THE İMRALI POST

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

Issue № 138 / 31 January 2025 ★ Contact: imralipost@freeocalan.org

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# Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

## Families of Öcalan and other prisoners in Imrali apply for visit

**ANF | Istanbul | 24 January 2025**

Mehmet Öcalan, the brother of Abdullah Öcalan, together with his guardian Mazlum Dinç, applied to the Bursa Public Prosecutor's Office and the Imralı Prison Directorate to request a meeting with Abdullah Öcalan.

Similarly, Emine Konar, the sister of Ömer Hayri Konar, Polat Yıldırım, the brother of Hamili Yıldırım, and Melihe Çetin, the sister of Veysi Aktaş, applied to the prosecutor's office and the prison directorate to request a visit.

The requests of lawyers and families to meet are systematically and arbitrarily blocked. Almost all he applications are left unanswered.

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## DEM Party officer shares details of Imrali delegation's meeting with Abdullah Öcalan

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

Members of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Imrali delegation, Pervin Buldan and Sırrı Süreyya Önder, held a second meeting with Abdullah Öcalan on 22 January. Following this meeting, which lasted four hours, the delegation briefed the DEM Party leadership.

According to the details shared by a DEM Party officer with Mezopotamya Agency (MA) journalist Mehmet Aslan, a state official was also present during the delegation's second meeting in Imrali.

The officer said that the other prisoners held in Imrali, Ömer Hayri Konar, Hamili Yıldırım, and Veysi Aktaş were not present during the two visits, but meet regularly with Abdullah Öcalan. He also mentioned that Abdullah Öcalan "works collaboratively" with these three comrades.

### Isolation imposed on Öcalan is not being lifted

According to MA news, during the second meeting, the delegation shared certain conmmunication with Abdullah Öcalan. These included statements and assessments made by the KCK and PKK leadership after the first meeting, particularly emphasizing the ongoing isolation. The news said about the details of the

meeting as conveyed by the officer: "The state also assigns Abdullah Öcalan a historical mission. However, there is no indication of steps being taken to improve the conditions. The isolation is not being lifted. Moreover, Abdullah Öcalan does not view his conditions as a personal matter. Rather than focusing on where he is, he emphasizes the importance of concluding the process in a peaceful manner. We also stress the necessity of this approach."

During the meeting, Abdullah Öcalan highlighted the importance of creating a platform for dialogue with the government. In particular, according to the news "Öcalan considers it highly significant for this issue to be addressed on the parliamentary level. He views a democratic Turkey as a democratic legal process. Additionally, he is making great efforts to ensure the process yields positive outcomes and issued the following warning: 'The positive or negative outcome of the process will impact everyone.' He also sends his greetings to everyone contributing to the process in a positive way and taking it seriously."

## Addressing the causes of the problem crucial for a call to lay down arms

During the meeting, the topic of whether Abdullah Öcalan would make a call to lay down arms was also discussed. According to the MA news, Öcalan is deeply focused on removing the issue entirely from a framework of violence and conflict and working towards eliminating the causes of the problem. The DEM Party officer, commenting on the "call to lay down arms" said: "Eliminating the root causes of the problem is very important. Otherwise, one issue ends, and another begins. The ongoing discussions in Imrali are not solely limited to this. Yes, this discussion is taking place, but it is not the sole focus. The government is trying to use this situation to highlight its own position."

## Abdullah Öcalan will soon send his message to Kurdish movement

It was noted that both Abdullah Öcalan and the Imrali delegation were more optimistic following the second meeting, during which the DEM Party delegation also shared details of the talks with political parties held after the first meeting. The DEM Party officer stated: "This meeting can be described as a preparatory meeting. Mr. Öcalan will later convey his assessment of these talks, along with his message, to the structures connected to him and the Kurdish Movement."

The DEM Party officer summarized the meeting with Abdullah Öcalan to MA saying that "according to the outcome of the meeting, Mr. Öcalan is dedicating significant effort to constructing a model that will close the door to imperialist ambitions targeting Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. Mr. Öcalan is working to ensure that people do not experience new Gazas or new Baghdads. He is striving to protect the people as a whole and to help Turkey escape from its coup mechanisms and undemocratic legal system."

## Action must be taken to avoid missing a concrete step

The DEM Party officer conveyed that Abdullah Öcalan made comprehensive assessments about the Middle East and the Kurdish question, while also drawing attention to the interventions of hegemonic powers. The officer said: "The US and Israel are now closely involved in Turkey's regional dynamics. The US has its own 'solution' to the Kurdish question. Mr. Öcalan is striving to construct a model that counters hegemonic interventions. What is this model? Coexistence. He remains steadfast in this vision. He continued to emphasize his insistence and warnings during the meeting. In essence, his stance can be summarized as,

'Either my solution or the US's solution.' Mr. Öcalan remains where he was in 1993, reflecting critically on the past and building upon it with new contributions."

The party officer also expressed the expectation of a third meeting and added: "The government indicates that steps could be taken to remove the issue from the grounds of conflict and violence and to take it off the agenda, but no concrete initiatives have been made. This time, the opportunity to resolve the issue through democratic means must not be missed."

### DEM Party delegation may meet with again with party leaders

The DEM Party views some recent statements by AKP chair and President Tayyip Erdoğan as being more aligned with the spirit of the process and expects concrete positive steps to be taken. The Imrali delegation might hold a second meeting with the leaders of political parties represented in Parliament. In parallel, discussions are also expected to take place with the components of the Labor and Freedom Alliance and other democratic mass organizations.

### 'DEM Party will do its part'

The DEM Party officer said that the party would act in line with the will expressed by Abdullah Öcalan and develop programs aimed at achieving social reconciliation. The officer added: "As always, we will do our part."

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## 26-day Long March in France continues in Grigny on day 8

**ANF | Grigny | 28 January 2025**

A 26-day "Long March" was launched in France on 21 January to demand the freedom of Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan and a solution to the Kurdish question. The march draws public attention to Öcalan's 26 years of captivity in the İmralı Island Prison in the Sea of Marmara in Turkey. 26 people will march through 26 different cities in France and conclude the action with a march and rally in Strasbourg on February 15, the anniversary of the international conspiracy that resulted in the capture of the Kurdish leader in Kenya and his handover to Turkey in 1999.

On the 8th day of the protest, the activists gathered in front of the Governor's Office in Grigny commune, welcomed by Kurdish citizens and their friends. During their march to the town hall, they handed out leaflets providing information about the international campaign "Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan, a Political Solution to the Kurdish Question" and the purpose of the 26-day Long March.

A press statement made by the activists in front of the town hall said: "We are in Grigny on the eighth day of our action. Throughout our march, we have been met with intense support and interest from our people, friends and the public, for which we express our sincere gratitude. The march will be concluded with a central rally in Strasbourg on 15 February, when we will shout our demand for the freedom of Leader Öcalan. We, the Kurdish people, will continue our campaign and actions until the conditions for the

physical freedom of Leader Öcalan are provided. His freedom is the freedom of all of us. If we want to leave a free life for our future and for our children, we need to ensure the freedom of Leader Öcalan. We are the ones who will determine this through our struggle. The Strasbourg rally on 15 February is of great importance. We ask you to contribute to it by informing everyone around you and ensuring the strongest participation in the demonstration."

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## Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan Vigil enters 658th week

**ANF | Strasbourg | 29 January 2025**

Launched on 25 June 2012, in Strasbourg, by the Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan Initiative, the vigil is being carried out with unwavering determination.

The action, aimed at achieving the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan and dismantling the Imrali Isolation System, is being actively supported by Kurdish communities and their allies in Europe, organized in rotating groups.

This week, the vigil was taken over by Ahmet Öztürk, Mazlum Kaya, and Şahin Teker, three activists from Rennes. Speaking on behalf of the group, Ahmet Öztürk underlined their unwavering commitment: 'We will continue our vigil until our leader is free.'

Öztürk also criticized European Union countries for their silence and inaction about the massacres and occupation attacks carried out by the Turkish state in Northern and Eastern Syria.

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# Prisons

## Imprisoned co-mayor of Akdeniz transferred from Mersin to Kırşehir S Type Prison

**ANF | Mersin | 24 January 2025**

The DEM Party-ruled Akdeniz Municipality co-mayors Hoşyar Sarıyıldız and Nuriye Aslan, and City Council members Özgür Çağlar, Neslihan Oruç, Yakup Danış and Hikmet Bakırhan, were taken into custody in Mersin on 10 January.

On 13 January, both co-mayors, as well as Özgür Çağlar, Neslihan Oruç Danış and Hikmet Bakırhan were remanded in custody on terror charges, for alleged links to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The district governor, Zeyit Şener, was appointed trustee to replace the co-mayors.

DEM Party Mersin MP Ali announced the following on his social media account on Friday: "We learned that the elected Co-Mayor of Akdeniz Municipality, Hoşyar Sarıyıldız, has been exiled from Tarsus Prison to Kırşehir S Type Prison. Your persecution is as great as your fear. One day you will say 'we did not make the decisions'. Anyone who consents to this oppression is a partner. Everyone who enjoys the trustee policies will be held accountable before the law."

Born in 1991 in Şırnak's Cizre district, Hoşyar Sarıyıldız migrated to Mersin with his family in 1994. After graduating from Istanbul University Faculty of Law, Sarıyıldız became co-chair of the Mersin branch of the Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD) in 2016. In 2022, Sarıyıldız was elected as HDP Mersin Provincial Co-chair. In the 31 March 2024 local elections, he was elected the co-mayor of the DEM Party for Akdeniz Municipality.

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## Imprisoned journalist Reyhan Hacıoğlu: The free press continues to resist under all circumstances

**ANF | 24 January 2025**

Journalists Necla Demir, Rahime Karvar, Ahmet Güneş, Welat Ekin, Vedat Örüç and Reyhan Hacıoğlu, who were detained in house raids on January 17 as part of an Istanbul-based investigation, were imprisoned on charges of "membership in an illegal organization", referring to the PKK.

Reyhan Hacıoğlu, who was detained in a raid on her house in Van and imprisoned on January 21, sent a message through her lawyer.

Imprisoned in Van T-type Closed Prison, Reyhan Hacıoğlu said, "Those who want to make us the defendants of history should know that we are the witnesses of this history. What we are going through today is no different from what the society is going through."

The journalist added, "This is the testimony of our truth writing. The news we report and the things we say are not crimes, they are the equivalent of freedom of thought and expression. The free press continues to write and resist under all circumstances."

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# Prisoners in Kırşehir S Type Prison go on hunger strike against violation of rights

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

One of the prisoners, Mehmet Kırdağ, drew attention to the violation of rights they are subjected to in the weekly phone call with his family.

Kırdağ said that they have been on a hunger strike for three weeks, and added that the action was launched against the increasing pressure and mistreatment in the prison.

## Ban on Kurdish

Kırdağ said that prisoners are prohibited from speaking Kurdish, their access to books is prevented, they are subjected to mistreatment during their transfers to hospitals and are subjected to various torture methods.

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# Message from arrested lawyer Fırat Epözdemir

**ANF | 28 January 2025**

Istanbul Bar Association Board of Directors member lawyer Fırat Epözdemir was arrested at Istanbul Airport on 23 January upon his return from the "European Council Defenders Meeting" in Strasbourg.

Lawyer Epözdemir was taken to Metris Prison. He published a post on his social media accounts, saying: "I would like to thank all my colleagues, especially the President of our Bar Association, lawyer Prof. Dr. İbrahim Özden Kaboğlu and the members of the Board of Directors, and everyone who did not leave me alone, both during my detention and during the procedures at the courthouse.

I will share with you the information about how I was arrested in a manner contrary to law and conscience, along with the documents, within a few days. Anyone with a legal identity will clearly see that my arrest is not legal but political, and that it is an operation against the Istanbul Bar Association."

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# Military aggression and occupation

## SDF: 9 Turkish-backed mercenaries killed, 11 others injured in legitimate response operations

**ANF | 24 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) eliminated nine Turkish-backed mercenaries and injured eleven others during legitimate response operations against the Turkish occupation bases in the village of Al-Hoshriya in the countryside of Manbij and the countryside of Deir Hafer.

According to SDF Press Center, SDF forces also conducted an operation in the village of Atshana, south of Manbij, targeting a gathering of vehicles and personnel belonging to the Turkish-backed mercenaries. The number of casualties in this operation could not be confirmed.

"These operations come in the frame of the legitimate response against the ongoing ground and aerial attacks by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries against northern and eastern Syria," the SDF stated.

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## Popular resistance at Tishrin Dam continues with determination on its 17th day

**ANF | Tishrin | 24 January 2025**

Since 8 January, civilians from North-East Syria have been holding a vigil at the Tishrin Dam to protect their territory alongside the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and Women's Defense Units (YPJ) who are confronting attacks by the Turkish army and allied mercenaries called the Syrian National Army (SNA).

While residents from the Cizire, Raqqa, Tabqa, and Euphrates Cantons are taking turns in the vigil, the Turkish state and its proxies continue their relentless attacks on the protesters as well as the dam.

Despite the ongoing attacks, the people's resistance continues with great determination and enthusiasm on its 17th day.

Hundreds of citizens from Deir ez-Zor, Tabqa and Raqqa took over the vigil on Thursday. The group included a delegation from the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria.

After reaching the dam, the people were subjected to yet another attack by the occupying Turkish state, killing a civilian and injuring dozens of others.

The Turkish and jihadist occupation forces launched their first attacks on the dam on December 8, 2024, the day of the overthrow of Syrian long-term ruler Bashar al-Assad. The attacks by UCAVs, including "Bayraktar" and "Akıncı," and combat drones have resulted in the martyrdom of more than 20 civilians and injured over 120 others.

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## Turkey continues its attacks against North-East Syria

**ANF | 24 January 2025**

At around 17.00 local time, the Turkish state and allied mercenaries started shelling Xedir El-Hesen village east of Til Temir with artillery.

Simultaneously, the villages of Um Hermela, Rebîat and Xirbet Sheîr in the south of Zirgan city in Cizire Canton were bombarded.

The village of El-Tirwaziyê south of Siluk city in Euphrates Canton was bombed with howitzers.

At around 16.00 local time, Turkish warplanes bombed the village of Tîna in Sirrin district in the Euphrates Canton.

Since the morning, the villages of Um Hermela, Rebîat and Xirbet Sheîr south of Zirgan have been heavily bombed. Details about the attacks are not yet available.

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## Two ISIS leaders captured in the eastern countryside of Deir ez-Zor

**ANF | 24 January 2025**

The Military Operations Teams (TOL) of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) conducted a precise security operation targeting two leaders of ISIS terrorist cells in the countryside of Deir ez-Zor.

"Based on precise information about the activities of the two terrorists, our forces raided where the two terrorists were hiding in the town of "Khisham", in the eastern countryside of Deir ez-Zor. Our forces imposed a tight cordon on the terrorist hideout and captured them," said the SDF Press Center in a statement about the operation.

According to the statement, the first terrorist is a security leader “Emir” and named “Karim Al-Nahar”, and the second one is called “Abdul Karim Amir Al-Karim Al-Nahar”. Both of them are from the same town.

SDF said that the captured terrorists were involved in carrying out several terrorist acts against our forces and civilian institutions, in addition to targeting fuel tankers.

"Despite our forces' preoccupation in repelling the attacks of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on the areas of north and eastern Syria; However, at the same time, we continue our security operations against the remnants of the terrorist organization ISIS who are trying to exploit the prevailing chaos in Syria and carry out its terrorist acts," the statement added.

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## YPJ: Commander Arjîn falls a martyr

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

The General Command of the Women’s Protection Units (YPJ) said in a statement that commander Arjîn Kobanê fell martyr on 23 January 2025, during the resistance against the attacks by the Turkish state and its proxies targeting the Tishrin Dam, located south of Kobanê.

The statement said: "The resistance of the people and fighters of Northern and Eastern Syria has left a lasting mark on the history of freedom for peoples. Under the leadership of the Women’s Protection Units (YPJ), our righteous struggle has dealt heavy blows to the Turkish state and its proxies. While the Turkish state has mobilized paramilitary groups and gangs to occupy our lands, the resistance at Tishrin Dam and Qereqozax Bridge has upended the Turkish occupation’s plans.

In this historical resistance, heroism and sacrifice have solidified the freedom of our people. Our commander, Arjîn Kobanê, with unwavering determination, stood against the occupiers' dreams of re-establishing an Ottoman Empire and powerfully demonstrated the YPJ's resistance against the forces of occupation."

The statement added: “Commander Arjîn Kobanê, was born in 1984 in the resistance city of Kobanê to a patriotic family. Comrade Arjîn grew up with a love for her nation, and with a heart full of patriotism. She aspired to fulfill her responsibilities guided by this culture. With this knowledge, belief, and commitment to the freedom of peoples, she joined the ranks of the Kurdistan Freedom Movement in 2001. She then turned her direction toward the mountains of Kurdistan, the homeland of women. Until 2011, she fought with great effort and sacrifice in the mountains of Kurdistan. As a revolutionary woman navigating the challenging paths of the mountains, she gained invaluable experiences guided by the principles of women’s liberation. During this time, she also acquired extensive military expertise.”

The statement continued: “In 2011, during the period when the fate of the people was being decided amidst the civil war in Syria, commander Arjîn once again turned toward Rojava Kurdistan to witness the resistance of the Rojava people who had chosen freedom and independence. She initially participated in youth activities, organizing the country's youth with great determination, and conducted significant work

in various cities of Rojava. With the onset of the revolution, she took the lead in strategic and critical efforts in political fields, as well as in the organization of women and society as a whole.

In her contributions to the Women's Revolution, commander Arjîn fulfilled her responsibilities, always with the awareness of serving the revolution. Through the experiences she gained, she became a commander in the YPJ, serving as a role model and pioneer in the ideology of Women's Liberation."

The statement underlined that "with her honest, selfless, and wise attitude, commander Arjîn represented the leadership spirit of the YPJ, training numerous fighters in the cause of freedom for peoples and women, and standing alongside them on the battlefield. At the Tishrin Dam, she fought with unwavering belief and determination that she would crown the spirit of the Kobanê resistance with victory. Commander Arjîn exemplified the principles of leadership of her time and embodied them in her personality with the utmost accuracy. On 21 January, at the forefront of the trenches of the Tishrin Dam, she resisted the Turkish occupation to the very end as a brave woman. She fought against the occupiers with determination for victory and faith and will be remembered as an immortal symbol of relentless heroism.

To commander Arjîn's esteemed family and to all our patriotic people, we extend our heartfelt condolences. As the YPJ, we are committed to the ideals, principles, and dreams of Commander Arjîn. Today, we reiterate our unwavering belief that the resistance displayed at the Tishrin Dam and Qereqozax Bridge will ultimately be crowned with victory."

**The martyr's identity details were announced as follows:**

Code Name: Arjîn Kobanê

Full Name: Edla Mixarî

Mother's Name: Îda

Father's Name: Şewket

Place and Date of death: 23.01.2025 / Tishrin Dam

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# SDF: Six mercenaries killed, two vehicles destroyed in legitimate response operations

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) announced the outcome of their legitimate response operations against the attacks by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries on January 24.

The SDF statement on Saturday includes the following:

"In response to the attacks by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries, our forces targeted yesterday, Friday, several positions along the Qara Qwzaq Bridge axis. These included positions in the village of "Najm Castle," as well as bases in the village of "Al-Hawshariya" and on "Khudey Hill", southeast of Manbij. During this operation, it was confirmed that six mercenaries were eliminated and eight others were injured.

Additionally, our forces successfully destroyed a radar system belonging to the Turkish occupation east of Manbij.

Meanwhile, Turkish occupation warplanes intensified their attacks, carrying out two airstrikes on the village of "Ghasaq," one on "Al-Tineh," two on "Al-Sha'baniya," and one on "Bir Hasso." These raids did not result in any casualties. However, the Turkish occupation escalated its barbaric shelling against villages near the Qara Qwzaq Bridge, using heavy artillery, mortars, and rocket launchers. The villages of "Bir Hasso," "Al-Tineh," "Deckan," and "Saifi Hill", along with the Qara Qazaq Bridge itself, were heavily bombarded. No losses were reported from this shelling.

In addition, the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries targeted the vicinity of the Tishrin Dam with warplane airstrikes and heavy weapons. The Turkish occupation mercenaries also attempted an attack on Syriatel Hill, but they were intercepted and targeted by our Martyr Haroun Units, who destroyed a military vehicle (Toyota) belonging to the mercenaries.

Another attack was attempted by the Turkish mercenaries on our positions along the Deir Hafer front. Our fighters successfully repelled this attack, eliminating and injuring several mercenaries, though the exact numbers remain unconfirmed. Our Martyr Haroun Units also targeted mercenary vehicles, destroying one of their cars, while simultaneously shelling mercenary gatherings and positions with heavy weapons.

In total, six mercenaries were eliminated, eight others injured, and two vehicles destroyed during yesterday's operations."

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# SDF captures members of Turkish-backed mercenaries in Heseke

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

On Wednesday, the Military Operations Teams (TOL) of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) conducted a precise and well-executed security operation in the city of Heseke, targeting a cell of mercenaries belonging to the Turkish state, which was attempting to carry out criminal activities in the region.

"Following extensive monitoring and intelligence gathering on the cell's activities within Heseke, our forces surrounded their location and successfully captured two mercenaries of the cell, Firas Muhammad Abdullah aka "Abu Tamir," and Ahmed Farhan Abdul Hameed," said the statement by SDF Press Center on Saturday.

According to the SDF, the captured mercenaries are members of the so-called “Suleiman Shah Division,” also known as “Al-Amshat,” a group linked to the Turkish occupation state. These mercenaries were plotting criminal and sabotage operations, inciting chaos and discord among the people of the region, and provoking against the Autonomous Administration and the Syrian Democratic Forces.

"Our forces remain committed to pursuing all terrorist and criminal cells seeking to disrupt the region’s security and stability. We will take decisive action against anyone who threatens civil peace, public security, or the unity of the community," the statement added.

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## Turkish and mercenary attacks against North-East Syria continue

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

The occupying Turkish state and allied mercenaries shelled the countryside of Tishrin Dam. No information was immediately available on the outcome of the bombardment.

Turkish forces bombarded the southern countryside of Tishrin Dam with warplanes, UCAVs and heavy weapons.

The occupation forces simultaneously shelled the area around Tishrin Dam with heavy weapons.

According to reports, an unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the occupying Turkish state bombed people at Tishrin Dam, wounding many.

Turkish forces and allied mercenaries bombarded Sirrîn city south of Kobanê in the Euphrates Canton with heavy weapons.

Turkish warplanes also bombed Sirrîn Airport and the area around Qereqozaq Bridge in the south of Kobanê. It is reported that at least 6 airstrikes were carried out in these area. Warplane activity in the region continues.

The warplanes have also bombarded the village of Bîr Hiso in the south of Kobanê city of Euphrates Canton.

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## 2 ISIS members attack Kurds attending an event in Kiel

**ANF | Kiel | 25 January 2025**

In the German city of Kiel, two ISIS militants with knives attacked the participants of an event marking the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Kobanê. Muhammet İlhan Aslan was wounded as a result of the attack, while one of the attackers was captured by Kurdish patriots and handed over to the police.

In the wake of the attack, Kurds flocked to the site. After the gathering, the planned action for Kobanê was held.

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## People from Kobanê arrive at Tishrin Dam

**ANF | Tishrin | 25 January 2025**

Since 8 January, civilians from North-East Syria have been holding a vigil at the Tishrin Dam to protect their territory alongside the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and Women's Defense Units (YPJ) who are confronting attacks by the Turkish army and allied mercenaries called the Syrian National Army (SNA).

While residents from the Cizire, Raqqa, Tabqa, and Euphrates Cantons are taking turns in the vigil, the Turkish state and its proxies continue their relentless attacks on the protesters as well as the dam.

Hundreds of citizens from Kobanê city in the Euphrates Canton set out this morning to join the ongoing vigil at the dam.

The group was welcomed by people from Tabqa, Raqqa and Deir ez-Zor who continue their resistance in Tishrin.

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## Seven people, including head of village killed in Hama and Homs

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

Two armed groups affiliated with the HTS administration attacked people in the villages of Ekari and Ceiferiyat, west of Homs. The headman of the village of Ceiferiyat, his son, and a young man were killed. It was reported that members affiliated with the HTS administration asked the village headman to expect house searches.

When an armed group affiliated with the HTS administration searched the village of Ekari, west of Homs, two young people were injured and taken to hospital; one of the seriously injured lost his life.

### Villagers' belongings seized

In the village of Xirbet El Tine, west of Homs, armed groups affiliated with the HTS administration launched a military operation and committed serious crimes against the villagers.

11 people from the same village were captured in the attack and their fates are unknown. In the attack, armed groups looted houses and seized gold and money.

Armed groups affiliated with the HTS administration also raided the village of Til Shinan, one of the villages of Salamiya in Hama. The bodies of two brothers detained by HTS members were found near the village of Denin in Salamiya.

It was reported that money and gold, paintings and solar energy technology, a television and two cars were stolen during the raid on the two young people's homes.

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## Ten years ago, the liberation of Kobanê

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

Ten years have passed since the liberation of Kobanê. The strategic battle of Kobanê took place between 15 September 2014 and 25-26 January 2015, when it was liberated.

### The siege of Kobane

ISIS mercenaries launched the first attack on the city of Kobanê on the night between 14-15 September 2014. The siege would last till 25-26 January 2015. Those months of battle would witness a defense of the values of humanity with an epic spirit of self-sacrifice which has gone down in history.

On 15 September morning, ISIS launched an attack on the southern front. Differently from the previous simultaneous attacks from all three fronts, ISIS gangs now deployed arms and militants on the southeastern and southwestern parts too and started an offensive from five fronts.

### 'We are going to win this war'

It didn't take long to see the dimension of this offensive. YPG/YPJ commanders were now understanding that this was not an ordinary attack and occupation move and witnessed a technical and numeral inequality at an awesome level. As ISIS gangs launched this offensive with all their forces and weapons in Syria, it became clear that their aim was to ensure an entire occupation of Kobanê in a short time. YPJ Commander Meryem Kobane was making this fastening; "This will not be an ordinary battle but a confrontation

between the male-dominant sovereign savagery and the spiritual power and will of democratic modernity. We are going to win this war."

## Arin Mirkan Becomes a symbol on Mishtenur

Mishtenur Hill was hit by heavy weapons and tanks, and clashes broke out between the gang groups that infiltrated the hill and the YPG/YPJ fighters. The Mishtenur Hill is a sacred ground for the people of Kobanê, and it witnessed the sacred resistance of the YPG and YPJ fighters. The hill fell under ISIS control on October 5, after days of heroic resistance against heavy attacks on the hill. YPJ Commander Arin Mirkan was furious that Mishtenur Hill fell under ISIS control. She thought the gangs needed to be hit hard in Mishtenur and decided to carry out a sacrificial action. She prepared for the action in great resolve, and expertly infiltrated the gangs. She arrived at their gathering point, and there detonated the explosives on her person, killing dozens of gang members. The ISIS gangs had arrived in the city, but they got into a panic and fear in the face of the resistance up to that point and the sacrifice. As the ISIS gangs advanced, they lost their faith that "it would be handled in a week" and had come to understand that they would go through hell in Kobanê.

## "Hell for ISIS"

After Mishtenur, the gangs started to enter the Kaniya Kurda neighborhood from the east. To the west, the Izae Hill had fallen under gang control and the YPG/YPJ fighters had taken positions in the trenches dug by Til Sheir Hill and further. To the south, the gangs had reached the Martyr Dicle Cemetery, close to the city entrance.

During those days, YPJ commander Meryem Kobane said: "ISIS will now enter the city through Kaniya Kurda. But this city will be hell for ISIS. They will be kicked right out of Kaniya Kurda."

The resistance was taken into the city at that point. When Kobanê did not fall within a week, the Turkish media and the AKP government attempted to create an air that "if ISIS reaches the city center, Kobanê will have fallen automatically, there will be no resistance". Because the then-Prime Minister, current President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had expressed his expectations and wishes that "Kobanê is about to fall" when ISIS started entering the city. Erdoğan was veritably wringing his hands and expressing this desire, and YPJ General Commander Meysa Ebdo responded to it: "Kobanê will fall only in his dreams. The resistance is just starting now, Kobanê will be hell for ISIS and its supporters."

With ISIS entering the city, Meysa Ebdo's words came to pass with the superhuman resistance and heroism of YPJ and YPG commanders and fighters.

In the first three months of the resistance, the YPG and YPJ fighters put up resistance, and it was time for the YPG/YPJ commanders and fighters to launch the process in Kaniya Kurda that would lead to declaring Kobanê the hell of ISIS. The launch happened in early December, in the form of the Kobanê Liberation Operation.

## Operation time

The operation process had begun in Kobanê, the YPG and YPJ fighters had abandoned the defensive after a long time and were gearing up for operation mode. That created great morale and enthusiasm. The YPG/YPJ fighters cleared most of the city of gangs in a short time with this morale and enthusiasm, and in the end reached the Mishtenur Hill and realized the dreams of martyrs Givara, Cudi, Dicle and many others who fell in Kobanê. After Mishtenur, the second large scale maneuver was the southern front operation. This operation cleared the gangs completely from this front.

## All ready for the final blow

On the second day of the operation, Eastern front commander Mazlum Kobanê said, "We will herald freedom in 4 streets", and that is what happened. On the third day of the operation, preparations were completed to deliver the final, fatal blow to ISIS gangs. The declaration of the city's freedom would be in time for the anniversary of the canton declaration, January 27.

## Operation started

The Kaniya Kurda operation then started. Some hours into the operation, chants started to come through the radio, "Biji Serok Apo", "Biji Berxwedane Kobanê" - one fighter jumped up in joy: "The comrades have taken Kaniya Kurda!"

Kobanê was to be declared free after Kaniya Kurda was taken. The fighters were restless with excitement. It wasn't easy. For more than four months, they fought tooth and nail, finger on trigger at all times, through the cold, with no sleep, little food, insufficient ammunition. Always insisting on living freely, marching towards death, a resistance almost defying the laws of nature. They fought against better weapons, better logistics, better numbers and inhumane methods.

## YPG flag flew in Kaniya Kurda

The YPG and YPJ fighters rushed to the Kaniya Kurda Hill to put up a giant YPG flag, chanting "Biji Serok Apo" and "Biji Berxwedana Kobanê". The giant flag was put up on Kaniya Kurda Hill. Posters of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan had already been put up by the previous group of fighters.

After Meryem Kobane said "We will declare to the whole world on the Kaniya Kurda hill they entered the city from that Kobanê is hell for ISIS," her words were made into reality on the 134th day of the relentless resistance. The Kobanê resistance created a divide into "Before Kobanê" and "After Kobanê". History was interrupted in Kobanê and was rewritten.

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# HPG pays tribute to guerrillas Cesur Roboskî, Şahan Şahin, Hewrê Bêkes and Berxwedan Serdem

**ANF | Behdinan | 26 January 2025**

The Press Center of the People's Defense Forces (HPG) has announced the identities of four guerrillas who fell as martyrs. "We commemorate with respect and gratitude our comrade Cesur, Şahan, Hewrê and Berxwedan, who contributed to great successes with their willingness to sacrifice and their insistence on the apoist battle line in an important phase of the struggle against the Turkish state's occupation and genocide attacks in 2024 and who fell in the process," said the statement released by the HPG.

The statement also expressed its condolences to the families of the guerrillas from Bakur, Rojhilat and Rojava and to the people of Kurdistan. The HPG provided the following information on the identity of the martyrs:

Code name: Cesur Roboskî

First and last name: Özgür Encü

Place of birth: Şirnex

Names of mother and father: Nahide – Fehmi

Date and place of death: 2024 / Medya Defense Areas

Code name: Şahan Şahin

First and last name: İsmail Dayı

Place of birth: Wan

Names of mother and father: Yadigar – Koçer

Date and place of death: 2024 / Medya Defense Areas

Code name: Hewrê Bêkes

First and last name: Ferdîn Salihî

Place of birth: Kerec

Names of mother and father: Perîza – Mustafa

Date and place of death: 2024 / Medya Defense Areas

Code name: Berxwedan Serdem

First and last name: Salih Muhammed

Place of birth: Aleppo

Mother and father's names: Nazli – Muhammed

Date and place of death: 2024 / Medya Defense Zones

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# SDF: We will defend Kobani and all our regions in the spirit of the victory in 2015

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

The General Command of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) released a statement on the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Kobani resistance against ISIS.

The SDF statement on Sunday includes the following:

"Today, January 26th, marks the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Kobani resistance against the terrorist organization ISIS. On this occasion, we commemorate all our martyrs from the People's Protection Units (YPG) and the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), as well as all volunteers from across Kurdistan regions and the globe who joined Kobani the Citadel of Resistance. They displayed extraordinary heroism and self-sacrifice in their struggle against the terrorist organization ISIS.

No doubt that the resistance in Kobani exemplified the unwavering free will and determination to achieve victory against the world's most powerful terrorist power. Despite facing a brutal siege by this terrorist organization, and despite the immense challenges and resource limitations, the people of Kobani emerged victorious. This victory reaffirmed the profound truth that unwavering determination is the most potent weapon in the face of any obstacle. It demonstrated to the world that the will to resist is the cornerstone of victory, and through this unwavering will, the people of Kobani achieved their historic victory.

The victory in Kobani marked a crucial turning point in the defeat of the terrorist organization ISIS. It signified the beginning of the end of ISIS's territorial expansion, culminating in their eventual defeat across the entirety of Syrian geography. Had the resistance in Kobani not succeeded, ISIS would have con-

tinued to pose a grave and imminent threat to the entire world. It is undeniable that the victory in Kobani was not merely a local triumph but a global victory, as it paved the way for the world to eradicate one of the most dangerous terrorist organizations in human history.

The unwavering will and resolute resistance of the YPG and YPJ fighters in Kobani served as an inspiration for our forces, instilling in them the determination and resolve to liberate the remainder of Syria from ISIS terrorism. Their valiant resistance and ultimate victory formed the bedrock upon which our forces launched successive campaigns to liberate Syrian territories under ISIS control, including their so-called capital, Raqqa, ultimately leading to their final defeat in Al-Baghouz.

The resistance of Kobani and its resounding victory ten years ago paved the way for the establishment of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and served as a strategic turning point in forging alliances with numerous regional and international forces and entities, most notably the international coalition forces. These forces played a crucial role alongside our own in defeating the terrorist organization, particularly in securing the victory in Kobani, and this effort is highly respected and appreciated by us and by all our people.

Today, on the tenth anniversary of this momentous victory, as we commemorate this cherished triumph alongside the free world, Kobani, the Citadel of Resistance, faces relentless and brutal attacks by the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries. These attacks are repeated copies of those perpetrated by the terrorist organization ISIS, differing only in name, but the ultimate objective remains the same: to extinguish the flame of freedom in Kobani and silence the voice of its resistance, which once fascinated the world.

On this occasion, we urge all free peoples, states, and human rights and humanitarian organizations to deter the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries and to actively prevent any further aggression against the city of Kobani, which valiantly defeated the terrorist organization ISIS.

Should the Turkish occupation launch any aggression against Kobani, we unequivocally declare that we will engage in a more resolute and determined resistance than that demonstrated against the terrorist organization ISIS in 2014 and 2015. The Syrian Democratic Forces are unwavering in their commitment to protecting Kobani and its people from all forms of attack, regardless of the source. We are prepared to make significant sacrifices to safeguard this vital city.

We extend our heartfelt congratulations to our fighters and our people on this momentous anniversary. Today, we stand more resolute than ever in our determination to protect and defend our territories. We will not hesitate to escalate our resistance against all forms of aggression, regardless of the cost."

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## SDF: 20 mercenaries killed, 2 drones shot down

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center announced the outcome of their legitimate response operations against the attacks by the Turkish army and its mercenaries on January 25.

The SDF statement on Sunday includes the following:

"Yesterday, Saturday, our forces successfully repelled an attack by Turkish occupation mercenaries on one of our forces' points in the village of Khirbet al-Zamala, southeast of Manbij. Clashes erupted between our fighters and the mercenaries, resulting in the elimination of four mercenaries and injuries to five others. The remaining mercenaries were forced to flee. Our forces also successfully intercepted and shot down two suicide drones belonging to the mercenaries.

The vicinity of the Tishreen Dam was subjected to intense bombardment by Turkish warplanes, accompanied by artillery and heavy weapons fire. A Turkish occupation UCAV targeted the civilian sit-in on the Tishreen Dam, resulting in the martyrdom of one civilian and injuries to twelve others. Turkish occupation warplanes and UCAVs also conducted reconnaissance flights and airstrikes over the town of Deir Hafer, targeting one of our forces' positions. This attack resulted in the martyrdom of one of our fighters and injuries to three others. Additionally, a mercenary attempted to infiltrate one of our forces positions in the area but was captured.

In the vicinity of the Qara Qwzaq Bridge, our forces responded effectively to the Turkish occupation's bombardment and the attacks of its mercenaries. Our forces targeted mercenary gatherings on the Khudey Hill and in the village and park of Imo Tomb. These engagements resulted in the confirmed elimination of two mercenaries in the village of Imo Tomb and injuries to four others. When Turkish occupation mercenaries attempted to initiate an attack on our forces' positions starting from Khudey Hill in the town of Abu Qalqal, our fighters effectively targeted their gatherings, resulting in the elimination of fourteen mercenaries, including a prominent leader from the so-called "Hamza Division" faction, Abu Al-Harith Al-Jazrawi. Turkish warplanes conducted several airstrikes targeting the village of Bir Hasso, the Qara Qwzaq Bridge crossing, and the villages of Ghasaq and Malha in the vicinity of the bridge. However, these airstrikes did not cause any significant damage.

The total number of Turkish occupation mercenaries eliminated yesterday reached twenty, including one prominent leader. Nine mercenaries were injured, and one was captured. Two suicide drones belonging to the mercenaries were also shot down."

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# YPG marks the anniversary of Kobane victory, calling for a resolute stance against Turkish attacks

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

The General Command of the YPG (People's Defense Units) released a statement on the 10th Anniversary of the Liberation of Kobane, saying the following:

"Today, we solemnly commemorate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Kobane, a defining moment in the global fight against ISIS. In 2015, after enduring months of relentless and heroic resistance, the forces of the YPG and YPJ, together with our allies and the people of Rojava, achieved a historic victory by

expelling ISIS from Kobane. At a time when ISIS cast a dark shadow over the region and the world, spreading terror and launching attacks on multiple countries, the victory in Kobane marked a turning point. It was a defense not only of Rojava but also of Kurdistan, the Middle East, and the world against one of the greatest threats of our time.

Kobane's liberation was more than a military triumph; it became a profound symbol of resistance, unity, and the enduring spirit of the Kurdish people and the diverse communities of Northeast Syria. The city stood as a front line in the battle between humanity's aspirations for freedom and dignity and the forces of tyranny and terror. During the siege, ISIS exploited the Turkish border to smuggle fighters and arms, with evidence pointing to Turkey's complicity in enabling their aggression. Despite these challenges, Kobane became the graveyard of ISIS' invincibility, demonstrating that solidarity, determination, and the collective struggle of our people could defeat even the most brutal of enemies.

As we celebrate this historic day, we cannot ignore the ongoing threats that echo the challenges of the Kobane siege. The Turkish state's current attacks on Tishreen and Qaraqozakh continue to destabilize our region, creating conditions that enable the resurgence of ISIS. By targeting civilian areas, infrastructure, and the security of our communities, these aggressions aim to undo the hard-fought gains achieved through the sacrifices of tens of thousands of martyrs. Such actions not only undermine regional stability but also threaten the very principles of justice and humanity that the resistance of Kobane represents. We call upon the international community, all organizations, and nations who once stood with us against ISIS to take a clear and resolute stance against these provocations.

On this anniversary, we honor and remember the martyrs of Kobane, whose sacrifices illuminated the path to victory and inspired a broader struggle for freedom and justice. Their legacy compels us to continue this journey with unwavering resolve, protecting the ideals for which they gave their lives."

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# 1 child killed, another wounded in an attack on a village of Ain Issa

**ANF | Ain Issa | 26 January 2025**

The occupying Turkish army and allied mercenaries are shelling the villages of al-Jamas, al-Fatsa and al-Abd-Juma east of Ain Issa district in Cizire Canton with heavy weapons.

As a result of the attack on al-Jamas, Asya Hemed al-Hisên (12) was killed, while Ebdurehman Îsmaîl al-Hisên (1) and Erîc Xalid al-Hisên (20) were wounded.

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# Turkish airstrike kills two civilians in Duhok countryside

**ANF | 27 January 2025**

Turkish warplanes bombed Dinarte town in Akrê district of Duhok city at around 10:00 local time this morning.

According to RojNews, a married couple, Cefer Celal Xalid Zêbarî and Tutê Akreyî, who were from the village of Bamishmish and were engaged in animal husbandry, were killed in the attack.

The Turkish army has escalated its bombardments against Southern Kurdistan (Northern Iraq) in the last week.

The attacks targeting civilian settlements are mainly carried out by warplanes and artillery. Many people have lost their lives as a result of these attacks.

Last week, two border guards were killed and several others were wounded in a shelling by the Turkish state.

On January 26, when Hakan Fidan, the Foreign Minister of the occupying Turkish state visited Baghdad, a bomb attack on a Peshmerga vehicle in Batufa resulted in injuries. On the same day, a citizen's house was bombed in Batufa.

In 2024, at least 33 people were killed and 19 others were injured in attacks by the occupying Turkish state directly targeting civilians. Baghdad and Hewlêr (Erbil) remain silent in the face of the Turkish state's occupation attacks and war crimes.

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# SDF dismantles an ISIS cell in Qamishlo

**ANF | 27 January 2025**

The Military Operations Teams (TOL) of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) conducted a security operation in the city of Qamishlo on Saturday, targeting an ISIS cell that was planning to carry out terrorist acts in the city.

Following extensive investigations, intelligence gathering, and surveillance, SDF forces identified the cell's hideout and successfully raided the location, dismantling the terrorist cell and capturing two terrorists, Osama Muhammad Al-Ahmad and Issa Muhammad Al-Ahmad.

According to the SDF Press Center, the captured terrorists were plotting to carry out a series of terrorist attacks in the city by planting IEDs in public and private areas, aiming to spread terror and sow chaos among the civilian population.

"Our forces reaffirm its unwavering commitment to eradicating all remnants of the terrorist organization ISIS, ensuring the continued security and stability of our region," the SDF said.

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## Turkish UCAV hits a civilian car in Ranya, killing 4

**ANF | Ranya | 27 January 2025**

The RojNews agency based in southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) reported that an unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the Turkish state hit a civilian vehicle in Çiwarqurne sub-district of Ranya district in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq on Monday.

One of the eyewitnesses stated that 4 citizens in the vehicle lost their lives as a result of the attack, which also left another civilian wounded.

Earlier today, Turkish warplanes bombed Dinarte town in Akrê district of Duhok city, killing a married couple, who were identified as Cefer Celal Xalid Zêbarî and Tutê Akrey.

In 2024, at least 33 people were killed and 19 others were injured in attacks by the occupying Turkish state directly targeting civilians. Baghdad and Hewlêr (Erbil) remain silent in the face of the Turkish state's occupation attacks and war crimes.

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## SDF: 8 mercenaries, including a regiment commander, killed, 13 others wounded

**ANF | 27 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center announced the outcome of their legitimate response operations against the attacks by the Turkish army and its mercenaries on January 26.

The SDF statement on Monday includes the following:

"As part of the legitimate response to the attacks of the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries, our forces conducted yesterday operations targeting with heavy weapons the mercenaries' positions and gatherings on the Qara Qwzaq Bridge front, including the villages of "Tal Arsh" and "Khudey Hill," as well as another gathering points at the Bridge checkpoint, the park and the "Um Al-Rus" village. It was confirmed that eight mercenaries belonging to the so-called "Jund al-Haramain," including a regiment commander, were eliminated, and 13 others were wounded.

Our Martyr Haroun Units also conducted two successful operations targeting mercenary gatherings and vehicles in "Khudey Hill," "Nowruz," and a nearby park. A mercenary vehicle was effectively targeted, although the exact number of eliminated and injured mercenaries remains unknown.

Meanwhile, Turkish occupation warplanes launched several airstrikes on the villages of "Ghasaq," "Melha," "Abu Qalqal," and "Sha'baniya." Turkish occupation UCAVs also carried out two strikes on the village of "Bir Hisso." However, these raids caused no damage. The Turkish forces indiscriminately targeted the entire front line of the Qara Qwzaq Bridge with heavy artillery, rockets, and mortar shells, bombarding the villages of "Al-Tineh," "Ja'ada," "Bir Hisso," "Qara Qwzaq," and "Melha." Despite the intensity of the shelling, no significant damage was reported.

On the Tishreen Dam front, Turkish warplanes conducted several airstrikes yesterday morning on villages surrounding the dam, southeast of Manbij, specifically targeting "Khirbet al-Zamalah" and its surroundings. This was accompanied by intensive artillery shelling, but no damage resulted. In the early evening, a Turkish UCAV targeted civilians on the dam itself, resulting in minor injuries to 10 civilians.

On the Deir Hafer front, the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries used Grad rockets and mortars, while UCAVs carried out two strikes on our positions, slightly damaging a military vehicle. In response, our Martyr Haroun Units targeted a mercenary gathering, injuring several mercenaries. Turkish UCAVs continued to fly over the region throughout the day.

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## Turkey shells several areas in Euphrates Canton

**ANF | 27 January 2025**

Turkish occupation forces bombarded many villages in the Euphrates Canton and the Tishrin Dam with warplanes, armed drones, artillery and heavy weapons on Monday.

The villages of Saramide, Siwêdiyê, Mişêrfê, Hec Hesen and Taîs in Ain Issa were shelled with artillery and heavy weapons. The village of Um Seharic in the western countryside of the city was struck by UCAVs.

On the other hand, Turkish warplanes bombed the vicinity of the Tishrin Dam where a vigil by civilians continues on its 17th day. Further strikes by the Turkish forces targeted the villages of Tîna, Bîr Heso, Xesiq and Sepet in the southern countryside of Kobanê and the wheat warehouse in Sirrin city.

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# Turkish UCAV attack in Zirgan kills 3 civilians from the same family, including a child

**ANF | 28 January 2025**

According to reports from the ground, an unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the occupying Turkish state shelled the village of Um Hermel in Zirgan district at around 02.30 last night.

Three members of a family, one of them a child, were killed, and 8 people were wounded in the attack.

The names of the slain civilians are as follows: Îbrahîm Ubeyd El Siyad (50), Hisên Ubeyd El Siyad (35) and Jamîl Mihemed Deham El Siyad (child).

The injured civilians were identified as follows: Terfa Remedan Ebdullah, Sîham Îbrahîm Ebdullah, Zeyneb Îbrahîm Ebdullah, Şehed Taha Ebdullah, Rexed Ebdullah, Ehmed Taha Ebdullah, Melek Mihemed Mirî, Fatima Mehmûd Ebdullah.

The wounded, mostly women and children, were transferred to hospitals in Hesekê, while those in serious condition were sent to hospitals in Qamishlo.

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# EU will lift some sanctions against Syria

**ANF | 28 January 2025**

The European Union is lifting some sanctions against Syria, French Foreign Minister Jean-Noël Barrot said.

The bloc's foreign policy chief Kaja Kallas said she expected EU members to agree to a "step-for-step approach" to sanctions relief for Syria.

Europe is keen to help the reconstruction of Syria and build bridges with its new leadership after the end of the Assad family's five-decade rule.

But some EU countries worry about moving too fast to embrace the new Islamist-led rulers in Damascus.

The 27-nation EU imposed wide-ranging sanctions on the Assad government and Syria's economy during its civil war.

The EU said it is now willing to ease sanctions on the expectation the new authorities make good on commitments to form an inclusive transition. "If they are taking the right steps, then we are willing to do the steps on our behalf as well," Kallas said.

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# SDF announces the outcome of their legitimate response operations on Monday

**ANF | 28 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center announced the outcome of their legitimate response operations against the attacks by the Turkish army and its mercenaries on January 27.

The SDF statement on Tuesday includes the following:

"On January 27, the Turkish occupation conducted aerial bombardments using warplanes and UCAVs on villages near the Tishreen Dam from morning until the evening. These attacks were accompanied by intense artillery shelling. While five airstrikes were carried out, the shelling did not result in any significant damage.

In response to these aggressions, our Martyr Haroun Units executed three strikes on a gathering of mercenaries located between the "Syriatel Hill" and the "Martyr Sawsan Camp". These strikes resulted in confirmed casualties among the mercenaries, with the exact number of eliminated and injured mercenaries yet to be determined. The remaining mercenaries fled the area. Additionally, a mercenary vehicle was successfully targeted and completely destroyed.

Our fighters also conducted an operation using heavy weaponry on a mercenary gathering point near the "Syriatel Hill". This operation resulted in the complete destruction of the gathering point and inflicted numerous casualties among the mercenaries. Two mercenaries were confirmed eliminated, along with three injuries.

On the Deir Hafer front, despite continuous aerial overflights, our Martyr Haroun Units conducted two targeted strikes. In the first one, they successfully destroyed a mercenary vehicle, while the other one resulted in the destruction of a mercenary point.

An attempt by mercenaries to infiltrate and launch an attack on one of our forces' positions on the Deir Hafer front was effectively countered by our fighters. One mercenary was eliminated in the engagement, and a vehicle, along with several weapons, was seized.

Furthermore, our fighters conducted several operations targeting mercenaries' gathering points on the Qara Qwzaq Bridge front. These operations included an attack on a mercenary checkpoint on the "Khudey Hill", resulting in the destruction of a mercenary vehicle and causing numerous casualties among their ranks.

Additionally, attacks were launched on the villages of "Imo Tomb" and "Tal Arash," inflicting further casualties on the mercenaries. Our Martyr Haroun Units also executed two precision strikes, targeting a merce-

nary base on the "Khudey Hill" and a gathering point on the "Nowruz Hill". These strikes resulted in the destruction of a mercenary tank and a gathering point.

In response to the heavy losses inflicted on the mercenaries by our forces, the Turkish occupation launched violent airstrikes on the villages of "Ghasaq, al-Tineh, Bir Hisso, Karak, and Melha," as well as Serrin airport, "Saifi Hill", and Serrin silos. These airstrikes were accompanied by indiscriminate heavy artillery shelling that also affected the villages of "Ghasaq, al-Tineh, Ja'ada, Bir Hisso, Dekan, and Qara Qwzaq. However, the shelling did not cause any damage to our forces."

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## Turkey bombs power station in Ain Issa

**ANF | Ain Issa | 28 January 2025**

According to reports from the ground, an UCAV of the occupying Turkish state bombed a power station in Ain Issa city in Euphrates Canton.

Electricity was cut off in the city and its countryside as a result of the attack.

The villages of al-Saramda and al-Abdil Juma'a east of Ain Issa were also bombed.

The invaders also bombed a water tank in Laqo village, west of Girê Spî.

For years, the Turkish state has been committing grave war crimes by targeting vital civilian infrastructure and service institutions in Northern and Eastern Syria. Among the civilian institutions systematically targeted are schools, hospitals and associations.

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## Turkish UCAV attack kills at least 6 people in Sirrin

**ANF | Kobane | 28 January 2025**

According to reports from the ground, an unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) of the occupying Turkish state bombed a marketplace in the town of Sirrin, south of Kobanê.

According to initial reports, at least 6 civilians lost their lives.

Sirrin is located about 40 kilometers south of Kobanê and is administratively part of the Euphrates Canton. The town is frequently attacked by the Turkish army and its jihadist proxy force, the Syrian National Army (SNA), because it is a strategic junction on the M4 highway that connects the Turkish-jihadist occupation zone east of Aleppo with Raqqa.

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## New convoy of civilians arrives at Tishrin Dam on day 21 of vigil against attacks

**ANF | Tishrin | 28 January 2025**

Since 8 January, civilians from North-East Syria have been holding a vigil at the Tishrin Dam to protect their territory alongside the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and Women's Defense Units (YPJ) who are confronting attacks by the Turkish army and allied mercenaries called the Syrian National Army (SNA).

Hundreds of people from Hesekê, Til Temir, Dirbêsiyê and Til Birak cities of Cizîr Canton arrived at the dam on Tuesday to participate in the vigil to defend the dam and to express their opposition to the attacks by the occupying Turkish state and allied mercenaries.

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## Number of civilians killed by Turkish drone attack in Sirrin increases to 12

**ANF | Kobane | 28 January 2025**

The Turkish state bombed a market in the city center of Sirrin with a drone, killing at least 6 people, according to initial reports. Many other civilians were injured.

Reports coming through in the evening said that the number of those killed had risen to 12. The number of injured is 13.

### Attacks on the Euphrates Canton continue

The Turkish army and its proxies attacked the village of Sefawiyê, located east of Ain Issa, with artillery and heavy weapons.

The town of Silûk in the Euphrates Canton and the villages of Tirwaziyê and Um-el Beramil, Muxtal, Hêwîce and Hemid to the south were also targeted by heavy artillery fire.

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# SDF: Three massacres committed by Turkey in two days in Northern and Eastern Syria

**ANF | 29 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Media Center issued a statement condemning the recent massacres carried out by Turkey and its proxies in Northern and Eastern Syria.

The statement said: "Over the past two days, the Turkish occupation has committed three massacres against innocent civilians in north and eastern Syria. The first massacre was committed yesterday, January 27, in the village of al-Jamas in the eastern countryside of Ain Isa, where the Turkish occupation brutally shelled the populated village with heavy artillery, resulting in the martyrdom of three civilians, including two children."

The statement continued: "The second massacre happened on January 28, whern the Turkish occupation targeted with heavy artillery the Umm Harmalah village in the Zarkan countryside, resulting in the martyrdom of three civilians, including a child, and leaving nine others injured.

The third massacre happened this evening in Serrin city, where a Turkish occupation UCAV bombed the popular market in the city, causing the martyrdom of eight civilians and injuring 20 others, some critically.
These blatant massacres, documented with photos evidence, not only condemn Turkey but also the international community's silence in the face of these ongoing Turkish crimes and violations in Northern and Eastern Syria."

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# 27 Turkish-backed mercenaries killed or wounded in SDF actions against occupation attacks

**ANF | 29 January 2025**

The Press Center of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) announced the outcome of their legitimate response to attacks by the Turkish occupation forces and allied mercenaries on January 28.

The balance sheet announced by the SDF on Wednesday includes the following:

"The Turkish occupation and its mercenaries continued their attacks on the Tishreen Dam. They targeted yesterday with heavy artillery the vicinity of the dam for an extended period. However, no casualties were reported among our forces.

In response to these attacks, our fighters conducted several operations against mercenary positions and gatherings. These operations targeted Nowruz Hill, Qara Qwzaq Hill, and mercenary bases in the villages of Imo Tomb and Al-Hawshriya. In the operation at Imo Tomb, five mercenaries were confirmed eliminated and ten wounded. In the operation at Al-Hawshriya, twelve mercenaries were eliminated or wounded. Additionally, our Martyr Haroun Units successfully destroyed a mercenary point on Qara Qwzaq Hill.

On the Qara Qwzaq front, the Turkish occupation resumed airstrikes. The Turkish occupation warplanes targeted several villages near the Qara Qwzaq Bridge, including Ghasaq, Al-Tineh, Bir Hisso, Melha, Dekan, and Qara Qwzaq, as well as Serrin Airport and Saifi Hill south of Kobani. These villages were also subjected to heavy artillery fire, with over 180 shells impacting the area, resulting in significant material damage.

The Turkish occupation deliberately targets civilians in the populated villages and towns. Yesterday, it committed a horrific massacre when a Turkish UCAV struck a popular market in the town of Serrin, south of Kobani. This attack resulted in the martyrdom of twelve civilians and injuries to thirteen others, some of whom sustained serious wounds. Notably, among the victims were young children.

In a legitimate response to the Turkish occupation and its mercenaries' attacks on the towns of Ain Issa and Zarkan, our forces conducted a successful operation the day before yesterday, Monday. This operation targeted a Turkish occupation base in the village of Tal Mohammed in the countryside of Zarkan, resulting in the confirmed elimination of one Turkish occupation soldier and another wounded."

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## Popular resistance against attacks continues at Tishrin Dam

**ANF | Tishrin | 29 January 2025**

The Tishrin Dam has been subjected to attacks by the occupying Turkish state and allied mercenaries since December 8, 2024.

Since January 8, the people of North and East Syria have started a vigil to protect the Tishrin Dam, which provides electricity to the region and is vital for civilian life.

The occupation forces attack not only the dam and its surroundings but also the civilians taking part in the vigil. As a result of direct attacks on civilians, more than 20 people have been martyred and hundreds wounded so far.

Despite the increasingly ongoing attacks, the protesters, who have steadfastly maintained the vigil for 22 days, emphasize their determination to protect the dam.

One of the activists said, "We are not afraid of the Turkish occupation and the attacks by allied mercenaries and warplanes. We will continue our action until the attacks stop. We are with our military forces and we are here. We will not abandon the dam."

The Turkish state continued its attacks on the 22nd day of the resistance. At around 10:40 local time, the Tishrin Dam and its surroundings were once again bombed.

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## Turkish UCAV hits a house in Kobanê, killing two civilians

**ANF | Kobane | 29 January 2025**

An Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicle (UCAV) of the occupying Turkish state bombed a house in Kobanê on Wednesday.

As a result of the attack, the owner of the house and another person were killed. The victims were identified as Azad Elî Mehmûd and Şêro Meşîd. Nerîman Silêman, who was wounded in the attack, was hospitalized.

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## DAANES calls for immediate international action to stop Turkish massacres in North-East Syria

**ANF | 29 January 2025**

As the Turkish state continues its genocidal campaign against North-East Syria, which has escalated since the fall of the Assad regime, targeted attacks against civilians have left dozens of people dead or wounded in the past three days alone.

On January 27, Turkish forces brutally shelled the populated village of al-Jamas in the eastern countryside of Ain Issa with heavy artillery, resulting in the death of three civilians, including two children.

On January 28, the Turkish state targeted the Umm Harmalah village in the Zarkan countryside with heavy artillery, resulting in the death of three civilians, including a child, and leaving nine others injured.

On the same day, a Turkish UCAV bombed the public market in Sirrin, leaving 12 civilians dead and 13 others wounded.

On January 29, a Turkish UCAV hit a house in Kobanê, killing two civilians and wounding one other.

The Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (DAANES) issued a written statement denouncing the ever-increasing attacks and massacre of civilians by the occupying Turkish state.

The Autonomous Administration emphasized that the Turkish state is pursuing a policy of enmity against the peoples of North-East Syria.

DAANES strongly condemned the massacre in the district of Sirrin near Kobanê on Tuesday, when 12 civilians were killed and 13 others wounded as a result of a targeted attack against the public market.

"The massacre of civilians in Sirrin is a war crime and a manifestation of the fact that the Turkish state is directly targeting civilians. The attack is a clear violation of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1674 and all rules of international law," said the statement and called on the UNSC and the international community to take necessary measures against the invasion attacks.

Stressing that the Turkish state has crossed all red lines of the international community, the UN and the UNSC, DAANES said that documents regarding the attacks have been sent to the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

The Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria also called on the International Coalition to intervene immediately to prevent the attacks of the occupying state against the territories and people of North and East Syria.

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## Ahmed al-Sharaa declares himself president of Syria

**ANF | 29 January 2025**

Syria's de facto leader Ahmed al-Sharaa (Abu Mohammad al-Julani) has been named president for a transitional phase and the country's constitution has been suspended, the Syrian state news agency, SANA, reported.

Al-Sharaa was also authorised to form a temporary legislative council for the transitional phase which will carry out its task until a new constitution is adopted, SANA reported on Wednesday.

The announcement was made by the spokesperson for Syria's new, de facto government's military operations sector, Hassan Abdul Ghani, the state-run SANA news agency said.

Abdel Ghani also announced the dissolution of the armed factions in the country, which he said would be absorbed into state institutions.

After Assad's removal, Al-Sharaa's Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) group became the de facto ruling party and set up an interim government largely composed of officials from the local government it previously ran in rebel-held Idlib province.

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## SDF: Turkish base in Qereqozax destroyed

**ANF | 30 January 2025**

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center released a statement detailing the actions carried out in the resistance against the Turkish state and the Syrian National Army (SNA).

The statement said that on Wednesday "the occupying Turkish state continued its attacks with warplanes and drones targeting the area around the Tishrin Dam and the south and east of Manbij. Turkish warplanes bombed the village of Sheikh Ubeyd throughout the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, while the area around the Tishrin Dam was targeted by howitzers and heavy weapons until Thursday morning. Our forces did not suffer any loss in the attacks. On the contrary, our forces carried out many actions on Qereqozax Hill, but we are not able to disclose details of the actions."

The statement added: "The Martyr Harun Units carried out an attack on the Turkish proxies' base on Qereqozax Hill, destroying it completely.

Turkish warplanes bombed the villages of Xeseq, Mehlê and Dîkan in the south of Kobanê. At the same time, the same villages were randomly targeted by howitzers, mortars and tanks. More than 150 artillery shells were fired at the villages of Xeseq, Tîna, Cada, Bîr Hiso and Qereqozax, and only material damage occurred in the attacks.

A drone belonging to the occupying Turkish state bombed a house in the city of Kobanê, killing two civilians, and injuring a woman.

On the Der Hafir front, drones flew in the region targeting a post of our forces. Only material damage occurred in the attack."

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# Feminicide

## Mothers on vigil at Kobanê border call on everyone to "defend Rojava"

**ANF | Urfa | 24 January 2025**

The Turkish state has been attacking the Tishrin Dam and its surroundings south of Kobanê since December 8. As the bombardments on the area continue increasingly, people in North Kurdistan launched vigils

in the border districts of Nusaybin in Mardin and Suruç in Urfa. The protest action launched on 9 January then spread to other cities in North Kurdistan, set to continue until January 31.

Mothers who are participating in the vigil at the Kobane border spoke to ANF about their struggle, motivation and determination.

## 'Rojava means everything to us'

**Nesibe Gençkılıç:** We are here for peace. We are here for our brothers and sisters on the other side of the border, because we are relatives. We don't want war anymore, we don't want our children to die. We are mothers who just want peace from our bleeding hearts. We do not accept the atrocities imposed upon Rojava. We are here to put an end to this persecution. We aren't afraid of death. Rojava means everything to us, it means our leader."

## 'We want a fraternal peace'

**Rahime Kızılkaya:** We want a fraternal peace. Rojava is subjected to persecution. We are here just for peace. We are fighting for the construction of an equal life, we are fighting for our children. Rojava is us! We want the attacks on Rojava to end as soon as possible. We want peace in Rojava now.

## 'We want all peoples to live in peace'

**Meryem Soylu:** Firstly, I salute our people resisting in Rojava. Everyone, especially the Kurdish people, should defend Rojava. Those who extend a hand of peace on the one hand are attacking Rojava on the other. We do not accept this. Women and children are being massacred. The addressee for a solution and peace is Mr. Öcalan, the leader of the Kurds. We want all peoples to live in peace. We must protect Rojava no matter what. We no longer accept the attacks. We do not accept this oppression. I thank everyone involved in this honorable resistance.

## 'Rojava is the heart of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan'

**Şahile Gülten:** We are here for the attacks on Rojava to end as soon as possible. Enough is enough! That is their land. Why are they attacking it? We are here to be their voice. They can only make peace with the Kurds, so the attacks must stop. Rojava is the heart of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan. Rojava is everything to us. If Rojava succeeds, the whole Kurdish people will succeed.

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# 'Rojava Kurdish Women's Initiative' to work for a democratic, multicultural, egalitarian Syria

**ANF | Qamishlo | 24 January 2025**

A group of Kurdish women in Northern and Eastern Syria made a statement on the current political situation in Syria and the future of the Kurdish people.

The statement held at the Şawîşka Center in Qamishlo was attended by Kurdish women who are actively working in the political, social and diplomatic fields.

The statement, made in Kurdish and Arabic, by Initiative Preparation Committee members Necla Temo and Nalîn Esed, said that the women have established the 'Rojava Kurdish Women's Initiative'.

The women, who share the reason for the establishment of the initiative, its core values, working principles and goals, called on women in Northern and Eastern Syria to protect their national values and identities, and said that they should take an active role in the construction of a democratic, multicultural, egalitarian and free Syria.

Committee members invited all Kurdish women to participate in the work of the "Rojava Kurdish Women's Initiative".

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# Narges Mohammadi: Iran wants women to step back

**ANF | 24 January 2025**

2023 Nobel Peace Prize winner and political prisoner Nargis Mohammadi participated in the meeting organized by the Delegation for Women's Rights of the French Senate and National Assembly via video.

Narges Mohammadi said that the number of prisoners executed in Iran is increasing and added that female political prisoners are in very bad conditions. She added that the Iranian state wants to take revenge on women for the 'Jin Jiyan Azadi' rebellion.

Mohammadi said that the Iranian state wants to make women who support freedom step back with the executions of Warisha Moradi and Pakhshan Azizi and added: "The Iranian regime is taking revenge on women for the 'Jin Jiyan Azadi' rebellion. Pakhsan Azizi and Warisha Moradi, who are being held in the women's wing of Evin Prison, are now facing the threat of impending execution. The regime is using the noose as a tool of terror to break the resolve of Iran's brave and conscientious women."

Muhammedi asked France to make the abolition of the death penalty the first and most important condition of any negotiations with Iran.

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# Journalist Eylem Babayiğit remanded in custody

**ANF | Istanbul | 24 January 2025**

Journalist Eylem Babayiğit, who hosts the program Mercek on Medya Haber, was detained during a police raid on her apartment in Istanbul on January 22. The operation was carried out as part of the investigation launched by the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, after which six journalists working for the free press were detained on January 17 and imprisoned three days later.

After procedures at the Security Directorate, Eylem Babayiğit was referred to the Istanbul Courthouse. The prosecutor's office referred Eylem Babayiğit to the Criminal Judicature of Peace on Duty, requesting her arrest on the allegation of "membership in an illegal organization" without hearing her testimony.

## The judge who sent 13 journalists to prison in a month

Babayiğit's lawyers requested "recusal of the judge" after learning that the judge prosecuting their client was the same judge who had ordered the imprisonment of 13 journalists in a month.

The judge, as expected, ruled for the imprisonment of Eylem Babayiğit who was targeted by the Turkish judiciary due to her television programs. The journalist will be taken to Bakırköy Women's Closed Prison.

Sending a message through her lawyers, Babayiğit said, "No matter where we are, we will continue to write, both inside and outside of prisons. The free press cannot be silenced."

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# REPAK condemns Iraq's proposed Personal Status Law

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

The Kurdish Women's External Relations Center (REPAK) issued a written statement regarding the Iraqi Parliament's approval of the proposed amendments to the Personal Status Law.

## Child marriages will be legitimized

REPAK's statement said: "Despite the struggle carried out by women's movements, the Iraqi Parliament approved the proposed amendments to the Personal Status Law. As a result of the efforts of women's movements in Iraq and across the world, laws prohibiting the marriage of girls under the age of 18 were enacted. Within this framework, laws lowering the marriage age to 9 were rejected, and the minimum marriage age was set at 18."

The statement added: "However, with the amendment passed in the Iraqi Parliament, marriage, divorce, and inheritance will be regulated according to Islamic courts. The interpretation and decisions of Islamic courts will come into effect, thereby lowering the minimum marriage age to very young ages. This will open the door for child marriage.

The amendment was approved in exchange for the release of ISIS detainees affiliated with Sunni forces. We are witnessing numerous political negotiations within parliamentary groups, in which women are becoming the primary victims of these bargains.

Currently, the state is redesigning itself through the enslavement of women, and what we are facing is the political side of ISIS."

## Call on all women to join the struggle

The statement continued: "The male-dominated state powers and patriarchal ideologies representing dictatorial regimes in the Middle East are in a political and social crisis. This crisis is also a crisis of paradigm and is on the brink of collapse. To address this crisis, the regimes in the Middle East are attempting to reconstruct patriarchal rules, male domination, and an undemocratic way of life. The alliance between the traditional family structure and state fascism seeks to sustain the current regimes by placing the enslavement of women at the center of their policies.

Over the past decade, as a result of these policies, many countries in the Middle East have reformed their governance by violating women's rights. Within this framework, child marriages have been facilitated, and the age limit has been lowered below 18. In cases of divorce, authority is granted to the father, with Islamic courts playing a decisive role in these matters. The implementation of democratic values, women's rights, the people's rights, democratic forces, and freedoms is the only solution to this crisis. However, they persist in refusing resolution and continue to exacerbate the crisis through deepening the war."

The statement underlined that "twelve years ago, ISIS was brought into existence, and during this period, the true faces of the regimes in Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan were exposed. The enslavement of women was a cornerstone of these states' existence and ideologies. However, we now see that this era has ended or is coming to an end. Today, it is evident that the struggle for women's freedom is advancing in the Middle East, and freedom has become the primary alternative. The front for democracy is being rebuilt on the foundation of women's rights. For this reason, we declare that we do not accept the proposed amendments to the law and demand that this decision be revoked. A stance that respects women must be adopted, and we call on all women and women's movements to strengthen the struggle. We will no longer allow our lives to be controlled by others or ignored."

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# Women call for international recognition of the Autonomous Administration of North-East Syria

**ANF | 28 January 2025**

Hundreds of women from various countries wrote to representatives of international institutions, drawing attention to the Turkish state's attacks against Rojava and calling for international recognition of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria.

The open letter for a democratic Syria based on women's freedom was addressed to António Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Sima Sami Bahous, Executive Director of UN Women, Roberta Metsola, President of the European Parliament, António Luís Santos da Costa, President of the European Council, Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Secretary-General of the Arab League.

The international women's letter reads as follows:

"Since the fall of the Assad regime in Syria on December 8, 2024, discussions have been underway about the future of Syria, and with that, new opportunities for a democratic reconstruction of Syrian society.

It is essential that society itself shapes and advances this reconstruction. It is also essential that Syria's women are involved in shaping this process by co-constructing politics and all spheres of life in a self-determined way.

Syria has been in a state of civil war for more than a decade, a process which began with an uprising against the oppressive Baathist regime. In the 13 years that followed, society was repeatedly confronted with the most atrocious crimes against humanity by various terrorist groups, such as the so-called Islamic State or invasion attacks by the Turkish state in violation of international law.

In Northern and Eastern Syria, the Kurdish population has been building a self-governing society based on women's liberation, ecology and grassroots democracy since 2012. Women have played a very important role in this. In this social model, women take on responsibility and are represented in all areas of social and political life. They have organized themselves to defend themselves and the lives of all. The women's defense units of the YPJ, together with the YPG and SDF, fought against the Islamic State and liberated numerous cities from its reign. The social model of democratic confederalism in Northern and Eastern Syria has created a multi-ethnic and multi-religious coexistence that can serve as a model for re-organization across Syria.

Women in Syria have united and organized to fight back against the attacks on women and society as a whole. They are determined to work towards shaping the peace process, for a democratic society, and for truth and justice. For this reason, on December 22, 2024, the Syrian Women's Council presented a declaration to reshape Syria. In this declaration, the association, made up of women from different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds, calls for the decisive participation of women and all parts of Syrian society in the political processes.

We support the 13 goals and demands developed by the Syrian Women's Council to build a new democratic Syria based on women's participation. Moreover, the recognition and participation of the Democratic Autonomous Administration in North and East Syria (DAANES) in the current process is also essential for a democratic future in Syria.

We call on the international community and all political actors to officially recognise the DAANES, to directly support the civil organisations there and to establish long-term cooperation. We call for support and political alliances with democratic women's organizations and civil society across Syria, rather than cooperation with jihadist groups whose ideology and practice is based on the humiliation and violent oppression of women.

We also call for an immediate halt to arms deliveries and political concessions to Turkey. Diplomatic relations with the democratic forces in Syria must be strengthened in order to stop Turkey's violent attacks, to end the war and to enable the construction of a democratic Syria.

Now is the time to strengthen the democratic forces in the Middle East, like the DAANES, and to stand with the women fighting for freedom, peace and democracy in Syria!"

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## Kongra Star calls for international investigation against Turkish massacres in North-East Syria

**ANF | 29 January 2025**

Kongra Star, the umbrella organization of women in North-East Syria, released a statement denouncing the massacres of civilians by the occupying Turkish state in the region.

Kongra Star emphasized that massacres against the Syrian peoples have become systematic and said, "This practice is against all international agreements and principles, especially human rights."

Kongra Star also criticized the international silence against the attacks, saying, "It is necessary to remind the United Nations, the UN Security Council and all international organizations concerned with human rights that remaining silent is considered as complicity in these crimes and increases the suffering of the innocent. In this sense, it is both legally and morally unacceptable to be a partner in crime."

Kongra Star called on the international community to put pressure on Turkey's institutions through an international investigation and to take urgent action to protect civilians.

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# Human Rights Violations

## DEM Party politician Rojbin Kartal Manzak arrested in Van

**ANF | Van | 24 January 2025**

A Kurdish local politician has been arrested in Van (Wan) on suspicion of membership of the PKK.

Rojbin Kartal Manzak had been in police custody since the beginning of the week. On Thursday, the criminal department of the Van District Court ordered the 37-year-old to be remanded in custody. The mother of two was transferred to Van's T-type prison.

It was not initially possible to find out what the accusation against Rojbin Kartal Manzak specifically referred to, as the investigation file was classified as confidential. The politician, born in 1997 in Patnos (Panos) in the Kurdish province of Ağrı (Agirî), is a member of the DEM party and ran for the office of co-mayor in her hometown in the local elections last year, but was ultimately defeated by the candidate of the ruling AKP party. It is still unclear whether and when charges will be brought against her.

The human rights association IHD has been complaining for years that the Turkish judiciary is abusing the anti-terror laws and the extremely broad interpretation of what "terror" is to suppress dissenting opinions. Baseless accusations of terrorism are systematically exploited, especially among Kurds and leftists, to punish undesirable political actions. Even political speeches, critical writings and participation in demonstrations are prosecuted as "terrorism". This applies, for example, to the way the PKK is being dealt with.

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## German left-wing politician fined for posting photos with the KCK flag

**ANF | Karlsruhe | 24 January 2025**

The former member of parliament Michel Brandt of the German Left Party -Die Linke- was fined by the Karlsruhe Regional Court for displaying Kurdish symbols. He was ordered to pay a fine of 900 euros, a court spokesperson announced on Friday. The verdict in the appeal trial, which ended on Thursday, is related to the symbol of the Kurdistan Communities Union (KCK). It was said to be equivalent to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is banned in Germany.

The public prosecutor's office had accused Brandt of using symbols of the umbrella organization of the Kurdish liberation movement in social networks. The flags of the KCK and PKK were visible in the background of the photos in question, which had been taken at rallies in 2019. Brandt had appeared as a

speaker and condemned Turkey's attacks on Rojava, which are contrary to international law, and German arms deliveries to Ankara.

The Left Party in Baden-Württemberg, of which Brandt is deputy state spokesperson, had previously described the proceedings as "obviously purely politically motivated". "Solidarity with Kurdistan is not a crime; defending Rojava and solidarity with Kurdistan are necessary," the party said.

The proceedings against Brandt have been dragging on for years. The politician appealed a penalty order by the public prosecutor's office for 14,000 euros, which had been issued in 2021 for using Kurdish symbolism online, and turned to the district court. With a partial acquittal, the fine against Brandt was reduced to 4,700 euros in 2022. Brandt then appealed against the decision. At the first hearing at the regional court in January 2023, the judge still suggested that the proceedings be dropped, but the public prosecutor's office rejected the request.

The fact that the public prosecutor's office insisted on continuing the proceedings exactly two years later and at a time when Turkey is attacking Rojava and threatening to invade again was described as "interesting" by the party in Baden-Württemberg. An activist who observed the trial criticized the proceedings as an "expression of the unconditional will to prosecute the Kurdish movement by the German judiciary."

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## 34 people, including ESP co-chair and SKM spokesperson remanded in custody

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

Only three of the 41 people detained in the operation targeting members of the Socialist Party of the Oppressed (ESP), Socialist Women's Assemblies (SKM) and Socialist Youth Associations Federation (SGDF) were released. The remaining 38 people were referred to the Criminal Court of Peace with a request for arrest without their statements being taken by the prosecutor's office.

34 people whose statements were completed here were remanded in custody on charges of "membership of an illegal organization" and "making propaganda for an illegal organization", while 4 people were released on condition of judicial control.

The names of those sent to prison are as follows: ESP co-chair Hatice Deniz Aktaş, SKM General spokesperson Tanya Kara, SGDF co-chair Berfin Polat, ESP MYK members Okan Danacı and Uğur Ok, ESP PM member Ezgi Gürbüz, ESP Sultangazi District co-chairs Gamze Toprak and Erol Tunç, ESP Esenyurt representative Cafer Erözsoy, SKM Istanbul Provincial spokesperson Leyla Can, SKM General Assembly member Dilara Su Kalpak, SGDF MYK members Hivda Selen, Simay Ada Kart and Adnan Özcan, United Workers Movement Spokesperson Meliha Kayacı, Serpil Topal, Emrah Topaloğlu, Senem Nur Pektaş, Bahadır Çağırgan, Ibrahim Akbay, Yoldaş Onur Mete, Berkan Balcı, Rezan Akkoyun, Müslüm Koyun, Bağlar Municipality Assembly member Muhammed Altunkaya, Zeynep Tekin, Ahmet Bilal Bay,

Revolutionary Party PM member Yakup Bulut, Azze Deniz Akşar, Bekir Efe Cesur, Sıla Turan, Mazlum Ortaç, Doğan İnan and ETHA journalist Züleyha Müldür.

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## Iranian court issues arrest warrant against Jina Amini's father

**ANF | 25 January 2025**

Emced Amini, the father of Jina Amini, the young Kurdish girl who was beaten and killed while in the Iranian state's "morality" police custody on 16 September 2022, shared a message on his Instagram page about a decision by an Iranian court.

Amini said that a lawsuit was filed against him at the Saqiz Revolutionary Court on Friday, 24 January, on charges of "propaganda against the state" and "spreading false news."

Amini stated that he was summoned to the courthouse and a detention order was issued for him, and that he will remain in custody until the trial.

It was learned that the decision regarding Emced Amini was made because of the message he published to protest the death sentence against Pakshan Azizi.

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## President of Rome VIII district detained in Istanbul on his way back from Rojava

**ANF | 28 January 2025**

Amedeo Ciaccheri, President of Rome VIII district, participated in the events in Rojava marking the anniversary of the liberation of Kobanê from ISIS ten years ago.

The Turkish state declared Ciaccheri 'persona non grata' and detained him while he was trying to get a connecting flight at Istanbul Airport.

Ciaccheri was detained for about an hour and released after the Italian authorities intervened.

Ciaccheri was one of the 40 European participants in the events celebrating the liberation of Kobanê in Rojava.

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# Trustee appointed to DEM Party's Siirt Municipality

**ANF | Siirt | 29 January 2025**

Sofia Alağaş, the co-mayor of Siirt Municipality, was sentenced to 6 years and 3 months in prison on Tuesday by the Diyarbakır 5th High Criminal Court. Following the sentence, the Ministry of the Interior seized the municipality and appointed a trustee.

Turkish police, who surrounded the municipal building, informed the co-mayors that a trustee had been appointed. While the Turkish flag was hung on the municipal building, citizens continued their resistance in front of the building.

Sabahat Erdoğan Sarıtaş, DEM Party's Siirt MP, arrived in front of the municipal building. She protested the trustee coup, stating that they would not accept the attack on the will of the people and would resist the decision.

Eşref Tekin, the co-chair of the DEM Party's Siirt Provincial Organization, said: "Despite electoral fraud and irregularities, the government could not take the municipality. Now it is seizing it. This people went to the ballot box and elected their co-mayors. These actions are a political coup."

Turkish police attempted to remove citizens and party members who had gathered in front of the municipality. When citizens and party members protested, they were attacked by the police. During the attack, Şernas Çelepkolu, the co-chair of the DEM Party's Siirt Central District, Muhammed Polat, the administrator of the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) Siirt Provincial Organization, and municipal employee Ferhat Toprak, were taken into custody.

Following the attack, people began a sit-in protest on Doğan Street in front of the municipality. The crowd chanted slogans such as, "Trustees are a political coup," and "Trustees will leave, the people will stay."

Since the 31 March elections, the municipalities of Hakkari, Mardin, Batman, Tunceli, Halfeti, Akdeniz, Muş, and Siirt, all governed by the DEM Party, have been seized.

## We do not accept the trustee coup

Tuncer Bakırhan and Tülay Hatimoğulları, the co-chairs of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party), protested the trustee coup by publishing some posts on their social media accounts.

Tuncer Bakırhan said: "We reject the appointment of a trustee to our Siirt Municipality. The will of the people will defeat this usurping mentality. Opening investigations and imposing sentences on our co-mayors based on fabricated reasons to pave the way for the illegality of trustees is political fraud. Political fraud cannot coexist with peace and democracy. Those who do not respect the will of the people are doing the greatest harm to this country. Appointing trustees to municipalities and disregarding the will of the Kurdish people is a colonial habit.

Trying to govern the Kurdish people with colonial methods in the 21st century is a futile effort. We strongly reject this mentality, which seizes the institutions of the people through the judiciary and administration, because it cannot win at the ballot box. The will of the people of Siirt is strong enough to bury all political fraud, conspiracies, and seizures in history. Once again, we invite everyone to stand on the side of democracy."

Tülay Hatimoğulları said: "Once again, the judiciary, under the control of the government, has carried out a coup against the will of the people! Following the sentencing of our Siirt Co-Mayor Sofia Alağaş, a trustee has been appointed to our Siirt Municipality. We say it once again! Peace cannot be achieved through the insistence on trustees but through democracy, rights, and justice. We do not accept this seizure of the will, which occurred during those days when we were trying to nurture the hope for peace.

We have not taken a single step back from resisting the trustee coup and fighting for an honorable peace, and we will not. We call on everyone whose heart beats for democracy to stand against the seizure of the will and to defend the will of the people."

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# ÖHD report on usurpation of municipalities: Rights of 1,777,120 voters violated

**ANF | 30 January 2025**

The Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD) shared its report on 9 municipalities taken over by government-appointed trustees after the removal of democratically elected mayors.

The report emphasized that the appointment of trustees to municipalities is a usurpation of the people's will and a violation of the "right to elect" of 1,777,120 voters in total.

The report noted that the Ministry of Interior first appointed a trustee to the municipality of Hakkari on June 3, 2024, followed by the municipalities of Esenyurt, Mardin, Batman, Halfeti, Dersim, Ovacık, Bahçesaray and Akdeniz.

The report pointed out the Legal Commissions of the CHP (Republican People's Party) and DEM Party (Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party) filed a lawsuit demanding a "stay of execution" as part of the legal processes regarding the trustee appointments.

On the other hand, the total amount of debt left from the previous period was 8 billion 700 million TL, while the debt burden left to the DEM Party by the trustees reached 24 billion 727 million TL.

The report stated that in the cities where trustees were appointed to municipalities, protests were violently attacked by the police and bans were imposed by the governor's offices. Pepper spray, rubber bullets and water cannons were used in police crackdowns and demonstrators were handcuffed behind the back.

The report includes the following data on those detained and imprisoned following the appointment of trustees and protest demonstrations:

- Batman: 219 detained, 37 imprisoned
- Halfeti: 27 detained, 12 imprisoned
- Mardin: 41 detained, 9 imprisoned
- Dersim: 29 detained, 11 imprisoned
- Hakkari: 26 detained
- Mersin (Akdeniz Municipality): 16 imprisoned, including 2 co-mayors and 3 councilors
- Istanbul: 25 detained, 17 imprisoned

ÖHD stated that the trustee practices are a violation of human rights against the will of the people and called for an immediate end to the unlawful and unjust practices.

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# Interview

## Kalkan: Öcalan wants a solution based on the democratization of Turkey, and we support this

**ANF | Behdinan | 24 January 2025**

In the second part of this interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council spoke about the work of the DEM Party delegation and what conditions are needed for Abdullah Öcalan to play his role. He added: "Öcalan strives for a solution based on the democratization of Turkey, and we are supporting this. A democratized Turkey will lead to a democratized Middle East. And a democratized Middle East will lead to progress in democratic and free life for humanity. We support this because we believe in it."

***How do you assess the delegation's efforts? How do you understand the government's stance? And especially in the context you just mentioned, what does it mean when Abdullah Öcalan says that he is ready to play his role if the conditions are met?***

The members of the delegation are experienced. They have indeed carried out a prudent effort in the face of provocations in various media and by some irresponsible circles. And they announced their results,

seemingly being positively optimistic, but they also expressed serious concerns. Their concerns were also seen during the negotiations. The AKP wing is causing the most concern. It seems as if they are not taking a serious approach. The rhetoric of Tayyip Erdoğan and some AKP leaders expresses this. There is a constant threatening situation. He wants to create such an atmosphere, wants to paint such an image for his own circles as if he is the second conqueror, that he is victorious in this war. He wants to create a perception. However, this is not the reality. It is not only wrong, but also dangerous.

What we have seen from the delegation or from the discussions that took place after the delegation's meeting with Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] and during the talks with the political parties has shown, firstly, that this set the agenda of discussion in Turkey. Rightly or wrongly, it is still positive. Because it's a discussion regarding democratization and its key, the Kurdish question. And the chief interlocutor of the Kurdish question is Rêber Apo. It is appropriate for the Kurdish question to be on the discussion agenda in such a situation.

We have experience from previous processes. We are not experiencing such a process for the first time. In fact, in the past, Rêber Apo and our party have declared many uniliteral ceasefires; there have been similar processes, there has been hope, and there has been despair, but it didn't bring a solution, and so we have come to today. So it is not a new situation; we have a wealth of experience. Compared to the past, many social and political circles and political parties here are closer to each other. To a certain point, they may have a better understanding of the process than before. There is no complete change of mentality or policy, but they say that this situation cannot go on like this, that change is needed. This is good; there seems to be agreement on this point, but they are not all the same. For example, during the talks, when statements were made, the AKP delegation said: "We had just a little chat." No one else who met with the delegation said that. There are still statements coming from AKP circles that use the old language that is based on annihilation and slander. Saying: "We're going to bury them." This is a language far from reality. Other parties are more consistent. For example, the CHP's approach has been more consistent.

There are fears that the AKP will abuse this situation for elections. The CHP, but also other parties, are very sensitive about this issue. They immediately bring it to the forefront. Of course, they have a point. But this is nothing that can be instrumentalized for elections. The solution to the Kurdish question, the democratization of Turkey, making legal and constitutional arrangements, and Turkey going through a reformist change – this cannot be abused for votes. That is nothing one can just put on the agenda to snatch some votes. That would be a very simple and manipulative approach. That approach will not bring them votes. It will not affect society. On the contrary, it would be seen as opportunism and lead to a loss.

This process has also revealed the fact that the Kurdish question has been perpetuated by a conflict. The 100-year-old problem has become a 100-year-old conflict. Kurds were pitted against each other, and politics was carried out through this. The system of global capitalist modernity has benefited various states and political forces within it. They profited from the Kurdish conflict, the Kurdish question. But there are also many rent-seekers in Turkey. There are so many people who benefited from this war. This war has been going on for forty years. It would be good if it were investigated what these people were doing and expose them to the public. That would be an important task of the press. We have seen this in the so-called right-wing and nationalist circles. In fact, the CHP was very present in social nationalist circles as well. There were quite a few people who benefited from the Kurdish question and the conflict that was caused through it.

The Kurdish question is both complex and simple. It is an issue of mentality and politics. It has nothing to do with material interests and not so much with political and economic problems as some people think. It is an issue of mentality, a fascist, colonialist, and genocidal mentality. The mentality that strives to deny and destroy the existence of the Kurdish people, and the politics that this mentality leads to, creates this issue. Seeing the Kurdish reality, understanding that the Kurdish people have rights just as everyone has rights, just as everyone has democratic rights, and implementing such a change in mentality and pushing forward democratization would immediately solve the Kurdish question. There would be no basis left for such a fascist, genocidal torture system against Rêber Apo. There would be no need to say such words, to produce such policies. Such a mentality and policy would solve it immediately. But if the current mentality and policy are insisted on – the existence of a people of 50 million is being denied and is under attack, all the means of Turkey are utilized for military, extermination, and ideological attacks, and everything is abused for the annihilation of the Kurdish people, for the genocide of the Kurdish people – then it is a complex issue that cannot be resolved. They have been attacking for 100 years and have not succeeded. Kurds are neither a small community in quantity nor a weak people in quality. They are one of the most ancient peoples in history, coming from the Neolithic period. One of the oldest people of Mesopotamia, with one of the strongest cultural backgrounds and values. How are you going to destroy these people? You came from Central Asia in tribes, on horseback, sword in hand, and settled in Anatolia. Thanks to whom were you able to come here? It was thanks to the Kurds. You came through Kurdistan, and you got so far with the support of Kurds. If you now try to cut the branch you rode on, what will become of you? This is the situation of the current government in Turkey. This is the situation of the government that wants to destroy the Kurds.

Neither can the Kurdish people be wiped out through assimilation and cultural and physical genocide, nor can the Turkish state and Turkish society wipe out Kurdish existence itself. Because their very own existence is based on the backs of the Kurds. They made Anatolia their home with the Kurdish alliance. Through them, they have been able to form a nation there. If they wipe out the Kurds, it is like they are cutting their own feet off, and then they destroy their own foundation. That's why Rêber Apo has repeatedly said. There can be no Turks without Kurds and no Kurds without Turks. Their co-existence is so intertwined and interdependent. If they don't realize this, if they insist on saying that everyone within the borders of Turkey, within the borders of the Turkish Republic, is a Turk, and attack everyone that is objecting to this, then they will lose all power, all means.

Then they won't be able to succeed in anything and will lose the power to solve the Kurdish question or any other existing problem. They cannot solve the Kurdish problem by force of arms or by genocide. It can only be solved with a change in mentality, a revolution, a change in policy. If they democratize just a little, if they see the differences, if they accept that Kurds are a people like Turks, that they have democratic rights, that they should live freely, then it could be solved at a moment's notice. That is why Rêber Apo says he will solve it in a week. Because it is a problem that can be solved at this level with a change in mentality. Therefore, it is necessary to criticize and change this monist, nationalist, racist, and fascist mentality and politics. It is necessary to shift the direction of the discussions there.

This is how Rêber Apo perceived it already fifteen, twenty years ago, and why he evaluated various possibilities. He predicted where the outcome would go according to various policies. He is also in constant follow-up. Therefore, he knows the developments well; he foresees and predicts them before anyone else. He develops an attitude and policy accordingly. He saw the results of the struggle. Yes, our struggle may not have led to the great military victory, but it has destroyed their 'Collapse Plan.' Those who thought they

could force the Kurdish freedom movement to its knees with a military attack ended up collapsing themselves.

There is the development of the Third World War in the Middle East. Israel is becoming a new hegemonic power in the region, while Iran and Turkey were already hegemonic powers before. In Iraq, the Baathist government fell, and now also in Syria, Baath power has fallen. The nation state system in Iraq and Syria has dissolved and collapsed. Iran and Turkey remained as the main status quo nation states. One can say that in this Third World War, the nation state status quo is being dismantled. It had no chance of success, and now it has been defeated. Both Turkey and Iran have been defeated in this war. But how they will bring it to a conclusion will be determined in the process to come. In other words, what kind of change and transformation they will experience will be determined.

Rêber Apo also evaluated these. In this context, especially when Devlet Bahceli made his statement and the environment in Turkey seemed open to this, Rêber Apo took the initiative and started developing a process. By evaluating this environment and conditions, he said that if favorable conditions are created, he can move the developments surrounding the Kurdish question from the grounds of conflict and war to the legal and political grounds. He wants to stop the conflict and war and pave the way for democratic politics and a legal solution and to develop a process that will realize a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish question. “I have the power”, he said. “I can develop such a solution; I can play a role here.” This is how he responded to the call made to him; he took the initiative.

The declaration made by the delegation on behalf of Rêber Apo reflects his attitude and the work that he carries out with hope, determination, and patience. It reveals how assertive, faithful, and determined he is. There is great self-confidence, sincerity, consistency, and a demand to work. He really wants to develop a process that will realize the solution of the Kurdish question on the basis of the democratization of Turkey and even the democratization of the Middle East. There is an intense effort in this direction. But of course, Rêber Apo will only be able to do this if the conditions for this are met. Who has to create these conditions? Those who keep the Imrali system alive, who maintain it, have to meet the conditions. Who created the system of torture and genocide of Imrali, and who has been maintaining it for 26 years? They need to abolish this system and prepare the conditions for Rêber Apo.

To those who say that the PKK should abolish itself: First of all, abolish the system of torture, isolation, and genocide in Imrali, the system that has brought Kurdistan and Turkey to a deadlock. The conditions must be created so that people can come, work and discuss. After that, one can have a look at whether the PKK will be dissolved or not. It is not the case that the PKK can simply be dissolved; all hell would break loose. The PKK is nothing of one state or another. What are they thinking? They would simply collapse the firmament on the people. Also, how will the Kurdish people’s free democratic life and participation in Turkey’s democracy be realized? An organization for this needs to develop.

The priority is to pave the way and create the conditions for Rêber Apo to freely engage in politics. In other words, the Imrali system must be abolished. This is necessary. But there is no such effort, no work from the governmental side. In the Imralie environment, they expect Rêber Apo to act as a servant and do whatever they want. This is not possible. As Demirel used to say – it is against the nature of things. Those who keep this system alive have to do this step for the process, for Rêber Apo to play his role. What will make them do this? The struggle will make them do it. The meeting on October 23 was a direct result of the struggle, and so was the meeting on December 28. They emerged as the results of the struggle in the

framework of the global freedom campaign. The struggle of the Kurdish people and their international friends is the only force that will lead those who maintain the Imrali system to change it and create development. Our people, the Kurds, the democratic forces of Turkey, women, and especially the youth should be very well aware of this. No one should expect that a solution, an agreement, will be made at the table, signatures will be signed, and everything will be resolved. No one should think that the struggle is over. There is no such thing. We are entering into a more complex, much more intense process of struggle. In this respect, much stronger organization, unity, and struggle are needed.

There is a necessity for much more sensitivity regarding all kinds of tricks and games against fascist special war attacks. Therefore, it is necessary to be organized and be united. One has to be very sensitive and cautious, and we must struggle until the end. The struggle must not stop. It is absolutely necessary to understand this process accurately, and, accordingly, it is inevitable that the solution will be achieved through our struggle. It will be through the struggle of the people. Therefore, we must assume responsibility, take on tasks, and lead this struggle. We must develop this in a sensitive manner and with the right ways and methods.

In this, the Kurdish youth and the women must play the pioneering role, and the Kurdish people must mobilize not only themselves but also their international friends. It is the democratic, left-socialist forces that have to play the most decisive role. Rêber Apo has also made calls on this issue. Turkey's democratic and left-socialist forces should take upon their responsibility and lead this process. This is about the democratization of Turkey, a democratization on the level of a revolution. All the left, socialist, and democratic forces of Turkey have to embrace this process more than anyone else. They should unite their struggles with the Kurdish people, youth, and women and take responsibility for the development of this process as a process of democratization in Turkey. Like this, the process will move forward. The Kurdish problem cannot be solved without the democratization of Turkey. There will be no solution in Turkey. Kurdish freedom and Turkish democracy are completely dependent on each other.

The ruling circles spit big notes such as "We defeated them!", "We broke them!", and "We will bury them!" This throwing around of empty slogans must stop. We are trying to show the sensitivity and attention required by the process. We really want this process, which Rêber Apo wants to develop with enthusiasm and excitement, to progress and be realized. We are making any effort for this. But society in Turkey and those circles must know that this will not work with these threats. Nothing will happen with those threats. The PKK leadership made a statement on this issue. We are always ready for war, and we are ready for peace. They should not play with the emotions and feelings of the Kurdish people and freedom forces. If they really want some change, if they truly love Turkey… In this period of collapse, these efforts of Rêber Apo are the last chance for the salvation of Turkey. If this is not utilized, there can no longer be such initiatives. Kurds do not lack options. The struggle over Kurdistan has intensified. There are many actors, not only the Turkish state. Kurds are related to everyone at one level or another. Kurdistan is the center of the struggle. No one can defeat the Kurds.

Rêber Apo strives for a solution based on the democratization of Turkey, and we are supporting this. A democratized Turkey will lead to a democratized Middle East. And a democratized Middle East will lead to progress in democratic and free life for humanity. We support this because we believe in it. It should not be assumed that this is the only option that we are in dire need. In this respect, no one should hold us responsible if there are negative consequences. Patiently, carefully, and sensitively, as a movement and as a people, we are acting in accordance with the requirements of these things. Despite all the attacks by the

ruling circles. They are arresting so many people, are forcibly appointing so many trustees, have developed so many conflicts with the CHP, are putting Turkey into different conflicts, and are constantly waging war. The war has never stopped. The war continues with full intensity in the Medya Defense Areas and in all parts of Kurdistan. There is not the slightest withdrawal. Everyone should be aware of this.

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# Kalkan: Guerrillas created the ground for Abdullah Öcalan to take the initiative

**ANF | Behdinan | 25 January 2025**

In the third part of this interview, Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council spoke about the role of the guerrillas in creating the ground for Abdullah Öcalan to take the initiative.

***What is the current situation in Medya Defense Areas? What has the guerrilla resistance contributed to the processes you described?***

The primary force driving Devlet Bahceli and other political circles in Turkey to form such a call or idea is the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom. This is certain. At the center, at the foundation and at the vanguard of this struggle is the sacrificial guerrilla war of struggle. Since August 15, 1984, it has been continuing in a heroic line. This struggle continued on the heroic line in 2024, centered on the areas of Zap and Metina. With comrades Asya and Rojger, the guerrillas once again showed everyone, friend and foe alike, that they have the power and capability to hit all kinds of Turkish targets, even in the center of Ankara. In 2024, Turkey added the KDP to the already existing AKP-MHP alliance, and then they added Iraq. They entered northern Iraq with the claim that they would eradicate everything that had something to do with the Kurdish question and the PKK. Tayyip Erdoğan himself said this. Throughout the year, they went everywhere with armored troops, carried out all kinds of attacks with the leadership and support of the Iraqi army and the KDP peshmerga. They said they were "closing the lock". For four years, this army has not been able to take down even one position. The whole army is attacking with everything. The guerrillas raised their resistance against this in dozens, hundreds of positions.

The war rages not only in the Medya Defense Areas, it is in every area of northern Kurdistan. War is not only in the mountains, but in the plains, in the city, everywhere. At different levels, against different targets, it continues according to their characteristics. Just yesterday, there was some criticism as to why there is no "war on terror". I think the Minister of Defense replied, saying: "Can't you see how many bombardments we have carried out? What more are we going to do?" In two days, there were 46 air strikes on the Medya Defense Areas. Not to mention the war on the other side. He asked: "What more can we do?" They can't launch a ground operation. All their talk about the "closed lock", that's all a story. They are stuck in the mountains like in a quagmire. The Kurdish mountains exhaust them, and the guerrillas crush them. Without Iraqi and KDP support, it would sweep them all away in a day. This is the truth of the matter.

The war and the clashes continue. Our central headquarters command and the press reflect the results of it on a daily basis. This is the situation. They are in a very difficult situation. There is nothing they can do. They themselves got stuck in a deadlock. This is the situation of the colonial and genocidal invaders in the Medya Defense Areas.

The guerrillas have a lot of power, and still a lot of potential. The areas are broad. The opportunities to renew and develop itself, to increase the grounds for war, to change the targets, to improve its style and tactics are many. In the coming period, if the war continues, it is necessary to see and expect that all this will further develop. Never to forget, it was the heroic guerrilla resistance in the Medya Defense Areas, particularly surrounding the area of Zap that led to the emergence of this situation and the collapse of the 'Collapse Plan'. The guerrillas created the ground for Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] to take the initiative. For this reason and on this occasion, I once again salute the guerrillas, congratulate their successes and commemorate all the heroic martyrs with respect and gratitude.

***Let's talk about the situation in Syria. The question remains as to how things will continue there. While most eyes are focused on Damascus, there is still an intense war going on in northern Syria, particularly at Tishrin Dam at the moment. The Turkish state has just bombed civilians there again, killing several people. What can you tell us about this war?***

We learned from the press that 6 people were martyred, and that 21 were wounded. There are daily attacks against the people there. And there has been great resistance in Tishrin for weeks. Indeed, the peoples of North and East Syria are making history. Under the leadership of the Kurdish people, they are waging an epic struggle, heroic self-defense. They are doing this with great courage and sacrifice, and they will succeed. The way forward for North and East Syria is clear. The Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria is the power that will be a model and be effective in the structuring of the new Syria. Therefore, this struggle, the bloodshed, the courage and sacrifice shown will triumph, yield results, and will not be in vain. I believe that both our people of Rojava and all the peoples of North and East Syria know this much better, I salute and congratulate their heroic resistance and commemorate all the heroic martyrs with respect and gratitude, by commemorating Bave Teyar.

The attack on Afrin attack was a crucial prelude to the attacks against now. The invasion attack on Afrin, that was launched on January 20, 2018, should not be taken lightly. Afrin resisted for two months against the NATO-backed attacks carried out by the Turkish Republic with all its might. It was a heroic resistance of honor. Liberation forces were created, that struggle for Afrins freedom, and their war still continues. I salute this great resistance once again on its 7th anniversary and commemorate the martyrs with respect and gratitude. I salute everyone fighting for the liberation and freedom of Afrin and wish them success. Afrin is a Kurdish city which has a very unique character. It is an area where anything can be done and any courageous sacrifice can be made for its liberation. The struggle for Afrin will never stop.

After Afrin, the Turkish state occupied Gire Spi and Serekaniye. Now it is also trying to occupy further areas, particularly Manbij and Shahba, with its own paramilitary forces and the so-called Syrian National Army. It is in an alliance with HTS. But the main thing is the occupation of the Turkish Republic. There are discussions about how Syria will be restructured, and what will be established after the Assad regime. This discussion is always over the SDF and the situation of the Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria west of the Euphrates. However, there is an occupying power in Syria. The Turkish state, the AKP government. It is the occupier in Afrin. There are Turkish flags and Turkish schools. It is

governed like a district of Turkey. Gire Spi is like that, and they are trying to govern Serekaniye like that. There is an occupation. Those who talk about what Syria will become must first take a stance against the Turkish occupation.

They are constantly launching new attacks. The SNA is an artificially created story. They are all fleeing and scattering. It can be seen on the news. The forces of the SDF, fighters of YPG and YPJ launched a number of attacks, and the gangs and mercenaries of SNA that were targeted were devastated and scattered. Immediately, the Turkish army stepped in. It started to launch non-stop air strikes, with both helicopters and warplanes, then again UCAV's. It has directed all its technical power there. Supposedly the SNA is fighting. This is just an artificially story, no such army is fighting. The fighting force is the Turkish state.

The Turkish state is attacking Tishrin, Reqqa and Tebqa. It has now passed Rojava Kurdistan and is attacking to occupy Syria. The Turkish state has commanded the fall of the Assad regime. It ensured the fall of the government of a UN member state. Doesn't this impose a responsibility on Turkey? Of course there is. No one discusses or evaluates this. It is wrong to attribute too much role to Turkey in the fall of the current government in Syria. Rêber Apo called the role of the Turkish state in the conspiracy "guardianship". In this last collapse of the Baath regime in Syria, the role of the AKP government was that of a jailer. It also wants to take ISIS members. It wants to save them. It wants to use them elsewhere. It has always pursued a blackmail policy based on these gangs or on the refugees. The AKP government has been prolonging its life and surviving with these policies for years. They say that if Erdoğan takes ISIS, he has already revived and mobilized. There are such rumors and it is very much reflected in the press.

Tayyip Erdoğan deceived and motivated his own public opinion as if he had won a victory in Syria. He declared a false victory. But no one is evaluating what the cost of this is for Turkey. That will be seen in the near future. They will see that it is very heavy, that Turkey is paying a very expensive price for Tayyip Erdoğan's policies. It is both an occupying and an aggressive force. The force called SNA has already failed to do what it was supposed to do. Now they want to do it with the power of the Turkish army and take Tishrin. Why? That is the power plant there. Erdoğan has his eye on economic resources. They either want to seize it or destroy it. They attack all the means of life of society, like wheat granaries, water tanks etc. And they also do not hesitate to massacre civilians. The civilian population is defending themselves valiantly. This is connected to Afrin. They paved the way for the occupation in Afrin. No one raised a voice. On the contrary, they supported it. And now it is massacring so many civilians. It is committing war crimes. Again they are silent. The world says nothing. Supposedly, he will take it and seize economic power. And he will have won a victory. He will have waged war. He will have waged a war and won a victory. The war in Tishrin has reached such a position. It seems that it is an event with much wider political consequences. It is often seen as a conflict in such a narrow area, but the violence of the war is very high, and its political impact is very high. It will probably determine the balance of power in the discussions on the restructuring of Syria.

They already claimed they had taken the Tishrin dam, but it was journalists, it were Nazim Dashtan and Cihan Bilgin, who exposed their lie. Therefore, they murdered them. The murdered them and hoped that no one else dared to speak up. They arrested those who stood up for them. Just recently they arrested six journalists in Turkey because they were defending Nazim Dashtan and Cihan Bilgin, because they were exposing these war policies.

***Is there anything else you would like to emphasize in conclusion?***

Attacks against the Medya Defense Zones continue, and so do the attacks against the civilian population in North and East Syria, namely at the Tishrin dam. Day by day the Turkish state is committing war crimes. Meanwhile, the forceful appointments of trustees to municipalities and to the Istanbul Bar Association continue. There is no end in sight regarding the waves of arrests. Tayyip Erdoğan used to say: "I come by elections – the will of the people." The will of the people has been forgotten. He now considers whatever is in his own interest, whatever will be his gain, to be permissible. There is a situation of constant attack. And while they are pushing all this forward, they show that Rêber Apo has taken the initiative and is making efforts to appease.

There does not seem to be any change. One would think that they think we have no idea about politics! On the one hand, they talk about peace and even put pressure on Rêber Apo to quickly become the creator of peace. On the other hand, they escalate the war on all levels. They continue the attacks by developing and spreading them. Is this the way it is? There will be no change? Do they have any credibility in this way? This is why public opinion is skeptical and concerned. In fact, we are propagandizing in order to destroy this anxiety and suspicion. Because we cannot get anywhere by looking with anxiety and suspicion.

Of course, there should always be sensitivity, but the important thing is to struggle, to develop something new through struggle. They say that nothing changes. We need to make this government unable to carry out those attacks through struggle so that we can pave the way for change. This government will not do anything. The struggle will do it, democratic forces will do it. We will pave the way for change by forcing the government. Change is crucial. Turkey has entered a process of change. Change must be based on democratization. The ones who make democratic change are the pioneers. And those who cannot change and democratize will either be destroyed or overcome. In order not to be destroyed or overcome, I call especially on democratic and socialist circles to understand the process correctly, to develop democratic change within their own structures, and to put themselves in a position to pioneer it, and I wish them success.

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# Sozdar Avesta: The government should take steps to show it wants to solve the Kurdish question

**ANF | 26 January 2025**

KCK General Presidential Council Member Sozdar Avesta spoke about the latest developments and emphasized that Erdoğan and the AKP are not clear.

***On December 28, 2024, a delegation of the DEM party had a meeting with people's leader Abdullah Ocalan in Imrali. During this meeting, Öcalan issued a 7-point declaration with concrete suggestions to pave the way for a solution and for achieving peace. How do you read the efforts made by Öcalan for this process? How is this process currently developing, and where is it heading?***

Before answering your question, I would like to draw attention to the current massive attacks against North and East Syria that are particularly focused on the Tishreen Dam. In the most recent attacks by the genocidal fascist Turkish state and its gangs, six very valuable and honorable patriots were martyred in one day. Among them was the Kurdish actor Bave Teyar (Cuma Xelil), who always knew how to depict the pain, happiness, beauty, and problems of our society with his art. Then again, Menice Haco Heyder, a member of the General Assembly of the PYD, who was one of the pioneering women in this resistance. I commemorate all of them with respect, love, and gratitude and offer my condolences to their families, to the Kurdish people, and to all peoples of North and East Syria. I also wish a speedy recovery to the wounded. These dishonorable and despicable attacks against the people show the whole world their level of hostility against the Kurdish people. Those who were martyred are the pioneers and heroes of our society. The enemy is taking revenge on the Kurdish people by killing the artists, intellectuals, politicians, and pioneers of this society. I strongly condemn these attacks.

Now coming to your question; as you said, the delegation went to Imrali on December 28, but of course, there was a process before that. On October 1, the president of the MHP, Devlet Bahceli, stretched out his hand to the MPs of the DEM party in the Turkish parliament. Since then, there have been many different discussions in Turkey and in northern Kurdistan. Then Rêber Apo's [Abdullah Öcalan] meeting with his family and later on with the delegation of the DEM party followed. All these are interconnected with each other and form this process. The discussions and the messages given by Rêber Apo are very decisive. The conditions in which Rêber Apo is living, especially since 2015, are severe and total isolation. All communication with the outside world has been cut off, and he is kept in a cell on the prison island. Despite this, Rêber Apo worked out seven points and formulated a declaration clearly formulating what needs to be done in order to achieve the solution of the Kurdish question and the problems in the Middle East. It is clear what the duties of the parliament, the political parties, the current government, and the party that represents the will of the Kurdish people in the legal field are. It is also fully clear what the position of Rêber Apo, who leads the people of Kurdistan and the revolution, is.

The Kurdish people and their international friends have struggled relentlessly for the Kurdish question to be discussed and solved in this way, and this struggle is still going on. The beginning of such a process itself is a result of this struggle. If the struggle had not been successful, if it had not spread to all parts of Kurdistan, if this resistance had not been carried out, if the true face of the genocidal Turkish state had not been exposed, such a process would not have emerged. Over the period of the past ten years, they have been terrorizing the people of Kurdistan, their international friends, and democratic politics.

In the meantime, the Turkish state and the AKP government have given this process a name; they call it 'Turkey without Terror'. Comrade Helin Umit and a few other comrades have already underlined in recent interviews that it is us who strive the most for such a process to get rid of terror, because we have been subjected to the terror of the Turkish state more than anyone else. The people of Kurdistan, particularly the women, and the other oppressed peoples know what kind of terror the state is carrying out. For more than one hundred years there has been terror in Kurdistan. If it were not for this state terror, maybe there would not be a need for such a process today, because perhaps there would have been no need for

the Kurdish people and the freedom movement to take up arms. Why did it come to this point? At the beginning of the movement, there were no weapons; it did not use violence as a method of struggle. When the Kurdish people needed to defend themselves, they took up arms and used them to defend themselves. Weapons were not taken to invade other people's countries and oppress them; on the contrary, Kurdistan was invaded, plundered, and genocide was practiced against the Kurdish people. The people were displaced from their lands, and all methods of oppression were used. That is why the freedom movement resorted to arms to defend the people. Rêber Apo has been struggling according to this line for 40 years to achieve a solution. Although armed struggle was waged, Rêber Apo was always in search. The weapon was a tool to come closer to the solution of the Kurdish question. For example, in 1993, during the Turgut Ozal period, a process started with the mediation of Jalal Talabani. Rêber Apo was determined, strong and believed in himself then as he does now. He took a stance, but Turgut Ozal was poisoned and killed by the deep state, which was not in favor of a solution, and so back then, they set an end to the process.

Rêber Apo evaluated all the previous efforts and processes well, drew conclusions, and stated that he was ready for a solution. We know that he has gathered all his power for the solution of the issue and the success of the process. The declaration consisting of seven points needs to be seen in this light. The delegation went and met with all political parties of the parliament within this framework, and positive statements were made, but no practical steps were taken. One of the first steps that needs to be taken is for the parliament to step in. The parliament has to convene, and a commission needs to be established, but no such discussion is taking place. The press is solely serving the special war and is mostly talking about whether the PKK will lay down its arms today or tomorrow. And it does this using a dirty and poisonous language. They want to contaminate and obstruct this process with such attacks. These are those who sustain themselves through war, those who gain rent, and those who are enemies of the peoples. Great struggle must be waged against this. They discuss everything, but they do not discuss Rêber Apo's rights. If they really want to develop a solution, Rêber Apo's conditions must be improved immediately. The isolation must be fully abolished. Rêber Apo must be physically free. His security and health conditions must be ensured so that he can carry out the process. Rêber Apo must be able to share his ideas with journalists and address the public. Rêber Apo is the interlocutor, but he is in isolation and cannot speak. This is the reason why all the discussions going on at the moment make no sense, because they are only one-sided.

The AKP government is not clear. The delegation that met with Rêber Apo also drew attention to this and stated that the state has no clear position yet. Rêber Apo's conditions must be improved in order to clarify all these and develop a solution. The government must give up its dirty language and instead respect and approach the process seriously. If they do not approach the process in this way, no matter what they say, they will not get results. Because the discussions are not serving a solution. As I pointed out before, this state terror must stop immediately.

They are arresting journalists, are attacking North and East Syria and the guerrilla, and are continuing the isolation of Rêber Apo. His lawyers and family have been requesting meetings every week, but they are not allowed. At the moment, a global campaign is being carried out for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. This is the demand of the Kurdish people and their international friends. Dozens of renowned people have sent letters to the Council of Europe for them to play a role in ensuring Rêber Apo's free participation in the process. This struggle must continue. No one should make the mistake of thinking that just because there are meetings with Rêber Apo and discussions on the process, the global campaign for Rêber Apo's physical freedom has achieved its goal. Thinking like this would lead to bad results; on the contrary, the

struggle must be increased even more strongly. The global campaign for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo must be developed with richer methods, actions, and activities.

***In 2015, there were also efforts to solve the Kurdish question; a declaration was issued back then on February 28, but Erdogan later broke the process by saying that he was not aware of such a thing. That is something your movement is always dragging attention to, but you also highlight that the Kurdish people are stronger than ever. In your perspective, how can an outcome like the one in 2015 possibly be prevented?***

For our movement and our people, our representative and interlocutor is Rêber Apo. Rêber Apo has stated that he is ready, and he has prepared a seven-point declaration. The question is how ready the power in front of him is for a solution. It is necessary to focus on this point. In 2015, the declaration announced at the Dolmabahce Palace by the then HDP delegation and the government officials created hope among everyone that the Kurdish question would now be solved. But Erdogan and the AKP were more concerned with their own interests. They made some statements about a solution, but they still haven't convinced themselves in terms of mentality. They are not taking risks. They have a wrong understanding. They think that a solution might weaken them, but on the contrary, those who solve this question that has existed for over a hundred years will be the greatest and strongest leaders of the region. If an honorable peace is achieved between the Kurdish and Turkish people, Turkey and Kurdistan will become the rising star of the Middle East. The basis for this is ready. The freedom movement has never had a problem with the Turkish people or the peoples of the region. Despite all the violence against our people, the freedom movement has always been the movement of the peoples, internationally, and has played such a role.

Now, however, it looks as if Erdogan is once again essentially thinking about how he can win another election. He recently gave a speech to this effect at a meeting of his party. He also went to Amed (tr. Diyarbakir) and spoke there about the history of the Kurdish and Turkish people, among other things. He also went to Riha (tr. Shanliurfa), where he basically made Ibrahim Tatlises declare his candidacy for the presidency. He is such a pragmatist and manipulative person; he is hypocritical to our people and to public opinion. Every day after he makes a statement, he makes polls to see if his vote has dropped or risen. He also sacrificed the previous process to his power. At the group meeting, he said that he has instructed his friends to do the necessary work. This raises many questions, of course. Is this instruction for the solution of the Kurdish question or to complete the genocide? Is this the instruction for the attacks against our people in North and East Syria? Ideas and actions must complement each other. The attacks they conduct drive forward the war and genocide. The continuation of this shows that this is their mentality. Nothing is clear in the process so far; on the contrary, there are many contradictions. There have been many statements of the Kurdish people, the freedom movement, the PKK, and the KCK. All underline the necessity of this process and that Rêber Apo is its interlocutor.

Surely, conjunctural approaches also play a role in this process. Since November 27th, the developments in the Middle East, especially the change of the Syrian regime and the presence of many hegemonic powers in the region, have created different balances. Kurds are one of the main actors in the formation of these balances. In his last interview, comrade Cemil Bayik stated the position of our movement very clearly. Of course Kurds are not without alternatives, and of course Kurds are not helpless. For 40 years they have been waging armed struggle, for 52 years they have been gaining consciousness due to the struggle and leadership of Rêber Apo. It is well known where the Kurdish people have come from. The Kurds and their freedom movement did not want to take up arms. That is something one needs to drill on. One needs to assess in the course of what, as a consequence of what, the PKK finally decided to take up arms as a last re-

sort. For example, when comrades Kemal, Hayri, Mazlum, Sara, Akif, and Ali went on a fast unto death in the prison of Amed, were they armed? It was 1980; the PKK had not yet started its armed struggle. But the state used such violence. It denied the Kurdish people the right to live and massacred them. That's why the Kurdish people took up arms to defend themselves, to protect their very existence.

If they really want to solve the issue, they must take steps and approach it more seriously. They should not come with threats, blackmail, and repressive rhetoric; the Kurdish people have had enough of that. The state has been using this language for 40 years. These threats do not help anyone. Both the freedom movement and Rêber Apo read this process correctly and want to improve the brotherhood of the peoples and the democratization of Turkey. One of the seven points Rêber Apo draws attention to is the democratization of Turkey. Turkey's democratization can only be achieved by recognizing the rights of the Kurds, recognizing the rights of the oppressed, and changing and transforming the Republic. This Republic has existed for one hundred years based on the denial of the Kurds. Approaching the Kurdish people with the same dirty language and the same mentality does not help anyone, and they will not get results in this way.

As the freedom movement, our stance on the solution is clear. As the movement and the Kurdish people, we will continue our struggle for freedom no matter what. There is no reason to step back in the struggle. But it is also not right to say that nothing is changing, that the statements and negotiations are completely empty. We are in a conjunctural process. It is still possible that this becomes a solution process, a process of the peoples. Rêber Apo gives it a great chance. The address is right; going to Rêber Apo, taking him as an interlocutor, and putting him into action is correct and a positive approach, but the basis on which this develops must be filled in. Nothing can develop on nothing. As early as 2015, Rêber Apo was saying: "If you want me to play a role, you need to amend the constitution and need to pass the necessary laws." Devlet Bahceli said: "Let him come and speak in the parliament". For him to be able to come to the parliament, the parliament needs to first of all take a step and needs to pass a law. Conditions must be created for Rêber Apo to play his role. He has a map, a plan to solve the Kurdish question, and believes in himself. The current government and other political parties need to pave the way for a solution. Civil society, women's organizations, and the whole society can play a positive role in this process. The ground for this is prepared. Discussions have been going on for two or three months; the whole agenda is shaped around these discussions. This is crucial, but as I said, some people still want to manipulate the essence of this agenda, and this should not be allowed. This must be prevented, and therefore a great struggle is necessary.

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## Sozdar Avesta: Kurdish people are resisting genocide

**ANF | 27 January 2025**

In the second part of this interview, KCK General Presidential Council Member Sozdar Avesta spoke about the resistance of the people of Kurdistan and the 26th anniversary of the capture of Abdullah Öcalan.

***On the one hand, there are positive efforts for this process to proceed in the right direction, but on the other hand, there are also approaches that are far from a solution. In this course one has to mention the attacks on North and East Syria. The Tishrin Dam is being targeted and bombed incessantly, and this is taking place in front of the eyes of the whole world. How do you evaluate this brutality of the Turkish state against the people, the invasion attacks and the unprecedented resistance of the people in Rojava against all this?***

Once again, I respectfully and with all my love greet the months-long resistance of our people in North and East Syria and gratefully commemorate all the martyrs. Since December 8, the attacks on North and East Syria have been intensified. In the past, it was ISIS that attacked Kobane and Shengal with great hatred, and today the same brutality is being inflicted on our people at the Tishrin Dam in front of the eyes of the whole world. The people get their electricity and water from this dam. That is why the Turkish state and its gangs and mercenaries want to take or destroy it. It attacks the dam as part of its genocidal concept. The people, regardless of age, and particularly women, are standing guard at the Thishrin Dam in this cold, in the middle of winter. And still, the Turkish state is carrying out such immoral attacks. It is bombing and massacring people who are dancing and tries to break the will of these honorable, strong-willed people. In Tishrin, once again it is revealed that no power can break the will of an organized people. The will of an organized people is greater than any power.

Our people there, Bave Teyar among them, in many interviews said: "We are greater than death". This people who have chosen freedom have defeated death and fear. What power can defeat this people? They know that they cannot defeat the people, yet they continue the genocide. Public opinion remains silent against these attacks. The fascist Erdogan is supposedly brokering a ceasefire in Gaza, but what is the difference between the people of Palestine and Kurdistan, Northern and Eastern Syria? On the one hand he is doing this, and on the other hand he is massacring a people. There is a so-called new power in Syria, HTS, and in front of their eyes the people of Northern and Eastern Syria are suffering a genocide. But they have more relations with Erdogan. Can they ensure unity between the peoples in this way? Can they defend the unity of Syria? It is their mentality that creates the real disintegration, their brutal attacks against this will. The people of North and East Syria show what democracy is, how a free co-existence of peoples and beliefs can look like, and what democratic confederalism and democratic nation are.

Among those who were martyred were also members of the Zenobia Women's Council, both Kurdish and Arab women. Already when the attack on Manbij took place, they deliberately targeted and abducted members of the women's council of Manbij. With these attacks, they are taking revenge on the paradigm of women's liberation. It is the mentality of ISIS. The mercenaries of ISIS were saying that they must prevent being killed by the hands of women in order to go to heaven. They have such a dark mentality. And they want to make those the governors of the new Syria.

The resistance of the people against this is very important. They are going to Tishreen as human shields; they are not leaving their lands, they are not migrating, and they should not migrate. With this stance they have demonstrated the patriotic stance of the 21st century. They are waging a revolutionary people's war.

Our people in northern Kurdistan took important actions from the beginning. They started to hold vigils in Nisebin (tr. Nusaybin) and Pirsus (tr. Suruc), they organized marches in many places, but these are not enough. They should embrace the resistance in North and East Syria stronger, everyone should mobilize in the face of this resistance and increase their struggle. Our people in southern and eastern Kurdistan, as well as in Shengal and Europe, must also more strongly embrace the resistance. The peoples of North and

East Syria are going through a struggle of life and death. By the destruction of the dam, the enemy wants to put the peoples of North and East Syria through a great disaster. Therefore, our people must take a stand against these attacks wherever they are. What is being done is not enough. The peoples of North and East Syria must not be left alone.

The coalition forces are right there, and they are issuing daily statements, but these people are being massacred in front of their eyes. Could they not prevent the Turkish state and its gangs from further attacking? It could easily prevent it. It could establish a no-fly zone. The Turkish state and its gangs cannot fight against the freedom fighters on the ground, so they are constantly attacking from the air. The coalition forces must fulfill their duty. Twelve thousand people gave their lives for this struggle. The resistance and heroism of the Kurds, the peoples of North and East Syria, are well known. And it is neither moral, conscientious, nor humanitarian to remain silent while all this is happening, solely for their own interests. On the one hand, the Turkish state is trying to break the will of the peoples of North and East Syria and destroy their gains, on the other hand, it talks about wanting a democratic Syria.

Once again, the peoples of North and East Syria, especially women and youth, are showing a very honorable stance and resistance. This is the stance of freedom, this is the woman in struggle. Kongra Star, the Zenobia Women's Council, the Syrian Women's Council, the defense forces of YPJ and SDF, and the peoples of North and East Syria are taking an honorable stance and represent a common will. We draw strength from their honorable stance. They are resisting not only for North and East Syria but for all humanity, for the freedom of all women. If this ISIS mentality prevails in the region, no one will be safe. That is why the resistance in North and East Syria must be given much more support. A limit must be put on the Turkish state and its gangs and mercenaries. It is impossible to put this burden only on the shoulders of the Kurdish people. The people of North and East Syria, regardless of their age, continue the legacy of Bave Teyar, Menice, Muzaffer, Kerem Ehmed, and all those who gave their lives within this struggle. Before they had even held the funerals of their martyrs, they again suffered two martyrs and many wounded in new attacks. It is their struggle and resistance that will bring upon great success.

***We are gradually approaching February 15, the anniversary of the abduction of people's leader Abdullah Öcalan. Although a process has been initiated, he still is under severe total isolation. What should be done in order for the struggle to reach its goal?***

This year, February 15 marks the 26th anniversary of the international conspiracy. Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] has been a prisoner, a hostage, for 26 years. The purpose of this conspiracy will be discussed more widely this year. At that time, Rêber Apo said: "The aim of this conspiracy is to start a war between the Kurdish and Turkish people that will last for centuries; a war in which both the Kurdish and Turkish people will lose". The anniversary of the international conspiracy also marks the 100th anniversary of the revolt of Sheikh Said and his friends. The Kurdish people have been struggling for their freedom in different ways and methods for a hundred years. The PKK, the freedom movement, has also developed in this vein. The method, mentality, and ideas are of course very different, but the Kurdish people have been resisting for a hundred years. The Republic of Turkey has a hundred-year history, and the Kurdish people have a hundred-year history of struggle.

What makes this year's anniversary so specific is the fact that Rêber Apo is in this process. There is a lot of talk about the upcoming February 15. It is said that Rêber Apo will make a call. As the people of Kurdistan, the international friends of the Kurdish people, all democratic forces, women, youth, and all parts of

society, we must bring the struggle against isolation to its peak on February 15 and make it the basis for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo. This is crucial. These are symbolic days in world history. We can turn February 15 from one of the darkest days in history to one of the brightest shining. Rêber Apo's ways and methods are like this. Wherever there is despair, he creates great hope. He illuminates where there is darkness. He achieves great gains at a time when it was believed that there was nothing left. Rêber Apo's ways and methods have brought the struggle to the present day and achieved great gains.

I believe that the period we are in will create a difference for the freedom struggle of the people of Kurdistan, women, and all peoples. But we must not wait for anyone to take initiative and must increase our own struggle. There are some actions planned in this regard, such as the long march led by the youth in Europe. Kurdish organizations abroad have done some symbolic actions this year. For example, there is the action of 26 people from 26 cities who will walk for 26 days. I salute all those who participate in these actions. Such colorful protests should be organized everywhere. Everyone should support the move developed by Rêber Apo in order for the process to succeed. Those who will lead this are our struggling people and the international friends of our people.

Regarding the global freedom campaign for Rêber Apo and the solution of the Kurdish question, it is necessary to make preparations for February 15, to turn that day into a great success, a great day of freedom, a day when Rêber Apo's physical freedom is achieved. There is still some time, but there mustn't be any procrastination, preparations must be made, and all kind of actions must be taken and organized. They wanted to make this century the century of genocide of the peoples, but Rêber Apo wants to make it the peoples' spring, the century of freedom for the peoples, women, and all humanity. This process can provide a great breakthrough in this regard. Everyone must play their role in this process, which needs to be pioneered by the women and the youth.

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# Besê Hozat: Conditions must be created for Abdullah Öcalan to play his role

**ANF | 29 January 2025**

Besê Hozat, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the current discussions regarding the Kurdish question and said that the right conditions must be created for Abdullah Öcalan to play his role.

***How do you assess the current atmosphere and situation in Turkey at a social and state level in view of the ongoing discussions regarding the possible development of a democratic process towards a solution to the Kurdish question? And also in this context, what do you think of all the demands that are being made of the people's leader, Abdullah Öcalan, who is currently expected to make calls in various directions?***

After the delegation of the DEM Party went to Imrali, it made important efforts to share the messages and proposals of Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] with the parliamentary parties. And the statements that resulted from those efforts and meetings were positive and affirmative. There has been a positive atmosphere in Turkey among Kurds, Turkish society, and all democratic forces. An optimistic atmosphere that a demo-

cratic solution to the Kurdish question was created, a hope was created that a meaningful and honorable peace process would develop, that this genocidal war would end.

However, the government has not developed an approach that nourishes and strengthens this atmosphere, that supports these initiatives of Rêber Apo, that strengthens these optimistic feelings and thoughts of the Kurdish people, the democratic public opinion, and the people in general. So far, there has not been any concrete step. The main aspect that is necessary for the development of the process, for the democratic solution to the Kurdish question, for the democratization of Turkey, and for the end of this war is, of course, the lifting of isolation. The conditions for Rêber Apo's safety, health, free living, and working conditions must be created. Without these conditions, it was not possible for Rêber Apo to play his role, to work, to work freely, to make calls to society, or to send messages to the Kurds. For us, these always remain the main questions: Have the conditions of Rêber Apo changed? Has the isolation been lifted so that he can freely address the public, address the Kurds, and convey his views to the outside world? Can he communicate with whomever he wants – his lawyers, his family, politicians, various political circles that want to meet, civil society organizations, democratic mass organizations, and so on? And right now, the answer to all this is still no. So can Rêber Apo make a call under these conditions of total isolation? Can any call that is being made under such conditions of total isolation and harsh torture really have validity? It cannot be possible. How can a call be expected from Rêber Apo, and how can he be asked and expected to address the public openly while being held hostage under such circumstances?

There is no comparison worldwide and historically to his situation. How was, for example, Mandela enabled to play his role? How did the solution and peace process in South Africa develop? It happened by changing Mandela's conditions. Mandela was given free living and working conditions. He was able to interact, communicate, meet, discuss, share his thoughts, make his calls, and convey his messages to everyone without restriction. Everything in South Africa developed after the conditions of isolation were lifted. A very strict isolation is being imposed on Rêber Apo. For more than 25 years without interruption, the absolute isolation, the system of torture and isolation against Rêber Apo, has been maintained, and now he is expected to make calls and change the situation without these conditions changing, only in the course of one or two meetings. These expectations are unwarranted and inappropriate. In order for Rêber Apo to work freely, share messages, and make calls, the isolation must be lifted immediately. The conditions for Rêber Apo's health, safety, and free life must be ensured. And it is not about a temporary situation, but about it being permanent. Laws must be passed in parliament to formalize this. This is how an end must be set to isolation.

More than 25 years have passed. According to international law, the ECHR, and the international convention on human rights, Rêber Apo has the right to exercise the so-called 'Right to Hope'. The isolation must be lifted, Rêber Apo must be released, and he must be enabled to work freely and live physically free. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe has taken a decision in this direction. It has given Turkey one year to make legal changes and to set this in praxis. This was a crucial result of the struggle that was developed in the course of the global freedom campaign aiming for the physical freedom of Rêber Apo and the democratic solution of the Kurdish question.

Right now, everything is being demanded of Rêber Apo without him being granted any of it and without him being able to exercise his rights. This is not an acceptable situation. Rêber Apo's most basic legal right cannot be a subject of bargaining. Parliament must now act legislatively and ensure that Rêber Apo can exercise his 'Right to Hope' before it demands anything from him. Isolation is a crime against humanity. It is

a violation of the law. At the moment, Turkey, with this isolation system, is trampling on international law and the international conventions to which it is a signatory. This is a crime against humanity and must end immediately. Rêber Apo's most basic legal right cannot be negotiated. Therefore, the parliament must convene immediately and pass a law. It needs to make legal arrangements and create the conditions for Rêber Apo's free life and work. Only like this will the initiatives of Rêber Apo find a result and reach a conclusion.

The struggle for this needs to be waged strongly. It is obvious that the current AKP government is trying very hard to sabotage and provoke these initiatives. At the moment, for example, a very serious concern and suspicion about the practices and policies of the current government is being discussed both among Kurds and in many democratic circles in Turkey. Does the AKP really want to create this kind of atmosphere and climate by paving the way for these talks? The global freedom campaign, the guerrilla struggle, and the people's resistance have put a serious strain on this government. It is facing serious pressure and blockage at home and abroad. The general geopolitical developments in the region have added to this. It has created a serious state of anxiety about falling from power and panic in the Turkish state and the current government. Various possible effective actions, actions of the guerrillas in this process, will accelerate this collapse and make it more difficult. Is the government trying to weaken this through its approach?

During this phase, the government is struggling with severe setbacks and is working hard to cover these up. The ruling media is waging an intense psychological special war, trying to deceive everyone. Every day they publish headlines like: 'The PKK Is Finished', 'The Kurds Will Surrender' or 'We Will Bury Them With Their Arms'. With this kind of propaganda, the government is trying to cover up its own failure. It tries to create a perception as if it has won, as if the PKK has been defeated, as if the Kurds have been defeated, and is trying to regain power.

On the other hand, it seems like they are trying to create such a perception in order to pit the opposition against the Kurds, to deepen the existing and create even more contradictions and conflicts, to deepen polarization. They are creating confusion on this issue and developing concerns and suspicions among the opposition within the system. They are thereby trying to disrupt the intra-system opposition, especially the rapprochement between the CHP and the DEM Party, the rapprochement at the grassroots, the alliance against the forceful appointments of trustees to municipalities that had been elected by the people, and furthermore. They are developing a process with the aim of completely fragmenting the opposition, pitting them against each other, and completely isolating the Kurds and the forces of democracy. This approach and attitude are based on turning especially the secular nationalist section against the Kurds. And while they are working on this, they uninterruptedly continue their genocidal attacks with all intensity.

The government is currently in a stance and attitude that does not inspire confidence, that creates confusion, and that does not create credibility or trust with its approaches, policies, and practices. And the ruling media is also completely following the government. Its special and psychological warfare is very intense.

Of course, the ongoing discussions have a meaning. They should not be underestimated at all. But in the current situation, the AKP government feeds on war. It is provoking war wherever it can. The current government doesn't want the war to end, neither does it want the Kurdish question to be solved on a democratic basis. Because if the Kurdish question is solved on a democratic basis, the war will end. This government feeds on war, chaos, and crisis. It feeds on polarization and enmity. If the Kurdish question is solved

on a democratic basis and Turkey is democratized, there will be no more war, no more polarization, no more injustice, no more problems of democracy, no more problems of justice, and no more lawlessness. The sources it feeds on will dry up. Since it has built its entire policy on war, crisis, and chaos, it thinks that it will fall when these are gone, it thinks it will end. That's why it is constantly warmongering. It is Kurdish-hostile and continues its attacks everywhere. There are countless people arrested every day, and the genocidal war and occupation, particularly against Rojava and South Kurdistan, never loosened. It is constantly deepening the war, and particularly special psychological warfare.

And this is no longer limited to the Kurds. The government is attacking all democratic forces in Turkey, and it has also started to attack the liberal forces, the opposition within the system, and anyone who speaks out. The artists who participated in the Gezi protests are now being arrested one by one. It is exerting a very intense repression against them. It is forcefully appointing trustees to municipalities that have been elected by the people. This isn't limited to Kurdistan anymore. Now the government is also appointing trustees to CHP municipalities under the pretext of corruption. In some places, they do not yet dare to take this direct step and discredit the elected representatives instead. That is why people no longer trust the government.

Rêber Apo is making valuable efforts. It is also recognizable that there are approaches in the state that support and advocate this. Despite the government, there is a tendency within the state towards a democratic solution to the Kurdish question. That is something that Rêber Apo also sees, and he wants to strengthen and nurture this tendency. He is putting all his strength into it. It is necessary that we do not leave the responsibility for this solely on his shoulders and that we also not oversee this tendency developing within the state. During the AKP's time in government, there have been moments from time to time when such tendencies have increased within the state itself. This was the case in 2005, for example. But the AKP always exploited this tendency for its own interests, for the interests of power. It turned it into a political tool, and it also turned these efforts of Rêber Apo into a political tool, instrumentalizing them. In the end, it always suppressed and liquidated that tendency within the state and gained power from all of them.

The process that took place between 2013 and 2015 did not differ in any way in this respect. The AKP exploited and instrumentalized that process purely on the basis of its own interests. Now, what should be done to prevent the same fate, the same circle, from happening? What can be done to prevent a failure again? It is necessary to support the ongoing efforts strongly. All parts of society, all democratic mass organizations, civil society organizations, all democratic and oppositional forces, people of all ethnicities and beliefs, particularly all women and young people, who are in favor of democracy, peace, justice, equality, and freedom, should embrace this process and play a role in it. They must struggle for the success of this process. This process is crucial. Accordingly, it is required to unite all strength, cooperate, and carry out a holistic struggle for peace and a democratic solution. Everyone should support the initiatives of Rêber Apo and should strengthen and support these searches within the state. In order for this process to succeed on the basis of the solution to the Kurdish question, on the basis of the democratization of Turkey, for it to yield results, everyone must participate in this process with all their strength.

There have been some messages in this direction. There have also been positive messages from the political parties of the parliament. But making statements and giving messages is not enough. The government is creating serious confusion, and this is reflected in the editorial policy of the media close to the opposition. Its rhetoric fluctuates from positive to negative, sometimes supportive, sometimes totally dismissive. Rather than a language that develops, nourishes, grows, and helps this process to achieve results, a lan-

guage that sabotages and provokes, and thereby serves the government, has become prominent in the ruling media and some opposition media. This needs to be overcome. If justice, peace, and democracy are to come to Turkey, the democratic solution to the Kurdish question is the way to this. And it is through the democratization of Turkey. The root cause of all the problems in Turkey is the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question. The main reason why Turkey is so oppressive, fascist, and antidemocratic is the lack of a solution to the Kurdish question. It is genocidal policies and war. The society in Turkey needs to grasp this now. The opposition needs to grasp it with all its depth. It is necessary to disrupt these games of the government. And this is solely possible through a common, united, and integrated struggle.

***It was said that the people's leader, Abdullah Öcalan, will send a direct message to your movement. Can you confirm that this is the case?***

So far we have not received anything from Rêber Apo. Neither was there a direct message, nor a letter. But we are waiting for that. What I can say is that as soon as something reaches us directly from Rêber Apo, we will discuss it together and act accordingly. But as I said, nothing has reached us yet. But we believe that something will come and we are expecting it.

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# Hozat: Öcalan seeks a democratic solution to the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey

**ANF | 30 January 2025**

In the second part of this interview, Besê Hozat, co-chair of the KCK Executive Council, said that "the Kurdish question has yet to be solved, and Turkey has not democratized. As long as it continues to be like this, there will be weapons, there will be resistance, and there will be struggle."

***The state draws the current focus of discussion on the armed struggle and the ongoing war. The state calls on you to lay down arms. Why did your movement consider it necessary to take up arms back then, and why do you still see a need to do so today?***

Because of the existence of the Kurdish question, there is an armed struggle. If there were no policies of denial and annihilation, if there were no genocidal policies and warfare, if there were no extermination and assimilation of the Kurds, of course the armed struggle would not have developed. The PKK would not have been established. The establishment of the PKK, the beginning of the armed struggle in 1984, the fact that such a glorious struggle has been going on for nearly half a century, growing steadily, despite heavy costs, is due to the fact that the policies of denial and annihilation against the Kurds have not been overcome. It is because the Kurdish question is not solved on a democratic basis. This is the main reason for the armed struggle. It still continues today, because the reasons why it was necessary to take up arms have not disappeared.

The Kurdish question has yet to be solved, and Turkey has not democratized. As long as it continues to be like this, there will be weapons, there will be resistance, and there will be struggle. How can the Kurds be

left defenseless while the Kurdish question remains unsolved? There is a genocidal war against the Kurds, a war of extermination. Without ending the denial and annihilation, without ending the genocidal policies and war, the Kurds cannot take down their defense. Were all these heavy prices, all these gains, all these values, the value of freedom, created in vain? Of course not. As long as this genocidal war continues, as long as the policies of denial, annihilation, and genocide continue, as long as the Kurdish question is not solved on a democratic basis, armed resistance and armed struggle will continue. This is clear. The Kurdish question will be solved, and it will happen in democratic conditions. When the state puts forward a serious goodwill, a serious policy, and a solution policy, when it sits down with Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] and negotiates this issue on the basis of democratic conditions, then, of course, the issue of weapons can and will be discussed.

Weapons were taken up because of the existence of this question. All of these discussions currently being carried out in the ruling media are psychological special warfare. The impact of the freedom struggle, especially in recent years, created by the global freedom campaign, the level of struggle that has emerged, the serious strain this has created in the government and the state, and the anxiety and fear created by the developments in the region have created a complex and serious situation. Now they have reached such a point that they try such an effort. They are trying to gain power from this process. In order to cover up their failures, the current government and its media are approaching them extremely frivolously, narrowly, pragmatically, and self-interested. They summarize all that is going on in one empty headline, saying, 'The PKK is finished. Öcalan will make a call, and they will lay down arms.' The current government and its media are in a non-serious attitude that aims to completely gain power and instrumentalize the current process with a very frivolous, narrow, pragmatic, and self-interested understanding. This has no basis whatsoever and is far from reality. Right now, Rêber Apo is working in Imrali for a democratic solution to the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey. He works intensively. If this process develops, if the Kurdish question is solved, the issue of weapons will of course be discussed. The statements of all state officials and the press regarding the war have no real equivalent. They are saying these things to cover up their own failures, to hide the truth from the public and society.

The AKP government is going through the weakest period in its 20-year history. It is in the process of collapse. Politics in Turkey has collapsed, the economy has collapsed, the law is underfoot, and there is no justice. There is a serious moral decay in society. There was the recent fire in a hotel in Bolu, Kartalkaya. The hotel did not even have an alarm system. 78 people burned to death. This is a complete massacre. It is said that 45 of the dead were children. This is a very painful situation. This situation shows the true state the government is in.

I would like to take this opportunity to offer my condolences to the families of those who lost their lives and wish a speedy recovery to the wounded. It is a really sad situation. The anniversary of the February 6 earthquake is approaching. Hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives. Total cities were leveled to the ground. Millions of people today are still living in a miserable situation. They cannot find a morsel of bread, cannot find a house to live in, and some even cannot find a tent to sleep in. This government has brought Turkey to this point.

All of Turkey's income, resources, and economic opportunities are spent on the war. The result of forty years of armed struggle is obvious. The result of this genocidal war on the Kurds is obvious. Four trillion dollars have been spent, and this is only the amount they openly admitted. All resources were spent on

this. Not only economic resources; the little bit of law that still existed in the country was also eliminated. Justice disappeared; everything disappeared. They destroyed Turkey.

Turkey is facing a serious collapse, a breakdown in domestic and foreign policy. In order to cover this up, the government is creating an atmosphere as if it has come out of this process with great success. They speak about how the PKK was defeated, that it will lay down their arms, or that if they refuse, they will bury them with their arms. The government is trying to make people believe this with such demagoguery, trying to deceive and fool everyone. But what is the reality? The truth is it covers up its failure with these discourses. The truth is that this current government policy is over, exhausted, and bankrupt. The winner is the democratic will of the struggle of our people and all peoples.

The fact that the current agenda, this current process, was started is entirely the result of the revolutionary democratic struggle and resistance. So the reality is not what the government claims. There is no basis for what they are saying; there is nothing tangible about it. They are all lies. It has become a government of lies. Their statements should not be taken seriously.

***Can you put the Kurdish question for us into context? What is the solution project that people's leader Abdullah Öcalan is working on? What is the focus, and how can it be achieved?***

The policies of Kurdish denial and annihilation, and the process of dividing Kurdistan into four parts, began with the First Cairo Conference. It was in fact the first Cairo Conference that laid the groundwork for the following, more prominent, Lausanne Conference. The decision taken at the Cairo Conference was for the hegemonic system to establish dominance over the region on the basis of the unsolved Kurdish question. And so the policy of Kurdish denial gradually developed in the following years. In Lausanne, this was formalized. The infamous Lausanne Treaty was signed in 1923, three years after the first Cairo Conference. A Kurdish trap has been created with the Cairo Conference and the Treaty of Lausanne. The Kurdish question was left unresolved, and a state of war was created with policies of denial, annihilation, and genocide. In this course, the Turkish state has been kept in a state of war with the Kurds uninterruptedly. This situation has been a constant source of nourishment for the hegemonic system. They used Turkey on this basis to dominate the region. The system took advantage of this dependency and constantly deepened the crisis. This is what Rêber Apo called the 'Kurdish Trap'.

Of course, this was not only a trap for the Kurds. In fact, as our leader also stated, it was a trap for all the peoples. And the peoples were lured into a trap, subjected to a conspiracy. Now Rêber Apo wants to break and overcome this trap. He wants to completely overcome it on the basis of the democratic solution of the Kurdish question, the democratization of Turkey, and the democratization of the region, and thereby to eliminate this conspiracy. He is making a very intense effort in this direction.

Now, this is actually a 32-year struggle. In 1993, the search initiated by our leader with the first unilateral ceasefire was an attempt in this direction. Over time, this process developed and matured. Today in Imrali, these ideas have reached a system based on the paradigm of the democratic nation, on women's liberation, and on an ecological and democratic society. This is extremely decisive. Rêber Apo is currently working on this paradigm. He wants to solve the Kurdish question based on it. As far as we are able to follow it right now, especially from the results of the talks, we understand the following: Rêber Apo is working on the relationship between the state and democracy and is trying to create a solution on the basis of a democratic society. The main question is how the state and democracy can co-exist. How the relationship between the

state and democracy can be regulated. And how this relationship can be given a legal and constitutional basis.

Democracy is a form of administration of society. The state, on the other hand, is an instrument of hegemonic pressure on society as a whole. How can a sensitivity to democracy be created now, especially in a country like Turkey, which has a fascist, genocidal, and monist state? How can the state's relationship with self-administration, the governance model of a democratic society, be regulated? How can the law, legislation, and constitution of this relationship look? As far as we understand, Rêber Apo is currently deepening his answers to these questions. He is trying to develop a model of a democratic society. Without rejecting the state, he is working on a model of self-administration that is intertwined with the state and respectful of each other and that guarantees the rights and laws of both sides in a legal and constitutional manner. As far as we understand from all we hear, including the last two meetings with Omer Ocalan and the DEM Party delegation, Rêber Apo is concentrating on such a solution model. He wants to negotiate this solution model with the state and is making very serious efforts in this regard. Moreover, he is making a very intense effort not only for the democratization of Turkey but also for the democratization of the region, including, for example, Iran and Syria. Always with the question in mind on how the imperialist and capitalist games on the peoples of the region can be frustrated. Rêber Apo is spending a lot of effort and energy on all these questions. We follow and observe this. Anyone who examines the prison writings of Rêber Apo in depth, will comprehend what kind of solution model Rêber Apo is focusing on.

The state is currently in serious hesitation. It knows that this process cannot continue like this. No matter what it does, it cannot suppress this movement and struggle. It is not possible to stop the Kurds' quest for freedom. Today, there are highly conscious, strong-willed, organized, and politicized Kurdish people all over the world and in the four parts of Kurdistan. There is an organized struggle. This is deepening and becoming a culture and tradition. This situation is deeply rooted in every cell of Kurdish society, and it is not possible to liquidate it. For this reason, the state is currently in a search. However, at the current stage, there is still no complete acceptance. There is a serious war. One of the main reasons for this war, this fight, and these attacks is the state's uncertainty and hesitation. Therefore, what is essential is the struggle of the Kurds, the peoples of Turkey, and the democratic forces, and within them, particularly the women and young people. With a strong and comprehensive struggle, the state can be forced to take a clear position and move towards a solution. A strong and holistic struggle is essential for this.

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