in the countryside of Şırnak province on 28 December 2011.

Speaking here, Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Party Assembly (PM) member Celalettin Erkmen said, "They continue to turn the Middle East into a bloodbath. The imperialist powers do nothing but engage in destruction, denial and ignoring. Against this war, there is a state of democratic life that we call the 3rd Way, and it is currently being built in Rojava. Rojava is a land that was won with the prices paid by young people of great value. Our democratic struggle against attacks will continue. It is our duty to defend the system established in Rojava. If peace is to be achieved in this country, conditions for Mr. Öcalan's freedom must be ensured. Rojava is our achievement. Rojava is us."

DEM Party Yenişehir District Co-Chair Ramazan Demir said, "Rojava was built based on the paradigm put forward by Mr. Öcalan and it is being targeted today. We must protect this achievement."

—★—

## Six mercenaries killed in Manbij countryside

**ANF | Manbij | 28 December 2024**

Manbij Military Council issued a statement on today's fighting with Turkey-backed mercenaries.

According to the statement, 6 mercenaries were killed on the Abu Qalqal front and 2 military vehicles were destroyed.

Manbij is located 30 kilometres south of the Turkish border and occupies a key strategic position in Turkey's plans to expand its illegal occupation zone in northern Syria. The city, which is administered by the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (DAANES), is located on the important M4 highway, which runs through northern Syria like a lifeline and was a strategic supply route for ISIS. In addition to the Manbij Military Council, the Enîya Kurdan (Kurdish Front) and the Idlib Revolutionary Brigade are also responsible for the defence of the region.

Since Manbij was named by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as the primary target for a new invasion of northern and eastern Syria in 2022, the war of attrition against the city has intensified. There are regular attacks by the Turkish army and allied jihadist militias as well as infiltration attempts, which are mainly directed against civilian settlement areas with the aim of displacing the population. The positions of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) are also repeatedly under attack. The international community ignores Turkey's crimes in its neighbouring country.

—★—

## Drone strike injures two civilians in Tabqa as attacks on North-East Syria continue

**ANF | 29 December 2024**

The Turkish army and allied mercenaries of the SNA (Syrian National Army) continue their attacks against the autonomous region of North and East Syria.

### Tabqa

Two people were injured in an attack carried out by a Turkish unmanned combat aerial vehicle (SIHA). According to reports from the ground, the attack at 01:00 last night targeted a car moving on a public road near the district of Mehmûdlî (al-Mahmudli) in Tabqa. The victims, who are said to be civilians, were taken to hospital.

### Kobanê

On the other hand, the occupying Turkish state carried out UCAV and artillery attacks on the Qereqozax region south of Kobanê city.

The wheat warehouses in Sirrîn, south of Kobanê, were also targeted by artillery attacks.

The occupiers intensively bombarded Berkel village south of Kobanê with howitzers.

### Til Temir

The occupying Turkish state also shelled the northern countryside of Til Temir with heavy weapons today. The village of Şêx Elî was attacked with mortars.

—★—

## Several mercenaries eliminated in a series of operations by Serekaniye Military Council

**ANF | 29 December 2024**

In support of the resistance in the Qara Qazaq Bridge and Tishrin Dam, and in response to the ongoing attacks by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries, the Serekaniye Military Council conducted a series of precise operations targeting the bases of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries in several villages surrounding the city of Serekaniye (Ras al-Ain).

“During the early morning hours of today, Sunday, a unit of our forces successfully infiltrated mercenary positions in the village of al-Rayhaniya within the Sere Kaniye/Ras al-Ain district and clashed with the mercenaries. Five mercenaries were confirmed eliminated,” said the statement by the Serekaniye Military Council on Sunday.

“On a separate axis, our forces launched an attack on mercenary positions in the village of Al-Qasimia. While several mercenaries were eliminated and wounded, the exact number of eliminated mercenaries remains unknown.

On another axis, at eight o'clock this morning, our fighters conducted another attack targeting the bases of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries in the village of al-Dibis. In addition, our forces targeted the Turkish occupation bases in the villages of Al-Aziziya, Al-Arisha, Arbashin, Martyr Delshir Hill, Al-Manakh, and Al-Kunair."

The Council added that no losses were recorded among our forces during these operations.

—★—

## Vigil at Qamishlo border on day 17

**ANF | Mardin | 29 December 2024**

A vigil has been taking place in Mardin's Nusaybin district, at the border with Qamishlo, in protest at the ongoing invasion attacks by the Turkish state and allied SNA (Syrian National Army) gangs against Northern and Eastern Syria.

The demonstration, organised under the leadership of the Free Women's Movement (TJA), was attended by people from Mardin and neighbouring cities as well as the Religious Scholars Assistance and Solidarity Association (DİAYDER) on its 17th day.

Speaking here, Peace Mother Ayşe Hezer said: "I congratulate the Rojava resistance. How long will this persecution continue? Enough is enough. We call on the government to end this war. Let our children be free."

Abdulbali Tiryaki, a member of DIAYDER, said that fighting against oppressors is also mentioned in the Quran and added, "All holy books emphasise being in favour of peace. In our religion, our prophet says that peace is a greater reward than prayer. For this reason, we celebrate those who resist in Rojava. We also congratulate those who are resisting here. We hope that winning will be our share. The Qur'an also says that hiding from fear is a great sin. We have come here to stop the war. The rulers of the Turkish state say 'Kurds are our brothers, they have a place above our heads', but we do not want to be above anyone's heads, we want to be on our own soil. Nusaybin and Qamişlo are part of each other and the people there have to defend their land. A message of brotherhood came from İmralı. Just like all holy books, a message of unity and brotherhood came from İmralı."

DEM Party Mardin MP Kamuran Tanhan drew attention to the meeting of the DEM Party with Abdullah Öcalan and said: "The biggest message is to stop the war. We have seen many wars and many people have lost their lives. The Kurdish people are always ready for peace and unity. What is happening in Rojava today is the defence of land. No one's property is being plundered, they are not attacking anyone. They just want a free life. The whole world and especially Turkey should take the messages from İmralı into account. This outstretched hand should not be returned. It is an indication of an honourable peace. We want the unity of our history to spread to a great Kurdistan and the world. The Kurdish people want their status. The Kurds of a hundred years ago have changed and want their status."

—★—

# SDF hits radar system belonging to the Turkish state in Manbij

**ANF | 30 December 2024**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) said in a statement that a radar system installed by the Turkish state south of Manbij was targeted as part of the "Martyr Ezîz Ereb Manbij Operation."

The SDF shared footage of the attack and said that this operation in Manbij was a strong response to the attacks by the Turkish state and its gangs and aimed at "eliminating the military structures that the Turkish state was trying to establish in the region and repelling its invasion attempts."

The images showed the moment when the radar system was neutralized. "The rocket's progress towards the target and the explosion that followed showed that the operation was successfully completed."

—★—

# HPG: Guerrillas stop Turkish army advance attempt in Girê Cûdî

**ANF | Behdinan | 30 December 2024**

The Press Center of the People's Defense Forces (HPG) said in a statement that the guerrillas are continuing their resistance against the Turkish occupation troops in South Kurdistan. According to the statement, various guerrilla actions have taken place in the Zap and Metîna regions in the past week.

On the western front of the Zap region, Turkish army soldiers stationed in the Girê Bahar and Girê Cûdî areas were shot at several times. An army surveillance camera installed in Girê Cûdî was destroyed.

On Wednesday, soldiers advancing towards a tunnel system were repelled twice, with the guerrillas using light weapons. Fighters from the Free Women's Units (YJA Star) intervened against another advance attempt on Saturday. One soldier was killed and two others were injured. The occupying troops in Serê Metîna were attacked on Thursday by female guerrillas with semi-automatic weapons. On the same day, the YJA Star also intervened in the area against combat helicopters, forcing them to withdraw.

## Attacks by the Turkish army

As for the attacks by the Turkish army on the Medya Defense Areas, the HPG said that in the past four days, prohibited explosives were used a total of 16 times against tunnels in the Girê FM and Girê Cûdî areas in Zap and in Şêlazê in Metîna. A tunnel system in Girê Amêdî was hit by a drone on Saturday.

In addition, the HPG reported 26 air strikes by Turkish fighter jets in Xakurke, Zap and Gare between 24 and 28 December. The Girê Bahar area was bombed eight times by attack helicopters on 25 December.

—★—

## SDF destroys radar systems and an armored vehicle of Turkish occupation forces

**ANF | 30 December 2024**

Following the collapse of the Baathist regime in Damascus, the Turkish occupation has continued to exploit the prevailing conditions in Syria. This includes the establishment of new occupation bases within Syrian territory, notably two new bases in Manbij and west of the Euphrates River.

"In response to these Turkish occupation attempts, SDF forces conducted targeted operations, resulting in the destruction of two portable radar systems, a radar-jamming system, and an armored vehicle belonging to the Turkish occupation forces west of the Qara Qazaq Bridge," said a statement by the Media Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces on Monday.

SDF stressed that these attempts are part of the Turkish occupation plan to expand their occupation of Syrian territory and unequivocally expose its colonial ambitions.

—★—

## UCAV attack against Internal Security Forces checkpoint in Ain Issa

**ANF | Ain Issa | 30 December 2024**

A post of the Internal Security Forces near the town of Ain Issa in northern Syria was attacked by an unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the Turkish state on Monday.

The checkpoint is located in the village of Hisa (al-Hishah), about 15 kilometres east of Ain Issa, causing property damage. Nobody was injured.

The attack left craters in the ground, as images from the scene of the attack show. In addition, the shock wave severely damaged a prefabricated house used by Internal Security Forces.

—★—

# Invaders attack water station and wheat storage in Ain Issa and Til Temir

**ANF | 30 December 2024**

Artillery fire by the Turkish army and its Islamist proxy troops has caused damage to a water station near Ain Issa. According to authorities, it is still unclear how extensive the destruction is at the facility, which supplies the village of al-Fatsa, east of Ain Issa, with water. Due to the risk of continued attacks, it has not yet been possible to inspect the station.

The nearby village of Mîşerfa and the villages of Xalidiyê and Hoşan west of the city were also reportedly shelled with heavy weapons. There was initially no reliable information about the extent of the attacks.

Earlier today, a post of the Internal Security Forces near the town of Ain Issa in northern Syria was attacked by an unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the Turkish state.

On Monday, Turkish jihadist occupiers also targeted the town of Til Temir in the Christian-majority Khabur Valley, bombing a wheat warehouse in the village of Umm Kahf (Umm al-Keyf). Umm Kahf is a few minutes' drive west of the centre of Til Temir and not far from the contact line between the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and the Turkish-controlled jihadist alliance “Syrian National Army” (SNA).

—★—

# HSM publishes war balance sheet for 2024

**ANF | Behdinan | 31 December 2024**

The command of the People's Defense Center (HSM) published the guerrilla's annual balance sheet for 2024.

The statement said: "The Kurdish people and the Kurdistan Freedom Movement entered 2024 with a fighting spirit and continued their resistance against the enemy's incessant attacks throughout the year.

The Turkish state had one goal: the total annihilation of the Kurdish people in the year marking the centenary of the Republic (2023). The AK-/MHP government planned to expand the genocide against the Kurdish people to other regions, namely to the old borders of the Misak-ı Milli (Ottoman National Pact), hoping to become a hegemonic power in the region in line with its neo-Ottoman dreams.

The AKP-MHP regime has used the most advanced war technology at its disposal; tactical nuclear bombs, prohibited explosives and chemical weapons banned under international law. It carried out massacres against our civilian population and intensified the system of oppression and torture in prisons."

The HSM underlined that "the Kurdish people have developed a relentless resistance to counter these attacks both in Kurdistan and abroad. The Kurdish people have expanded their resistance to defend their existence, to secure their freedom and to achieve their main goal, i.e. the freedom of Rêber Apo and the freedom of Kurdistan."

## "Turkey failed to achieve its goal in North Kurdistan"

In 2024, the Turkish army continued its attacks in North Kurdistan, but, the statement said, "it could not achieve its goal of eliminating our guerrillas. The war in 2024 showed very clearly that the tactical and strategic attacks by our guerrillas thwarted the enemy's plans. This result was also due to the attitude of self-sacrifice shown by commanders such as Edessa Cejna in Dersîm, Bêrîtan Nurhak Çiya, Herekol Şiyar, Brûsk Kato, Benda Amed and Serhat Jêhat in Botan, Mehmet Cûdî and Zerdeşt Suruç in Mêrdîn, Şêxmûs Malazgirt and Berwar Dersîm in Serhed, Hebûn Pîro and Botan Osyan in Amed and Zagros Cûdî in Van.

In 2024, 36 of our comrades fell as martyrs while fighting in North Kurdistan."

## "Successful resistance in the Medya Defense Areas"

The statement added that "the Turkish occupation army repeatedly attacked the Medya Defense Areas, often with the open support of the KDP and the Iraqi government. In 2024, commanders Alan Milazgîr, Orhan Cihat Bingöl, Şiyar Afrin, Dr. Sara Tolhildan, Zîlan Amed, Hevrê Çiya, Şervan Varto, Canşêr Şêrawa, Ekîn Rodî, Tufan Koçer, Devrim Botan, Xebat Türkmen, Piling Germiyan, Abu Leyla Şehîd, Sema Cuya Çewlîk, Ezîz Mûsil, Asmîn Seyît, Cemal Dêrezor, Kurtay Şahin, Hogir Merwan as well as 98 of our comrades fell as martyrs in the Medya Defense Areas. Our tunnel system stopped the enemy, and our guerrillas defended those areas and created opportunities to attack the enemy."

## 134 guerrillas fell as martyrs

The statement said that "the identities of 134 fallen comrades were confirmed for the year 2024. 36 of them fell as martyrs in North Kurdistan and 98 in the Medya Defense Areas."

## 478 soldiers killed, including 9 commanders

The statement added that "during the attacks launched by the Turkish army in 2024, a total of 478 soldiers, including nine commanders of various ranks, were killed in the Medya Defense Areas."

The HSM said that the guerrillas announced during the Newroz celebration their "ability to neutralize armed drones. The guerrillas announced that they had shot down a total of 15 armed drones of all kinds since 13 February 2023. The shootings were documented in a number of videos. Our air defense forces continued these actions in 2024, shooting down an AKSUNGUR drone over Qandil on 27 May, an ANKA drone over Asos on 6 June, and an AKSUNGUR drone over Asos on 12 July."

## "TUSAŞ action hit the enemy hard"

The statement said that "the autonomous action carried out by comrades Asya Ali and Rojger Hêlîn from the Immortal Battalion hit the enemy hard. They attacked the TUSAŞ branch in Ankara on 23 October. This historic action hit the heart of the production of the deadly machines used against our forces and the Kurdish people.

2024 has shown that the Kurdistan freedom guerrillas have the ability to operate anywhere, from North Kurdistan to the Medya Defense Areas, from the mountains to big cities."

The balance sheet for 2024 is as follows:

## Turkish attacks:

Attacks by fighter aircraft: 3255

Attacks by combat helicopters: 973

Attacks by drones: 136

Attacks using tactical nuclear weapons: 2

Chemical weapons attacks: 345

Attacks with improvised explosives: 645

## Guerrillas fallen as martyrs:

Total: 134

## Guerrilla air defense actions:

Drones shot down: 18

Şehîd Axîn Mûş unit actions: 23

Şehîd Doğan Zinar unit actions: 58

Total: 99

## Guerrilla ground actions:

Infiltrations: 1

Attacks: 2

Revolutionary operations: 3

Ambushes: 4

Coordinated guerrilla actions: 13

Sabotage actions: 62

Sniper actions: 229

Battles – hit and run actions: 302

Use of heavy weapons: 409

Total: 1025

**Total number of guerrilla actions: 1124**

**Enemy losses:**

High-ranking soldiers killed: 9

Members of the occupation forces killed: 469

Total: 478

Members of the occupation forces injured: 161

—★—

# Turkish army bombs Qereqozax bridge

**ANF | 31 December 2024**

On Tuesday morning, the Turkish army shelled the Qereqozax bridge in the south of Kobanê and the village of Bîr Hiso near the bridge. So far, over 25 mortars have been fired on the area.

The Qereqozax bridge is of strategic importance for the defence of Kobanê and the entire autonomous regions east of the Euphrates. Turkish-backed mercenaries of the SNA (Syrian National Army) and the Turkish army have been trying for weeks to break the resistance of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), confronting relentless resistance.

—★—

# YPJ fighter martyred in the battle of Qereqozax

**ANF | 31 December 2024**

The General Command of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) announced the martyrdom of one of their fighters, Dilvin Mohammed, in the battle of Qereqozax, a strategic bridge for the defence of Kobanê and the autonomous regions east of the Euphrates.

The YPJ statement said the following:

"The women's revolution in Rojava, represented by young women who see all their hopes within the ranks of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), has taken significant steps forward, securing great achievements through immense resistance. The Turkish state continues to launch organized attacks on our regions with the aim of breaking the will of the people. However, the resistance that began at the start of January, particularly in the areas of Qereqozax and Tishrin Dam, has demonstrated the determination of women in protecting the revolution.

YPJ fighters, with their deep faith and courageous stance, are at the forefront of defending the homeland. Our comrade, Dilvin Mohammed, known by her nom de guerre Yildiz Çiya, was one of these brave women who, with the spirit of vengeance for the era, stood against the occupation forces' attacks on the Qereqozax frontlines.

Our comrade Yildiz Çiya was born in the city of Kobani into a patriotic family. The national culture of her family played a prominent role in shaping her character. Her father was martyred on June 25, 2015, during the attack by ISIS forces on Kobani, where many martyrs fell in the massacre carried out by ISIS. The people of Kobani, through their great resistance against ISIS mercenaries, secured their place in the history of freedom struggles.

The resistance born in Kobani, coupled with the influence of the leader Abdullah Öcalan's philosophy and the revolutionary life principles embraced by young women, inspired our comrade Yildiz in her journey toward freedom. She joined the ranks of the YPJ in 2021. The higher ideals of a free life became the foundation of her struggle. In a short period, she learned the revolutionary way of life, studied combat techniques to confront the hostile attacks targeting her people, contributed to her military and intellectual training, and prepared herself to shoulder the responsibilities of the revolution.

Our comrade Yildiz was a dynamic symbol in her surroundings and was always present to spread morale among those around her. With her love for discipline, she was ready to take on all revolutionary tasks and responsibilities.

When the Turkish state and its allied mercenaries intensified their attacks on the region, our comrade Yildiz insisted on heading to the Qereqozax frontlines. Refusing to back down from her military role, she courageously defended her land with high spirits. She was martyred on December 29, 2024, during an attack by the Turkish occupation forces.

As the Women's Protection Units, we reaffirm our commitment to the pledge made to our martyrs: to continue the struggle. We extend our condolences to the beloved family of our comrade Yildiz and remain steadfast in upholding freedom through the unity of our patriotic people. Our resistance will continue in the fight for freedom."

**The identity information of the fallen YPJ fighter is as follows:**

Name and Surname: Dilvin Mohammed

Nom de Guerre: Yildiz Jiya

Mother's Name: Shamsa

Father's Name: Ezidin

Place and Date of Martyrdom: 29.12.2024 / Qereqozax

—★—

# Vigil at Nusaybin-Qamishlo border: Rojava is our honour

**ANF | Mardin | 31 December 2024**

A vigil has been taking place in Mardin's Nusaybin district, at the border with Qamishlo, in protest at the ongoing invasion attacks by the Turkish state and allied SNA (Syrian National Army) gangs against Northern and Eastern Syria.

The demonstration, organised under the leadership of the Free Women's Movement (TJA), continued on its 19th day with the participation of people from Mardin and its districts, and Bitlis province.

DEM Party Bitlis Provincial Co-Chair Fikret Birlik said, "We must stand up for Rojava. The whole world should give it a voice."

DEM Party Mardin MP Beritan Güneş Altın said, "The rain that falls here also falls in Qamishlo. Therefore, what happens here is felt there and what happens there is felt here."

The DEM Party MP spoke about the messages conveyed by Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan during his meeting with DEM Party deputies in İmralı Island last week.

"Mr Abdullah Öcalan has put a plan in front of us with 7 articles on what we should do. We must embrace Mr Öcalan's ideas. Rojava is our honour. It is our demand for peace. Mr Öcalan must be free as soon as possible so that the problems in the Middle East can be resolved," Beritan Güneş Altın said.

—★—

# A member of Internal Security Forces killed in ISIS attack in Rojava

ANF | 31 December 2024

In a statement on Tuesday, the Internal Security Forces of North-East Syria announced that ISIS cells targeted a checkpoint in Zinûd village in Qamishlo at midnight on 30 December.

According to the report, ISIS members threw a grenade at the barrier of the checkpoint while Internal Security Forces were performing their security duties. The attack caused material damage to the checkpoint, but no injuries or casualties were reported.

Internal Security Forces immediately launched a comprehensive search operation to apprehend the culprits.

Another attack by an ISIS cell resulted in the martyrdom of a member of the Jizîr Defence Forces on the road between Hol and Til Hemis.

"The attacks were carried out simultaneously with the attacks by Turkish-backed mercenaries against the region. This reality confirms that there is a high-level coordination between terrorist ISIS cells and mercenaries," said the Internal Security Forces.

The statement added that clearing and search efforts against ISIS mercenaries will continue.

In a statement on 27 December, the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) reported increasing attacks by ISIS in North-East Syria as the region is witnessing security tensions coinciding with the attacks of the Turkish state and its mercenaries, proving the organic relationship between ISIS and the Turkish occupation.

"In light of the state of tension prevailing in Syria, the attacks launched by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on the regions of northern and eastern Syria, and the preoccupation of our SDF forces with countering the attacks of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on all our regions, the terrorist organization ISIS is trying to take advantage of the chaos prevailing in Syrian territory to revive itself and have the strength to carry out terrorist acts, mainly targeting the areas of north and eastern Syria, given that they are the most secure and stable," the SDF said.

—★—

# One wounded in Turkish artillery shelling of a village in South Kurdistan

**ANF | Duhok | 31 December 2024**

The occupying Turkish state shelled Sergelê village in Amediyê district of Duhok on Tuesday. According to reports, a 37-year-old civilian from Rojava was wounded in the artillery attack at 14.50 local time.

33 people were killed and 19 people were wounded as a result of attacks by the occupying Turkish state against southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) in 2024.

—★—

# SDF shoots down Turkish reconnaissance drone

**ANF | 1 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) shot down a Bayraktar TB2-type Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (SIHA) belonging to the occupying Turkish state on the Qereqozaq bridge on Tuesday night.

—★—

# Two members of the SNA gangs surrender to Manbij Military Council

**Dogan Cihan | 1 January 2025**

The attacks by the Turkish state and its affiliate, the Syrian National Army, in Manbij and Tishrin Dam have been going on for 24 days. So is the resistance carried out by the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), YPJ and Manbij Military Council forces.

According to the information received from the front, the SNA gangs are unable to break through the self-defense forces and some gangs have surrendered. In addition, it appears that many gangs do not want to fight, and are fleeing the war. Apparently, they are forced to fight because of the pressure of the Turkish state.

On Tuesday evening, in the Abu Qalqel countryside of Manbij, two members of the Syrian National Army (SNA) gangs affiliated with the Turkish state surrendered to the Manbij Military Council forces.

—★—

## Turkish UCAV bombs sugar factory in Tabqa

**ANF | Tabqa | 1 January 2025**

An unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the occupying Turkish state bombed the sugar factory in Der Hafir city of Tabqa Canton on Wednesday.

The attack caused material damage to the factory.

—★—

## Occupation forces shell Qereqozaq

**ANF | Qereqozaq | 1 January 2025**

The Turkish-backed Syrian National Army (SNA) mercenaries based in Hosheriyê village are bombarding the village of Bir Hiso in the south of Kobanê and the vicinity of Qereqozaq Bridge.

According to reports from the ground, the shelling that started at around 14.45 local time is targeting civilian settlements.

The Qereqozax bridge is of strategic importance for the defence of Kobanê and the entire autonomous regions east of the Euphrates. Turkish-backed mercenaries of the SNA and the Turkish army have been trying for weeks to break the resistance of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), confronting relentless resistance.

—★—

## A mercenary killed, a radar system destroyed in retaliatory actions by YPJ

**ANF | 1 January 2025**

The Press Liaison Centre of the Women's Defence Units (YPJ) released a statement providing information about retaliatory actions carried out by female fighters of the Serêkaniyê Military Council to pay tribute to the fighters who fell in the battle of Qereqozaq and Tishrin.

The actions were organised in response to the increasingly ongoing attacks by the occupying Turkish state and allied mercenaries of the so-called Syrian National Army (SNA) against the areas of Qereqozaq bridge and Tishrin dam.

YPJ announced that the radar system in the base of the occupying Turkish state in the Menax village of Serêkaniyê was completely destroyed.

In addition, an SNA mercenary was killed by a female sniper in the village of Um El Kêf in Til Temir district of Cizîr Canton.

—★—

## New heavy attacks against Tishrin Dam

**ANF | Tishrin | 2 January 2025**

The Turkish state and the Syrian National Army (SNA) gangs are carrying out new heavy attacks on the Tishrin Dam.

Heavy clashes are taking place in the region after the response by Manbij Military Council fighters.

—★—

## SDF condemns the terrorist attacks in Manbij, Tal Rifat and Deir Jammal

**ANF | 2 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) condemned the recent terrorist bombings in Tal Rifaat, Deir Jammal, and Manbij, extending their deepest condolences to the families of the victims and wishing a swift recovery to the injured.

"We categorically reject these terrorist acts, which seek to undermine efforts toward achieving stability in the new Syria," said the SDF, calling on all Syrian parties to refrain from violence and engage in dialogue to resolve all issues.

—★—

# SDF refutes claims by the 'Syrian Network for Human Rights'

**ANF | 2 January 2025**

The Media Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) released a statement refuting misleading information published by the so-called 'Syrian Network for Human Rights'.

"The so-called "Syrian Network for Human Rights," operating out by Turkey, has falsely claimed that three members of one family were killed in the village of Al-Qashla, southeast of Manbij, and attributed the crime to our forces. This systematic disinformation seeks to obscure the crimes committed by Turkish-backed mercenaries who were in control of the village at the time of the crime," said the SDF statement, which further included the following:

"Ten days ago, and after our forces entered Al-Qashla and cleared it of the so-called "Al-Amshat" and "Al-Hamzat" mercenary groups, we discovered the bodies of three civilians—Muhammad Al-Khalil Al-Ayyoub, his wife, and their son, Suleiman.

Investigations revealed that these individuals were executed by Turkish-backed mercenaries after resisting attempts to loot their home and property. This is just one of many atrocities committed by Turkish-backed groups in Manbij in recent days, which have included looting, robbery, kidnapping, and even raping. These crimes have been documented and published with residents providing video evidence.

The disinformation spread by the so-called "Syrian Network for Human Rights" enables the actual perpetrators to evade accountability. This biased reporting has ignored hundreds of crimes committed by Turkish-backed mercenary groups in Afrin, Manbij, and other areas, allowing these atrocities to continue unchecked. Such bias undermines victims' rights to justice and accountability, perpetuating a cycle of violence and impunity."

—★—

# Thousands in Nusaybin march to Qamishlo border

**ANF | Mardin | 2 January 2025**

A vigil has been taking place for 21 days in Mardin's Nusaybin district, at the border with Qamishlo, against the ongoing invasion attacks by the Turkish state and the Syrian National Army (SNA) on North-East Syria.

Having gathered in the district center in the morning, more than ten thousand people, including Peace Mothers, prisoners' relatives, religious scholars from the Democratic Islamic Congress (DIK), representatives of Alevi organisations, women and young people marched to the border in the afternoon.

After the march, thousands gathered in the area on the border with Qamishlo, where the vigil has been taking place for 21 days, and made a statement.

Speaking on behalf of the Democratic Islamic Congress (DIK), Seyda Babayê Xelatî said, "I want to send two messages from here. My first message is that all Kurdish people should unite for peace. Peace can be achieved through unity. Unity is the instruction of Allah. My second message is to all the people of Turkey. Kurds want peace and brotherhood, they want peace. Therefore, Kurds and Turks are brothers and sisters and should live in peace."

Speaking on behalf of the Democratic Alevi Association (DAD), Mustafa Karabudak said, "Defending Rojava is a humanitarian duty. A massacre is being committed in Syria by the AKP and MHP. We appeal to the international community. This is a crime against humanity. The solution is not to insist on war. The solution is peace and an end to war. Alevis have always been on the side of the oppressed. We oppose these massacres. While civilian massacres are being carried out in Syria, policies of oppression on Kurds continue here. The Syrian people should live democratically with their own beliefs."

DEM Party Spokesperson Ayşegül Doğan said: "We have been holding a vigil here for days. What are we guarding at this border? They cannot put a border between us and our hearts. Rojava is our most valuable side. That is why we protect Rojava. That is why you cannot break the bond between us. Our vigil is a call for peace. Kurds resist wherever they are. We are ready for peace and brotherhood. We should know that in this historic period, the greatest responsibility is on our shoulders. We want to live with our identity and culture. No more bloodshed. Mr Öcalan has been kept under heavy isolation conditions for 26 years.

The will for brotherhood and free life awaits us. We are ready here. It is time to struggle based on democratic politics. It is time to open the doors of prison. We are experiencing a new beginning to reach the goal. Let no one avoid responsibility. Everyone has a responsibility. To claim the Kurdish gains is to claim the Kurds. It is time to claim the will. It is time to break this isolation completely. The peoples and Mr Öcalan's hand must unite. Kurdish gains should no longer be considered a danger. If you bomb our brothers and sisters in Rojava, you bomb our hearts."

Referring to the İmralı meeting, Ayşegül Doğan continued: "A lasting peace must be achieved. will not give up fighting for human values. Defending the values of humanity has made us universal. Respect the achievements of the peoples. We call on those who claim to be in favour of the unity and integrity of the peoples to hold the hand of peace extended by the Kurds. Rojava is an example of equal and free unity in the Middle East. To see and accept this reality is to protect the values of humanity.

Journalists Nazım Daşdan and Cihan Bilgin, who were covering news and truth with their cameras in Rojava, have been targeted by an UCAV recently. Security policies continue. Nusaybin and Qamishlo are one. Trying to separate Nusaybin and Qamishlo is the work of those who do not want to strengthen the Kurdish and Turkish brotherhood. This is why Mr Öcalan has not given up the peace that he has been steadily seeking since '93 despite the severe isolation conditions he has been living in for years. This is a historical responsibility. We are ready. Women are ready, men are ready, our geography is ready. We are ready for an equal, just and honourable life. We are struggling for this.

Here, heartbroken mothers are waiting for prisoners to be released, for their identities to be recognised, for all of us to live together equally. As the DEM Party, we have been carrying this responsibility for years. We

say to all political and social opposition that if there is to be a political solution, if we want an equal, honourable and just life together, it is those who demand it that must hold the other end."

—★—

## Occupation forces shell villages in Til Temir and Zirgan

**ANF | 2 January 2025**

The occupying Turkish army and allied mercenaries of the Syrian National Army (SNA) are shelling the villages of Xidir El Hesen and Şêx Elî north of Til Temir city with heavy weapons.

According to Hawar News Agency citing local sources, the invaders expanded their bombardment against Cizîr Canton. Simultaneously with the attacks on Til Temir, the village of Mişêrfê in Zirgan city is also bombarded.

—★—

## A tank destroyed and dozens of invaders killed in Ebu Qelqel

**ANF | 2 January 2025**

In a statement on the latest attack by the invading Turkish state and allied mercenaries from the so-called Syrian National Army (SNA), Manbij Military Council (MMC) reported that their forces repelled the attacks on the Ashtana region and Mistaha village in the south of Manbij.

MMC forces also confronted the attacks on the Ebu Qelqel town and ensured security in the region. The fighters destroyed a BMB armoured vehicle and a tank near the village of Elûş. Dozens of mercenaries were killed and wounded as a result of the clashes.

Fighting continues in the southeast of Manbij as the occupying Turkish state is shelling the area with drones and heavy artillery, Manbij Military Council reported.

—★—

# Vigil at Kobanê border on its 11th day

**ANF | Urfa | 2 January 2025**

The vigil started in the Suruç district of Urfa on the border of Kobanê in protest at the invasion attacks against North-East Syria continued on its 11th day.

The vigil promoted by the Free Women's Movement (Tevgera Jinên Azad-TJA), Democratic Regions Party (DBP) and Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) was attended by members of the Peace Mothers' Assemblies in Urfa and Amed (tr: Diyarbakır) today.

Urfa Peace Mothers Assembly Spokesperson Meyaser Korkmaz said, "We have always wanted peace and expressed our demand for peace, and we will continue to do so. We call on all mothers to build peace together."

Nafiye Yiğit, a member of the Amed Peace Mothers' Assembly, said: "As Peace Mothers, we want peace. We do not want bloodshed. Everyone should undertake responsibility. Enough is enough."

Adalet Çay, a member of the Urfa Peace Mothers Assembly, said, "We have been on vigil at the border for 11 days. 10 years ago, young people flocked to the border due to war. The same thing is happening again today. We say enough is enough. Let this bloodshed stop. All mothers living in Turkey need to take responsibility. Let peace be established. Do not let our young people die anymore."

—★—

# People in Sheran set up self-defence battalion named after Martyr Dilovan

**ANF | Kobane | 3 January 2025**

Following the overthrow of the Assad regime in Syria, the people are setting up their own self-defense to counter the attacks against Northern and Eastern Syria carried out by the Turkish state and the Syrian National Army (SNA) gangs born from the remnants of ISIS.

Following the call for general mobilization issued by the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and the Democratic Autonomous Administration, the people of Sheran, affiliated to Kobanê, set up the Martyr Dilovan Battalion.

A statement explained that the name of the newly established self-defence battalion was chosen to pay tribute to Commandos Forces fighter Dilovan Sheran, who fell as a martyr in Aleppo on 30 November 2024.

Battalion member Ehmed Miho Selah said: "We, the people of Sheran, set up a battalion named Martyr Dilovan. We are participating in the general mobilization. Let the enemy remember, that just as we defeated them in Kobanê in 2014, we will defeat them once again. This is our land and our country. We will stand by our fighters with our lives, resources and souls." Selah added: "Just as we defeated ISIS in Kobanê, we will defeat the gangs affiliated with the Turkish state. No matter what they try, they won't succeed. Their ancestors could not destroy us. Let them remember Dersim. They threw the Kurds into wells and poured concrete on top. However, that concrete has been broken. The tree of freedom has grown and we will succeed. Our people are stronger than before. We exist and we will defeat them."

—★—

## 72 invaders killed in clashes in villages of Manbij

**ANF | 3 January 2025**

The resistance of the Manbij Military Council (MMC) fighters against the Turkish state and allied mercenaries of the so-called Syrian National Army (SNA) continues.

According to the Manbij Military Council, the number of mercenaries killed in clashes between MMC fighters and invaders in the south and east of the city since yesterday increased to 72. Dozens of other mercenaries were wounded in the fighting. The resistance of the fighters continues.

—★—

## YPJ announces the martyrdom of three fighters

**ANF | 3 January 2025**

The General Command of Women's Protection Units (YPJ) released a statement announcing the martyrdom of three of their fighters on the frontlines of resistance against the attacks of the Turkish occupation state.

The YPJ statement on Friday includes the following:

"YPJ fighters Arjîn Mihemed Elî (Berfîn Çem), Şehnaz Hemo (Ahîn Dilgeş) and Zeyneb Hemze (Silav Ocalan) bravely fought in the historic resistance against the mercenaries of the fascist and oppressive Turkish state and were martyred on different dates. We remember our martyred comrades with deep reverence and gratitude and extend our condolences first to their patriotic families, our entire people, and all comrades in the struggle.

On November 28, mercenaries affiliated with the Turkish occupation state intensified their attacks on the regions of northeast Syria, coinciding with their offensive on areas under the control of the Syrian Baath

regime. In response to these attacks, freedom fighters demonstrated resilience, delivering heavy blows to the mercenaries.

Through these attacks, the mercenaries of the Turkish state target the women's revolution and its achievements. In light of this, YPJ fighters, with this awareness, unite in the resistance being waged on the frontlines. They take on critical roles and missions, becoming a barrier to aggression and turning the dreams of occupation and its mercenaries upside down. Every fighter on the frontlines embodies the philosophy of "Woman, Life, Freedom." They stand against the patriarchal, authoritarian mindset embodied in the mercenaries and refuse to let the occupation seize or plunder the liberated areas of northeast Syria. With this sacred purpose, our fighters sacrifice all they hold dear.

Our comrades, Berfin Çem, Ahîn Dilgeş and Silav Ocalan, approached this stage guided by historical directives and the courage of a free and enlightened woman. They prepared and fought with determination. On the frontlines of the struggle, they became the symbol of the uprising and the fighting woman.

Our comrade Berfin Çem was born in Kobani, the city that became a global symbol of resistance. She grew up in a patriotic family immersed in Kurdish cultural values. As a young woman, she rejected a simple and ordinary life. Instead, she built herself upon national principles and quickly trained herself in the art of war and women's militarization, becoming an exceptional fighter in the struggle.

Known for her humility, radiant smile, and strong sense of camaraderie, Berfin left a profound impact on all her comrades. For the sake of her homeland and the quest for freedom, she selflessly gave her life and etched her name into the golden pages of history.

Our comrade Ahîn Dilgeş was also born in Kobani. From a young age, she was inspired by the YPJ fighters and made them part of her dreams. Pursuing those dreams, she joined the ranks of the YPJ. The more she discovered the essence of women's militarization, the stronger her resolve grew. She embraced life and struggle with profound understanding.

With a family legacy of participation in the struggle, Ahîn followed in the footsteps of her martyred relatives. Today, she stands as one of the immortals whose path we shall continue to follow. She combined her love and knowledge of patriotism with the principles of women's freedom and military discipline. This enabled her to take on responsibilities and excel in various areas, including homeland defense.

With each attack by the Turkish state and its mercenaries on northeast Syria, Ahîn's hatred for the enemy grew, fueling her sense of vengeance. She couldn't turn a blind eye to the suffering in the region and the threats to the women's revolution. This reality drove her to rapidly develop herself and stand firmly prepared against aggression.

Our comrade Silav Ocalan was born in Afrin, a city rich in national culture. She was raised with a deep love for the homeland and its land. Her family was among those who opened their doors to revolutionaries in the early years of the national struggle in Rojava, instilling the values and ethics of Kurdish identity in their children. Consequently, many members of her family joined the ranks of the YPJ and the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF).

Within this framework, Silav matured and embraced the ideals of defending revolutionary values. Like many young men and women who bore the responsibility of this land on their shoulders, she confronted the enemy with steadfast resolve and joined the YPJ.

Excelling in the specialization of heavy weaponry, Silav prepared herself with skill and determination. When mercenaries launched their attacks, she stepped into the battlefronts to play her role effectively.

Silav aspired to develop a strong personality and fight according to the principles of women's militancy. This goal gave her immense inner strength to transform herself. She fully embodied the spirit of a YPJ fighter, becoming a model of a woman dedicated to her community's values, living communally, and sacrificing herself for the socialist ideals of a democratic society.

Once again, we honor our fallen comrades and reaffirm that we will not leave any aggression unanswered. We vow to avenge each of our martyred comrades by defeating the occupation and ensuring the establishment of the democratic nation system for which we fight.

We call upon our people to stand beside their heroic sons and daughters during these difficult days of war, firmly connected to the memory of our righteous martyrs, in the spirit of revolutionary people's war."

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

**Name and Surname:** Ergin Mohammed Ali

**Nom de Guerre:** Berfin Cem

**Mother's Name:** Ferida

**Father's Name:** Hamad

**Date of Martyrdom:** 01.12.2024

***

**Name and Surname:** Shahnaz Hamo

**Nom de Guerre:** Ahîn Delkash

**Mother's Name:** Ghazal

**Father's Name:** Adel

**Date of Martyrdom:** 03.12.2024

***

**Name and Surname:** Zainab Hamza

**Nom de Guerre:** Silav Ocalan

**Mother's Name:** Amina

**Father's Name:** Juma

**Date of Martyrdom:** 07.12.2024

—★—

# Drone attack on administrative building near Tabqa

**ANF | Tabqa | 3 January 2025**

In the canton of Tabqa, an administrative building of the Democratic Administration of North and East Syria (DAANES) was bombed by a Turkish combat drone on Friday.

According to the Hawarnews news agency (ANHA), the strike targeted an office building in the town of al-Hurriya. Information about the extent of the attack or about any injuries was not immediately available.

Al-Hurriya is located about 50 kilometres northwest of Tabqa city and is situated east of the Euphrates. Since the beginning of the offensive by the Turkish-controlled jihadist group 'Syrian National Army' (SNA) on Manbij and the Tishrin Dam, attacks in the region have become more frequent.

—★—

# Thousands march to the border of Kobanê in solidarity with the resistance of Rojava

**ANF | Urfa | 3 January 2025**

Thousands participated in a protest march to the Kobanê border in the Suruç district of Urfa on Friday under the slogan "Bijî berxwedana Rojava" (Long live the resistance of Rojava). The march was organised as part of the vigil action held in the district for 12 days against attacks by the Turkish state and allied SNA mercenaries against North-East Syria.

A number of people, including the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chairs Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar and Keskin Bayındır, Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Co-Chair Tülay Hatimoğulları, Socialist Party of the Oppressed (ESP) Co-Chair Murat Çepni as well as representatives of po-

litical parties and civil society organisations from many cities of Kurdistan, gathered in the town of Aligor before the launch of the march to the border.

The demonstrators got out of their vehicles and walked on foot following a series of obstructions by the gendarmerie (military police), including identity checks and barricades on the way. The demonstrators marched to the exit point of the town and made statements.

Speaking on behalf of the Kurdistan Communist Party, DEM Party MP Sinan Çiftyürek said, "We thank all our people. Those in power have not learned lessons from history. We call out to the invaders from here. The resisting Rojava people will not bow down. How can they surrender their weapons to the Damascus government when there are such intense attacks against Rojava? Have you recognised the status of the Kurdish people? No. They should know very well that the unitary, monist, statist structure went with Assad. No people accept this structure anymore. Those who insist should look back to the will of the people. The people of Rojava gained status through their own struggle. The Damascus administration should recognise this status. If we are united, we will defend the Autonomous Administration. But if we are not united, we will be defeated. The occupying states unite in line with their own interests. Then why can't we unite for our own gains?"

Mehmet Kamaç, Central Executive Board member of the Human and Freedom Party, said: "Just as the Kurds were divided into four parts years ago, the same thing is intended to be done again. However, all these people are flowing to the border today in the spirit of 2014. Today is the day of unity for Kurds, just like in 2014. Today is the day of unity and defence of Kobanê, the heart of Kurdistan. Once again, we are calling out from Suruç. 60 million people cannot remain without status in the Middle East. Those 60 million Kurds have not bowed down and will not. We appeal to all world organisations to oppose these attacks and protect our interests."

Speaking on behalf of the Democratic Islamic Congress (DIK), religious scholar Dünayser Mendelkani said, "Rojava is the home of free life. We condemn the massacres against the Kurds and Alevis in Rojava. We appeal to religious scholars and elders. The unity of the Kurdish people is essential for the protection of Rojava. We appeal to the Arab and Kurdish people and religious people. Those who commit these massacres have a Pharaoh mentality. It is obligatory to fight against them. It is obligatory to protect the democratic life in Rojava."

The crowd then moved to the Suruç district and marched to the border with Kobanê. The march was followed by statements by the politicians taking part in the protest action.

Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Co-Chair Çiğdem Kılıçgün Uçar stated that the Kurdish people and their friends met in the march with the same feelings and enthusiasm: "The demands of the Kurdish people need to be addressed today. Mr Öcalan's message is being discussed because the position of the Kurdish people in this geography is known. Rojava is misrepresented to the people of Turkey. Let them listen to the resisting Kurdish people. There is a window of freedom opening from Rojava. There is a life manifesto written by women there. The biggest enemy is those who block the road to peace. The solidarity here today eliminates borders and has turned the borders of nation states upside down."

Uçar stated that no one can put limits on their resistance and said, "We have to protect the status that emerged in Rojava. They unleashed SNA mercenaries on Rojava. We did not accept this, and we will not.

Not only us, but the whole world owes Rojava and the Kurds. No one should act by emulating ISIS. We are here today for a solution both to the Kurdish question and the democracy problem in Turkey. In Syria, massacres are being committed against peoples of different races. The Kurdish people take Mr Öcalan as a basis. Turkey's approach to Rojava is an approach to the Kurdish people as a whole. Our solidarity with the people of Rojava will not end."

Speaking after, DEM Party Co-Chair Tülay Hatimoğulları stated the following: "No understanding that ignores the Kurdish people and Arab Alevis can establish its presence in Syria. We staged a march to convey our solidarity feelings and messages to Kobanê. As long as the threats against Kobanê and Northern and Eastern Syria continue, our solidarity as brothers and sisters of the Kurdish people in Turkey, democracy forces and the peoples of Turkey will continue until the end. The Kurdish people have de facto gained their status in Rojava since the 2011 war. They have established an Autonomous Administration in Northern and Eastern Syria. The whole world should know this, and I call out to the people of Turkey; Rojava is not a region as the mainstream media and the palace media describe it. Rojava is a geography where women are included in the administration, where the system of co-presidency and equal representation exists. A social contract that recognises peoples and beliefs is implemented there. It has organised a strong struggle against ISIS, al-Nusra, al-Qaeda and their derivatives.

As you have all followed with great excitement, a delegation of our party has met with Mr Öcalan in İmralı. Our delegation sends you the greetings of Mr Abdullah Öcalan, who is under severe isolation in İmralı. Following the 7-point declaration, the DEM Party Imrali Delegation started talks with the political parties represented in the parliament. Yesterday, it held talks with the Speaker of the Parliament and the MHP. As of Monday, they will hold talks with other political parties. After that, our delegation will make a substantial and comprehensive statement.

We know very well that the message from İmralı is a message of peace and solution. We will follow this process with great excitement and hope. Of course, the honourable struggle of the Kurdish people for more than 40 years, not only in Rojava but also in 4 parts of Kurdistan, has brought us to this day. The latest meeting in İmralı has taken place thanks to the resistance and perseverance of our people. We should never give up our struggle until the process in Rojava is clarified and until we reach a certain point in the Imrali talks. We owe a lot to you, our people, and in particular the valuable mothers. If you continue your actions on the streets, squares and democratic grounds, this process will be crowned with success."

Hatimoğulları also paid tribute to Kurdish journalists Nazım Daştan and Cihan Bilgin who were killed by a Turkish drone strike in Rojava.

"We have come to this day by struggling with great patience, fortitude, strength, hope and faith in all four parts of Turkey and Kurdistan. Today, both in Turkey and in the Middle East, there is no other option but to crown the process with peace and solution. While Mr Öcalan is working intensively on this option in İmralı, we will continue our struggle on democratic ground with you, our valuable people," she added.

—★—

# Feminicide

## Kurdish women call for the recognition of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria

**ANF | 30 December 2024**

More than 500 Kurdish women, including politicians, academics and artists, have written a joint letter calling for the recognition of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. The letter was addressed to US President-elect Donald Trump and United Nations (UN) Secretary-General António Guterres. The letter campaign was led by South Kurdistan academic Nermin Osman.

The letter calling on Donald Trump and António Guterres to officially recognize the status of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria and ensure its international security reads as follows:

"The Kurdish people, numbering nearly 50 million, are among the most ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia. Since the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, Kurdistan has been divided into four regions, subjecting the Kurdish population to denial and annihilation policies by the states governing these territories. This division has left the Kurdish people without official recognition as political and cultural members of the global community. Despite this, for the past century, the Kurdish people have tirelessly fought for their identity, rights, and equality, striving for a free and harmonious coexistence with neighboring communities. This struggle has resulted in the establishment of the Kurdistan Federation in Iraq and the de facto Democratic Autonomous Administration in Syria.

However, Kurdish gains continue to face severe threats, including from nationalism and radical Islamist groups. In 2014, the world witnessed the ISIS-led genocide in Shingal and its brutal assaults on Rojava, particularly in Kobane. ISIS's terrorism extended beyond these regions, targeting the free world and causing widespread devastation. The resistance of the Kurdish people and their partners in Shingal and Rojava not only defeated ISIS but also left a lasting legacy of resilience and solidarity for humanity. The unity forged between Kurdish women, local communities, and international coalition forces in this struggle remains a cornerstone of hope and progress.

Following the weakening of Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria, Turkey and its allied jihadist militias, including the Syrian National Army (SNA), have persistently attacked the autonomous regions of Northeastern Syria. These actions aim to eradicate the Kurdish people and their achievements, including the progressive governance of the South Kurdistan Federation. The Kurdish people, with their cultural heritage, democratic governance, secular values, and advocacy for women's freedom, embody the principles of a modern, inclusive Middle East. To undermine them is to harm the shared ideals of freedom and democracy that bridge Eastern and Western civilizations.

The ongoing attacks and the threat of genocide against the physical and political existence of the Kurdish people, particularly women, in Rojava persist because the Autonomous Administration of Northeast Syria has not been granted formal recognition by international institutions and states.

We, the undersigned Kurdish women and organizations, urgently call on you to officially recognize the status of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria and ensure its international security. This administration stands as a guarantor of freedom and democratic life, not only for the Kurdish people but also for women worldwide. The threats posed by jihadist militias and ISIS are existential risks to women, threatening massacres, sexual crimes, and enslavement. The Autonomous Administration represents the collective will and governance of Kurdish women and women from across the globe.

We believe that granting political recognition to the Autonomous Administration will secure the Kurdish people's and women's status as equal and free participants in Syria's reconstruction. We trust that you will heed this call and provide a sincere example of friendship and solidarity."

—★—

# YPJ: 2025 will be the year of women's revolution and the victory of the people

**ANF | 31 December 2024**

The General Command of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) released a statement on the occasion of the new year, expressing their hope that it will be a year of peace, freedom, and democracy for all the peoples of Syria.

The YPJ statement on Tuesday includes the following:

"We have experienced a year filled with significant events, including the conflicts of the Third World War. Amidst all this, there has been widespread resistance by the people. Throughout the year, the people of northeastern Syria and the defense forces demonstrated once again the resolve of our people against all forms of colonialist and genocidal attacks, reaffirming their determination to live freely and equally. Each year is welcomed with hopes for peace, calmness, and love. However, the occupation forces attempt to suppress these hopes with their inhumane violations.

As the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), we resist all threats that prevent women and communities from living freely across all domains. We are engaged in a struggle for existence.

Recent events in the region have marked the beginning of a new phase, especially for women and the people. This phase has intensified political and social crises in the region. We are in a challenging time when people are subjected to physical torture and psychological pressure because of their cultural identities and religious beliefs and are killed in brutal ways. What sustains communities is their cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. Communities such as Alawites, Christians, and Druze face annihilation. Similarly, our region in northeastern Syria is targeted by planned attacks aiming at occupation and extermination.

In response to these violations and policies targeting nations, cultures, and beliefs, protecting social values becomes our primary mission. In the new Syria, the rights and safety of all cultural, religious, and national identities must be legally guaranteed. Women and communities must live in safety and freedom. Therefore, the need to defend and protect themselves is greater than ever.

In the new Syria, all women's rights—practiced concretely in the autonomous administration regions—must be institutionalized. Gender equality, fair representation in shared governance systems, and social alliances must be foundational. Through this approach, Syria can become a democratic and vibrant model for the Middle East.

The Women's Protection Units (YPJ) welcome the year 2025 on the fronts of resistance to protect the achievements of the revolution. Similarly, our brave people stand unwaveringly beside their sons and daughters.

At the start of every new year, we see renewed hopes. With the hope that 2025 will be a year of peace, freedom, and democracy for all the peoples of Syria, we commemorate all the martyrs of freedom through the legacy of Martyrs Ronahî, Arjîn, Yıldız, and Avaşîn. We reaffirm our unwavering commitment to following the path of the righteous martyrs. As the YPJ, we extend our greetings for the new year, first and foremost to the architects of free life, Leader Apo, all the women of the world, our people, our comrades currently resisting on the frontlines, and all the families of the martyrs."

—★—

# Human Rights Violations

## Dicle Fırat Journalists Association announces legal report for 2024

**ANF | Amed | 27 December 2024**

Dicle Fırat Journalists Association (DFG) announced its legal report for 2024. The report, which includes data on the legal support provided to journalists throughout the year, said, "In 2024, we journalists tried to defend journalism in the corridors of the courts on one hand while doing our job on the other. Journalists have been the first to be targeted by the increasing pressure and censorship by the government in Turkey. While attempts were made to prevent the public's freedom of information through the repression of journalists, hundreds of journalists have been investigated, and these investigations have turned into lawsuits."

The report pointed out that the DFG legal unit, lawyers Resul Tamur and Özcan Kılıç followed the lawsuit processes of dozens of journalists. Accordingly, the legal proceedings of 74 journalists in and around

Amed (Diyarbakır) were followed by lawyer Resul Tamur and those of 72 other journalists were followed by Özcan Kılıç.

The DFG report said: "In 2024, we provided legal support to 152 colleagues who faced investigations, lawsuits and criminal complaints. In the 49 cases we attended, we defended journalism and explained that journalism is not a crime. In addition, our lawyers accompanied our colleagues during their testimonies at law enforcement agencies during the year.

While 6 of the cases we followed resulted in acquittal, the other cases are still pending. At the same time, we defended the rights of 10 of our colleagues at the Court of Appeal, Court of Cassation and Constitutional Court. We filed objections against the restriction of access to the accounts of many institutions and colleagues, and the news reports shared on our association's website. We took the closure of establishments such as the Free Journalists Association and Cihan Radio through Decree Law to higher courts. We objected to 16 access bans. Although most of our objections were rejected, we continued our legal struggle at the higher court and we continue to do so.

Many of our colleagues were subjected to violence and threats while making news. In this regard, we filed criminal complaints in defence of two journalists who were subjected to violence during the 'Freedom Rally' in Amed, three journalists who were subjected to violence while covering the peace vigil of the Peace Mothers in Silopi district of Şırnak, and 31 colleagues who were subjected to violence in Istanbul and Van. We also filed criminal complaints with the Human Rights Association and the Association of Lawyers for Freedoms against the attacks on our colleagues covering the protests that started after the appointment of a trustee to the municipality of Batman.

While preparing this report, we learned with great sadness about the killing of our colleagues Nazım Daştan and Cihan Bilgin in a combat drone attack. We say once again that we will hold this attack to account at the highest legal level. Eyewitnesses and the documents we have obtained show that the attack deliberately targeted journalists. On this basis, we will continue our legal struggle on every ground to prove that this is a war crime.

We did not only defend journalism in the corridors of courthouses and police stations. We organized various workshops in order to further expand the defense of journalism. In this context, in our workshop on crisis reporting, which we organized twice with the participation of our lawyer Resul Tamur, we informed about 30 colleagues on what to do with regard to investigations against journalists. In 2024, we defended journalism both through legal struggle and by increasing solidarity with other professional groups. We will continue to defend journalism in 2025 as well. We will neither stop writing the truth nor stop saying that journalism is not a crime."

—★—

# Access to Mezopotamya Agency and Yeni Yaşam websites blocked

**ANF | 28 December 2024**

The domain name of Mezopotamya Agency (MA), "mezopotamyaajansi40.com," was blocked by the Bitlis Criminal Court of Peace with a decision dated 27 December 2024, numbered 2024/2618, citing "the protection of national security and public order."

The news agency's website can be accessed at "www.mezopotamyaajansi41.com."

## Arbitrary access ban on Yeni Yaşam newspaper

Yeni Yaşam newspaper issued a statement regarding the access ban imposed on their website by the Diyarbakır 2nd Criminal Court of Peace on 19 and 21 December.

The statement said that the Court blocked access to the paper's website twice based on an arbitrary opinion of the Diyarbakır Gendarmerie Command.

The statement added: "According to the reasoning behind the decision we received, the access ban was imposed completely arbitrarily. The Diyarbakır 2nd Criminal Court of Peace issued the access ban following an application by the Diyarbakır Gendarmerie Command. However, it was not specified which article the Gendarmerie objected to. It was observed that the Gendarmerie Command, acting as if it were the court itself, claimed that the article in question was 'misleading the public and creating unfair and negative perceptions against the Republic of Turkey.' The court issued its decision entirely in line with the Gendarmerie's opinion. This decision effectively implemented the provisions of the 'Influence Agent Law,' which has not yet come into force, resulting in an access ban based on a non-existent legal precedent."

The statement further noted that "the Gendarmerie Command also made baseless claims, alleging that the news article in question constituted propaganda for an illegal organization. They claimed the article contained terms like 'PKK/TKPML-TİKKO' and said that this constituted propaganda for these groups."

—★—

# DEM Party Youth Assembly spokesperson taken into custody

**ANF | Ankara | 1 January 2025**

Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Youth Assembly spokesperson and Central Executive Board (MYK) member Rohat Güvercin was taken into custody after returning to Turkey from abroad, where he had gone as part of his diplomatic work.

Güvercin was detained at Sabiha Gökçen Airport in Istanbul, said the DEM Party in a statement, adding: "We call on the government to immediately end these arbitrary and unlawful attacks on our Youth Assembly, our party's authorized bodies and our politics."

—★—

## 10 people taken into custody in Kocaeli for posting photos of journalists killed in Northeast Syria

**ANF | Kocaeli | 1 January 2025**

10 people, including Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Gebze District Co-chairs Melike Aydın and Ömer Yıldız, were taken into custody following house raids in the Gebze district of Kocaeli.

The 10 people were taken to the district police department and legal proceedings were initiated on the charge of "making propaganda for a terrorist organization."

Following the security procedures, 7 people, including the Gebze district co-chairs, were released. 3 people were referred to court with a request for arrest. The court ruled that 2 people be released on probation, while DEM Party member Serhat Ziyalı was arrested on the charge of "making propaganda for a terrorist organization."

The reason for the detentions was the posts the ten people shared on their social media accounts. The ten people shared photoes of journalists Cihan Bilgin and Nazım Daştan, who were murdered by the Turkish state in Northern and Eastern Syria.

—★—

## 59 kolbars killed, 287 others injured in 2024

**ANF | 1 January 2025**

According to data from the Kolbar News platform, 345 Kurdish kolbars were targeted by Iranian state forces throughout 2024. As a result of the attacks, 59 kolbars lost their lives and 287 others were injured.

The murdered kolbars were under the age of 22 and at least one other died due to cold weather conditions.

The kolbars lost their lives or suffered injuries in the border areas of Urmia, Sine and Kermanshah provinces due to direct fire of the regime forces, cold weather, falling from rocks and mine explosions.

—★—

# Interview

## Sozdar Avesta: The determination of the Kurdish people is greater than all dangers

**ANF | 28 December 2024**

Sozdar Avesta, member of the Presidential Council of the KCK, spoke about the current developments in Syria, and what they mean for the Democratic Autonomous Administration of Northern and Eastern Syria. She also spoke about the responsibility of women as pioneers of the struggle for democracy and freedom. Avesta also talked about the global campaign for the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan

***The Kurdish people and their international friends have been waging a relentless struggle for the physical freedom of peoples leader Abdullah Öcalan for years. The struggle in the framework of the global campaign for his freedom, pioneered by women, is gradually growing. How do you assess the development of the global campaign in the year 2024? Have there been any shortcomings? And how should the struggle develop in the coming new year?***

Before answering your question, I would like to take the opportunity to commemorate with respect and gratitude Cihan Bilgin and Nazim Dashan, who were martyred in the course of the resistance in Manbij and at the Tishrin dam, also the Arab family who was murdered in the Turkish bombardments on Ain Issa, and all the martyrs who gave their lives in the ongoing war in North and East Syria.

December is historically a month of great pain. Immediately after the founding of the PKK, a massacre was committed by the Kurdish state against our Alevi people in Maras (Gimgim or Turkish: Kahramanmarash) on December 19 to 26, 1978. Also on December 28, 2011, the Roboski Massacre took place. Again in the very month, the guerrilla commanders Adil Biliki, Gulbahar, and Armanc Gockar gave their lives, and dozens of revolutionaries were massacred in the prison when the so-called 'Operation Return to Life' was conducted. Again in the month of December, the second Paris massacre took place, in which comrade Evin Goyi, Mir Perwer, and Abdurrahman Kizil were murdered. In remembering them, I gratefully commemorate all those who were martyred in the month of December, who gave their lives in the Kurdistan freedom struggle, and bow to their memories with respect. We reiterate our promise that we have given the martyrs. We will avenge their deaths and realize their dreams.

And I also take this opportunity to salute the resistance of our people, who are leading this struggle against the continued isolation of Rêber Apo.

Now to move on to your question; here, too, I would first like to start by saluting Rêber Apo. I salute his resistance and his stance with respect, reverence, and longing. His isolation continues. In October 2023, a

global campaign was launched by the international friends of our people, aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question. This campaign continued uninterruptedly all over the world in 2024. Millions of people took part in. Both in the four parts of Kurdistan and abroad, our people and our international friends displayed great effort, labor, and resistance under the leadership of women and the youth. They were on the streets day and night, deploying many different actions and activities.

Our imprisoned comrades went on hunger strike, refused to go to court, and refused to meet with their families. Both politicians and militants of our party imprisoned both in Turkey and northern Kurdistan, in Rojhilat (Eastern Kurdistan) and in Europe showed great resistance. And as we pointed out above, our people as a whole took part in this campaign with all kinds of different and meaningful actions. One of the conducted activities for the freedom of Rêber Apo that was of great meaning was the organization of reading days, on which the prison writings of Rêber Apo were read together. Also, many significant actions were taken by the guerrillas. The Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla truly pioneered the struggle that developed within the framework of the global campaign. All over Kurdistan, and particularly in the Medya Defense Zones, in Zap, Khakurke, and Metina, the guerrillas made no concessions to the enemy, and the resistance continues. For the successful development of the global campaign, great sacrifices have been made.

On October 23rd, our heroic comrades Asya Ali and Rojger Helin carried out their sacrificial action at the TAI compound. They took the struggle for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo to the highest level. Their action was a warning of what level these actions will reach if the isolation further continues, if the conditions for Rêber Apo's physical freedom are not provided.

Also, the international friends of our people played a very crucial and strategic role in the campaign. Women, youth, students, artists, Nobel laureates, intellectuals, and trade unionists gave strength and color to the struggle and enriched it. All these actions and activities paved the way for the meeting with Rêber Apo on October 23rd. The meeting was the result of this resistance and collective labor. In this meeting with Omer Ocalan, Rêber Apo highlighted that the isolation continues.

In the course of this, the state media, serving the special warfare of the state, started to create a false agenda, with daily reports hinting that there was something like a peace process behind the curtains. They tried to create the deception that there is no isolation, no war of to be or not to be, that there is no comprehensive genocidal attack on Rêber Apo and, through him, on the entire Kurdish society. They are trying to create such a perception through Bahceli, the ruling partner who is conducting exactly that genocidal policy. Our movement and many comrades have spoken clearly about this. Most recently, comrade Cemal issued a warning regarding this policy, and there recently have been written statements from the leadership of our movement. The enemy wants to create a perception as if there is something that does not exist and to gain time. In order to prevent the global campaign from growing even more, they are again trying to create expectations among some people in Kurdistan by making it look like something that does not exist.

This is the AKP-MHP's politics of genocide. The AKP is constantly conducting such a policy. For example, from 2006 to 2015, many times a ceasefire was agreed upon and dialog developed. Despite all this, they did not take a single step, did not change a single law in the constitution, did not develop a move for a solution, and did not make a single regulation that would serve the Kurdish people. They only pursued a policy of perpetuating their power. And what can be seen now is exactly the same.

So, what should be done against this politics? The year 2025 is going to be very decisive. The restructuring and redesign of the region will take on a clearer form. Rêber Apo drew attention to the year 2025, already 25 years ago, when he analyzed the international conspiracy.

In the coming period, Rêber Apo's physical freedom must be ensured. This is of course only possible through a joint struggle. This struggle, which has been going on since the international conspiracy was launched, must continue in richer and different ways and methods. The solution of the problems both in Turkey and in the region is linked to the solution of the Kurdish question, and the solution of the Kurdish question is linked to the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. The Turkish state does not want to develop a solution; it is afraid of a solution. Especially the AKP-MHP government knows that if the Kurdish question is solved through democratic means, if Rêber Apo is taken as an interlocutor, they will no longer be able to carry out their 'terror policies' and genocidal warfare. They sweep all the economic, social, and other problems in Turkey under the rug and only emphasize the war against the Kurdistan Freedom Movement by saying, 'the security of the country is under threat'. That is why they do not want a solution to develop.

In the recent meeting, Rêber Apo said, "I have the theoretical and practical power to move this process from the ground of conflict and violence to the legal and political ground if the conditions arise." This is crucial. They themselves are aware of this. They read what Rêber Apo says. They know that he is the interlocutor of this question and that he is the only one that can solve it. They are afraid of his power and the philosophy of these people, so instead of heading for a solution, they deepen the isolation even more. The people of Kurdistan, the freedom movement, the international friends of our people, and the forces striving for democracy and freedom must increase their struggle and resistance in the upcoming year and must unite strongly. The youth, women, and the international friends of our people must be the pioneers of the global campaign. Everyone has seen the role and mission of Rêber Apo. Many boundaries have already been overcome. The upcoming year must be the year of Rêber Apo's physical freedom. This is our hope, and our struggle will continue on this basis.

***As you mentioned, the analyses and predictions that peoples leader Abdullah Ocalan made years ago are coming true today. In Syria in particular, we see that the restructuring and redesign of the Middle East is on the agenda. It took the HTS less than two weeks to take over the country. It is still unclear what kind of new government and what kind of new state will emerge; the only thing that seems obvious is the Sunni leadership. Syria, and Rojava in particular, is home to a wide variety of ethnicities, cultures, and faiths. What will be the effect of the developments on all the peoples living in Syria and on the revolution in Rojava, especially in view of the close links between the HTS and the occupying Turkish state?***

Regarding the fall of the Baath regime, I would like to point out that no matter what, Assad was a dictator; the same regime, the same mentality, continued for decades. Of course, all peoples, especially the Syrian people, saw the fall of this regime as an occasion to celebrate. Whatever the people want, we value it and consider it decisive. The peoples of North and East Syria and the peoples living in Syria engaged in a struggle in an important period. Our people showed an honorable stance. Accordingly, I salute the resistance of our people. We assess the attacks that started on November 27th as a clear message. While HTS gave its direction to Syria, the mercenaries of the so-called 'Syrian National Army', which the Turkish state has created and been feeding since 2011, consisting of people from a lot of different countries and consisting essentially of ISIS, attacked the areas of North and East Syria.

While HTS's takeover of Damascus was a plan by several states, including the US, Israel, and the UK, the Turkish state had a different intention. The biggest obstacle to the AKP-MHP government is the existence of the Kurds. They are hostile to the Kurdish people, and so on November 27, the day our party was founded, they directed their gangs against Shehba, where the people migrated to after the occupation of Til Rifat and Afrin. The gangs and mercenaries brutally attacked the people, and so our people had to migrate once again. But this time migration was carried out to safe areas as a result of the planning of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (DAANES). It was so that our people would not have to face any further massacres. The brutal attacks of these gangs and mercenaries once again revealed their true face and that of the Turkish state.

The attacks against North and East Syria are still continuing, and the Turkish state therefore utilizes two different strategies and approaches:

On the one hand, they also support HTS and other gangs. There is a temporary government in Syria now, and as far as we are informed, they search to form a new government by March. The Turkish state wants to design the new government according to itself. It wants to establish a government dependent on itself. They see Syria as their hinterland, and they want to have control over it. They are constantly sending new delegations to Damascus and paying high visits. Already did the bosses of the intelligence service visit them, and so did the foreign minister. Delegation after delegation goes to Damascus. And they also influence HTS in different ways. They want to throw out the Alawites, the Durzis, the Assyrians, the Kurds, and the Arabs who are not part of HTS and to place people loyal to them. They are creating a state in which people will wish for Bashar al-Assad to return. Dictator Erdogan's mentality is to establish a power that is loyal to him and like him.

On the other hand, the second and main goal is to occupy North and East Syria with the gangs and mercenaries of the SNA and to destroy the gains of the revolution. After the great revolution in 2011, the system built in North and East Syria was immediately under attack by gangs such as al-Nusra and ISIS, including the SNA. These attacks have been going on for more than 13 years. Despite this, our people established an autonomous administration and built their institutions. For over 13 years now, they have been administrating themselves with a system according to the paradigm that is based on basic democracy, social ecology, and women's freedom. This system has attracted the attention of the whole world. Not only Syria and the Middle East, but the whole world is taking this system as an inspiration. The fear of the Turkish state is the democratic self-government model, the system of democratic nations, in which all peoples can live in their lands with their own languages, cultures, beliefs, and colors. The Turkish state wants to prevent this. That is why it is launching attack after attack. It is attacking Til Rifat, Shahba, Manbij, the Qereqozakh Bridge, and the Tishrin Dam. Its goal is to destroy everything in North and East Syria, and first and foremost the DAANES. It is afraid of this system.

The new government in Damascus is enjoying the current situation. They are happy that everyone is visiting them. But if they do not draw conclusions from the practices of Bashar al-Assad and the Baath regime, if they do not build a democratic, federative, autonomous model that takes the views of all the formations in Syria, they will not last long. Because the reason for the fall of the Baath regime in both Iraq and Syria was the monist, centralized mentality. They maintained their power in this way for years, and this led to their downfall. In fact, this is also what is happening in Turkey right now. There is even more dictatorship in Ankara than in Damascus. That's why Turkey wants to replicate its model elsewhere so that it is not their turn to change. However, the solution to the problems lies in a democratic model. When a model is

built in Syria where all peoples, beliefs, and cultures live together, then Syria can be an example for the whole Middle East. If the new government in Damascus does not do this and just implements the plans of the Turkish state, then Damascus will not be what Damascus is all about, nor will the problems and crises in Syria end.

***The system established 13 years ago in North and East Syria, which is based on peoples leader Abdullah Öcalan's political philosophy, has proven to the whole world that when women are liberated, society is also liberated. That is why the peoples see Rojava as sacred and take it as an example. But the Turkish state has been continuing its attacks on Rojava since the very beginning of the revolution. Also most recently, two journalists were targeted and murdered. Why is the defense of the revolution particularly by women so crucial?***

The revolution of North and East Syria is a women's revolution. It can be said that it is like a shining star for humanity to emphasize the importance of the revolution. When the attacks on North and East Syria began, YPJ fighters in Aleppo and Til Rifat put up a great resistance. Some of them were captured and martyred. They tortured the fighters with great immorality, which shows the mentality of the gangs and how much they fear the revolution. Also, members of the Zenubiya Women's Assembly and three members of the Manbij Women's Assembly were massacred brutally by the gangs. I commemorate all those women with respect and bow to their memories with respect. The uprising of women in North and East Syria and their defense of the system they built is very important and valuable.

The SNA is composed of ISIS mercenaries. Their main goal at the moment is to defeat the women's revolution, to slaughter and rape women, and to trample on the values of women and humanity. Women have both defended and developed their gains in North-East Syria. What should be their approach in the future? The development of the gains should be extended to the whole of Syria. They are marching, holding rallies, and meetings, and making statements to the whole world; these are of great importance and should be spread to the whole of Syria. The declaration issued recently by the Syrian Women's Assembly was very important, because this is exactly the time when the work of the Syrian Women's Assembly can achieve the most. They should have a decisive say in what kind of Syria should be created, what kind of constitution should be set up, and what role women should play in the new Syria.

Diplomatic and political efforts must be carried out for a democratic Syria. As much as we follow in the press, there already are important efforts in this direction. As the Women's Movement, we draw strength from this great struggle and support it at all costs. As the Women's Freedom Movement, our stance against this mentality that is responsible for so many women being deliberately massacred in war is known. The struggle and resistance are very important. Therefore, another important task is women's self-defense. There is YPJ as a defensive force, and there is the internal organization of women's self-defense. All women should be able to defend themselves in the revolutionary people's war. Not only in Rojava and North and East Syria, but throughout Syria, all women should be able to protect their right to life, their right to self-defense. They should be conscious, organized, and educated. There should not be a single woman that is left unorganized. Especially now, this is vital for survival. Because they are in more danger now than ever before. Self-defense must be developed.

Also, the topic of unity is very decisive in Rojava and North and East Syria. Women should lead the struggle for unity. There have recently been statements by the SDF Command, also by the DAANES, various different organizations, religious scholars, and friends of the Kurdish people about Kurdish unity, but still

some people turn a deaf ear to these statements and do not want unity. A hundred years ago, the Kurds did not go to Lausanne united; they were deceived and have been held captive by the agreement that was made back then until today. Now they are trying to do the same thing in Damascus. Again in the 21st century, they aim to make agreements regarding Rojava without Kurdish unity. They want to start a process without free and united Kurds. The women can stand against this; they should stand against it with their criticism and stance and not accept it. They have this consciousness and this power. Women can lead the way to unity. Women in all parts of Kurdistan and abroad are united. This is important. They have relations with women of different nationalities; in Syria they are united with Arab, Assyrian, Durzi, and Alawite women. It is the women who should play more of a pioneering role and mission in this process, particularly in terms of national unity. The women's revolution is a democratic, ecological revolution based on women's freedom and the freedom of society. In fact, society cannot be liberated without the liberation of women. The defense of women's rights in Syria is led by Kurdish women.

Both the Syrian Women's Assembly and defense forces such as Kongra-Star and YPJ are great achievements. They should develop them even more. There may be martyrdoms, the struggle may be heavy, but our people have also learned that one cannot be free without being prepared to pay a high price. I remember that during the Afrin resistance, there were mothers who stated that they could go hungry but could not go without a country, could not live without freedom. Women cannot live without freedom, and they should never surrender. Therefore they must strengthen their unity and defend their gains.

—★—

# Sozdar Avesta: 2025 can be a year of great success, despite the dangers

**ANF | 29 December 2024**

In the second part of this interview, Sozdar Avesta, member of the Presidential Council of the KCK, spoke about the actions by guerrillas and the new opportunities for 2025.

***Led by the YJA-Star, the guerrillas have dealt heavy blows to the occupying Turkish state from Ankara to the free mountains of Kurdistan this year. How do you evaluate the guerrilla struggle in 2024?***

The fascist Turkish state, both presidents, and the chiefs of the general staff and the defense ministers have stated that in 2024 they will "lock down" the Medya Defense Zones. In other words, they stated that they would liquidate the guerrillas. Looking at the truth, the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrillas fought a relentless struggle everywhere. Particularly in northern Kurdistan, from Amed (tr. Diyarbakir) to Dersim (Tunceli), from Botan to Merdin (tr. Mardin), from Serhat to Zagros, and from Metina to Zap and Khakurke, a great resistance was waged. Many heroic, sacrificial comrades were martyred. On this occasion, I once again commemorate all the martyrs of 2024 with respect and gratitude. The Kurdistan Freedom Guerrillas are defending their positions against the enemy's attacks. They have not stepped back, even in a single area.

The attacks against the guerrillas have been going on uninterruptedly for over four years, but the guerrillas are putting up great resistance in all these areas, and particularly in western Zap and Metina, on Mount Bahar and Mound Cudi. The guerrilla has shown its professional performance. They used rich and new ways and methods. On the occasion of Newroz 2024, good news was given to the Kurdish people. The guerrilla has improved its measures against the enemy's air attacks by the downing of UCAVs and drones. The enemy was hit many times, and the guerrillas defended their areas and positions.

In 2024, the actions reached their peak with the attack on the TAI. This action showed how great the will and power of the guerrillas are. What the guerrilla, which trains itself in the philosophy of Rêber Apo, can do was revealed in the person of comrade Asya Ali and Rojger Helin. In their letters, these friends also gave the perspective for the coming year. They showed what a guerrilla is capable of, how it can be organized, how it can lock on to its target, how it can take action, and how it can get results even under the harshest conditions. Their letters are both a doctrine of war and a manifesto of free life. Freedom guerrillas should take this as a basis. They showed that those whose compass is Rêber Apo can find their course. We believe that the freedom guerrillas will exhibit this performance they have achieved in the global campaign for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo in 2025, in the defense of revolutionary values, and in the solution of the Kurdish question. The guerrilla's strategic role in the struggle continues.

***Is there any further message you would like to give? Is there anything else you would like to say in relation to the struggle for the physical freedom of Abdullah Ocalan and for Kurds to have a status in the Middle East? What is your New Year message to women, youth, and all freedom-striving forces?***

The genocidal attacks against our people continue, and so does the heavy isolation of Rêber Apo. A new map of the 21st century is being drawn, and the region is being redesigned. There are as many opportunities as there are dangers for the Kurdish people. But one should be aware that the Kurdish people are no longer the people they were a hundred years ago. A hundred years ago there was the same danger as currently. The enemy still acts with the same mentality as a hundred years ago, but there is one thing he has not calculated: the Kurds are not the Kurds of a hundred years ago. The Kurdish Freedom Movement, led by Rêber Apo, the youth and women of Kurdistan, and the peoples of the Middle East, has reached an important level with their struggle according to the concept of a democratic nation.

The unity of the Kurdish and Arab people is strategic and not only for today. Rêber Apo struggled in the Middle East for twenty years and made great efforts. With his struggle in Damascus and Lebanon, he created a great foundation for the Syrian people. The people of North and East Syria, especially the people of Kurdistan, all political parties, and Kurdish parties, especially the parties in Rojava, should not deceive themselves once again; they should not pursue vested interests; they should focus on national interests and freedom. They should use this opportunity very well. This duty falls on everyone. If acted accordingly, no matter how great the danger is, the will and truth of the Kurdish people is greater than it. The Kurds can nullify all these attacks, these dangers, and achieve national unity. They can take part in the democratization process of Syria with a common will in the whole of North and East Syria. In this way, they can further strengthen Kurdish unity in the other parts of Kurdistan.

There are great dangers to democratic gains, but 2025 could be a year of great success. On this occasion, we call on our people, particularly women and young people, and also on our international friends, all institutions, parties, and organizations, to put aside their disagreements, whatever they may be. Everyone

must participate in the process in the right way and play their part. Finally, I wish to all our friends and people a Happy New Year 2025.

—★—

# Cemil Bayik: The freedom for Öcalan initiative should be positively concluded in 2025

**ANF | 30 December 2024**

In this new interview, Cemil Bayik, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the importance and the results so far of the global campaign for the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and the solution to the Kurdish question.

***In 2024, a comprehensive struggle has been developed as part of the global campaign for the physical freedom of peoples leader Abdullah Öcalan and the resolution of the Kurdish question. Among other things, there were historic demonstrations in Cologne, Nobel Prize winners made statements in this context and, generally speaking, it can be said that millions of people from almost every continent on earth took part in the campaign. What is the result after this year of struggle? And what do they conclude is necessary for the new year?***

As you pointed out, the global freedom campaign was launched with the goal of the physical freedom of Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] and the solution to the Kurdish question, and the struggle developed therein continues. This campaign was planned and initiated by the leftist, socialist, democratic, and freedom-striving forces that are sensitive to the Kurdish question and that stand in solidarity with the Kurdish people. It is them who we define as friends of the Kurdish people. In particular, women and women's movements are strongly involved, as well as the youth and youth movements. But not only them, also labor unions, municipalities, ecologists, internationalists, intellectuals, writers, academics, artists, philosophers, lawyers, religious groups, and many other individuals, groups, and movements have participated in and are participating in the campaign. We assessed this global freedom campaign as very meaningful and declared that we would participate with all our strength. Our people approached it in the same way and participated strongly in every field.

Since the beginning of the international conspiracy, we, as the movement and the people, have been in an uninterrupted struggle to nullify the conspiracy, to end the isolation and torture system in Imrali, and to ensure the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. In this context, our movement has initiated various campaigns and offensives. What must be mentioned above all in this context are the actions that have developed under the motto "You Cannot Darken Our Sun".

It was the first and violent reaction against the international conspiracy. These actions were carried out by the own initiative of the militants, as a result of their high sensitivity and commitment to the cause of freedom. It was a very difficult and historic move that took place in the course of understanding the danger that existed and that the only possibility lay in overcoming it. This historical move not only created a great

shock but also determined the line of struggle. The struggle that developed afterwards has always been along it. Today this struggle continues as the global freedom campaign. As can be understood, there is a continuous, uninterrupted struggle. The struggle against the international conspiracy has reached its peak with the global freedom campaign and has come very close to its goal.

Before discussing what has been done and what has been achieved in the course of this year, it is important to first focus on the meaning and nature of the global freedom campaign. Yes, the global freedom campaign represents a summit. It is the universalization of the struggle with Rêber Apo in its center. It expresses the level reached by 25 years of struggle. The global freedom campaign has mainly developed as a result of the impact of Rêber Apo's ideas on the world. Everyone who participated in the campaign clearly expresses this fact. Rêber Apo subjected the old paradigm to a scientific examination, identified its deficiencies and mistakes, and addressed them by developing a new paradigm. Rêber Apo did not stop at criticizing the old paradigm like many others; while doing so, he developed the new. Thus, he created a modernity that would be an alternative to capitalist modernity. Rêber Apo called this the theory of democratic modernity and developed its intellectual and organizational model. This theory of democratic modernity stands on the stage of history as the most ambitious solution model to solve the problems of our time and to end the crisis and depression caused by capitalist modernity. Before Rêber Apo, there was no such alternative. There was criticism of the past, but a holistic, coherent, and analytical model was not developed.

It was Rêber Apo who did this, and this is exactly what makes his significance. Now the world is responding to Rêber Apo with the global freedom campaign. It is showing that it embraces and adopts his ideas. If Rêber Apo had not reached that level of assessing the truth and reality, this level of appropriation of his paradigm would not have developed. This global appropriation is the result of the intellectual influence of Rêber Apo. It is not only a reaction against the total isolation. Still, the total isolation of Rêber Apo is a deep wound in the conscience of humanity. This leads everyone with a conscience to react against it and take action. Our people have always stood up because of their deep attachment to Rêber Apo. However, the level that has emerged with the global freedom campaign goes beyond this. In addition to conscience and sense of justice, there is an ideological participation in the campaign. We see that this ideological participation is spreading and growing rapidly. Everyone who knows Rêber Apo and reads his prison writings is affected. They begin to ask questions, embark on a search for truth, and find answers to their questions in this paradigm. This is most prominent among women and young people. And this is crucial, since it is them who experience the problem of lacking freedom the most and whose search for true freedom is the deepest.

There are some important points that should also be mentioned regarding the total isolation. In the meeting that was held on October 23, 2024, Rêber Apo underlined that total isolation continues. It is very clear that it is imposed because of the fear of Rêber Apo's ideas. But we are the ones who are isolated here. Those who carry out total isolation do not intend to deprive Rêber Apo from us, but to deprive us of Rêber Apo. The consciousness of freedom in Rêber Apo is very deep. Neither the prison nor anything else can prevent Rêber Apo from living free. The 26 year existence of the Imrali isolation and torture system proves this fact. While Rêber Apo is isolated, we are the ones who are isolated. This is exactly how it needs to be seen. If the world is now starting to embrace Rêber Apo on such a high level, adopting his ideas and paradigm, then it means that the whole world is being isolated. The global freedom campaign must be considered and understood from this perspective. The development of a strong embrace of Rêber Apo all over the world is closely linked to this.

Over the course of more than a year, important results have been achieved with the actions and activities that have developed. The global freedom campaign succeeded in putting total isolation on the agenda of world public opinion. This was a very essential goal, and it was achieved. The statement that was published by the 69 Nobel Prize-winning intellectuals is an indication that an important level has been reached in reaching public opinion. This is crucial because, as the name suggests, an international conspiracy was developed against Rêber Apo. The aim of this was to neutralize Rêber Apo.

By neutralizing Rêber Apo, our movement and our struggle were to be neutralized. The Imrali isolation and torture system was created for this purpose. The international conspiracy did not end as a one-time operation. It continues with the Imrali system. It is of great importance to create sensitization around the world against this project, which is based on international political interests and planned and maintained by international powers. This has been achieved to a certain extent over this year and should therefore be seen as a success. It is a success against the forces of capitalist modernity. The states have completely closed themselves off to this. They have not supported it at all; on the contrary, they have worked against it. They are extremely uncomfortable with the development of the global freedom campaign and are trying to prevent, narrow, and neutralize it. But despite this, an important public opinion has been formed in the world. I have stated before that the physical liberation of Rêber Apo will be more difficult than the liberation of Mandela. The work for Rêber Apo will face more obstacles than the work for Mandela. In this respect, much more is needed than the work done for Mandela. Therefore, a stronger struggle is needed.

Valuable efforts have been made so far for the success of the global freedom campaign. Many actions and events have taken place in many parts of the world. There is almost no country where actions and events have not taken place. Peoples, particularly women, young people, intellectuals, scientists, and democratic and socialist forces, have played a pioneering role in these. There were also mass demonstrations, such as in Cologne, Germany. Also, in Kurdistan itself, our people stood up and showed strong participation in the global freedom campaign. Particularly our people in Rojava were in action almost every day. Also in northern Kurdistan, despite all fascist obstructions and attacks, our people developed a strong participation with actions such as the freedom marches. There was also a significant participation of our people in southern and eastern Kurdistan. On the occasion of the New Year, we once again express our thanks to our international friends, the women, youth, revolutionary democratic forces, and the patriotic people of Kurdistan. While expressing our thanks, I would also like to pay tribute to the 69 intellectuals, artists, and scientists who received the Nobel Prize. In just over a year, the global campaign has made significant progress. The situation of Rêber Apo and the absolute isolation in Imrali has been brought to the world public opinion. The struggle of the Kurdish people has gained more recognition and support. By taking part in the global freedom campaign, anti-system revolutionary democratic forces in many parts of the world have come together. It can be said that for the first time in the last thirty or forty years, democratic solidarity has been realized to this extent. This should be seen as a very important development.

Another important development is the spread of Rêber Apo's paradigm. The global freedom campaign has also paved the way for its spread. And this is precisely the desired development. As a result, the theory of democratic modernity developed by Rêber Apo is being discussed. The collective reading of the prison writings and the reading days organized for this purpose should also be emphasized. This has also been an important work. I think that efforts in this direction should be continued with rich methods.

Undoubtedly, another area of struggle that strengthened the campaign was in the prisons. The imprisoned have always been pioneers of devotion to Rêber Apo and the struggle that has developed on this basis. The

attitude and resistance of political prisoners affect and mobilize our people. In the course of the campaign, the political prisoners have been one of the most influential and mobilizing forces in society with their resistance. Again, the Kurdistan freedom guerrilla has been one of the forces that have developed the campaign the most. In fact, our movement is developing its whole struggle on the basis of the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the freedom of Kurdistan.

The next step is to strengthen and develop the campaign in order to be able to accomplish its aim. In its first year, we have seen that important developments have been made and results are being achieved. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe taking up the so-called 'Right to Hope' law and reaching a decision on this issue is one of them. The realization of a meeting with Rêber Apo is another example. All this shows that the global freedom campaign is moving forward in line with its goals. What needs to be done then is to reach the end of this path, that is, to bring the struggle to a conclusion. This, of course, can only be achieved by making it even bigger. Therefore, stronger and more widespread actions and activities are needed. In this context, our people and all our international friends should participate more in the global campaign. All cadres, patriots, and sympathizers of the KCK and the PKK should organize the people more and work harder to win more supporters.

—★—

# Cemil Bayik: AKP-MHP government failed to liquidate the Kurdish Freedom Movement

**ANF | 31 December 2024**

In the second part of this interview, Cemil Bayik, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the failure of the international institutions to put pressure on Turkey to end the violation of all international laws in Imrali.

***Considering Devlet Bahceli's latest statements, the subsequent bans on visits, and the manipulations in the media and the political arena, what are the fascist government's calculations against Öcalan? How should the resistance and stance developed by Öcalan under the severe isolation and the message given by him during the visit of DEM MP Ömer Öcalan be understood, and what conclusions should be drawn from this?***

Facing the Imrali system, we are expected to compromise our stance and give up our principles. This is the sole expectation of the state and the government for Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] to change his attitude. There is heavy pressure and isolation on Rêber Apo, which is unprecedented in history. This is the most severe torture. In this way, the genocidal colonialist mentality is, on the one hand, trying to prevent Rêber Apo's ideas from reaching outside and giving us strength and, on the other hand, trying to take revenge on Rêber Apo. Beyond satisfying their feelings of revenge, the state cannot achieve any results with such methods. They are very well aware of this themselves. Rêber Apo's stance and his commitment to freedom are obvious. Without this, there would have been neither the Imrali system nor the practice of isolation.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand the reality of Rêber Apo and Imrali well. Some people misjudge and reach the wrong conclusions. They think that Rêber Apo can take steps that are not in the interest of freedom and the peoples. Rêber Apo would never take a step that is not in the interest of the Kurdish people or the other peoples of Turkey and the Middle East. Rêber Apo's half-century-long march has sufficiently proved this fact. There was no step that had not been for the benefit of freedom and the peoples. The 26-year Imrali period is also like this. Therefore, it is important that especially Turkish intellectuals, socialists, democrats, and patriots inform those who are hesitant and who do not know about this reality sufficiently. Undoubtedly, there are also those who are consciously misleading. These are chauvinist circles. They are trying to push forward nationalism, racism, and fascism with the AKP-MHP. One cannot talk with these circles; one can only fight them. Chauvinism is still very strong in Turkey. Therefore, the anti-chauvinist struggle remains important.

In his meeting with the DEM MP Ömer Öcalan, Rêber Apo clearly revealed both the current situation and his approach. It is important to understand why he said that the isolation continues even though the meeting took place. If Rêber Apo says this despite the meeting and despite the messages of many state officials, including Devlet Bahceli, it means that there is no intention of a solution, but rather a political operation by the state. As a matter of fact, the statements and approaches of both Devlet Bahceli and other state officials are highly manipulative. A perception is created as if something positive is going to be done, but the reality is quite the opposite. It is said that there is no Kurdish question and that the PKK is the enemy. This approach shows that the century-old policy of denial and annihilation is being continued. A special war-oriented process is being carried out. This is the meaning of Rêber Apo's statement that isolation continues. There is intense manipulation in the media as well as in politics. The media in Turkey has always functioned to make society accept the political strategies developed by the state on the basis of the genocide concept. Any press and media publishing beyond this is banned. Therefore, it is possible to understand the approach of the state and the government by looking at the state media.

Regardless of its intentions, the Turkish state had to go to Rêber Apo's feet and accept his interlocutor status. This is also related to the developments outside. The developments in the Middle East are worrying the Turkish state. While the Middle East is being redesigned, its structure, which is based on the nation-state system, is being overcome. This alarms the Turkish state, whose system in the Middle East is mostly based on the nation-state model. Because the Turkish state sees that this trend will touch it, it cannot protect its monist nation-state structure. Because it sees this, it opposes it with all its might and tries to prevent it. However, the main reason that forces the AKP-MHP government to go to the feet of Rêber Apo and accept him as interlocutor is the existence of the Kurdistan freedom struggle. While the Middle East is being redesigned and the nation-state structure is being overcome, the existence of our movement and the growing struggle led by our movement is the main reason that worries the genocidal colonialist Turkish state. If it were not for our movement and the struggle that developed under the leadership of our movement, the Turkish state and the AKP-MHP government would not be so worried about the developments in the Middle East; so to speak, they would be firmly entrenched.

As a matter of fact, the AKP-MHP government has worked towards one thing in particular since its inception; the liquidation of our movement and the completion of the Kurdish genocide. It was aimed to liquidate our movement before entering the second century of the republic at the latest and thus remove the obstacle before the Kurdish genocide. However, the AKP-MHP government failed to achieve this and could not liquidate our movement. It can be said that the struggle led by our movement in 2024 caused

great disappointment to the government. The resistance of the guerrillas could not be broken, the Kurdish people could not be subjugated, and ultimately the liquidation concept remained inconclusive.

However, the Turkish state and the AKP-MHP government have not given up their genocidal mentality and policies. As of the end of 2023 and into 2024, as a result of the political and military struggle developed by our movement and our people, it suffered great blows; is liquidation and genocide concepts remained inconclusive, but it continued to insist on its mentality and policies. Today, as it did yesterday, it is working for the liquidation of our movement and the genocide of our people. With the new situation that has emerged in Syria, the fact that it has turned towards Rojava with the SNA gangs affiliated to it and its invasion and genocide plans for Rojava, which it does not care to hide, reveals the truth with all its clarity.

***Over the past year, the Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) and the European Commission, executive bodies of the Council of Europe (CoE), made statements regarding the isolation imposed on Rêber Apo. Again, the reports emphasized the so-called 'Right to Hope'. How do you evaluate these statements and the attitude of the relevant international institutions?***

Rêber Apo was abducted as part of an international conspiracy and handed over to the Turkish state. The fact that he was subjected to an international conspiracy was the result of an international plan against him, our movement, and our people. In the most general sense, this plan is to take into account the wishes of the Turkish state when the Middle East is being redesigned and therefore not to include the Kurds in the new Middle East design. While, on the one hand, this was the demand and imposition of the Turkish state, on the other hand, the capitalist modernist powers, especially the USA, Israel, and the UK, saw the PKK's democratic, freedom-striving approach as dangerous for themselves. The clash of these two understandings has resulted in the development of such a plan against Rêber Apo, our movement, and our people. The Imrali system was created within the scope of this plan; it is managed by international powers. Rêber Apo compared Imrali to Guantanamo. As it is known, no national or international law was in force in Guantanamo. It was a purely political place. Imrali is exactly the same. There is no national or international law. In fact, the international conspiracy has been realized by completely bypassing the law. Therefore, all institutions related to the Imrali system do not exist to regulate the law but to cover up and maintain the state of lawlessness. The CPT and other European institutions are at the forefront of these institutions. Rêber Apo stated that when he was first taken to Imrali, he was met by a CPT delegation. This is the clearest evidence that the Imrali system is managed by the CPT and European institutions. The fact that no official institution has reacted to the absolute isolation of Rêber Apo for five years can only be explained by this.

Just as in the realization of the international conspiracy, European law and regulations have been violated with regard to the practices in Imrali. The forces involved in the international conspiracy have clearly violated their own laws and jurisprudence. The same accounts for the CPT, the CoE, the Committee of Ministers, and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). Despite the fact that the law has been completely bypassed in Imrali, torture has been practiced in absolute isolation, and crimes against humanity have been committed; none of these institutions have taken a stance against their responsibility. To mention the simplest, the CPT has not even announced the results of its visits to Imrali. It is very clear that this is an approach not to put the Turkish state in difficulty. However, the CPT has previously stated that there is isolation in Imrali, that isolation is torture and cannot be accepted, and that Imrali Island is not suitable to be a prison. However, the same CPT has not only failed to implement the taken decisions, but has also taken a position that tries to legitimize the practices in Imrali. Similar approaches apply to other

European institutions. The ECHR ruled that Rêber Apo was not given a fair trial, but the Turkish state acted as if nothing had happened and simply carried on. Again in 2014, it stated that Rêber Apo should benefit from the 'Right to Hope', but it has done nothing despite the ten years that have since passed. The CoE, which should have taken action in the face of all this and taken decisions against the Turkish state, has also done nothing and has not taken any stance to force the Turkish state to take one single step. The Turkish state has taken courage from all this. It developed all the practices in Imrali, including the absolute isolation, with the courage it took from this.

The most recent decision of the Committee of Ministers on the 'Right to Hope' was important. It is very clear that this decision of the Committee of Ministers was the result of the impact and pressure created by the global freedom campaign. Otherwise, it was a decision that should have been taken long ago. But, as we have pointed out through a written statement, it is both a decision taken too late and giving the Turkish state a deadline is not acceptable. In fact, despite the ECHR's decision, the Turkish state has not taken any steps on this basis for 10 years. Let alone taking steps, it has established a complete death system in Imrali. While the situation is so clear, it is completely unacceptable for the Committee of Ministers to once again give Turkey a deadline. If a shred of law is to be practiced, the Turkish state must be forced to end the crime against humanity, lawlessness, absolute isolation, and torture in Imrali and release Rêber Apo to his physical freedom as soon as possible.

—★—

# Bayik: The only way to solve the crisis in the Middle East is the democratic nation

**ANF | 1 January 2025**

In the third part of this in-depth interview, Cemil Bayik, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, focused on the Third World War in the Middle East. Bayik talked in particular about the developments and results within the current process of the redesign of the Middle East and the role and opportunities for revolutionary forces.

***The old balances in the Middle East are breaking down, the status quo is disintegrating. What kind of Middle East, what kind of new design do the capitalist modernist powers envision in the future? Who will be the dominant powers of the new Middle East? In this context, what is the main purpose of Israel's war against Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, and the forces under its influence? Where do the developments that started on November 27 that resulted in Assad's fall from power fit into these calculations?***

At the beginning of the 20th century, when the Middle East was being shaped, there were two main goals. The first was to dismember the Ottoman Empire and establish dependent nation states in its place, and the second was to create a Jewish nation state in the Middle East and make it the dominant power in the Middle East. The Jewish nation state, which would later be declared as Israel, was essentially a project developed by Britain. On the basis of these two projects, the Middle East was designed. However, there were some unforeseen developments that led to partial changes in the plan. The most prominent of these devel-

opments was the October Revolution in Russia. When the October Revolution took place, the First World War was going on, and Russia was fighting on the side of Britain and France. However, when the revolution took place, Lenin pulled Russia out of the war and exposed the Sykes-Picot Treaty between England, France, and Russia, which was kept secret until then. With the disclosure of this treaty, the causes and goals of the First World War became known to the whole world. The Sykes-Picot Treaty determined how the Middle East would be designed and what the areas of power would be. This treaty has historical significance as it is the document that reveals that the First World War stemmed from the struggle for dominance over the Middle East.

After Russia withdrew from the war, a vacuum was created. The Kemalist movement took advantage of this vacuum. As it is known, Russia had occupied the region up to Bedlis (tr. Bitlis) during the war. When it withdrew from the war, it also left the occupied areas. Kurdish forces gathered there and reached a certain level of organization. When the Kemalist movement saw this, it turned its attention to Kurdistan. It developed relations with the October Revolution and received support from them. On this basis, the Kemalist movement increased its political and military influence. It won the war against Greece and took control of Anatolia. When Greece lost the war, the envisaged Treaty of Sèvres could not be implemented. Britain then made a partial change in its Middle East plan and concluded the Treaty of Lausanne with the Kemalist movement. Thus, the design of the Middle East was completed with Turkey's involvement.

While the Middle East was being designed, the Turkish state was assigned two main tasks. The first is to function as a pre-Israel. This task was assigned to the Turkish state until the real Israel was established and became the dominant power in the Middle East. Thus, the Turkish state was constructed as a nation state model in the Middle East. It played the role as the responsible of both Israel's security as well as the protector and developer of the interests of capitalist modernity in the Middle East. Therefore, Rêber Apo[1] described the establishment of the Turkish state as the establishment of pre-Israel. Secondly, it was given the task of a buffer to encircle the Soviets from the south. As it is known, Turkey was later admitted to NATO for this purpose. This project developed by the forces of capitalist modernity is also the basis of the Kurdish genocide. Kurds were identified as the absolute enemy of the Turkish nation state, which was established based on a racist and fascist mentality. Through the pursuit of this enmity, the Turkish state has been turned into the power that most lies and serves the plans of capitalist modernity. This has continued unbroken from history to the present day.

Today, a new design is being developed in the Middle East. And by developing this new design, the current nation state form is being overcome. Undoubtedly, the redesign of the Middle East is not a process that started today. It is a phenomenon that came to the agenda with the collapse of real socialism. This process is extremely conflictual and painful. The main reason for this is, of course, conflicts of interest. There are conflicts of interest both between the capitalist modernist forces and mainly between the forces of global capital on the one hand and the status quoist forces on the other side. As it is known, the first intervention within the scope of the redesign of the Middle East was made in Iraq, when the Baath regime in Iraq was overthrown. Rêber Apo back then analyzed it and said that with the fall of Saddam, the nation state system in the Middle East collapsed. The developments have confirmed his analyses, as one after another, the nation state regimes in the Middle East have either fallen or turned into centers of conflict. This process is continuing in full strength today. And now, as it is known, the Syrian Baath regime, which represented the nation state in Syria, has also collapsed.

Within the scope of the redesign of the Middle East, the nation state model is being overcome, and instead models that serve the interests of global capital are being developed. At the beginning of the 20th century, the nation state model was still in line with the interests of capitalist modernity for the dissolution of the German, Austrian, and Ottoman empires. But this time has passed. Capitalist modernity is going through the process of globalization and has reached a critical dimension. Therefore, instead of the nation state model, smaller, more flexible, federative state structures are being developed. This is intended to secure the global circulation, investment, and profits of capital. Undoubtedly, just as in the creation of nation states, the method used in their overcoming is the divide-and-rule policy, which is one of the most distinguished methods of imperialism.

The Turkish state is the most concerned about this process for two main reasons. First, it sees that it cannot carry out the Kurdish genocide as before as the balance is being re-established against the nation state in the Middle East and as the Kurds have become an important power in the region. Secondly, Israel is now given the role of the main actor in the redesign of the Middle East. Again, Saudi Arabia is prioritized alongside Israel. Turkey, on the other hand, used to be in the forefront, but now it is being pushed back. In a way, the role given to Turkey has come to an end. Of course, Turkey is not being completely excluded or targeted by the system. Turkey is somehow still included in the plan, but it is not given a leading role as before. Today, both the absence of the Soviets and the presence of Israel have eliminated the old need for Turkey. Turkey has developed into a player that can be used when needed, but that is not crucial anymore. Especially Tayyip Erdogan is currently being used as a kind of battering ram. In the situation in Syria, it has become clear that he has been assigned such a role. The Turkish state aims to strengthen its position by putting itself to use and, based on this, to continue the Kurdish genocide. Because this is the main goal of the Turkish state. It is at a point where he is prepared to give up everything else, to leave everything else behind just to achieve this one goal. When it reaches a point that nothing else works, there is no compromise it is not ready to make and no plan it is not ready to enter into for this purpose.

When Israel took upon the role of the main actor in the new process, it was necessary to eliminate the structures that could form an obstacle to Israel's new role. First Hamas, then Hezbollah, and finally Syria were targeted on this basis and accordingly ceased to be a threat to Israel. As is well known, Iran is behind these targeted forces. So, Iran is the target of this plan. A war is being developed that will spread wave by wave towards Iran. Now it is being discussed that this wave will spill over to Iraq. If future developments in Iraq are similar to those in Syria, Iran will find itself in an extremely difficult situation.

When the Middle East was being designed after the First World War, Iran was given a leading role along with Turkey. For 60 years, the Shahist regime in Iran was supported and protected by the capitalist modernity. But in the end, the Shah's regime was unable to survive and collapsed. And so a compromise was made with the new regime, without engaging in a frontal confrontation, but by smoothing out the contradictions to a certain extent. Iran took advantage of this and tried to strengthen its position in the region, particularly after the fall of Saddam's regime in Iraq in 2003. In 2011 again, it took advantage of the situation in Syria. Thus, Iran created forces outside its own borders that were loyal to it and acted on the basis of its interests. But now, as the Middle East is being redesigned, the elimination of these has seemingly become the top priority. Because as long as Iran maintains its position, it is not possible to make a new restructuring in the Middle East. That is why it was the first power to be targeted from the outside and weakened. It is not yet clear what will happen after this part of the plan is realized, whether there will be an intervention in Iran or whether Iran will make major concessions and become compatible with the system. But what is clear is that Iran is being removed from its current powerful position. It already is out of

its former strong position, especially after the heavy blows on and weakening of Hezbollah. The loss of Syria is also a strategic loss for Iran.

***What is the connection between these wars that are devastating our region, the Middle East, and the struggle for supremacy over the new energy and trade lines, as well as resources?***

Of course, the relationship between these wars and material interests is very close. There is nothing in state civilization that is not directly related to materialistic interests and has them as its goal. State civilization is exclusively about materialism. That is why Rêber Apo called statist civilization "material civilization". All wars from history to the present day that have been waged by the statist civilization have been for material purposes. Capitalist modernity is the civilization system that develops profit and consumption the most. That is why the gravest wars in human history have been fought during the period of capitalist modernity. Including the First and Second World Wars, all wars between the powers of capitalist modernity have been fought for the possession of energy routes, trade lines, and resources. The fact that the Middle East has been the center of wars for the last 150-200 years is due to both the energy resources it possesses and its location on energy lines.

In the system of capitalist modernity, the establishment and security of energy resources and trade lines has been the most fundamental issue. Every power that wants to be dominant has tried to seize and create energy resources and trade lines. This has been the main cause of wars. This issue is still not solved, and it today again is the reason for war.

Since the Middle Ages, the main interest for Europe was to possess the riches of the East (from the Middle East over Iran to India) and, to some extent, Africa. This deepened with the development of capitalist modernity. For this purpose, for example, Britain developed routes from the sea to India, and it struggled with the powers that jeopardized these routes and their security. Also, it patronized the Ottoman Empire for a long time in terms of the security of the road to India. However, when the Ottomans allied with Germany against Britain and jeopardized Britain's routes, it changed this policy and destroyed the Ottoman Empire in the course of the war. The Middle East was shaped on the basis of the nation state model; the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire was therefore brought about compulsorily, and the forces of capitalist modernity paved the way for the exploitation of raw materials and energy resources and ensured the security of these routes.

To summarize, after the end of the bipolar world system with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the redistribution of control over the earth's treasures and resources has come back to the agenda as the most fundamental issue. In fact, it has never been totally off the agenda. The forces of capitalist modernity have not reached a consensus on this issue. After the end of the bipolar world system, the search and competition over new energy routes increased again. And many powers have developed projects on a macro and micro level, some of which failed, some succeeded. However, China has been the power that has developed the most serious projects at the macro level. China wanted to solve this issue by developing relations with as many powers as possible and developing joint projects. The most serious and realistic of these projects was the northern energy line, which connects China and Europe, including India, Iran, and Central Asian countries. Again, China had further projects, but the US has significantly disrupted these. By dragging Russia into the Ukraine war, it disabled the northern route. Finally, at the G20 meeting in India in September 2023, the corridor project, called 'India–Middle East–Europe Economic Corridor' (IMEC) was announced. This energy and trade line connects India, the Gulf, and the Middle East to Europe via

Cyprus. The current developments in the Middle East are based on ensuring the security of this line and eliminating the obstacles in front of it. The war for this has reached Syria and led to the fall of the Baath regime. However, it can be stated that it will not stop there and that further 'problematic areas' for the system will be targeted.

***What is the position of Iran and Turkey in this ongoing war between the monopolistic global capitalist powers and the regional status quoist forces? What influence have the wars to redesign the region had on the two countries, and how will this influence change?***

As I pointed out, when the Middle East was being designed after the First World War, Turkey and Iran were assigned the role of the dominant powers over the region. That is what they both have historically been. Both had survived and become strong as a result of their reciprocal relationship with the Kurds. When their time came and they were given a leading role as nation states, their relationship with the Kurds was once again decisive. But this time, they relied on the denial and absolute oppression of the Kurds. They collaborated in the genocide of Kurds and created a joint administration over Kurdistan, including Iraq. Thus they continuously suppressed the Kurdish question.

At this time, Israel was still in its founding and construction phase. Its future was still uncertain. The Arab-Jewish contradictions and conflicts were very deep. Arab nationalism and Baathism were developing against Israel, relying on the Soviets and partly on China. It took them a long time to break Arab nationalism and eliminate the question regarding Israel's right to exist. As is well known, the first blow to Arab nationalism was the so-called Six Day War in 1967. The blows continued one after the other. Finally, it came to the fall of the Baath regime. Incidentally, it should be noted that the movements of the Muslim Brotherhood were also developed by the US and Britain in order to break the power of Arab nationalism.

Now, as the Middle East is being redesigned, the two dominant powers of the region, the Turkish and Iranian nation states, are the most challenged. Due to their status quoist structures, they are in conflict with the forces of global capital. Since the nation state status quo cannot be expected to withstand the interests of the global capital system, they either collapse in the course of interventions from outside or transform themselves and become compatible with the new design. As seen in the case of Syria, the nation state status quo has little ability or wisdom to undergo transformation. Neither Syria has been able to do so, nor its predecessors. Because this requires a certain democratization. And this is the least found in the nation state mentality. That is why we are currently in a phase in which interventions and destruction are at the forefront.

With the redesign of the Middle East, the leading role previously given to Turkey and Iran has been given to Israel and Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the new energy and trade lines have been established, and the Abraham Accords, envisaging an end to the Arab-Jewish conflict, were concluded. The end of the Arab-Israeli contradiction and conflict in the Middle East is a crucial factor, since it has been one of the reasons why Turkey and Iran were given a leading role in the previous period. As a matter of fact, Turkey and Iran were the powers that benefited the most from this conflictual relationship. Now, Turkey and Iran have taken a position against the current process. But neither are they in a position to confront the system nor to develop an alternative to it. On the one hand, there are fears, anxieties, and reflexes; on the other hand, there mainly is a quest to preserve their positions in the new period and to strengthen them if possible. As far as Iran is concerned, it is mainly a question of the survival of the regime. Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, etc., are the trump cards it holds. But the more cards it loses, the more the future of the regime is jeopardized. It has

already lost some of them. It is not clear whether the system of capitalist modernity will accept a compromise with it or whether it will try to smash and directly attack it. It looks like Iran is trying to find a way to compromise, but the position of the axis on the other side, consisting of the USA, the UK, and Israel, is remaining hidden.

As far as the Turkish state is concerned, it faces at least as many challenges and dangers as Iran. It does not have the same severe problems regarding its regime and the protection of it as Iran has. The Turkish state can use both secular nationalism and religious nationalism together. After the coup of September 12, secular nationalism was replaced by religious nationalism in Turkey. Although some call this a regime change, in reality what happened was not a change of regime but a deepening of the existing monist nation state structure and mentality. It is not internal factors that make the Turkish state problematic for the system, but external efforts, and this is due to the existence of the Kurdish question. The Turkish state's main concern and fear is the Kurds. And since it has an anti-Kurdish mentality, it expects all external developments and changes to serve the Kurdish genocide. It opposes any development that does not correspond to this. In this respect, it is the force that is most resistant to change. It has a structure that can enter into any kind of relationship, provided that it does not negatively affect the policies of Kurdish genocide. It is this rigid and unprincipled character that makes the Turkish state extremely useful. This is the approach of the Turkish state to the developments in the Middle East. It views the developments in the Middle East with great concern and stands against change because it fears that the Kurds can benefit from the new situation that will emerge, that they can become a power, that they can gain new statuses. Therefore, it shows a strong resistance against change. But when it sees that change is taking place in spite of itself, it gets involved in the plan, opposes it, and uses its political, military, and diplomatic power to ensure that the developments are in its favor. This is exactly what it has been doing in Syria. It abandoned Russia and Iran, with whom it had collaborated together in Syria for years, and joined the plan of the US, which it supposedly stands against. To assess its approach to Syria is also important in terms of revealing how the Turkish state will act in the redesign of the Middle East.

***What is the approach of the Kurdish freedom movement, which is struggling to create a democratic confederal alternative based on the model of the democratic nation, towards this conflict of interests? What kind of dangers are there for the Kurds? What will be the status of Kurds and Kurdistan in the new Middle East?***

The only way out of the crisis of the nation state in the Middle East is through the model of the democratic nation. Neither the models to be developed by the forces of global capital nor the existing nation state structure can form a solution to the existing problems. The current nation state system is the source of the problems. It cannot be expected to develop a solution. Neither can the models that are being developed by the forces of global capital on the other side. Maybe they can play a driving role in overcoming the nation state, but they cannot form a solution. The nation state model was developed by the capital system. Now, under the conditions of global capitalism, a contradiction has emerged with it. This is because the nation state structure is not compatible with the interests of global capital. Therefore, it is being discarded. What is wanted to be done here is not to overcome the nation state as a mentality but to develop a new political system in line with the interests of global capitalism. The monist, individualist, materialist, usurping, power-striving, and sovereigntist mentality within the nation state continues to exist. Unless these are overcome and an alternative is pushed forward, a real solution to the problems will not be possible. The struggle between the forces of global capital and the status quo of the nation state will not bring

about a result that is in favor of the peoples. Maybe some can benefit from it, but a solution will not develop from it.

It is the democratic struggle for freedom by the peoples, particularly by the women and revolutionary democratic forces that can and will develop a solution. This solution takes shape and comes to life through the model of the democratic nation and democratic confederalism. Democratic confederalism is the best solution for accommodating and sustaining social diversity. Considering the diversity of religion, language, sect, ethnicity, and culture in the Middle East, the potential and power of the model of democratic nation and democratic confederalism can be better understood.

The world is currently in the midst of the Third World War. All the developments taking place today are taking place within the scope of the Third World War, which was caused by the crisis of capitalist modernity. The parties to this war are capitalist modernist powers; in other words, it is a war within the system. Both the wars between the hegemonic powers and the contradictions and conflicts between the global powers and the status quo powers are within the system. There is no ideological difference between them. They are all based on the ideology of capitalist modernity. But there are two ideologies today. There is capitalist modernity on the one side and democratic modernity on the other. In the Third World War, the conflicting parties are the forces based on the ideology of capitalist modernity. The struggle between them is a struggle of interests. In essence, they are all fighting against society and nature. They are waging a war to dominate them. The position of revolutionary democratic forces is different. Our line is the line of democratic modernity. This is an ideological difference. We do not side with any of the forces that are in conflict with each other over the dominance of nature and society. Revolutionary democratic forces are not a party to this war. Revolutionary democratic forces are engaged in ideological, political, and military struggle with the forces of capitalist modernity, which are parties to this war.

When conceptualizing these, it is important to do this with a clear understanding of each of the dimensions of ideological struggle and the dimension of political solution. We ideologically represent the second line. As I mentioned above, apart from the two ideological lines, there is no third ideological path or line. However, while waging an ideological struggle against capitalist modernity, we are also developing an alternative politics. With this, we aim for an alternative solution based on the democratic communal life of society against the politics of the warring parties in the context of the Third World War. This is defined as the third political line. The third political line is alternative politics. It draws its strength from society and struggle. It is possible to create development on the basis of the third political line, especially by taking advantage of the conflict between the forces of global capital and the status quoist forces. Rêber Apo put forward the formula of state + democracy. The essence of this is that the state will accept the existence of society (organized society), like this, a consensus can be reached with the state. The formula of state + democracy stands as the most functional solution method.

As for the situation of the Kurdish people in particular, the Kurdish people waged a great struggle under the leadership of our movement at a time when they were oscillating between existence and non-existence. It gained new life through struggle and underwent a significant transformation. They gained national consciousness, will, and identity and experienced a revolution of resurrection. The Kurdish people adopted the mentality according to the model of democratic nation. It gained awareness and sensitivity regarding self-defense, experienced a great enlightenment with the new paradigm developed by Rêber Apo, and educated itself on the basis of democracy, social ecology, and women's freedom. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it is now the most political, organized, and dynamic force in the Middle East. We are definitely a

people who look to the future with hope. As a movement, we are stronger than ever. Of course, there are serious dangers ahead of us. The genocidal colonialist Turkish state has not given up its genocidal aims. On the one hand, it is worried and frightened by the developments in the Middle East, on the other hand, it is taking advantage of the opportunity to see if it can liquidate and genocide the Kurds. We are aware of how it is trying to use the new situation in Syria and how it is mobilizing its military, political, and diplomatic power to turn this process into the liquidation of Rojava. This is the main danger. The only way to frustrate this is an all-out resistance based on the strategy of revolutionary people's war. This is the road to success. 2025 will be a year in which our people achieve victory. The Kurdish people do not seek any sovereignty; they are struggling to develop a free, equal, and common life with the peoples in the countries where they exist. This legitimate, democratic struggle of our people will definitely succeed.

—★—

# Bayik: An alternative to the government is possible with a right approach to the Kurdish question

**ANF | Behdinan | 3 January 2025**

In the fourth part of this interview with ANF, Cemil Bayik, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, said that the Kurdish question is Turkey's biggest challenge. "If solved, - he added - it will give Turkey great momentum, but if it is not, it will turn into an even bigger burden for the country."

The first part of this interview can be read here, the second here, and the third here.

***While, on the one hand, the genocidal policies against the Kurds are continued with full intensity, on the other hand, there are statements by Devlet Bahceli on the Kurdish question. What point has politics in Turkey reached with regard to the Kurdish question? Is there any change in the approach to the issue on the part of the ruling parties and the opposition, especially the CHP?***

The Kurdish question is Turkey's biggest problem. If it is solved, it will give Turkey a great momentum, but if it is not, it will turn into an even bigger shackle for the country. So far the Kurdish question is a big shackle because there has been no will on the part of the state to create a solution. Denial and extermination have been the only methods used by it. It is obvious that this has only deepened the problem and aggravated the shackles on Turkey's feet. Although they are aware of this, they still insist on continuing the genocide against the Kurds. This shows the existence of a deeply rooted mentality. And this goes hand in hand with a circle of people in the state who can only hold on to their position and power because of the lack of solution to the Kurdish question.

There is no doubt that the political dimension bears the main responsibility for the Kurdish question becoming so deep and remaining unsolved. The politics in Turkey does not have an attitude that solves problems, develops methods, and creates development. A state-centered, rather than society-centered, understanding of politics has persisted, and the nationalist, monist nation state ideology has made Turkish politics reactionary and inefficient. There is a political reality in Turkey that consists of a refusal to see and deal

with problems like the Kurdish question in all their depth and with all their dimensions. Looking from the past to the present, one can easily see that there has not been much change in Turkish politics, but there has been a certain change in Turkish society. Despite all the fascist special war that is being waged against it, there has been a change in Turkish society. Our struggle in particular and our paradigm have a significant impact on it. Again, despite all the disinformation and perception operations, the developments in Rojava are also affecting Turkish society. The contribution of democratic politics should also be mentioned in this respect. Society is ahead of politics in Turkey. This is a serious paradox.

There is no change in the government's approach. On the contrary, the AKP-MHP government is trying to deepen the politics of genocide and finalize it. The most concrete indicator of this is the government's approach to Rojava. In view of these facts, it would be extremely wrong to perceive Devlet Bahceli's statements as a change in political approach. At the moment, we are in a period in which special war is predominant. The approach of the state and the government to Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] and the Kurdish question has not gone beyond the concept of special war. The state and the government have not developed a new approach to the Kurdish question.

It is crucial for opposition politics to approach the Kurdish question correctly. If politics is to be done in Turkey, if there is to be an alternative to the government, this is only possible by approaching the Kurdish question correctly and defending the democratic solution of it. If the opposition in Turkey cannot develop an alternative politics to the government's politics, it is because it does not approach the Kurdish question correctly. If alternative politics is to defend and fight for at least minimum democratic principles, the way to do this in Turkey is to approach the Kurdish question correctly and defend its democratic solution. Recently, it is seen that some opposition parties have developed more positive approaches than in the past; while this is positive, there is still no holistic, determined, and solution-oriented approach. In general, the political parties have not overcome their pragmatic approach to the Kurds and the Kurdish question. Nationalist, monist mentality has a prevailing impact on politics. This prevents the correct approach to the Kurdish question and the development of its democratic solution.

There is a struggle by democratic politics for Turkish politics to get out of the influence of the nationalist, monist, and statist mentality and to adopt an approach that takes into account social reality. This has had, to a certain extent, a positive influence, especially on the opposition parties. In the past, as the HDP and now as the DEM Party, both the political struggle waged and the political strategy pursued have an impact on the opposition parties in Turkey. The method implemented in the municipal elections under the name of urban consensus has yielded positive results. These approaches developed by democratic politics positively affect the style and politics of opposition parties.

The CHP came out as the leading party in the last election. Especially from this position, it should take the most responsibility for solving the problems of the country. Turkish society has put forward its expectations in favor of the CHP. If the CHP acts on the basis of this responsibility, it will receive even more support from society. Considering the fact that the existence of the Kurdish question is the basis of all problems in Turkey, the future of the CHP, whether it will be an alternative government or not, will be determined by its approach to the Kurdish question. If it is mistakenly assumed that any problem in Turkey can be solved while denying and ignoring the existence of the Kurdish question and without taking the democratic solution of the Kurdish question as a basis, it will not be possible for the CHP or any other opposition party to make any progress. The future of the CHP will be determined by its approach to the Kurdish question. As far as we follow it, the new leadership of the CHP has a positive approach to the so-

lution of the Kurdish question. There is a difference in approach compared to the past. What is important is that this is transformed into a democratic program.

***Following the conclusion of the municipal elections, the government put into effect the trustee policy. The arrest of elected co-mayors and the trustee policy has now also spread to municipalities governed by the CHP. How should this trustee policy be understood? What can the struggle against it and the underlying mentality look like?***

There is much debate about what the appointment of trustees means, but the important aspect is to have an attitude against it and to develop a struggle against it. Trusteeship does not only consist of usurping municipalities, it is the will of the people that is being usurped. In the current system in Turkey, the will of the people is not accepted; to the state, it does not exist. Therefore, it is neither democratic nor legitimate. With the appointment of trustees to municipalities by the state, the dismissal of elected officials, their arrest, and imprisonment, democracy has been completely shelved. This practice is the work of the AKP-MHP government. With the AKP-MHP government, there is not even a trace of representative democracy, which is called bourgeois democracy. The fact that the appointment of trustees is now also developed against CHP municipalities reveals the understanding of the government and shows that the government wants to adjust the CHP by intimidating and threatening. It wants the CHP to turn away from its relationship with the DEM Party. The AKP-MHP government is aware that an opposition that engages with the Kurds and the democratic forces in Turkey is an alternative to itself and is afraid of this. It is trying to prevent this with its practice of appointing trustees.

But for sure, the practice of appointing trustees is a fruitless practice. It is a sign of bankrupt politics. In the municipal elections on March 31, the people gave the necessary answer to the trustees and the ones that push forward the mentality behind all of this. In the words of the people, the trustees were sent away. However, the state and the government have not given up, they insist on Kurdish genocide. This is the main reason why they have started to reappoint the trustees that were sent away by the people. Everyone who opposes the trustee practice must approach the Kurdish question in a holistic, determined, and courageous manner. Overcoming the monist, authoritarian, and reactionary mentality in Turkey and the development of democratization is only possible by embracing the democratic solution of the Kurdish question. As long as this is avoided, the monist, authoritarian, and reactionary mentality will gradually envelop and suffocate the entire society and politics of Turkey. The appointment of trustees to CHP municipalities reveals this reality.

With the appointment of trustees, the AKP-MHP government is also trying to take revenge for the outcome of the municipal elections. It is clearly punishing the people. The society of Turkey, especially the Kurdish people, is aware of this reality and reacts strongly against it. The society is very disturbed by the practice of appointing trustees and this approach of the AKP-MHP government. It is also trying to reflect this discomfort. However, this discomfort in society needs to be organized and put into action. The example of Wan (tr. Van) shows that when this happens, the government is forced to take a step back. In this respect, there must be a strong sense of responsibility, and an according attitude is needed to be developed.

***In addition to the genocidal attacks on the political dimension, the extensive special warfare on Kurdish society, particularly targeting women and youth, continues. However, despite this, Kurdish society, pioneered by women and the youth, takes to the streets. In 2024, what kind of concept did the AKP-MHP fascist government implement against the peoples of Kurdistan? What approach and resistance should the Kurdish people develop against this?***

The so-called 'collapse plan' that was set into action by the Turkish government envisioned the massacre of the Kurdish people. It was aimed to realize genocide by destroying all the resistance centers of society. In order for this plan to succeed, on the one hand, annihilation attacks were carried out against the movement and the guerrillas, and on the other hand, the law was totally pushed aside, and the Kurdish people were attacked with violence that surpassed everything that had been before. Intense physical violence was developed. Society was intimidated by trustee appointments, detentions, arrests, oppression, torture, executions, and all kinds of other threats.

Also, the attacks on the nature of Kurdistan should be considered within the scope of this physical violence. There is a reckless attack on the nature of Kurdistan, and this attack is within the scope of Kurdish genocide. The geography of Kurdistan is not only plundered but also made uninhabitable and dehumanized. Society was wanted to rot from within through psychological special warfare. Drugs, prostitution, spying, and all kinds of degradation methods were developed within this framework. Women and young people in particular were the main targets of this, and thereby the decay of society was aimed at. Disinformation and perception-building activities were intensified on the public. Paramilitary structures, collaborator agents, mafia, JITEM-derived counter-organizations, special military, police organizations, the national intelligence service, and many more structures that would put this special psychological warfare into practice, with an intensity exceeding the one in the 90s, were moved to Kurdistan. With all these physical and psychological attacks, the Kurdish people were tried to be forced on their knees. But this policy didn't succeed, and the state did not get the result it expected. The Kurdish people did not give up their stance of struggle, patriotism, and freedom. Let alone falling back from these, it has raised the struggle even higher. With the global freedom campaign for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the democratic solution to the Kurdish question, it has made its struggle more known to the whole world and received more support from the peoples and women of the world. However, one must always be aware of the fact that the enemy has not given up on his efforts to destroy us and continues to increase its physical and psychological special warfare attacks. And one must be aware that psychological and special warfare are much more destructive than any physical attack. That is why the enemy pushes it so much. Knowing this, it is necessary to develop more awareness and organizational work against the enemy's special war policies.

—★—

## Besê Hozat: Abdullah Öcalan is Turkey's last chance

**ANF | 1 January 2025**

In this in-depth interview, Besê Hozat, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the visit to Abdullah Öcalan by DEM Party MPs Pervin Buldan and Sirri Sureyya Önder.

The meeting took place in Imrali on 28 December. Hozat said that, in view of what is happening in practice, it is not possible to talk about a solution or peace process. She also underlined the importance of the brotherhood between the Kurdish and Turkish people.

***There was a meeting between a delegation from the DEM party and the peoples leader Abdullah Öcalan. Some of the analyses made by Abdullah Ocalan in this context were reflected in the press. Among other things, he spoke of a historical responsibility, that a solution cannot be delayed any longer, that he himself is prepared to make a positive contribution to it, and that the parliament must take responsibility. How do you evaluate these analyses as far as they have been published in the press so far?***

I would like to congratulate Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] on the New Year. The delegation that had met with him recently stated that Rêber Apo's condition and health were good and that his morale is high. We and our people are all very happy to hear about this. I sent my greetings to Rêber Apo with respect, love, and longing.

Surely, the evaluations reflected in public opinion are important, and there have already been several comprehensive ones. The most recent meeting is a continuation of the meeting with Ömer Öcalan, but it seems that it was much more extensive and in-depth. In the first meeting, Rêber Apo pointed out that the isolation was continuing and that he had the theoretical and practical power to pull the process from the ground of conflict to the political and legal grounds if conditions arose. Now, in this meeting, he focused much more comprehensively on the developments in the region and particularly regarding Turkey. Rêber Apo's assessment of these and on how the dark scenarios imposed on the region lead to great dangers for the peoples is very significant. Looking at Rêber Apo's prison writings, his 26 years of resistance in Imrali, his attitude, evaluations, and statements he made from time to time through meetings with his lawyers and HDP delegations, one can draw some conclusions. Rêber Apo is well aware of the depth of these dark scenarios and plans imposed on the region and the peoples in the region and the consequences they may lead to. He sees and constantly warns about this. He always formulates calls on the relevant powers, governments, peoples, the opposition, democratic forces, and public opinion.

Now again, he has put forward such an approach. He clearly states that he can and will make a great contribution to creating a solution, that he has the power, the theoretical and practical power, and that he will play his role if the state and the government are sincere, if they show a sincere will for a solution.

Regarding the dark plans and scenarios I mentioned, the situation the region is going through right now and the developments can be frightening. In this context, Rêber Apo gives the example of Gaza and the situation in Syria. Currently, the capitalist hegemonic powers are trying to implement the so-called 'Greater Middle East Project'. This plan is based on Israel's security, on securing Israel's power in the region. And Turkey is also included in this plan, in a way that a trap has been set against it and a conspiracy directed against it has been set in motion. This has the potential to lead to serious problems and has the potential that the already existing problems will deepen and cause even more decay. The continuation of this will lead to sectarian, religious, and ethnic nationalist wars in the region. It will cause the peoples to strangle each other, the Middle East will turn into a bloodbath, and even more painful suffering will be experienced. The current developments are an indication of this. The situation in Syria is currently demonstrating this clearly for all to see.

If these contradictions and conflicts deepen, a terrible, both sectarian and nationalist, war will be unleashed in Syria. And it will spill over into Iraq and will have serious repercussions in Turkey. In a very obvious way, a divide and rule policy has been set in motion, making peoples hostile to each other. This is part of a dangerous plan that is currently being implemented. And Turkey is also included in this plan. In a way, this is actually a big trap, a conspiracy against Turkey and the peoples of the region.

This process started when the international conspiracy was launched and Rêber Apo got abducted. It has continued by deepening and becoming more comprehensive. Rêber Apo made many calls and many times drew attention to the dangers of this and how this atmosphere of conflict is gradually deepening in the region. What he therefore always emphasizes is the brotherhood of the Kurdish and Turkish people. If this is strengthened, it can provide a stable basis for the co-existence of the different peoples in the region. It is therefore fateful, important, and urgent for all peoples.

If their plan is not prevented now and continues, it will lead to a terrible enmity between the Kurdish and Turkish people. The conflict will be further deepened and intensified. And this will threaten the future of all the peoples of the region. It will reach a point where it will pose a threat to the future of the whole region. Strengthening the brotherhood of the Kurdish and Turkish people is an issue of great importance and urgency that will determine the fate of the peoples of the region. This is something that Rêber Apo clearly emphasizes.

As far as we understand it, Rêber Apo is currently trying to understand the meaning and value of Devlet Bahceli's speeches and what is behind the process they have been trying to put on the agenda since October 1st. The central question is whether the recent statements are a tactical approach, whether they are just part of their special war, or whether Devlet Bahceli has actually become aware of the existing dangers and is now actually trying to prevent them. In this sense, the central question, in the words of Rêber Apo, is whether the AKP-MHP is actually developing a new paradigm. Is this the framework in which all the speeches are made last? Have they become aware of the dangers of the hegemonic powers' plan regarding the region? Or is it the exact opposite, and they are trying to keep their power alive through their special warfare, as they couldn't benefit greatly from the phase in any other way? This is a tactic they have used many times in the past. The main focus right now lies on getting clarity about this.

That is why there can be no question of any kind of process having begun. In any case, there is currently no supposed solution or peace process as discussed in some circles. There can be no talk of peace or a solution simply because of this meeting. The approach of Rêber Apo is the decisive litmus paper. The conditions of isolation and torture in Imrali still prevail. Rêber Apo's health, security, and free living conditions have not been ensured. The genocidal attacks on the Kurdish people have not stopped. The extensive genocidal attacks on Rojava, southern and northern Kurdistan, and everywhere continue. There can be no talk of a solution and peace process.

Is this process fully put in the service of special warfare as it was in the past? Is the government trying to use it to sustain itself and maintain its power by taking a rent-seeking approach, instrumentalizing the situation of Rêber Apo, and instrumentalizing the Kurdish question? Because this is exactly how Erdoğan and the government handled the process between 2013 and 2015. Erdoğan took a tactical approach and instrumentalized the process. He instrumentalized both the situation of Rêber Apo and the Kurdish question. He used it to stabilize his dominance within the state, create his sovereignty, and maintain his power. He used it as a strong weapon in his special warfare. Now, the question is whether the government evalu-

ates what is currently going on in the same way or whether it really puts forward the will for a solution and develops a serious negotiation process with Rêber Apo on the basis of the democratic solution to the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey. The ywill show, in particular, their practice will show this. The developments will show. Above all, how they approach it in practice will reveal this.

As long as no serious steps are recognizable in practice, there can be no talk of any kind of process. Their statements and speeches alone have no meaning. In time, it will become clearer what we are facing. But there is a situation and reality that can be seen, understood and evaluated. And that is why we see that the government is once again trying to play games, to push ahead with its special war. That they are once again making tactical advances. There are clear indicators of this. The system of isolation and torture continues in Imrali. Rêber Apo's health, security and free living and working conditions are not ensured. Rêber Apo still cannot meet with his lawyers. He cannot meet with civil society organizations. He cannot meet with anyone he wants. There are many applications from people to go to Imrali every day. They come from politicians, intellectuals, artists, academics and social society organizations form Turkey and all of Europe. They receive no response. The torture and isolation system continues as it is. The conditions for Rêber Apo's free life and work are not ensured. Also I said, the genocidal attacks continue intensely everywhere. How could a government with a mentality that opposes the self-defense of the Kurds in Rojava, tries to liquidate their democratic autonomous self-administration, and wants to genocide the Kurds, solve the Kurdish problem in Turkey on a democratic basis? How could it be sincere about the democratic solution of the Kurdish question? That is an important question mark. In a context of such policies and attacks, there can be no trust. No matter where you look, you see that the genocidal attacks and the annihilation policy continue with full intensity. Therefore, we assume that behind everything they are currently trying to stage is a concept of special war alone.

There is this perception in the public opinion as well. In all discussions among the democratic circles and Kurdish society, even when Kurds within the AKP are discussing, there is always this question mark. When Bahceli or Erdoğan speak, there is never any talk of a democratic solution. When Devlet Bahceli opens his mouth, he solely talks about destroying the PKK, liquidating Rojava, and the genocide of the Kurds. And it is the same when Erdoğan opens his mouth. The only things they express are killing, destruction, attack, and war. There is nothing they put forward other than that. The only thing that has changed in their speeches is that they now talk about the brotherhood of Kurds and Turks. They carry out such intense genocidal attacks against the Kurds and do everything to destroy the status of the self-administration of North and East Syria, for which the Kurds have given such great sacrifices; how can they talk about the brotherhood of the Kurds and Turks? They misuse the expression of brotherhood between Kurds and Turks for their politics. They say that there are Kurds, but they cannot accept the existence of a free Kurd who stands up for his own freedom and who wants to administrate himself. Kurds are slaves! Kurds should serve them, should be their slaves. They need collaborating Kurds for their oppression. They need their support so that they can put everything at the service of their imperialist policy. They accept such a Kurd. In other words, a Kurd who accepts that Kurds are dead are slaves. This has nothing to do with brotherhood. The government shows no will to find a solution. There is no sincerity. They have no solution-oriented policy and have not taken any practical steps. There can be no trust. The government continues its policies of denial, annihilation, and genocide with all its violence and intensity. In Imrali, torture and isolation are continued. The taking place of one or two meetings does not mean that the torture and isolation system has disappeared.

Rêber Apo has put forward an approach, a will for a solution. This is extremely important. He said that if the state creates the conditions for this, if it creates the ground for a solution, if it is sincere about this, that is, if it really changes its paradigm, if it changes its policy, he is ready; he said that he has the practical and theoretical power; he can play a strong role. He made this clear in the meeting and also called on the opposition, as well as on all further political circles. They should strongly contribute to such a process. All political forces and structures must play a positive role, contribute, and take initiative in order for such a process to develop, such a real solution process. We have also made this call on many occasions. We called on the CHP to take the initiative in this process and put forward a solution project, a solution plan. Rêber Apo has also called on all other political parties, forces, organizations, civil society movements, and everyone to play an effective role in this issue. We fully support the calls of Rêber Apo. We fully stand behind the will for a solution of our leader. Rêber Apo is the chief negotiator in the democratic solution of the Kurdish question. We have always pointed this out, and we will continue to do so.

The AKP-MHP government, the opposition, and the state as a whole must put forward a real will for a solution. It must put forward a will for a democratic solution of the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey. It must respond positively to these calls of Rêber Apo and take practical, concrete steps in this regard. If the Kurdish question is not resolved in Turkey, if Turkey continues with its current policy, Turkey will be the biggest loser in the region. Turkey should not deceive itself. Turkey will be shattered. Rêber Apo is Turkey's last chance. The Kurdish freedom movement is Turkey's last chance. If Turkey does not solve the Kurdish question with Rêber Apo on a democratic basis, if Turkey is not truly democratized, then Turkey will be divided. Ethnic conflicts and sectarian conflicts will be unleashed that will hold the country captive for centuries, and there will no longer be a state called the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, these calls, this will for a solution put forward by Rêber Apo, is a great chance for the Turkish state. If they do not seize this opportunity before their eyes, try to exploit it for themselves, and draw personal gain from the situation, they will experience a major collapse. We really feel the need to issue a warning in this regard.

Based on these two meetings with Rêber Apo and all these discussions, I consider it important that our people and democratic public opinion should not have such wrong expectations. There should not be any weakening in the struggle and resistance. What will strengthen Rêber Apo's position in the struggle for a democratic solution, what will contribute to turning the current developments into a real solution process, is the struggle and resistance of our people. Only through this can a true solution be achieved. There should not be any wrong expectation, and accordingly there must definitely not be any loosening in the struggle and resistance. The other way around, the struggle and resistance must even be further spread and intensified. I especially want to emphasize this for our people, our people in northern Kurdistan, our people living in Turkey, our people in all four parts of Kurdistan, and abroad, our international friends, and all democratic circles. This process is still full of uncertainties. The possibility of all of this solely being part of their special war is very high. The practice, stance, and policy of this government are obvious. Therefore, it is necessary to continue the struggle stronger than ever. The global freedom campaign aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the democratic solution of the Kurdish question must continue stronger than ever.

In the first year, the global freedom campaign was carried out strongly, a serious agenda was created and a great sense of responsibility was developed. In this second year, especially in 2025, the struggle on the social, legal, ideological, political and diplomatic dimension of the global freedom move must be carried out even stronger. In the course of 2025 a process must be developed that will ensure the physical freedom of

Rêber Apo, the democratic solution of the Kurdish question, the democratization of Turkey and the democratization of the region. This must be the goal of all works in 2025. Therefore the global freedom campaign must be pursued even stronger and the struggle need to be intensified.

***What would you like to say about the end of 2024 and the beginning of the new year?***

A strong resistance has developed in the Medya Defense Areas. The Turkish state's policies of denial, annihilation, and genocide were dealt a huge blow, and the Turkish army is in a big deadlock. These Misak-i Milli policies of the Turkish state have caused this serious deadlock and have been disrupted. The guerrilla has become a serious obstacle in front of them. Where the Turkish army entered, it got stuck. It is locked in one place. This is the situation in the Medya Defense Zones. The comrades put up a very strong resistance, and there have been great martyrdoms. I once again commemorate all the comrades who were martyred with great respect, love, and gratitude.

The resistance continues. There are clashes everywhere, as the attacks continue very intensely. I salute this great resistance, which is the reason why the Turkish state has not achieved any results so far. In 2025 this will not change. This resistance will continue, it will spread and get even more comprehensive on the basis of the new self-defense doctrine, not only in the Medya Defense Zones but also, in particular, by being put into practice in northern Kurdistan. Especially in 2025, this will be seen in the practice more strongly. This new doctrine of self-defense and war will bear fruit. I am convinced that a great self-defense war, a revolutionary people's war, will be waged in northern Kurdistan in 2025. And this will bring about serious developments.

Likewise, the struggle for freedom in the four parts of Kurdistan will continue to grow and strengthen. On this basis, just as the year 2024 passed with great resistance and struggle, 2025 will pass with a strong struggle and resistance in a way that multiplies and grows this even more.

I would also like to take the opportunity to point out that December is a month of great martyrdoms and painful massacres, but also a month of great resistance. It was this very month in which the Meresh (tr. Kahramanmarash) massacre developed. Many of our people lost their lives in this massacre. I commemorate them all with great respect. Then again, there was the Roboski (tr. Uludere) massacre in which mainly Kurdish youths were murdered. 34 people lost their lives and were brutally massacred. I commemorate them with respect and gratitude. Then in 2001, there was an operation inside the prisons, in which dozens of revolutionaries and democrats got murdered by the state. I remember them all with great respect and gratitude. And not long ago, on December 23, 2022, Evin Goyi, Mir Perwer, and Abdurrahman Kizil were assassinated in the center of Paris. It was the Turkish intelligence that did this, and the French intelligence supported it. France became a partner in this crime. The assassination got known as the second Paris massacre, after our comrades Sakine, Ronahi, and Rojbin had already been brutally murdered there in 2013. I commemorate all these comrades with great respect, love, and gratitude.

Of course, there were also great martyrdoms within the guerrilla within this month. There is the martyrdom of the guerrilla commanders Adil and Gulbahar. Also Aziz Dersim, who was in charge of the self-defense in the province of Dersim (tr. Tunceli), was martyred in a clash on December 31, 2011, along with six further comrades. I commemorate all these comrades and all that I couldn't mention with great respect, love, and gratitude. I promise that we will adhere to their memories and that we will lead this struggle to victory.

Again, the December of this year was characterized by great struggle and resistance. Especially the resistance in Rojava was a very important part of this. I want to commemorate Cihan Bilgin and Nazim Dashtan, who became the loud voice of truth in this resistance. These journalists, representatives of the truth, valuable people, gave their lives this month, as did dozens of SDF, YPG, and YPJ fighters and patriotic people who participated in the resistance. I commemorate them all with great respect, love, and gratitude. And of course, loyalty to their memories is only possible by leading their struggle to success. We will adhere to their memories, and we will lead the freedom struggle to success and victory. I give this promise to our people, to all our precious martyrs.

—★—

# Besê Hozat: The Third World War is raging and the Middle East is being redesigned

**ANF | 2 January 2025**

In the second part of this in-depth interview, Besê Hozat, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, analyzed the current redesign of the region through war, which also threatens to spill over into Iraq.

***In the Middle East, the center of the Third World War, the war continues with full intensity. In Syria, the Baathist regime has fallen and HTS has been brought to power. What kind of plan is being implemented in Syria and what role do regional powers such as Turkey and Iran play in it?***

The Third World War is raging and has reached a decisive stage. The region is being redesigned, and in this redesign, Israel is being tried to be turned into the primary hegemonic power of the region. In fact, the Greater Middle East Project itself is such a project, in which a new shape is given to the region on the basis of Israel's interests. Ethnic, sectarian, and religious conflicts are used as a fundamental weapon in the implementation of this project. The war in Gaza, the war in Lebanon, the war that is currently intensifying in Syria, the collapse of the regime, the seizure of power by HTS in Damascus, the gradual spread of the war to Iraq, the intensification of the war in Iran, which is the main target, and Turkey becoming a center where the war is intensifying, this whole process is a redesign process for the region.

This is the general framework within which it is necessary to evaluate the developments. One needs to see and foresee the consequences for the peoples and must decide on how to struggle accordingly. HTS came to power in less than two weeks. It overthrew the more than 60-year-old Baath regime and seized power in Damascus. But this did, of course, not happen based only on HTS's own power. This was an international plan that is being led by America, Britain, and Israel. And Turkey was also included in this plan. Turkey was given the lead in the implementation of this plan. Now they are drunk on the supposed feeling of victory. They act as if they have made a great conquest, as if they have conquered Syria, as if they have taken over everything, and have created a great area of dominance in the Middle East. There is such a mentality in the government, in the ruling media, and in their circles of power. But that is not the truth. The truth of the matter is that Turkey has become like a donkey being driven into a minefield. This is the essence of Turkey's situation.

A plan was made, and Turkey was given a role in the implementation of this plan. But looking at it, one will realize that a conspiracy was hatched against Turkey. By using Turkey, they broke Iran's influence in Syria. Iran suffered a serious blow. They already did in Lebanon, as a heavy blow was dealt to Hezbollah. Now in Syria, Iran's influence has been broken through Turkey. Turkey was very eager to fill the vacuum left by Iran and wants to fortify itself instead of Iran. It was only with this thought in mind that they were immediately ready to go along with the plan, without realizing what was really happening around them, without calculating, and without being aware of the depth of the plan and the consequences it would lead to. They were just focused on Iran's neutralization and liquidation in Syria and on replacing it, turning Syria into a province, as it was during the Ottoman period. That is exactly what they are discussing intensely at the moment. A Syria under Turkey's sovereignty will become an area that Turkey will utilize, exploit, and benefit from based on its interests. By establishing its hegemony over Syria, it will have established hegemony over the region to a large extent. For one hundred years, Iran and Turkey have been engaged in a great rivalry, a war for hegemony in the region, and now this is how they think they will succeed. By eliminating Iran's influence and hegemony in the region, Turkey is trying to pave the way for shared hegemony in the region with Israel. It is now dreaming, longing, seeking, and striving for this.

But Turkey must know that they won't allow it to swallow Syria. These ambitions of Turkey will be crushed. If it tries to swallow Syria, Turkey will suffocate on it. Israel will not share its hegemony in the region with Turkey. The international hegemonic powers have no interest in sharing the regional hegemony between Israel and Turkey. At the moment, a plan is being implemented to make Israel the main hegemonic power in the region, to put Turkey at its service, to break Iran's hegemony in the region through Turkey, and then to break Turkey's influence and put it at the service of Israel. At the moment, a deliberate perception is being developed in Turkey as if it has achieved a big victory. This is being developed deliberately. Trump's praise for Erdoğan, calling him a "very clever, smart man", is meant to develop this perception. As if Turkey really is a big winner in the region, a succeeding power. When Trump says this, he turns around, laughs, and mocks him. Israel turns around and mocks Turkey. Turkey is caught in a big trap. Now they are using Turkey, and when they are finished with them, they will relegate them to the place they have predestined for them. As soon as Turkey shows any resistance against this, they will stir up Turkey from within. They will intervene in Turkey with all means. This is how this government is trying to deceive society, the democratic forces, and the opposition. And the opposition has also fallen for it. It is trying to be a part of this and almost competes with the government. It will go to Damascus, offer municipal services, and improve relations. Instead of criticizing the government's policies, pushing forward a peaceful policy and a reconciliatory policy, the opposition supports the current government's policy and is almost eager to be a part of it. There is blindness. Turkey is one of the biggest losers in the current situation.

The winners of this process are the capitalist hegemonic powers, America, Britain, and Israel. Turkey does not see this. For years, it has based and focused its entire policy on the Kurdish genocide. There is nothing it will not do to genocide the Kurds. It has created a lot of counter-structures under the name of the SNA and has brought together a bunch of gangs and mercenaries, all the remnants of ISIS. Actually, SNA is ISIS itself. And Turkey is driving them against the Kurds. At the same time, it is trying to ensure that HTS takes a similar position. For this it is in constant contact with Damascus, Washington, London, and so on. They are trying to secure the support of all these powers. It is trying to dismantle the autonomous self-administrative system in northern Syria and genocide the Kurds and the people of North and East Syria. With this policy, it searches to dominate Syria, establish its hegemony in the region, and share hegemony in the region with Israel. But this is a great (self-)deception. Currently, the Turkish state is conducting a

wrong, unrealistic, irrational, and dangerous policy. And this will be a huge loss for Turkey. It has become the losing side.

***You have highlighted that the Turkish state is doing everything in its power to crush the revolution in Rojava and has therefore intensified its attacks. How can the resistance at the political, social, diplomatic and military level of the peoples of North and East Syria, the self-administration and the defense forces against these attacks be evaluated?***

We are currently witnessing a glorious resistance in Rojava, as well as all of North and East Syria. I commemorate with great respect, love, and gratitude all the fallen fighters of the SDF, YPG, and YPJ, as well as all of our patriotic people who have fallen martyrs in this resistance, and wish a speedy recovery to the wounded.

Our people are mobilizing for this war and resistance everywhere. All the peoples of North and East Syria are resisting according to the strategy of the revolutionary people's war. This is extremely meaningful. They have taken sides with the SDF and are in great resistance on the front and everywhere. This is what befits the peoples of Northern and Eastern Syria. Only through resistance can they ensure and secure their existence and freedom. There is no other way. The concrete example of what is meant when we say that one's existence and freedom can only be protected through freedom can be seen today in North and East Syria. From young to old, people are mobilized and resisting. I congratulate and salute this will of our people to resist. It is indeed extremely meaningful and valuable. They need to continue this resistance strongly and to strengthen it further. Of course, our people in the other parts of Kurdistan and abroad, as well as our international friends and all democratic forces, should take part in strengthening this resistance and stand by the peoples of North and East Syria. They need to participate in and support this resistance in every sense. A valuable assumption of responsibility can already be seen in northern Kurdistan, with the vigils in defense of Rojava that have been set up in Nisebin (tr. Nusaybin) and Pirsus (tr. Suruc), and hundreds of people, thousands of people, are participating in these actions. They have been going on for more than two weeks now, and more actions are about to come. There have also been demonstrations and many statements. The people of northern Kurdistan are demonstrating their stance and attitude of embracing Rojava, participating in and supporting this resistance both in the cities and metropolises of Turkey. This is meaningful. I salute and congratulate this resistance and the resistance of the people of northern Kurdistan, but one must also underline that this is not enough. This needs to be further strengthened. Not hundreds, not thousands, but tens of thousands of people should participate in the vigils to defend Rojava. Hundreds of thousands of people should participate. All along the borders, there should be vigils for the defense of Rojava. With the participation of tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people, it should turn into total resistance, and all our people, regardless of their age, everywhere should be on their feet. The people of northern Kurdistan should contribute the most to this defense.

If the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria in Rojava cannot ensure and protect its existence and freedom, there will be no ground for a democratic solution in northern Kurdistan. These developments condition each other. Without a democratic solution in northern Kurdistan, it is not possible for Rojava's democratic autonomous system to maintain its existence and freedom. The Kurdish question is all-encompassing and not a partial question. Therefore, the embrace of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria and the Rojava Revolution in the four parts of Kurdistan is the embrace of our people's own existence and freedom. Therefore, our people, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of people in the four parts of Kurdistan, particularly in northern Kurdistan

and abroad, should be on the streets continuously and defend the Rojava Revolution, stand by the resistance in Rojava, participate in it, and be part of it.

The Rojava Revolution is a women's revolution, and it built a system that is centered on women. Women have paid a great price and contributed a great deal to this system. The existence and future of this revolution are crucial for women's freedom. Not only Kurdish women, but all women must embrace this revolution. The same accounts for the youth and the ecological struggle. That needs to be emphasized.

Syria must be able to establish a democratic, constitutional system based on democratic, autonomous regions. Such a system, such a solution, would prevent sectarian conflicts, religious conflicts, and ethnic-nationalist conflicts. It would play a fundamental role in the democratization of the region, in the democratic and fraternal co-existence of peoples. Currently, the Kurds are pioneering this; the peoples of North and East Syria are pioneering and practicing this. In this sense, Turkey's interest also lies here. Turkey's interest lies in reconciliation and agreement with the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. If Turkey had a rational state of mind, it would be based on agreement and reconciliation with the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. It would be based on a democratic solution in northern Kurdistan, would take a democratic, peaceful solution with the Kurds as a basis, and most crucially would take negotiations with Rêber Apo as a basis. This would make Turkey a great power in the region. In other words, if Turkey wants to be an influential power in Syria and in the entire Middle East, then it must come to an agreement and reconciliation with the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. This is the only way to find a solution in Syria. Otherwise, Syria will turn into a ground for conflict. It has already started; there is a massacre of Alawites and of the Druze, and there is the genocidal attack on the peoples of North and East Syria. Sectarian conflicts and religious conflicts are already flaring up.

Monist, oppressive, centralized, fascist nation-state systems only bring conflict. They bring ethnic conflicts, sectarian conflicts, and religious conflicts, and this causes great losses. These systems were never suitable for the region. That is what was clearly shown throughout the course of one hundred years. The region did not come out of war; it did not come out of conflicts. If there is to be a nation state, it must be restructured in a way that is sensitive to democracy and democratic self-governments, and a new paradigm must be developed in this sense. The situation in Syria is before our eyes. It is obvious that things are going to get messy. They broke Iran's influence in Syria, but one should not take Iran too lightly. Iran will not easily leave Lebanon, Syria, or Iraq. Everyone is trying to redeploy their forces according to the new conditions and trying to organize themselves. They are trying to organize themselves. The situation is becoming more dangerous; the course is evolving into a more dangerous process. The only thing that can prevent this is the solution put forward by Rêber Apo. In this last meeting, he once again showed his will and capability in a very striking way. Rêber Apo has developed extremely important and valuable evaluations.

***We would like to talk about how the wave that began on October 7 with the war in Gaza and has now broken over Syria continues to roll. After the developments in Syria, all eyes are on Iraq, where many expect a similar situation. There is much talk about the activities of the Turkish state in Iraq. Is there the same danger for Iraq as for Syria?***

Turkey is also conducting an imperial, neo-Ottomanist policy in Iraq. Throughout the years, its policy in Iraq and Syria has been quite similar to each other. Turkey is trying to achieve the goal it has set in its Misak-i Milli (national pact). In this course, it is trying to establish its hegemony over Iraq. This is what

this latest agreement with Iraq and their memorandum mean. The invasion and annexation attacks are carried out for this purpose. It has been organizing itself very intensively in Iraq. Especially in recent years, it has been organizing itself in military, economic, and political dimensions and is trying to increase its influence and widen the occupied area. It is organizing Turkmens who are close to it, and has taken many people from former core settlement areas of the Ottomans and hardcore nationalists and settled them in the occupied regions. It created an armed force there. There are such efforts in Kirkuk, Mosul, and Til Afer, and it has turned Bashiqa into the center of this.

Iraq is facing economic difficulties, as Turkey is trying to seize all the markets of Iraq. This is how it is trying to ensure its economic hegemony over Iraq. It has been using water as a trump card against Iraq for years and is trying to take over Iraq on this basis. It is using water as blackmail to get concessions from Iraq. With Iraq's approval and legitimization of these annexation attacks of the Turkish Republic, it established military bases in the places it entered, and now it is trying to fortify those bases. It has accelerated its Misak-i Milli policy, trying to realize this goal and also trying to establish its sovereignty and hegemony over Iraq. The rapprochement of the governments is also part of this, as well as the so-called 'Development Road Project'. That is why we said this project is a trap; one must not fall for it. We have also made various calls and warnings to Iraq on this issue. Turkey's aim is to achieve the Misak-i Milli goals and establish its sovereignty over Iraq. Step by step, it has tried to walk this path in its own way. And now with what Turkey did in Syria, many of the relations it had with Iraq, the discussions they had, and many of the arguments and discourses it used were deciphered and revealed. Turkey had been unmasked. Now, many people in Iraq, inside and outside the state, inside and outside the government, are gradually realizing what kind of deceiving and fooling state Turkey really is, that its main goal is to establish its hegemony in the region. They started to see the true face of these neo-Ottoman policies, which is expansionism, occupation, and annexation.

Turkey is gradually making a serious mess in Iraq. Not only with these kinds of efforts, but now it is again organizing ISIS inside Iraq. It is also trying to mobilize ISIS. It is trying to pit the Shiite wings and sections against each other and is trying to foment sectarian conflict in Iraq. It is also trying to fuel the Sunni-Shiite conflict. Turkey is taking the lead in Iraq to eliminate Iranian influence. Just as it played the active role in Syria together for the international powers, it is now playing a similar leading role in Iraq. As far as we follow and observe, many people in Iraq are gradually realizing this. It is already late, but still not too late. Iraq made big mistakes and fell into Turkey's trap. That agreement with Turkey was very wrong. It caused great damage to Iraq. As it was putting the PKK on the list of banned organizations. It solely served Turkey's interest. The legitimization of Turkey's occupation and annexation causes great damage to Iraq. It is very important for Iraq to draw conclusions from what has happened. Iraq's agreement with Turkey must be terminated. The PKK must be removed from the banned list. An attitude must be taken against Turkey's occupying and annexationist policies. Turkey needs to be expelled from Iraq, and its further leading role in the occupation of Kurdistan must be prevented. For this, the politics of a serious struggle must be carried out. Iraq must be able to put forward this will. Otherwise, Iraq itself will become a tool of Turkey's neo-Ottomanist, expansionist, occupying, and annexationist policies. We have always said this, and we still need to say it again.

—★—