THE İMRALI POST

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

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Freedom for Öcalan – Peace in Kurdistan

Norway Red Party MPs nominate Ilham Ahmed and Shervan Shervani for the Nobel Peace Prize

ANF | OSLO | 12 October 2025

Norwegian Red Party (Rødt) parliamentarians Seher Aydar and Mimir Kristjansson nominated Ilham Ahmed, co-chair of the Department of Foreign Relations of the Autonomous Administration of Northern and Eastern Syria (AANES), and Shervan Shervani (Şervan Şervanî), who has been imprisoned in KDP prisons since October 2021 for his journalistic activities, for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Red Party MP Seher Aydar nominated Ilham Ahmed for her efforts to promote peace, dialogue, and women's rights in the region.

Aydar highlighted Ahmed's attempts to bring different sides of the Syrian conflict into dialogue and to build a common future without distinction of ethnic or religious identity. Known especially for her struggle for women's rights, Ilham Ahmed has gained international recognition for organizing and empowering women under wartime conditions.

Seher Aydar said: "Awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to Ilham Ahmed would contribute to the global recognition of the multicultural, democratic, and egalitarian system in Rojava." Emphasizing Norway's tradition of peace and human rights, Aydar said that her country should take a more active role in supporting peace initiatives in the region.

Journalist Shervani in prison for exposing corruption

Red Party MP Mimir Kristjansson also nominated journalist Shervan Shervani, who is imprisoned in South Kurdistan (Bashur) for his struggle against corruption and for freedom of expression, for the Nobel Peace Prize. "Kurdistan deserves a peace prize. Shervani is not only a symbol of the struggle for Kurdistan's freedom but also of resistance against corruption and oppression," Kristjansson said.

The MP expressed hope that Shervani's nomination would inspire political prisoners both in Kurdistan and across the Middle East. Emphasizing the importance of press freedom, Kristjansson said: "Democracy is impossible in Kurdistan without a free and critical press. Norway must raise its voice on this issue."

Kristjansson also underlined that the peace prize should not be given to powerful state leaders but to those who pay a price for freedom and justice, saying that "this award should go to the brave people who resist authority."

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Philosopher Critchley: I fully support the Kurds in defending a non-nationalist form of belonging

ANF | 12 October 2025

British philosopher Simon Critchley sent a message of support regarding Abdullah Öcalan's "Call for Peace and Democratic Society", stating the following:

"Abdullah Öcalan's Call for Peace and a Democratic Society on 27 February 2025 came at a time when the drums of war were beating across the globe. I believe this call represents an inspiring breakthrough for anti-capitalist and opposition movements. While dissolving the organisation he founded, Öcalan also proposes an ideological transformation and, as a democrat who believes in the power of words, chooses public imagination over weapons.

I fully support the Kurds, one of the world's largest stateless nations, in defending a non-nationalist form of belonging. I hope that Öcalan's conditions are rectified as soon as possible and that the paths for his active participation in democratic politics are opened."

Since 2004, Critchley has been teaching philosophy at the New School for Social Research in New York, focusing on Continental philosophy, the history of philosophy, literature, ethics, and politics. He has served as a visiting professor at the Universities of Nijmegen, Sydney, Notre Dame, Cardozo Law School, and Oslo. In recent years, Critchley has increasingly focused on the possibilities of developing an anarchist-inspired leftist politics.

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Prof. Lemkow: The release of Öcalan and political prisoners should be the first step in the process

SERKAN DEMIREL | 13 October 2025

As debates on a democratic solution to the Kurdish question continue around the 'Peace and Democratic Society' process initiated by Abdullah Öcalan, international support for this process also continues to grow. In a period when militarization is increasing globally, especially in the Middle East, experts from various social backgrounds emphasize the importance of Kurdish People's Leader Abdullah Öcalan's freedom for the success of the process and the conduct of negotiations on equal terms.

One of these experts is Prof. Louis Lemkow Zetterling, a sociologist at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. ANF spoke with him about the current peace and resolution efforts in Turkey regarding a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, Öcalan's role, the future of democracy, and the role of the international community.

Imprisonment despite the process is unacceptable

Emphasizing the importance of Öcalan's peace initiatives for a democratic solution to the Kurdish question, Prof. Lemkow said: "After more than forty years of armed struggle and thousands of deaths and injuries, such a process should be seen as a major step forward. I think it is very meaningful. This is undoubtedly the first step toward a solution. It is still at an early stage, but it is truly an important beginning. Hopefully, it will lead to tangible results. One can be optimistic, because this is the first serious step linking the parliamentary process directly to the peace process."

Highlighting that it is unacceptable for Öcalan to still be forced to lead this process from prison conditions, Prof. Lemkow said: "Öcalan's isolation for 26 years is unacceptable. This is a clear violation of human rights. At the same time, Öcalan is a very important figure in Turkey, especially as a symbol of resistance for the Kurdish people. He has also presented significant ideas about how to achieve peace and a form of autonomy for the Kurds. It is unacceptable that he remains imprisoned despite this role."

The PKK's 12the Congress decisions are significant and meaningful

Commenting on the importance of the PKK's 12th Congress decisions, Prof. Lemkow said: "These decisions are in line with the process Abdullah Öcalan seeks to develop. The PKK's decision to dissolve itself is a very important step. Similar developments have occurred in other contexts, such as in the Basque Country.

I believe this decision is very important. Clearly, there seems to be an understanding between Öcalan and the Congress. I know there are concerns about this, but personally, I don't think they are well-founded. It could be argued that the Kurdish people might become more vulnerable, but I don't think that will be the case.

Disarmament is a highly important initiative that strengthens the Kurds' position. It also clearly demonstrates their desire and determination to advance toward peace."

Öcalan's freedom should be the first step to take

Criticizing the Turkish state for not taking concrete steps despite the Kurdish Freedom Movement's initiatives, Prof. Lemkow said: "There are concerns about whether the Turkish state is serious or not. However, the establishment of a parliamentary commission is, as I said, a first step. But in my opinion, an amnesty and the release of prisoners—especially Öcalan—would be a very significant move.

Such steps have been taken in other conflicts before. As I mentioned, every conflict is different, but I believe such a gesture or initiative—an amnesty and the release of prisoners—would be extremely important and would definitely contribute to the peace process."

International support is crucial

Stressing that international pressure on the Turkish government is necessary for the success of the process, Prof. Lemkow said: "Pressure from international civil society is important. It has certainly been important in past conflicts. For example, in the horrific situation in Gaza, the mobilization of international civil society condemning the role of the Israeli state has been significant and has had an impact.

It is important to raise wider international awareness of what the Kurdish people are facing. Every form of activism that amplifies this message can support the process. Of course, it is difficult at the moment because the Kurdish situation is somewhat overshadowed by what is happening in Palestine. But I think it is essential to continue. Continuing to spread awareness of this process and seeking international civil society support worldwide is vital. I stand in service of the Kurdish people in this regard."

The presence of an observer force is important

Prof. Lemkow emphasized the importance of having an international observer force in the process, adding: "One of the keys to conflict resolution is international mediation. The role of third parties has often been crucial. While each conflict must be compared carefully, lessons can still be learned. Every conflict has its own history and dynamics, but analyzing them remains important. Mediation played a vital role in Ireland and the Basque Country. Along with international mediation, an amnesty or the release of political prisoners would also be significant."

Öcalan's critique of Marxism is valid

Addressing the importance of Öcalan's ideas and his critique of Marxism, Prof. Lemkow said: "I think there are different forms of Marxism. For example, there is academic and analytical Marxism, which remains an important and valid tool for analyzing the dynamics of society. But there are also Marxist traditions with a very explicit political framework, such as Marxism-Leninism in its various forms.

Of course, all of these ideas require a critical approach. Like any social theory, problems arise as history progresses. Society changes, and we begin to see these transformations in different ways. Sometimes ideas developed in a certain era no longer provide real answers to contemporary questions. Therefore, I think

Öcalan is right in believing that certain aspects of Marxism, especially some of its interpretations, may no longer be very useful."

Presenting important theories

Prof. Lemkow noted that Öcalan has proposed significant theories, and added: "Öcalan offers a different alternative with his ideas. Through his thinking, he presents critical perspectives on both highly centralized state socialism and capitalism. The Soviet model failed, so his critical approach to that model is understandable. Öcalan criticizes centralized state systems because he recognizes that they create serious problems for minorities. We see this issue in many parts of the world. For instance, in Spain, Catalans and Basques have faced difficulties and exclusion under a centralized system.

But there are different solutions and alternatives. In some cases, political parties in Catalonia or the Basque Country advocate independence and the creation of their own state. Others argue that Spain should become a plurinational state. There are different options. Spain's reality differs from that of the Kurdish people. Öcalan is developing an approach based on the reality of his own people. The Basque or Catalan models can serve as examples, but I don't know how they would apply to Turkey and Kurdistan."

Current democracies are in crisis

Prof. Lemkow also pointed out that representative and liberal democracies are in crisis and that alternative models should be considered: "Today, democracies are undoubtedly in crisis. But these crises in liberal democracies are cyclical. They rise and fall over time. Currently, the crisis is reflected in the rise of far-right, xenophobic, and racist parties in many European democracies.

This certainly reflects some failures of liberal democracy. Examining different models is both interesting and important. But I believe a democracy with a parliamentary center remains essential.

Despite many shortcomings and problems within parliamentary dynamics, it is still the least bad option among existing systems. It allows for a degree of participation. And of course, many people on the left, like myself, believe it can be improved by developing systems that expand participation even further.

This is, of course, a personal opinion. But I think expanding participation and creating more ways for people to be directly involved in the process is an important alternative.

There is a structural problem in political parties historically. Very often, the internal dynamics of parties — even those on the left — give rise to oligarchies or leadership cliques. The party apparatus is often made up of unelected officials who make most of the decisions. I think this situation leads people to lose trust in political parties and the parliamentary system.

Nevertheless, I believe political parties and the parliamentary system remain important. But we must acknowledge the need for significant changes and improvements."

Who is Louis Lemkow Zetterling?

Prof. Louis Lemkow Zetterling is an academic specializing in environmental sociology and sustainable development. He is a professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), where he studies the relationship between society and the environment, environmental risks, sustainability policies, and social inequalities. His research focuses on climate change, social inequality, the social impacts of biotechnology, and environmental justice. Prof. Lemkow actively participates in international academic networks and has published numerous works on these subjects.

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Peter McLaren: I salute the courage of those who have chosen words over weapons

ANF | 13 October 2025

Canadian-American scholar Peter McLaren sent a message of support regarding the Peace and Democratic Society Process. In his message, McLaren said the following:

"I speak not as one who claims authority over the lands that stretch between the Tigris and the Bosporus, but as a witness from afar—an intellectual who still believes that the human spirit was born for dialogue, not domination; for freedom, not fear. I believe, with all the marrow of my mind, that free thought and democratic debate are not the inheritance of any single nation but the shared heartbeat of humanity itself.

Therefore, I raise my voice in solidarity with all who, beneath the Anatolian sun and in the mountains of Kurdistan, dream of peace. I salute the courage of those who have chosen words over weapons, who have decided that history shall no longer be written in blood, but in the ink of reconciliation.

This moment—this fragile, trembling, sacred moment—was born of a handshake. A gesture so simple it could be missed by the cynical, yet so profound it may alter the fate of a people. When Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, extended his hand to Kurdish politicians, he did not merely clasp fingers; he bridged decades of sorrow. And when Abdullah Öcalan, from the isolation of İmralı Prison, called on February 27 for peace and a democratic society, his words crossed the waters like a dove released into a storm—bearing not naivety, but the defiance of hope.

For over forty years, the Turkish and Kurdish peoples have been bound together by a chain of grief—each link forged in war, distrust, and loss. The mountains have echoed with mourning songs, and the soil has been heavy with the silence of those who could no longer speak. It has been an open wound in the heart of the Republic, a wound that no amount of denial could close.

And yet—here, now—there is a chance. A window cracked open after decades of darkness. A whisper that peace is not a fantasy but a duty to the living and the dead alike. I have been asked, from my distant corner of the West, to join the chorus of those who are heartened by the news that dialogue has begun. I respond not with the arrogance of a commentator, but with the humility of one who knows that human suffering is universal. For

though I am far, I have watched with sorrow the long unfolding tragedy of this conflict—the way it has scarred generations, the way it has become a lesson in what happens when politics forgets humanity.

But now, in this fragile dawn, there is the sound of possibility—a murmur of awakening across the ancient plains. The call from İmralı, the handshake between enemies, the quiet prayers of mothers who have buried their sons—all these together form a symphony of courage that defies despair.

Let the world not turn away. Let us all—intellectuals, workers, poets, and politicians—stand with the Turkish and Kurdish peoples as they attempt the hardest of human tasks: to forgive, to listen, to live together anew. Let this be not only a peace between two peoples, but a sign to all nations that democracy is not the possession of the powerful, but the promise of the human race.

The rivers of Anatolia have seen empires rise and fall; they have witnessed the arrogance of kings and the patience of peasants. But perhaps now, they will witness something greater still—the birth of a peace that belongs not to the victor, but to the voice.

May that voice grow louder. May it thunder across the world until it drowns out the drums of war."

McLaren is a globally recognized educational theorist, writer, and academic, best known for his work in the field of critical pedagogy. His studies focus on issues such as educational inequality, class struggle, racism, cultural identity, and ideology, and he is particularly noted for his critiques of capitalist education systems. Influenced by the ideas of Latin American educator Paulo Freire, McLaren has become one of the leading figures in introducing Freire's concept of "liberating education" to the Anglo-Saxon world.

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Youth organisations present solution proposals to the commission

ANF | ANKARA | 16 October 2025

The National Solidarity, Brotherhood and Democracy Commission, which continues its meetings within the framework of the Peace and Democratic Society Process, is holding discussions with young people and women regarding a solution to the Kurdish question.

The commission heard from the Youth Organisations Forum (GOFOR), which is made up of 57 different youth organisations, as well as from the National Youth Foundation and the Anatolian Youth Association.

GOFOR member Hasan Oğuzhan Aytaç said that young people do not trust the process or the commission. Aytaç said, "The relationship of trust between young people and the political establishment has unfortunately come to an end. During the first peace process, the very people who were asked to contribute were later prosecuted because of those contributions. Today, we will sadly conclude this meeting without feeling safe."

Pressure erodes trust

Aytaç said that young people are losing their lives because of this unresolved issue, yet there are no young representatives at the table or within the commission. Aytaç said, "There is no representation of young people in Parliament and even if all young deputies in Parliament were members of this commission, they would still be a minority. Yet unfortunately, we do not see a single young deputy here. How are young people supposed to be subjects of this process? For young people to be agents of peace, they must be included in this process and allowed to debate it with their peers. For example, it means that young people must be able to discuss peace at university. Peace must be spoken about there; the road to peace must be built among students. But what is happening at universities today? There is growing repression. For years, universities have been placed under siege under the pretext of 'terror' and 'security'. After 2015, when rectoral elections were abolished and trustees were appointed as rectors, every method was used to suppress the university movement. If three students come together, they face the threat of disciplinary investigation."

Demand for equal citizenship

Aytaç underlined that equal citizenship is essential and said: "For us, democratisation means equal citizenship. Today in Turkey, the biggest obstacle preventing young people from being equal citizens is Article 58 of the Constitution. But the demand of young people for equal citizenship cannot be resolved by changing only Article 58. Because a single article cannot change the warning whispered into the ear of every Kurdish child: 'Do not speak Kurdish at school.' The struggle against the systematic discrimination faced by Kurdish youth must be expanded into all areas of life. First, they must be able to receive education in their mother tongue at school, and they must be able to access all public services in the language they are educated in. Combating discrimination in every aspect of life must become a priority duty of public institutions. Young people who are excluded from political life are also being pushed out of social life due to the lack of an effective struggle against drugs. This issue must not be seen solely as an individual health problem but also as a socio-political matter. Despite this reality, the budget allocated by the Ministry of Youth and Sports for combating drugs amounts to only 0.02 percent of the ministry's total budget."

Aytaç also referred to the approaches used in resolving conflicts in Ireland and Colombia, noting that young people there established councils, their peace-focused projects were supported, youth peace laws were enacted, and young people were made subjects of the process.

GOFOR's demands for the process

Aytaç listed GOFOR's demands regarding the process and a democratic solution:

* A National Youth Council must be established in accordance with universal standards to ensure the active participation of young people and youth organisations in the process and to enable access to public resources. This council must be civil, founded by youth organisations and recognised by the state.

* Young women must be actively included in the process, and additional mechanisms must be created to ensure they become agents of peace. Public funding must be allocated for youth organisations to carry out projects on peace and combating discrimination in order to socialise the peace process.

* Article 58 of the Constitution must be revised so that young people are not seen merely as a group in need of protection but are guaranteed active and equal citizenship in social life.

* A Youth Rapporteur mechanism must be established in Parliament (TBMM) to assess the impact of legislative decisions on young people. Law No. 2911 must be rewritten in line with Article 34 of the Constitution to remove barriers to the right to assembly and demonstrations. Charges against young people who are punished for exercising their freedom of expression and organisation must be dropped.

* The Anti-Terror Law No. 3713 must be amended so that peaceful social media posts or activities by young people are no longer treated as "propaganda". All non-violent forms of expression must be excluded from criminalisation. The articles under "Crimes Against Public Order" in the Turkish Penal Code must be revised to guarantee freedom of expression for young people.

* Regulations introduced under Law No. 7418, known as the Disinformation Law, must be repealed to guarantee freedom of expression and press freedom. The Higher Education Law No. 2547 must be amended to ensure university autonomy, and barriers to the organisation of student clubs and associations must be removed. University rector elections must be reinstated and student representative boards must be independent.

* Mother-tongue education must be guaranteed at all levels of education. The national education curriculum must be revised to include courses on social peace, coexistence and multiculturalism.

* The appointment of state trustees to municipalities must end immediately. The Municipality Law No. 5393 must be amended to make the establishment of youth councils in municipalities mandatory, forming the local dimension of the peace process. Employment policies must be developed for thousands of young people who joined the army as contracted soldiers due to unemployment during the conflict. Their right to education must be protected and psychosocial support must be provided.

* Reintegration and rehabilitation programmes must be implemented for young people who lay down arms. The right to education, return to school, vocational training and employment support must be essential components of this process. A comprehensive student amnesty must be introduced for young people who were unable to complete their education for various reasons, including convictions under terror-related charges.

* A comprehensive psychosocial intervention plan must be created for young people who grew up in conflict zones, those who laid down arms, young soldiers who served in security forces, young political activists released from prison, and those who suffered trauma due to forced displacement or the loss of loved ones in the conflict.

* Law No. 7179 on Military Conscription must be reviewed and an alternative civilian service must be introduced. Young people must be able to access civilian service options without ideological or conditional barriers. A youth-focused truth commission must be established to record human rights violations experienced by young people and document the stories of those who lost their lives.

It is a matter of justice

The National Youth Foundation and the Anatolian Youth Association also made a joint presentation. They stated that the Kurdish question has been on the agenda since the Ottoman era and became more visible with the citizenship model constructed after the founding of the Republic. The joint presentation continued: "As a result of the continuation of incorrect policies, recent developments such as the Uludere (Roboskî) massacre, the 6–8 October events and the trench clashes have deepened the social wound. The issue we face today is not merely a 'security problem'; it is a multi-layered matter of justice with historical memory, sociological roots and religious and cultural dimensions. Following the Sykes–Picot Agreement (1916), the division of Kurdish lands among Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria carried the issue beyond national borders. Today, millions of Kurds live not only in these four countries but also in the Turkic Republics, Europe and the United States."

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Prof. Sandro Mezzadra: Democratic Confederalism could be an alternative to the global capitalism

SERKAN DEMİREL | 16 October 2025

Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan, who has been held under severe isolation conditions in Imrali Island Prison for 26 years, has spearheaded the "Peace and Democratic Society" process, which is gaining increasing support and resonance at the international level. Statements from various social segments and international circles welcome the steps taken by the Kurdish Freedom Movement towards dialogue and resolution. In this process, strong calls are being made for the Turkish state to take concrete steps on the political and legal levels to make peace lasting and meaningful. It is emphasized that for the process to succeed, Öcalan's conditions for negotiation must be met and his freedom must be secured.

This process has also led to the democratic, ecological, and feminist paradigm championed by Öcalan and the Kurdish Freedom Movement for years gaining wider recognition and visibility. These ideas, shaped around the perspective of peace and a democratic society, are seen as a promising alternative not only for the Kurdish people but also for all the peoples of the Middle East and the world. This paradigm, which is increasingly being discussed, is emerging as a new alternative to the current crises.

ANF talked to Prof. Sandro Mezzadra, a political scientist from the University of Bologna, about the importance of the process pioneered by Öcalan and the theoretical and political significance of the ideas championed by the freedom struggle. Noting that the process is of great importance at the global level, Prof. Mezzadra stated that this initiative could be seen as a complementary step to the paradigm developed by Öcalan against nationalism.

First of all, thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to speak with us. I would like to begin with the ongoing peace process between the Turkish state and the Kurdish Freedom Struggle. How do you assess this process?

Thank you very much for having me. I think the peace process in Turkey is a really important moment, both in the history of Turkey and considering the regional dimension, which means what is happening also in Syria, in Iraq and in the greater Middle East, we can say. So, regarding the internal dimension of the peace process, I think from the point of view of Kurdish politics, it is a great accomplishment, a kind of fulfillment of the critique of nationalism that started several years ago, particularly in the thought and in the writings of Abdullah Öcalan.

Today, we are facing a new rise of nationalism in many parts of the world, and this is the reason why I find the peace process and the Kurdish post-national politics so important. And I repeat, this is, of course, valid regarding Turkey, but also very important regionally and I would say global implications.

In a period marked by increased militarization and war rhetoric globally, particularly in the Middle East, how should we evaluate Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan's stance in favor of peace and negotiations and his insistence on this stance?

Well, precisely for the reasons you just mentioned, we are living through a kind of global conjuncture of war, even beyond the devastating wars that are fought on the ground, including the genocide in Gaza.

And we are kind of facing processes of militarization of politics in many parts of the world. And it's precisely in such a conjunction that speaking of peace is very important. Speaking of peace and qualifying the meaning of peace.

Peace is not only the absence of war, but also a kind of political project to organize social relations and social cooperation in a way that is not compatible with war and militarization. So, it is from this point of view that I think the peace process is really important today in Turkey, in the region and beyond.

You pointed out that the ongoing process in Turkey has regional and even global significance. So, considering the experiences of conflict processes around the world evolving towards peace and resolution, how do you position this process towards a democratic solution to the Kurdish issue?

Yes, I mean, I think it is not easy to compare this peace process with other instances that remain important points of reference, of course.

But I think there is a peculiarity in the peace process that was launched by Kurdish politics in Turkey. And this peculiarity has to do with the very specific kind of conjunction that we are living through at the international level. And the peace process is taking place with all the difficulties that we know in a country that is trying to play an important role in the current crisis of the international system, and in particular of the Middle East.

Turkey is an important actor in the negotiations surrounding the ceasefire in Gaza. We know this. So, you see that there is immediately this kind of link between the internal dimension and the region.

I think that the peace process is kind of pushing toward a new social and political constitution of Turkey that would allow the country to play, let's say, a positive, progressive role in the region beyond nationalism. It's very strong in Turkey. Exactly, yes.

But I think that the peace process has a kind of alternative to nationalism, as a kind of attempt to criticize nationalism from within Turkey, but also in the regional dimension that, I repeat, is very, very important. Think of Syria, for instance. But think also of the role of Turkey, I repeat, in the negotiations on Gaza.

Abdullah Öcalan criticizes the nation-state as a repressive structure and proposes Democratic Confederalism, a model of self-organization based on direct democracy. You also analyze sovereignty in your academic and theoretical work as a concept that has fragmented and transformed beyond borders. Do you think Democratic Confederalism, as advocated by the Kurdish movement, could be an alternative to the global capitalism or nation-states that you criticize?

Well, the short answer is yes, but I think some qualifications are needed. I share the critique of national borders, which is part and parcel of the project of democratic confederalism. What I think we need to say is that democratic confederalism outlines some general principles, starting from self-government, feminism, ecology, and these are general principles that, taken together, foreshadow an alternative to capitalism.

But the point is that the translation into practice of these principles is necessarily different in different contexts. So I think that it is important to keep in mind that democratic confederalism has deployed a huge influence well beyond Rojava and even the Kurdish world. But this influence invites us to engage in an attempt to forge creative solutions, what I called before the translation into practice of the general principles that many movements in the world share with democratic confederalism.

Abdullah Öcalan defines capitalist modernity as a comprehensive system and proposes Democratic Modernity as an alternative path. You also examine the logic of capitalism through its functioning (logistics, data, control of mobility). In your opinion, what kind of social or political practices can truly break the hegemony of functioning capitalism?

First of all, we have to focus attention on struggles. Without struggles, it is very difficult to imagine an alternative to global capitalism. So we have to look at the way in which struggles emerge at the very point in which global capitalism reorganizes its circuits of accumulation.

And I think that there is a very general point to be made here, which means that the alternative, as you say, to global capitalism must be an internationalist alternative. It means that the kind of resonances that I was mentioning before, speaking of democratic confederalism, are key to the forging of an alternative. The need that we face is to intensify this kind of resonance, this kind of communication, if you wish, which is also, as I was saying, a translation in order to forge a kind of general alternative vision that then again has to be indigenized, if you wish, has to be translated into a very specific context.

I think this is a very important task for us today. And maybe we also have to go beyond the language of internationalism, because the language of internationalism is predicated upon the nation, of course. So maybe we also have to invent new words, new concepts.

But to work toward the definition of an alternative vision at the transnational, transcontinental level is very, very important. And I repeat, I mean, the travels around the world of democratic confederalism have been very important in this respect.

The popular uprisings we are seeing today, primarily in Europe but also in many other places, reveal that representative or liberal democracies are failing in many places. How can we explain the crisis facing liberal democracies? Are people without alternatives?

The crisis of liberal democracy is not something new. It has a history. And to reply at the general level of the question, I would say that the transformation of capitalism over the last decades is a very important factor if we are to explain the crisis of liberal democracy. You know what is usually called the neoliberal hegemony that took shape in the late 70s, early 80s, in a way has eroded the traditional, even the institutional framework of liberal democracy.

And nowadays, we are facing a radicalization of this crisis at a moment in which neoliberal hegemony is itself at the end of its historical path. And this end of neoliberal hegemony, that would need qualification too, is something that the social movements and leftist intellectuals have kind of dreamed of for decades. But it is taking place in forms that are very different from the ones we have been wishing for.

And these forms are connected with a new authoritarianism that takes different kinds of shapes in different places, but in a way is a kind of unifying thread.

If you had the opportunity to engage in direct dialogue with Abdullah Öcalan about the transformations of capitalism or the construction of alternatives, what question would you ask him or what issue would you discuss with him?

Well, I think the questions that I was addressing at the beginning of our conversation which made the political relevance of the critique of nationalism at the juncture between the internal Turkish dimension and the regional dimension. I would very much like to engage in a discussion with him.

And I really hope it will be possible soon.

Who is Sandro Mezzadra?

Italian thinker Sandro Mezzadra, a professor of political theory at the University of Bologna, focuses on migration, borders, globalization, and the current transformations of capitalism. In his works "Border as Method" and "The Politics of Operations", he analyzes the functioning of capitalism through logistics, data, and mobility. Prof. Mezzadra, who has gained worldwide recognition for his theoretical work, approaches borders not merely as geographical lines, but as a methodological tool for understanding struggles over labor and freedom. Furthermore, as part of the “operaismo” and “post-operaismo” tradition, he offers intellectual contributions on contemporary social movements and alternative forms of politics.

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DEM Party: The parliamentary commission must engage with Öcalan

ANF | ANKARA | 17 October 2025

Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party) Spokesperson Ayşegül Doğan evaluated the current developments on the agenda during a press conference held at the party's headquarters.

A historic period

Ayşegül Doğan stated that Turkey is going through a historic period for the democratic and peaceful resolution of the Kurdish question. Doğan said: "We said, 'Let us achieve success by solving this together.' The steps taken during this process are very important steps for the democratization of Turkey and, of course, for achieving a lasting peace. These are highly valuable gains. We regarded every stage as a very important opportunity for the democratic solution of the Kurdish question, the establishment of social peace, and democratic rights. The issue we are talking about is delicate and fragile. We are talking about human life. When we say it is a deep and rooted issue, this is exactly what we mean. We are talking about a conflict that has continued for years. We are talking about being able to breathe together. From the very beginning, we tried to be unifying. From the very beginning, we tried to warn those who seek division. We said, 'Do not do this. Do not pursue political ambition, personal gain, profit, or seat calculations on such a delicate and fragile issue.'"

Attacks are not a coincidence

Ayşegül Doğan also emphasized the importance of the language used during this process and continued: "We have been extremely sensitive about using a language that embraces society, unites people, and does not marginalize anyone. We made calls on this matter. We stated how the language of this period should be. We underlined, in particular, that the language of this period cannot be confined within a security-oriented framework. The language and method Turkey needs in this period must include dialogue, solution, peace and democracy. For days there have been those who have tried to lynch the DEM Party. For days there have been those who are disturbed by the fact that the DEM Party is a founding subject, a founding political actor in this process. Therefore, there have been attacks against us. Are these a coincidence? No one can convince us that this is a coincidence. We know that this is not a coincidence. We know that this is the work of an organised and calculated mindset."

We must speak out louder against racism

Doğan said, "Everyone knows that we have enough experience not to bow to these pressures. However, we want to once again call on the public in Turkey, on political parties, and on human rights defenders to take responsibility. This is not solely the responsibility of the DEM Party. We are the political movement that has struggled at the forefront for Turkey's democracy. But we must grow here and our voice must be stronger. We must speak out more powerfully against racism and hatred. We must fight more strongly. There are those who try to exploit the situation through opposition to the process. Criticizing the process is one thing and we also criticize the process. We also have criticisms. We voice our criticisms at every

stage. We say: 'The design could have been different, the commission could have avoided spending so much time on hearings, it could have already met with Mr. Öcalan by now, different segments of society could have been heard, the process could have been socialized, more courageous steps could have been taken,' and we still demand these things. These are our criticisms as well, our shared concerns. However, we also know that there are those who display categorical opposition simply because we criticize the process. And we know the roots that feed this categorical opposition. We also know the intention of those who act as though we are unaware, who pretend that because the DEM Party is part of a process, it does not raise its voice enough or struggle sufficiently against anti-democratic practices in Turkey. We will fight racism together. We will fight hate crimes together."

The commission must find a formula for Imralı

Ayşegül Doğan continued: "The commission must find a way, a formula, for Abdullah Öcalan's views to be conveyed to the commission because it is responsible for this as well. The commission says it wants to end the conflict. Mr. Öcalan is not only a founding leader, he is also the founding force of peace and a democratic solution. If they want to know why he is a founding force, they should go and ask him directly, listen to him directly. They should not waste Turkey's time. No one should waste Turkey's time. True patriotism, true love for this country, true devotion to this land is this, not racism, not the language of hatred."

Censorship allegation is a distortion

Doğan added, "We cannot speak on behalf of Öcalan. We can only convey his views to the public to the extent that we are informed. Our delegation visits Imralı and holds meetings. They provide us with certain briefings within the framework of those meetings. We already share these briefings with the public. Now I ask: is it possible for someone who, despite 27 years of isolation, proposes a democratic solution, speaks of democratic integration, presents this to Turkey as a program, reminds us how valuable this is for the peoples of the Middle East, and represents the founding force of peace, would such a person ever demand censorship or embargo? I ask you, would that be possible? It would not. This is a distortion."

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Öcalan: The state must take a step on the "Right to hope" which affects thousands of prisoners

ANF | ISTANBUL | 17 October 2025

Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan, who has been imprisoned on the Turkish prison island of Imrali since 1999, emphasized the importance of the "right to hope" during his most recent meeting with his lawyers. A statement issued on Friday by the Istanbul-based Asrın Law Office, which represents Öcalan legally, said that Öcalan sees the legal implementation of this principle as a task for the state—with far-reaching significance beyond the individual case.

The statement by Asrın Law Office said the following: "On October 13, 2025, we met with Mr. Abdullah Öcalan and our other clients at Imrali Island Prison. During this visit, we exchanged information regarding our clients' conditions and legal situations. We would like to share Mr. Öcalan's thoughts and assessments regarding the establishment of peace with the public.

During the meeting, Mr. Öcalan's legal situation was one of the primary and important topics of discussion in the context of the European Court of Human Rights' decision on the right to hope. As is known, following its most recent session on September 15-17, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe once again appealed to Turkey and demanded that the right to hope be resolved legally in accordance with the ECtHR decision.

In response to this development, Mr. Öcalan emphasized that the principle of hope is very important and fundamental. He went on to say directly, "The principle of hope is a step that the state must take. It must lift this burden. This is an issue that affects thousands of people. No matter how you look at it, it must be lifted. It must be done from a legal perspective. Both politics and justice demand it," thereby highlighting the necessity of the law.

In connection with his February 27 'Call for Peace and a Democratic Society', he stated that just as it is necessary for beliefs and sects to express themselves freely, everyone has the right to express their nationality and live freely. He said that Kurds as a whole must be included within the law, stating that this is the true peace. It explained that the rights of Kurds have been disregarded and kept outside the law until now, but that the law of democratic integration must be established today.

While explaining physical and mental imprisonment through exclusion from the law, he emphasized, "Life is meaningful if it is lived freely. I have said this before. 'O life! Either I will live you freely, or I will consider you never lived.' That is my motto, my slogan in life."

It is well known that Mr. Öcalan has identified the root cause of social and political problems as the unequal position of women in relation to men. He has explained that the solution to this inequality is possible through socialist thought and a practice based on women's liberation. He has stated that he follows Jineology studies with interest and attaches great value to them, and he has sent his special greetings to all women and prisoners in detention centers.

He invited those who wish to understand him to deepen the process of peace and democratic society we are going through and to participate in this process. He emphasized the importance of working for freedom in terms of developing and putting this process into practice."

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Öcalan sends a message to Peace Mothers: Fight with your identity and consciousness as free women

ANF | AMED | 18 October 2025

Under the motto "Mothers are pioneers of a democratic society and lasting peace," the third conference of the Council of Peace Mothers began on Saturday in Amed (tr. Diyarbakır).

The two-day event—the first of its kind in twelve years—is taking place at the ÇandAmed Congress Center and brings together numerous activists, politicians, and supporters, including representatives of the Free Women's Movement (Tevgera Jinên Azad, TJA), the DEM Party (Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party), DBP (Democratic Regions Party), members of parliament, local government representatives, and civil society organizations.

"I learned the most from my mother"

The event began with a video documentary about the history of the Peace Mothers. This was followed by the reading of a written message from Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the Kurdish freedom movement who has been imprisoned on the Turkish prison island of Imrali since 1999. In his message, Öcalan expressed his appreciation to the Peace Mothers for their many years of commitment: "I learned the most from my mother—about the truth of life, about patience, but above all about a dignified and upright attitude. The Peace Mothers embody this dignity and attitude."

Öcalan emphasized the need for women to live self-determined and free lives, stating the following:

"Women should live as they want, but they must also have the courage to live freely. Out of respect for women, I adopted the principle that 'freedom must begin in thought'.

'It is important to transcend the traditional societal expectations imposed on women'

As Peace Mothers who stand at the forefront of the peace struggle and defend life, you have always been at the forefront of our struggle for peace and freedom. Of course, your place in our struggle as mothers is indisputable. However, I believe it is important to transcend the traditional societal expectations imposed on women to be mothers and wives. Alongside your identity as mothers, you must also fight with your identity and consciousness as free women.

This land, where the first matriarchal society emerged, is also the place where the first social problems and contradictions arose. The first social problem and contradiction began with the enslavement of women. The enslavement of women and the enslavement of society go hand in hand. Contrary to popular belief, enslavement did not begin with the emergence of the state, but with the enslavement of women. This developing contradiction and social problem form the source of the problems we face today.

'The way out is to build a democratic communal life together'

The way out of this predicament is to build a democratic communal life together.

The 'Call for Peace and a Democratic Society' that we made on February 27 also places duties and responsibilities on the women's movement and the Peace Mothers. A new era is beginning. Organizing a socialist life based on a democratic communal system will be possible through peace. On this occasion, I greet all our Peace Mothers and wish them success in their work."

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Prisons

New report: Isolation of prisoners must be lifted unconditionally

ANF | ADANA | 14 October 2025

The Human Rights Association (IHD), the Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD) and the Marmara Association for Assistance and Solidarity with Families of Detainees and Convicts (MATUHAY-DER) announced their report on rights violations that took place between June and September in Kürkçüler Type F Prison and Suluca No. 1 High Security Prison. The report was released at a press conference held at the Adana Branch of the Human Rights Association and was prepared on the basis of face-to-face meetings with prisoners, letters sent from prison and formal applications received.

The report first drew attention to the violations in Suluca No. 1 High Security Prison. It stated that prisoners' most basic right to health is systematically obstructed and noted that prisoners who refuse to submit to the imposition of oral cavity searches are denied transfers and subjected to disciplinary punishments. The report also addressed the water quota imposed on prisoners in both Suluca and Kürkçüler Prisons, underlining that the water provided is dirty and lime-contaminated. It emphasized that prisoners are forced to use the same water for both drinking and hygiene, which compels them to purchase expensive bottled water from the prison canteen. The report further noted that the food provided in the prisons is low in nutritional value, unhygienic and insufficient in portion size, and that the needs of sick prisoners who require special diets are being ignored.

The report said that prisoners held in single cells are locked inside for 23 hours a day and are allowed only one hour of outdoor time. It noted that even during this hour, only four to six people from the same corridor are allowed into the yard, a practice described as "conditions of total isolation." Violations in the prison were listed as arbitrary practices, disciplinary punishments, a ban on Kurdish books and newspapers, the obstruction of telephone calls and the non-delivery of parcels. The report drew attention to the "pit-type" structure of Suluca Prison, emphasizing that it poses a serious threat to human health. It highlighted that the cells measure only 8 by 5 steps, the windows are as small as 30 by 40 centimeters and are

surrounded by thick wire mesh. This, it stated, severely restricts both daylight and airflow, turning the prison into what was described as a concrete coffin.

Kürkçüler F Type Prison

The report stated that similar rights violations are also taking place in Kürkçüler Type F Prison, noting that prisoners are deprived of workshops and social activities, that those sentenced to aggravated life imprisonment are prevented from seeing one another and that the imposition of oral cavity searches continues.

In the conclusion of the report, it was emphasized that prisons have been turned into spaces of systematic isolation. An urgent call was made to the Ministry of Justice, bar associations and human rights institutions to launch investigations. The Adana Branch of the IHD and the Adana Representation of the ÖHD stressed that the report is not limited to only two prisons and that similar conditions have become widespread in high-security prisons across Turkey, and called for prisons to be made compatible with human dignity.

Demands

After the report was presented, a joint statement was read out by Aziz Oruç, a member of the ÖHD. Oruç said that the peoples and faith communities persistently voice their demand for social peace, justice and a democratic solution, and added: "However, the systematic policies of pressure and isolation imposed particularly in prisons directly attack these hopes." Oruç underlined that these policies target not only prisoners but society as a whole, and continued: "Today, prisons have not been removed from their role as places of isolation and torture that target the prisoners' right to life and human dignity. Isolation is a direct attack on social peace.

The conditions of isolation imposed on prisoners must be lifted unconditionally. Torture, ill-treatment and arbitrary execution of sentences must be brought to an end. Ideological interrogations conducted by observation boards must be abolished. Freedom of communication in all mother tongues, including Kurdish, must be guaranteed. Ill prisoners must be released, and the right to health must not be left to the arbitrary decisions of prison administration. Social peace and democracy are only possible through a legal system that recognizes the equality of peoples, confronts the past and guarantees justice. No policy of oppression, violence or denial will suppress this rightful and dignified demand."

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Kurdish women's rights activist Sirûnaz Ehmedî begins hunger strike in Iran

ANF | 14 October 2025

As pressure on political prisoners continues in Iran, Sirûnaz Ehmedî announced through her official account that she had started a hunger strike in solidarity with Sîmyarî. She stated that her protest would continue until October 15, and that if Sîmyarî's demands were not met, she would extend her strike.

Ehmedî linked Sîmyarî's protest to the case of Ferîba Kemal Abadî, who has been imprisoned for 10 years, saying: "Ferîba Kemal Abadî has been in prison for a decade. She should have been released, yet the Iranian state keeps postponing it. This is a clear act of psychological torture."

Describing Kemal Abadî's resistance as "a symbol of victory," Ehmedî emphasized that the struggle of women prisoners has been growing in defiance of the Iranian state's repressive policies.

It is worth noting that on October 12, political prisoner Nesîm Sîmyarî began a hunger strike in Evin Prison demanding the release of Ferîba Kemal Abadî. Last week, a decision was reportedly made for Kemal Abadî's release.

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Military aggression and occupation

YRK announces the death of a guerrilla fighter in attack by Iranian forces

ANF | 12 October 2025

The Eastern Kurdistan Defense Units (YRK) Press and Publication Center released a written statement announcing the martyrdom of a fighter in an attack carried out by Iranian intelligence units and Revolutionary Guards in the city of Marivan on September 23, 2025.

According to the statement, YRK fighter Azad Zagros was on his way back from Marivan to South Kurdistan for medical treatment when Iranian intelligence units and Revolutionary Guards opened fire on the car he was traveling in, killing him and an unidentified person.

The statement noted that martyr Azad Zagros was from the district of Chamchamal in the city of Sulaymaniyah in South Kurdistan, had been serving in East Kurdistan for some time, and was returning to South Kurdistan for medical treatment due to health issues.

YRK stated that the Iranian regime had not made any statement regarding the incident and was attempting to cover up the attack, stating: “Such executions constitute mass murder and war crimes. This is an immoral conspiracy.”

The YRK expressed its condolences to Zagros’ family, the Berzencî tribe, and all the people of Kurdistan, adding: "We reiterate our promise and commitment to the martyr Azad Zagros. We will continue our struggle until Kurdistan is liberated, until the requirements of the peace and democratic society process are met, and until the dreams of all martyrs are realized."

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Co-chairs of the DEM Party: The attack on journalist Tosun must be thoroughly investigated

ANF | 13 October 2025

The co-chairs of the Peoples’ Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party), Tülay Hatimoğulları and Tuncer Bakırhan, released a statement regarding journalist and documentary filmmaker Hakan Tosun, who had been missing since the night of 10 October and was later found beaten by the roadside. On Sunday night, lawyer Hakan Bozyurt, a member of the Progressive Lawyers Association (ÇHD), confirmed that two people have been arrested in connection with the attack on the journalist.

In a statement on social media, Tülay Hatimoğulları announced that Tosun is in intensive care, fighting for his life. She wrote: "We are deeply saddened to learn that journalist and environmental defender #HakanTosun, who has been missing for two days, was attacked and is now fighting for his life in intensive care. For years, Hakan Tosun has worked tirelessly to expose assaults on nature and living spaces, and to make visible the resistance of villagers. We wish a speedy recovery to Hakan Tosun, who has always been the voice of all of us through his reporting. The attack against him must be investigated thoroughly and without any doubt. I send my best wishes to his family and loved ones."

Tuncer Bakırhan also said: "Journalist and activist Hakan Tosun, who has been the voice of society through his documentaries from Bergama to Mount Ida and from Samandağ to Akbelen, had been missing for two days. We are deeply saddened to learn that Hakan Tosun, who had been missing, suffered a brain hemorrhage after being struck in the head and has been taken into intensive care. We wish him a swift recovery. This incident must be immediately and transparently clarified, and those responsible must be brought to justice. We will closely follow the process."

Lawyer Hakan Bozyurt said: "The incident was officially recorded in the Esenyurt Mehmet Akif neighborhood. Hakan’s identity was confirmed very late in the official records, which is why the family could not be contacted immediately."

Bozyurt added: "There were video recordings in the case file. However, to fully clarify the incident, eyewitness accounts and surveillance footage need to be examined. We will submit our requests regarding this. All eyewitnesses and pieces of evidence are extremely valuable. It is crucial that they are delivered to us and added to the case file. We will all follow this case closely."

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Mazlum Abdi: Safe return of IDPs is a top priority for the SDF

ANF | 13 October 2025

Mazlum Abdi, Commander-in-Chief of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), met with a delegation from the Sêrekaniyê IDPs Committee on Sunday. The meeting addressed the situation of IDPs in camps and settlement centers and the importance of meeting their basic needs.

Abdi emphasized that the safe and legal return of IDPs to their homeland is one of the SDF's fundamental political objectives. In this context, he reiterated the need for the active implementation of the clause regarding the safe return of refugees in the agreement signed between the SDF and the Syrian Transitional Government on March 10. "The right to return is inalienable. We will continue our political and field efforts to ensure that refugees return to their regions safely and with dignity," he said.

The SDF Commander-in-Chief stated that the Serêkaniyê issue is one of the most fundamental topics in the ongoing discussions and negotiations regarding Syria's future. He noted that they are working in coordination with local and international parties to find a comprehensive and lasting solution to the refugee problem.

Abdi emphasized that the return process must be carried out in an organized and planned manner, under the guarantees of local parties and international organizations, stating: “The return of IDPs should not take place individually or in an unplanned manner. This process must be secured with international guarantees so that the painful scenarios experienced by civilians in the past are not repeated.”

Mazlum Abdi stated that political, security, and administrative obstacles to the return of IDPs must be removed. In this regard, he said that efforts are ongoing to ensure a safe and organized return process.

Abdi stated that they presented clear proposals and opinions to the Damascus regime, demanding that the refugee files in all regions of Syria be handled seriously and responsibly.

The SDF Commander General said that strengthening coordination between military, security, and administrative institutions in North and East Syria would have a positive impact on the refugee issue and the future of the occupied regions.

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Tabqa-Salamiyeh road remains closed for eight days

ANF | 13 October 2025

Transitional Government forces completely closed the Tabqa- Salamiyeh road to passengers and vehicles on October 5. Forces positioned at the al-Zakiya junction near the Eseriya region in the Hama countryside are not allowing vehicles from northern and eastern Syria to pass, causing serious hardship for thousands of people, most of whom are patients and students.

According to information provided by bus drivers, the Transitional Government forces yesterday closed alternative routes used by citizens by paying high fees.

The Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria does not impose any obstacles on vehicles passing through its checkpoints. However, forces at checkpoints affiliated with the Syrian Transitional Government do not allow vehicles to pass, forcing drivers to wait for hours before turning them back.

Meanwhile, the Syrian Transitional Government had closed the road between Deir Hafir and Aleppo before attacking Deir Hafir on September 27, and many civilians were injured during the attacks.

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Two civilians killed in attack on a checkpoint of Internal Security Forces in Raqqa countryside

ANF | RAQQA | 15 October 2025

Two assailants on a motorcycle carried out an armed attack on the Menaxir checkpoint in the eastern countryside of the Raqqa Canton in North-East Syria.

As a result of the armed attack, two civilians passing through the checkpoint were killed.

Members of the Internal Security Forces immediately responded to the attackers, killing one of them and seizing their motorcycle and weapon.

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DEM Party building in Mersin targeted in stone attack

ANF | MERSIN | 16 October 2025

An attack with stones was carried out on the Toroslar District Organization building of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM Party).

The attack in central Mersin took place late on Wednesday night. The assailant was caught after local residents intervened and was taken into custody, then transferred to the Mersin Provincial Police Department.

The attack caused material damage to the building.

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Three ISIS members captured in Deir ez-Zor

ANF | 16 October 2025

The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Press Center issued a statement confirming that its "commando units, affiliated with our forces, conducted two effective operations targeting the terrorist organization ISIS cells."

The statement added: "Our Commando Forces conducted two precise security operations aimed at dismantling several ISIS terrorist cells.

During the first operation, carried out with the participation of the International Coalition forces, our units targeted an ISIS terrorist cell in the village of Al-Bariha in the Al-Busayrah area, eastern Deir Ezzor countryside. The operation resulted in the arrest of a terrorist proven to be involved in attacks against our forces and civilians in the area. The participating units also seized a quantity of weapons and ammunition from the captured individual."

The statement said: "The second operation took place in the village of Al-Sabha, also in the Al-Busayrah area, where our forces dismantled another ISIS terrorist cell and arrested two of its members. The detainees were responsible for several terrorist attacks targeting our forces, security personnel, and civilians in the region.

Our forces reaffirm their continued commitment and coordination with the International Coalition to eradicate the terrorist organization from its roots, eliminate its financial and ideological sources, and prevent any terrorist activity that threatens the security and stability of the region."

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Zenûbiya center in Deir ez-Zor set on fire

ANF | 16 October 2025

Unidentified people set fire to the Zenûbiya Women's Community center in the rural town of Abu Hamam, Deir ez-Zor, on Wednesday night.

Firefighters extinguished the blaze, and the Internal Security Forces have opened an investigation to find those responsible.

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YPJ announces the death of one of their fighters in Turkish drone attack on Tishrin front

ANF | 16 October 2025

The General Command of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ) released a statement announcing the martyrdom of one of their fighters, Delila Dersim, on January 11, 2025, in an attack carried out by a reconnaissance drone of the Turkish state.

The YPJ statement includes the following:

"The people of Kurdistan, walking the path of revolution, have sacrificed many of their loyal and heroic sons and daughters, and to this day, many devoted men and women of this land continue to give their lives. Speaking about the martyrs of this sacred land, the Kurdish people's leader says: "We hold on tightly to our martyrs and cherish their soil. With every martyrdom, a new pledge is given to us, and we reaffirm our vows with firm steps, continuing our struggle forward."

As students of Leader Abdullah Öcalan and as loyal comrades of the heroic martyrs, we renew our pledge to our martyrs and declare:

The martyr is the guide of our path; the fruits of the sacrifices they made will lead us to victory, and we will embody the model of our leader, Öcalan.

In the same spirit, we, from Öcalan's leadership and his beloved patriotic family, sincerely salute all the peoples who love freedom. In the heart of the revolution, nothing is wasted — everything holds value for us. With the testimony of every resistant and loyal woman standing at the forefront of honor and dignity, they participate in the shared struggle for freedom and equality.

Our comrade Delila Dersim (Nazan Ağırman), from the region of Mardin, was martyred on January 11, 2025, in an attack carried out by a reconnaissance drone belonging to the aggressive Turkish state.

We remember our comrade Delila with deep respect and gratitude, bowing before her greatness and sanctity. In her person, the spirit of all the martyrs of the revolution is embodied, and we reaffirm our loyalty to them. May the patriotic family of our comrade Dîlal be proud and honored — for she devoted her life, from the very beginning, to the struggle for freedom. She became a symbol of resistance in the Rojava Revolution and remains, to this day, a beacon of hope for women and for all humanity.

Comrade Delila, a Kurdish woman from a patriotic family in the city of Mardin, was born in 1989. The Ağırman family was known for its patriotic values and Kurdish culture. Her family grew up amid the existence and alienation of the Kurdish people and introduced her to the cause of freedom. It is a family that

has played an important role since the rise of the Kurdish movement. Like all freedom-loving Kurds, they endured immense pressure from their enemies, and as a result, the family was forced into displacement.

Comrade Delila lived for many years devoted to the Kurdish homeland. Despite her distance from it and her life in the heart of the capitalist system, she never abandoned her culture or her language. Her dreams were always tied to her homeland. In 2009, she returned with her sister to fulfill her dream and reach the mountains of Kurdistan. Upon seeing her homeland, she participated with great enthusiasm in every activity and task, leading her comrades even in the most difficult situations.

Throughout her life, she was reborn time and again on this sacred land. She was a true fighter and a genuine leader, struggling tirelessly. Her nature was pure and transparent — like the deep sea carrying the essence of leadership within its depths.

Our comrade Delila, a leader of freedom, was self-sacrificing and courageous in battle. In every mission she undertook, she achieved undeniable success. She was always loyal to her leader and refused to accept any personal failure. Her thoughts were always in harmony with the ideals of a democratic and free society under the guidance of Öcalan.

After long years of continuous struggle, our comrade Delila moved from the mountains of freedom to Rojava Kurdistan, where she witnessed the unity of all Kurdistan and of all women.

In the most difficult moments, as a young woman, she devoted her life to raising the flags of the revolution and confronting the threat of ISIS against Rojava and all humanity. She was a flame of resistance against the aggressors. In the early stages, ISIS was partially defeated, but our comrade and her fellow fighters continued to confront the remaining threats. She fought as a warrior and led numerous operations — from Kobani to Raqqa — setting an example of commitment to the legacy of the martyrs.

Our comrade Delila's battle at Tishrin Dam became a symbol of the united resistance of the revolutionary people — from the age of seven to seventy. Everyone who sacrificed themselves for their dignity and that of their people became a key to peace.

She was among the fighters who stood firm at Tishrin Dam and achieved victories in Mardin.

As the Women's Protection Forces, we proudly uphold the heroic legacy of our people and vow never to stop our struggle until we achieve victory on this good and humane land. We will never abandon our free leader. Once again, we extend our greetings to the family of our comrade and to all oppressed peoples."

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Government forces establish military post near the Ashrafiyah neighborhood of Aleppo

ANF | ALEPPO | 16 October 2025

Syrian Transitional Government forces continue to violate the April 1 Agreement by constructing numerous military posts and earthen barriers around the neighborhoods of Sheikh Maqsood and Ashrafiyah in Aleppo.

A new military post has been established on the hill in Tariq Bin Ziyad Park next to the Ashrafiyah neighborhood, with an earthen barrier constructed alongside it.

According to Article 5 of the April 1 agreement, earthen barriers on public roads will be removed until security and stability are established in both neighborhoods, while main checkpoints will remain under the control of the Internal Security Forces affiliated with the Ministry of the Interior.

According to Article 3 of the agreement, "The Ministry of the Interior and Internal Security Forces shall cooperate to protect the residents of both neighborhoods and prevent any attacks against them."

Observers state that these steps are part of a series of repeated violations aimed at undermining efforts to ensure security and stability. In response to these steps, appropriate measures must be taken to protect public safety, they say.

Earlier today, groups affiliated with the Syrian Transitional Government attacked an Internal Security Forces checkpoint in Aleppo. Two members of the Internal Security Forces were seriously injured in the attack on the checkpoint located at the Shihan Junction in Ashrafiyah neighborhood.

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Syrian Interim Government forces abduct two young men in Sheikh Maqsoud

ANF | ALEPPO | 18 October 2025

Violations against residents of Aleppo's Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiye neighborhoods, which are under the control of the Syrian Interim Government, continue. Forces linked to the Interim Government detained two young men at the Ewarid checkpoint in front of the Agricultural Park, forced them into a white military vehicle, and took them to an undisclosed location.

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Femicide

DEM Party Women's Assembly: Not fascism, but women's struggle for peace will prevail

ANF | 13 October 2025

The DEM Party Women's Assembly issued a statement declaring that "those who target our women's politics by fueling racism, sexism, and nationalism should know well that women will never give up standing together around the Peace and Democratic Society process."

The statement added: "Especially in a time when the hope for peace among peoples and women is rising, it is no coincidence that fascist rhetoric is being used to target women politicians. Those who cling to male-dominated fascist ideologies that feed on war and attack the peoples' and women's demand for peace are the same ones who profit from war by pitting communities against each other.

The targeting of our comrades by distorting the statements of women politicians who speak about peace, through the actions of the executors of male-dominated fascist politics, is a clear example of this. Conducting perception operations through a language that fuels racism is a crime against society, and especially against women."

The statement continued: "We have not remained silent in the face of these attacks on the hopes of society and women for peace, and we never will. Wherever we are, we will strengthen our struggle against fascism and continue to insist on an honorable peace. Not fascism, but women's struggle for peace will prevail."

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YPJ fighter: Women's freedom is an inseparable part of the nation's freedom

ANF | RAQQA | 17 October 2025

Two Women's Protection Units (YPJ) fighters undergoing training at the Martyr Rojda Academy in the city of Raqqa spoke about their motivations for joining the academy and the lessons they have received. They affirmed their full readiness to defend their homeland and people and to safeguard the achievements of the martyrs.

Lîlav Kobani explained the reason behind her enlistment, saying: "My name is Lîlav Kobani. I joined the

ranks of the Women's Protection Units, inspired by the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the sake of freedom."

Fighter Lîlav Kobani emphasized that her goal is for every woman to attain her right to freedom and dignity. She added: "I will not abandon a single occupied inch of my land, and I will defend it until the last drop of blood in my veins."

She underlined that women's freedom is no less important than the freedom of the homeland, asserting that it forms an inseparable part of the struggle for liberation and defense.

Fighter Serheldan Amad also spoke about the profound spirit of comradeship prevailing among the fighters, stressing that this strong bond is built upon the philosophy of Leader Abdullah Öcalan, which unites the different components of society and dissolves the barriers among them.

Amad said: "Despite our diverse backgrounds and communities, we live in the academy as one family—there is no distinction among us. This unity strengthens us and makes us even more prepared to defend our homeland with determination."

She expressed her great hope for the physical freedom of Abdullah Öcalan, describing him as a symbol of dignity and freedom, from whose philosophy they draw the strength to continue their path toward liberty and peace.

At the end of their remarks, the fighters stated that the training they have received—both military and political—has prepared them to defend their homeland with all the strength and resolve they possess.

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Human Rights Violations

Nine Kurdish citizens arrested in Iran

ANF | 12 October 2025

On 7 October, Ministry of Intelligence agents raided the shop of civil rights activist and former political prisoner Hossein Gardeshi in one of the streets of Bukan, and arrested him without presenting a court warrant, the Kurdistan Human Rights Network (KHRN) reported.

The agents also stormed his family home, insulted family members during the search, and confiscated several of his personal belongings.

Simultaneously, the forces raided the home of Gardeshi's brother, Mohsen Gardeshi, who is also a civil rights activist and former political prison, and arrested him without a warrant after threatening family members at gunpoint.

The two brothers were previously arrested in January 2021 during a wave of arrests of Kurdish activists carried out by the Intelligence Organisation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).

Mohsen Gardeshi was released after several days in detention, while Hossein Gardeshi remained imprisoned for about two months before being released from Orumiyeh Central Prison on bail.

Over the past few years, the two civil rights activists have repeatedly been summoned and interrogated by security agencies.

Additionally, on 7 October, citizens Rebwar Mousavi (17), Zaher Azari (17), Keyvan Saeidi, and Fakhraddin Khaledi were arrested in Oshnavieh, West Azerbaijan Province.

Mousavi and Azari were released after several hours of interrogation, but the fate and whereabouts of the other two remain unknown.

At around the same time, Kamran Soltani, from Bukan, and Hassan Mehrabi, from the village of Ney in Marivan, Kurdistan Province, were also arrested.

According to reports, security forces allegedly lured Mehrabi to the Marivan governor's office under the false pretext of resolving a subsidy issue, arresting him on the street without a warrant when he arrived.

The following day, 8 October, security forces arrested Mobin Talebani, a university student from Marivan, without presenting a court warrant and transferred him to an undisclosed location.

Meanwhile, in Sanandaj in the Kurdistan Province, three siblings – Derakhshan, Zanyar and Edris Rahimi – arrested on 28 June on charges of "espionage for Israel" and "acting against national security" through alleged links to the Komala Party of Iranian Kurdistan, were released on bail pending trial.

Derakhshan Rahimi was released on 6 October after 100 days in the women's ward of the Sanandaj Correctional and Rehabilitation Centre, upon posting bail of 10 billion rials (approximately 10,000 USD).

Her brothers, Zanyar and Edris, were released last week after three months in Sanandaj Central Prison.

During their detention, the Rahimi siblings were denied family visits and access to legal counsel.

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Amnesty International launches petition for Pakhshan Azizi

ANF | 13 October 2025

According to Amnesty International's latest report, the number of executions has risen sharply in many countries during the first nine months of 2025, while death sentences carried out in Iran have exceeded one thousand. The number of executions carried out in Iran in just nine months has already surpassed the total of 972 recorded in 2024, marking the highest level in the past 15 years.

Urgent action from Amnesty International

Amnesty said that following Israel's attacks, executions accelerated under charges of "collaboration" and "espionage," particularly targeting Kurdish and women activists, and announced that Pakhshan Azizi's case "requires urgent intervention."

As part of the campaign launched by Amnesty, a petition addressed to the head of Iran's Judiciary demands that all plans to execute Pakhshan Azizi be immediately halted, that her conviction be overturned, and that she be released unconditionally. The petition also calls for her access to medical care, regular contact with her family and lawyers to be guaranteed until her release, and for allegations of torture and ill-treatment to be independently investigated. The organization also appealed to the international community to push for the complete abolition of the death penalty in Iran.

A public link to sign the petition has been shared for those wishing to support the campaign.

About Pakhshan Azizi

Iranian Kurdish activist Pakhshan Azizi was detained by agents of the Ministry of Intelligence in Tehran on August 4, 2023, and transferred to Evin Prison. She was held in solitary confinement for five months, during which she was reportedly subjected to torture and ill-treatment.

Pakhshan Azizi was tried on charges of "armed rebellion against the state" for providing humanitarian aid to women and children who had fled Islamic State attacks and taken refuge in camps in northeastern Syria between 2014 and 2022. In July 2024, she was sentenced to death.

The court cited as "evidence" her participation in a 2009 protest against the execution of a Kurdish student and her support for the families of demonstrators killed in 2022.

Amnesty International described Pakhshan Azizi's case as "politically motivated," emphasizing that the Iranian judiciary "uses the death penalty as a weapon to silence activists."

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164 people executed in Iran in 20 days

ANF | 14 October 2025

The "No to Execution on Tuesdays" Campaign against the death penalty in Eastern Kurdistan and Iran, issued a statement in its 90th week.

Reporting that the transfer of prisoners from Qarchak Prison to Evin Prison is ongoing, the campaign noted that prisoners were subjected to violence during the transfer.

"Women protesting the murder of Sumayya Rashid were deprived of their basic needs and are in very poor condition. This is a human rights violation," it said.

The statement also announced that 164 people had been executed in Iran and Eastern Kurdistan over the past 20 days.

The campaign called on the international community to take action against increasingly ongoing executions.

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223 workers' resistance continues on day 76 in Van

ANF | VAN | 15 October 2025

The resistance launched by 223 workers under the slogan "We will take back our jobs", led by the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) and the DISK Genel-Iş Van (Wan) Branch, continued on its 77th day. Gathering on Art Street, the workers carried a banner reading "The unlawful and unjust dismissal of 223 workers is unacceptable. We want our jobs back. We will resist and we will win," and frequently chanted slogans such as "Your barricades mean nothing to us," "Berxwedan jiyan e" (Resistance is life), and "Rights, law, justice." Representatives of political parties in the city, civil society organisations, and many citizens joined the press statement at the entrance of the street.

Ulaş Akhan engages in identity-based politics

One of the dismissed workers, Sinan Yılmaz, said: "The people rejected the trustee system and its order by clearly expressing their will in all 14 municipalities. However, just as before, this strong will and stance has once again been usurped through plunder, exploitation of labor, and a policy of destruction, normalising unlawfulness." Yılmaz stated that the arbitrary decisions of the trustees target the rule of law and continued: "The fascist attitude and rhetoric reveal that Ulaş Akhan is not attempting to run a municipality, but rather to engage in politics based on identity. Although these dismissals are justified by so-called archive investigations, we know very well that the real motive is ideological and identity-based."

Municipalities belong to the people, not the trustees

Yılmaz also said, "Municipalities belong to the people; they are the people's home. It is the labor and solidarity of workers, laborers, the people and their elected representatives that builds a municipality. Those who roam the city surrounded by a protection force are not representatives of the people; on the contrary, they are illegitimate powers. Trustees and their administrations are not elected; they are bureaucrats appointed in place of those who were chosen by the people. These appointed officials have turned the cancellation of public-benefit projects into a mission, and they have set their sights on the labor, livelihood and bread of workers. Van belongs to us, labor belongs to us, and we will not allow trustees or profiteering circles to pass. Van stands by labor and says 'No' to the trustee."

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Residents of Ashrafiyah call on the Transitional Government to end the embargo and rights violations

ANF | ALEPPO | 18 October 2025

Dozens of citizens in the Benî Zeyd area of Aleppo's Ashrafiyah neighborhood gathered in the neighborhood's central square and made a statement. They called on the transitional government to lift the sieges on Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah and to end the pressure on citizens. The statement was read by Ömer El Başî, a member of the Benî Zeyd Commune.

At a time when Syrian factions are acting with hope for peace and security, the Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah neighborhoods are subjected to attacks and sieges, said the statement and underlined that Transitional Government forces and affiliated groups attacked these two neighborhoods without any justification and committed violations against the residents.

Recalling the agreement signed on April 1 between the Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah Neighborhoods Council and the Transitional Government, the statement noted that the Transitional Government had failed to fulfill its responsibilities towards the people of these two neighborhoods and to ensure security in Aleppo city and among the Syrian people in general.

The statement pointed out that armed groups have been exerting significant pressure on civilians in both neighborhoods recently and that an embargo has been in place on both neighborhoods for 24 days. It stated that this embargo targets a model that enabled solidarity among the Syrian people during the Assad regime and symbolized shared life, dignity, and civilian resistance. According to the residents, the aim of the embargo is to break the will of a united community that resolutely defends its freedoms.

Despite the ceasefire in place, the barriers around both neighborhoods and in the Benî Zeyd region remain in place, said the statement, noting that these obstructions are carried out by unorganized groups supported by the Turkish government.

The statement condemned the embargo imposed by the Transitional Government and the violations and abductions targeting civilians, remarking that these actions are not isolated incidents but rather a systematic policy that endangers the lives of the people and undermines the political peace process.

The statement highlighted the popular support for the Internal Security Forces and called on the Transitional Government to fulfill its responsibilities towards the residents of Sheikh Maqsoud, Ashrafiyah, and Benî Zeyd. It noted that these neighborhoods are part of Aleppo and that they must now live in peace and security.

The statement called on the Transitional Government to lift the embargo imposed on both neighborhoods, allow the passage of basic necessities, fuel, and medicine, stop attacks and violations against civilians, remove earthen barriers on roads, and hold those responsible for these violations accountable.

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Interview

Ağın: Öcalan's paradigm must be understood in its full social context

ANF | 12 October 2025

Former Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), Ömer Ağın, evaluated Abdullah Öcalan's understanding of "Peace and Democratic Society" in an interview with ANF. Ağın emphasized that Öcalan's paradigm should not be approached solely as a theoretical framework but as an idea that must also be understood and practiced by society.

Öcalan's paradigm must be understood by society

Ömer Ağın emphasized that Abdullah Öcalan's paradigm should be understood particularly by socialist circles and stated: "In my view, to understand the Kurdish Freedom Movement, which has developed a paradigm based on historical processes, examining historical and social materialism through different methods and detailed analyses and Mr. Öcalan, who has advanced it through philosophical approaches, certain points must be highlighted.

Rather than merely repeating what has already been said, I believe it is crucial for the people, intellectuals, and democratic segments of society to contribute to ensuring that these ideas are understood and internalized. A theory becomes a material force when it is embraced by the masses. Undoubtedly, the Kurdish people, with their fifty-year-long tradition of struggle, have transformed theory into a tangible and collective power. The people have taken great strides in putting theory into practice.

This is the first point that must be established. Why do I say this? Because I see this observation as an essential point of reference for revolutionary circles in Turkey and for everyone who embraces different concepts of democracy."

Ağın also reflected on his own experiences to underline why the paradigm should be understood by socialist circles: "I believe that we socialists are among those who understand the Kurdish paradigm best. I think we have grasped the structural characteristics of the revolutionary struggle I was once part of. Why do I say that we are among those who understand it better? Because we were the ones most deeply affected by the remnants and ruins of real socialism.

In 1977, I studied at the Marxism school in the Soviet Union at different times and lived there. I witnessed both the achievements of real socialism and the outcomes defended by the people, as well as its weaknesses.

For example, during that period, we learned that the son-in-law of Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev was involved in diamond smuggling. On the other hand, we also observed how the people, despite their hardships, continued to shape social development.

Because we were among those left beneath the ruins and remnants of that system, I believe we have understood, or at least tried to understand, the historical and social evolution of the Kurdish Freedom Movement and the Kurdish paradigm. This is the first acknowledgment that needs to be made."

The global and historical scope of the paradigm

Ağın stated that the Kurdish paradigm is now being discussed not only in Turkey and Kurdistan but also across the Middle East and many parts of the world. He said: "It is being debated by scholars, supported and discussed by intellectuals who have received Nobel Prizes, and addressed by artists as well. In other words, it has generated a wide-ranging agenda, one could say it has become a political agenda in itself.

To understand and grasp such a paradigm, one must look to history. The Kurdish Freedom Movement and the Kurdish paradigm do not claim that history began only with class societies or that historical development started with the emergence of classes. Instead, they approach it from the evolution of societies beginning with the primitive communal stage, before class divisions emerged. In doing so, they not only analyze dialectical and historical materialism but also take idealism into account. Of course, idealism is a reflection of materialism, thought is a version, a reflection of matter.

However, even before historical and natural materialism were fully understood, human beings already had psychological and social characteristics. From the Sumerian priests onward, there has been an ongoing process of social development. Mr. Öcalan and the Kurdish Freedom Movement have examined and developed this paradigm within the context of that historical trajectory."

The four main pillars of the paradigm and the philosophy of peace

Defining the paradigm of the Kurdish Freedom Movement as "Peace, Democratic Society, and Democratic Integration," Ağın continued his assessment: "The first and most fundamental concept is peace and it is crucial to understand what this peace represents, what the Kurdish Freedom Movement and its paradigm mean when they speak of peace.

The peace being referred to here is not the kind of agreement recorded in history, such as the one made between the Hittites and Egyptians or the peace treaty between Timur and Yıldırım Beyazıt in Ankara in

1402. What the Kurdish Freedom Movement and the democratic forces aim for is a social consensus, an understanding that allows different democratic structures to preserve their distinct characteristics, sustain themselves, and build their own futures through their collective productivity.

This is how I interpret the meaning of peace within the paradigm of the Kurdish Freedom Movement.

Therefore, peace must be understood as a process in which conflicting forces, whether antagonistic or reconcilable, coexist through democratic methods that enable each to renew itself and grow. Peace is not a unilateral imposition, nor is it one side's domination over another. History has seen many agreements where the word 'peace' was used in this distorted way. I believe that when the Kurdish paradigm speaks of peace, it refers instead to a mutual, democratic, and just framework rooted in historical, social, sociological, and philosophical foundations. All of these can be examined and discussed in depth."

Ağın offered a vivid metaphor to explain this concept and said: "If I were to make an analogy, peace is like the interlocking of a bolt and a nut. If either the bolt or the nut is not calibrated properly, they cannot fit together; they either break apart or fail to connect. This means that peace must be established within a framework of mutual compatibility, rights, and justice, it is a democratic method of resolution built on reciprocity.

Peace itself does not mean the resolution of a problem; rather, it creates the conditions for that problem to be resolved. True resolution means achieving a just, democratic state in which everyone can express themselves freely. This is how peace should be understood.

Peace also means the reconciliation of society with nature. Nature, with its diverse beauty, has reached us through continuous transformation. There is natural life and there is social life, and each has its own beauty and scientific interrelation.

At the same time, peace signifies the end of male domination over women. It represents the reflection of the relations that existed in the primitive communal society into the present day, not a temporary compromise between classes or ruling powers. The peace produced within the Kurdish paradigm embodies exactly this understanding."

Democratic confederalism

Ağın underlined that peace cannot exist without a democratic structure and explained this framework as follows: "The most essential element for achieving peace is democratic organization, in other words, democratic confederalism. The idea of democratic structuring should not be understood as a mere reflection of a historical period in which nation-states, federations, or confederations failed to bring social balance, equality, or integration among different segments of society.

Democratic organization, democratic confederalism, and the nation-state are alternatives to one another. The nation-state was born within the monopoly of capitalism. All nation-states are its variants, confederalism, federalism, and autonomy are each forms of governance that, within capitalist society, have supported the transition from the unified stage of capitalism to its monopolistic phase based on exploitation.

Within the Kurdish paradigm, what must now be understood is the need to replace these outdated systems with a democratic and decentralized model, one in which individuals can govern themselves, contribute to each other in governance, create new values, and use these values collectively for production and reproduction. Above all, this requires the establishment of a solid economic foundation."

The role of social consciousness and the ecological perspective

Ömer Ağın used a sociological analogy to describe how social structure, production relations, and consciousness shape one another: "If we are to use an analogy and this can be understood within the framework of sociological laws, society can be compared to a tree. The roots of this tree represent production itself; in other words, they symbolize the foundation formed by the working masses, by people who live through their labor.

The trunk of the tree represents the average consciousness of society. However, this average consciousness does not always signify a mechanical society. Dialectics is the explanation of the values that exist throughout society in a dynamic and interconnected way. Where the level of collective consciousness is high, solutions emerge through advancing social awareness, sociological structures, and values.

These, if we continue the analogy, are the branches and leaves of the tree. Without looking at history through such an organic and chronological lens, it becomes difficult to understand or grasp democratic organization, sociological structuring, historical materialism, and dialectical materialism."

Ağın also said, "As far as I have read and understood from his references, Mr. Öcalan does not approach these issues with a crude, purely materialist view of history. Beginning from the primitive communal society, he develops an ecological and environmental understanding that examines natural and social life together. This approach also seeks to explain the contradictions reflected within the social structure. Phenomena such as the position of women and the rise of property-based societies are reflections of these contradictions.

Today, if the slogan 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî' ("Woman, Life, Freedom") has become a rallying cry across the world, it shows that historical research has been conducted starting from the primitive communal society, seeking to understand where and when the enslavement of women began, and how this process has been explained philosophically, economically, and culturally."

Democratic integration

Ağın explained the concept of integration as follows: "The third concept is integration, democratic integration. As explained by the Kurdish Freedom Movement, and as we understand it, integration does not mean assimilation. Assimilation is a process based on coercion and pressure to erase differences, or it is imposed as a so-called 'voluntary transformation.'

Integration, on the other hand, should be understood as a process in which differences preserve themselves while creating new shared values and carrying these values into the future through democratic methods."

Ağın emphasized that democratic integration can only be achieved within a democratic structure and stated:"Integration cannot take place unless peace is established and a democratic confederal system is

built, that is, unless the structures produced by the nation-state or capitalism, such as federations and autonomies, are replaced by a truly democratic framework. First, the state must be democratized, and all anti-democratic structures must be transformed. Only then can differences reproduce themselves within a democratic system. This is how the democratic integration described by the Kurdish Freedom Movement should be understood."

The new understanding of humanity

Ömer Ağın highlighted the Kurdish Freedom Movement's approach to the concept of the "new human" and said: "Undoubtedly, for all these processes to take place, a new type of human being must emerge. It is impossible to create this new person from those who remain bound to capitalist values, shaped by semi-feudal and semi-capitalist mindsets, or confined within oppressive, bureaucratic, and dogmatic socialist frameworks.

The Kurdish Freedom Movement, on the other hand, is making a serious effort to cultivate this new human being. It develops proposals, conducts intellectual training, and works to transform its social base in Turkey, Kurdistan, and the Middle East in this direction. This effort continues through dialogue with the people and by collectively enriching these ideas. The philosophical method of Mr. Öcalan, who leads the movement, lies at the very foundation of this understanding."

New concepts and the move toward decentralization

Ömer Ağın discussed the Kurdish Freedom Movement's process of intellectual transformation, noting that new concepts emerge through time and struggle. Ağın said:"Undoubtedly, every new idea gives rise to its own concepts. However, these concepts do not appear instantly; they require time, effort, and social struggle. Concepts take shape through the sociological and cultural struggles of the people and society.

Together with Mr. Öcalan, the Kurdish Freedom Movement initiated a discussion on a new way of thinking and began developing the concepts of this thought. This is still an ongoing process. Until new concepts are fully established, the use of old ones becomes necessary, but it is never easy to explain new ideas through old terms. Therefore, the discussion and development of a 'decentralized' structure have become inevitable."

Ağın emphasized that democratization is not limited to the structure of the state: "Alongside the democratization of the state, it is necessary to spread social values to the grassroots, enable society to govern itself, and develop new forms of organization. Municipalities must be able to renew themselves within a democratic confederalist framework, and popular organizations must be strengthened through democratic structures. These models should replace the federative systems produced by nation-states or capitalism."

Ağın also referred to the historical process, noting two different models of nation-building: "In history, there are two types of nation-formation. The first is the Prussian model, the ethnically based German model; the second is the American model, which is based on territory. The territorial model is relatively more advanced. Yet both are, in the end, nation-state forms born of capitalism.

Democratic organization rejects all forms of state capitalism and state-centered models. Instead of centralized and power-based systems, what must be aimed for is a decentralized social model, one that is locally organized and self-governed."

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Xebat Andok: Abdullah Öcalan, with his resistance in Imrali, became a universal leader

ANF | 14 October 2025

In an in-depth interview with ANF, Xebat Andok, member of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council, talked about the interests pursued by the hegemonic powers when they launched the international conspiracy against Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan on October 9, 1998, in the course of which he was abducted to Turkey in violation of international law. Andok also talked about Öcalan's successful resistance against it, as well as the related significance and opportunity of a possible true peace process for Turkey:

First of all, I salute Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan, the greatest fighter for freedom, with respect, love, and gratitude, and reaffirm my commitment to his struggle once again. Again, I also respectfully and gratefully honor all the martyrs of the revolution, especially those who gave their lives resisting against the international conspiracy that started on October 9, 1998, targeting Leader Öcalan. And I reiterate our promise of victory to them. The international conspiracy was carried out under the leadership of Britain, America, and the further hegemonic powers. But they and their intentions were laid open by Leader Öcalan. It is for this reason that everybody who is interested can easily see and understand the true character of this conspiracy.

The mentioned hegemonic powers today are still acting in the same way. Led by Britain, America, and Israel, they planned this conspiracy and coordinated it with the partnership of all the other NATO forces, while also abusing the means of South Kurdistan through particularly instrumentalizing the Barzani family. Undoubtedly, if there had been a system in the South with its own will and resistance power, this conspiracy would not have succeeded. The hegemonic powers used the political forces in the South as a tool for their own purposes. As a result of the conspiracy, our leader was abducted and was handed over to Turkey. Although Turkey claims to have played a major role in the planning and implementation of the conspiracy, its role was actually minor. In an interview, then-Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit clearly stated, "We couldn't understand why they handed Abdullah Öcalan over to us." This shows the Turkish state's place in this conspiracy. Today, the same games and the same plans continue. The Turkish state still pursues similar policies and insists on the same mentality towards the Kurds. The Turkish state has to look at what has happened through the last decades and ask itself, 'Why were these things done?' and 'What was the purpose?' In its propaganda, the Turkish state constantly says that the hegemonic powers act together with them against the freedom movement, but the interests of the hegemonic powers in the world are incompatible with either conscience or morality.

The aim of the hegemonic powers was to create hostility between the Kurdish and Turkish peoples and to provoke war. Today, the games of these hegemonic powers continue. When a hegemonic power approaches you, you must question the reason for it. Because their approach is never sincere but is based on calculations of interest. Everything is a matter of interest and bargaining for them. The Turkish state must see these realities clearly and reflect on them.

Leader Öcalan thwarted the plans of the hegemonic powers with his resistance. Why did the hegemonic powers target Leader Öcalan? Because he had a free personality that developed since his childhood. Leader Öcalan never accepted the molds imposed by society and the existing system. He built his social identity with his own will. On this basis, he had a unique stance even towards his own family and his society. He rejected the capitalist modernity system on the Kurdish issue. He took a free personality as his basis and did not make himself subject to any power. When he founded the party, when he became the vanguard of the people's cause and struggle, the hegemonic powers wanted to draw him into their own systems. But he did not accept this because he insists on his free will, independent thought, and stance. That is why they targeted our leader.

Our leader's struggle thwarted the hegemonic plans for the Kurds and Kurdistan. These hegemonic powers had left Kurdistan stateless and kept the Kurdish people in the grip of genocide. They instrumentalized the Kurdish people whenever it suited their interests. But it was Leader Öcalan who disrupted these plans and destroyed their games. The KDP defends Kurdish nationalism and the cause of establishing a state. This leads to the Kurds being used as a tool against other peoples. Our leader, however, with his ideology and struggle, has freed the Kurdish people from this position of instrumentalization and brought forth the free Kurd. For this reason, they saw him as a threat to their interests and conspiratorial plans, and so they directly targeted him.

After the collapse of real socialism, belief in socialism itself weakened; people struggling for socialism, democracy, equality, and freedom lost hope. Leader Öcalan took on the responsibility of representing socialism under the most difficult and adverse conditions. During this period, he adopted the understanding that insisting on socialism would mean insisting on being human and developed the freedom movement on the foundation of this understanding. This approach changed the destiny of the Kurdish people. Today, this approach has become even stronger and broader. When the hegemonic powers carried out their conspiracy against him, they thereby also conspired against democratic socialist society.

The hegemonic powers entered a new period of intervention in the 1990s within the framework of the Third World War and targeted the Middle East. This war is an ideological war; they aimed to change Middle Eastern culture and, at the same time, radically transform the political structure in the Middle East. Today again, we see that major changes and transformations have taken place in the Middle East, and this process is still ongoing. These processes are chaotic periods. It is known in the social sciences that chaotic periods are historically the most critical because small developments can lead to major consequences.

During the war between Iran and Iraq, the freedom movement made good use of this process and strengthened itself. The hegemonic powers feared the ideology of democratic socialism. They saw that control was slipping from their hands in the Middle East. Therefore, they put the international conspiracy into action and sought to neutralize Leader Öcalan. However, he took a stand against capitalist modernity based on the philosophy of free women, democratic socialism, and the spiritual-cultural values of the Mid-

dle East. That is why the conspiracy was not only against one person but also against society, humanity, and an ideology.

Now, 27 years have passed since the beginning of the conspiracy against Leader Öcalan. These 27 years have also been years of the highest level of resistance. It was necessary to show resistance so that the hegemonic powers would not achieve their goals. It was our leader who created this resistance. Leader Öcalan has shown the greatest resistance against the international conspiracy from the beginning to the present day. Because he had a conscious history and an understanding that grasped the goal of this conspiracy. He stood against the conspiracy by defending the interests of the people under all circumstances. It is thanks to the resistance and will of Leader Öcalan that this conspiracy was thwarted. Undoubtedly, the Kurdish people, drawing strength from their leader's stance, resisted and continue to resist. At the same time, the Kurdistan freedom guerrilla lived the most decisive acts of resistance in all areas of Kurdistan. Also, the international friends of the freedom movement embraced our leader's struggle and stood against the conspiratorial forces. Countless comrades, like Halil Oral, took action against the conspiracy and turned their bodies into fireballs. In the four parts of Kurdistan, in the prisons, mothers, children, and the entire people joined this resistance. The source of all this resistance is again Leader Öcalan, because he is not just an individual but the symbol of this spirit of resistance and consciousness of freedom, the pioneer of the resistance against the conspiracy. Everyone who took his stance as their basis fought against the conspiracy, and the conspiracy was thus thwarted.

It was the intention of the hegemonic forces that, as a result of the International Conspiracy, the Kurdish people were to be left defenseless, but Leader Öcalan, with his resistance in Imrali, reversed this situation and became a universal leader. Leader Öcalan is now recognized as a pioneer by everyone. People are uniting around Leader Öcalan because of his philosophy and stance against capitalist modernity. Kurdish women and women around the world, in particular, identify with his struggle as they get to know what Leader Öcalan stands for and are therefore fighting for the dismantling of the Imrali system. As our leader has stated, the conspiracy has not yet been fully thwarted.

Leader Öcalan defines the forces of capitalist modernity as a kind of colonialism and expansionism system. Capitalist modernity wants to spread everywhere and establish dominance in every field. It has penetrated everywhere spatially, but it has not been able to fully establish its dominance mentally. However, its influence continues to a large extent. The system developed by our leader against the system of capitalist modernity is of a completely different nature. Leader Öcalan wants to develop a system based on nature, humanity, and society. In his prison writings, our leader has clearly stated that he draws his resistance power against the conspiracy from his own will and mind. From the very beginning, Leader Öcalan has taken the uniqueness and equality of peoples as his basis.

The problems of the Kurds are not, as is commonly believed, solely internal problems of the Kurds. These problems were created by international powers. This is because the colonialist mentality of the Turkish state and other regional states has been combined with a policy of denial and annihilation. The real problem is the mentality of capitalist modernity. As long as this mentality exists, the Kurds will be seen as a 'problem', and the Kurds will be forced to resist in different ways in order to survive. The 21st century has been a century of armed struggle. However, the leader now wants to change this. He aims to ensure that the Turkish state no longer views the Kurdish people as a problem. The real solution requires the ideological transformation of the Turkish state. Leader Öcalan has always strived to resolve the Kurdish issue on the basis of dialogue and equality. The process being carried out today was also launched based on these

efforts. The goal is to resolve this issue within the framework of democratic politics and prevent further war.

However, the Turkish state does not take a positive approach to this; it does not adopt the right attitude towards Leader Öcalan. The leader does not allow himself to be used by the Turkish state. Still, the Turkish state is trying to liquidate the movement. They won't be able to do so, but they thereby weaken Leader Öcalan's peace efforts. Unfortunately, there is no climate of trust today. The steps taken so far are unilateral, and they have been taken by Leader Öcalan. What needs to be done now is to transition to a true peace process. If the forces of capitalist modernity support the Turkish state in its denial of the Kurds, this will further alienate the Turkish state from the Kurdish people. This will deepen the lack of trust. Since this is an internal issue, what needs to be done is to abandon the mentality of denial and annihilation and approach the leader. If the Turkish state truly wants to make peace with the Kurds and establish Turkish-Kurdish unity, this is only possible by accepting a mental transformation. The existence, identity, rights, and will of the Kurdish people must be recognized.

This process is a historic opportunity. Leader Öcalan has shown great dedication in every area. He is doing his part with the same determination in this process. This is a great opportunity for the Turkish state. This opportunity must be seized.

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Kalkan: The ruling bloc has not abandoned the policy of annihilating the Kurds

ANF | 16 October 2025

Duran Kalkan, a member of the 'Abdullah Öcalan Social Sciences Academy', spoke about the current status of the Peace and Democratic Society Process, the 9 October conspiracy, and recent political developments in a special program on Medya Haber TV.

Kalkan said: "I want to salute Abdullah Öcalan with respect. He truly deserves endless salutations. He has shown superhuman resistance.

Abdullah Öcalan has been in the Imrali system of torture and isolation for 26 years. He now works with superhuman patience, determination, enthusiasm, and will. He shouts the truths thousands of times, tirelessly and without giving up, to make those who won't listen hear, to get the ignorant out of this situation, to bring the scattered into line."

Some opponents profit from the war

Kalkan added: "The strange thing is: eyes are blind, ears are deaf. No one listens properly, no one understands. There are circles that stubbornly refuse to understand.

We should not reduce the problem to whether people understand or want to understand. There are opponents. Clearly there are those opposed to peace, freedom, and democracy. There are those who feed on war, dictatorship, oppression and cruelty. Those who feed on blood… profit-seekers… It is most accurate to call them war profiteers.

So beyond not understanding, all kinds of opposing activities are conducted against Abdullah Öcalan. Yet he has done what no one in the world could do. He himself states: 'Even if the whole world came together, they could never force back an organization, and I decided to dissolve it, and I had it dissolved.' Indeed, the world has come together against them for years. Since June 1985, NATO has waged war against PKK guerrillas. Forty full years!"

Kalkan continued: "NATO was the united attack force of the world; could it crush the guerrilla, could it eliminate the PKK? It could not. But Abdullah Öcalan made decisions that ended the armed struggle and ended the PKK's organizational existence; he brought the PKK to such a point. Instead of trying to understand this a little and appreciate it, some are attacking in an unbelievable way. They do not approve of this. They do not find it right.

I actually recall the 1993 ceasefire. At that time, Öcalan came to the second press conference dressed in civilian clothes. Someone asked, 'Why aren't you wearing your military uniform?' He said, 'It's in the other room; if you want I'll put it on.' But I thought you would want that. Apparently there are those who want it that way."

Nothing new on the Western front

Kalkan reminded of a "commonly used phrase in Turkey: 'There is nothing new on the Western front.' Indeed, the Eastern front is working feverishly. It is doing what no one could do for peace and democratization. It achieved in the past year, in recent months, things they could not even imagine. But on the Western front, there is nothing new, no change.

Strangely, again today, lawyers went for a visit. On the day we were to do the program before, suddenly there was a lawyer visit; after six years. Now again, a month later there is another lawyer visit. We said then it was being treated almost like something to rejoice about, as if it were big news. But it is a very normal lawyer visit. It should be more frequent than once a month. Turkish law requires that. But they created such a system in Imrali: ban, ban, ban everything; then when a lawyer visit happens after six years, everyone rejoices and treats it as a big event, makes news. They create that. Then they say visits to Imrali become a big event that affects everyone. You caused it. The system you created leads to this. Is there anything incomprehensible about that?

So we will say this: there is no change in the Imrali isolation system. The hostage situation continues. Yes, in one sense, isolation has weakened a little. Laws are partially applied in their current form. But that is all.

Here we are in October. On October 1 this process began with Devlet Bahçeli's behavior. On 22 October, it took a step with Bahçeli's meeting in Parliament. On October 23 it gained momentum with Abdullah Öcalan's statements in a meeting for the first time in four years. With the February 27 call for Peace and Democratic Society, a process that took on an identity has been established."

Asked what has not happened this year?, Kalkan said: "A year ago, if someone had said these things could happen, everyone would have said they were crazy.

Some among us predicted such things. They did not say it explicitly but said, 'many changes will happen in 2025.' We asked, 'what changes?' 'They will affect us,' they said. But all of these things have happened. Abdullah Öcalan did them, the PKK did them, the Kurdish side did them. The PKK decided to dissolve its organizational structure and end the strategy of armed struggle. On July 11 the Peace and Democratic Society group burned their weapons and clearly and decisively showed the world how determined they are to switch to a democratic political struggle strategy and end the armed struggle. The Kurds did this."

Bahçeli seems to have forgotten his words

Kalkan underlined that "Devlet Bahçeli spoke last week. He said, 'Let him come and speak in Parliament, let him speak in the DEM Party group, let him do politics in Ankara' — he seems to have forgotten those words. Now he says, 'Let him manage the process from İmralı, let him call on Rojava under hostage conditions!'

What can a person do under hostage conditions? What can be done in the İmralı torture isolation system? Did Devlet Bahçeli forget this? A year passed; were his words implemented? He shows no interest. He seems to have forgotten. His words are way behind. He thinks he can deceive us by simply calling him a 'founding leader.'

Abdullah Öcalan said, 'I will neither deceive nor be deceived.' We are not fools or children. Everyone should sit properly and speak correctly. This cannot go on. It will not work like this. You will speak, you will promise, you will influence the public; then slowly you will withdraw and spread it over time. Won't people see this as a game? Won't they call it a trick? They will say it openly. First, that must be seen."

Kalkan continued: "How Abdullah Öcalan will do this under those conditions?, Can he do politics, can he set up an organization, can he meet anyone? Has he been able to meet anyone in Northeast Syria, to have a discussion? How could he? Is there such a miracle? They thought so.

But from the start, we declared a ceasefire. We said, 'We will implement these decisions but we have one condition: Abdullah Öcalan must manage it...

'Hold a congress. Hold a congress for the dissolution of the PKK and the end of the armed struggle', they said. Abdullah Öcalan said so. We conveyed this to Abdullah Öcalan by letter and publicly: 'We will hold the congress, we will make the decisions, but we cannot implement them. The only person who can implement them is Abdullah Öcalan. If Abdullah Öcalan is free and able to work and there is leadership, he will implement it. Otherwise, it cannot be done."

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Ömer Güneş: The issue is political, and so is the solution

ÖMER GÜNEŞ | MANNHEIM | 18 October 2025

If the process is to evolve towards peace and a solution, issues such as what democratic law truly means, how the legal rights of Kurds will be established and how constitutional and international legal guarantees will be ensured must be brought into discussion. Moreover, this must not be done through the existing legal framework in Turkey, but from the perspective of universal and necessary principles of law.

There are two major problems concerning Abdullah Öcalan within the framework of the "right to hope":

* The way Turkey approaches the law regarding Kurds,

* The fact that the Council of Europe has been slow in addressing the matter.

In fact, legally, in the case of Öcalan v. Turkey, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) ruled in March 2014 that a person cannot be held in prison for life without the possibility of release. In connection with this ruling, it later emphasized the principle of the right to appeal, in parallel with changes in political and social conditions over time. Within this framework, it proposed a mechanism for the review of the case.

Delayed call by the Committee of Ministers

The body responsible for ensuring the implementation of the judgments of the ECtHR by member states is the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The Committee of Ministers monitors whether these rulings are put into effect. If a judgment is not implemented, it keeps the issue on the agenda before the Council of Europe and applies the necessary procedures with the state concerned to seek a solution. Mr. Öcalan's case has been before the Council of Europe since 2015. Despite this, the Committee of Ministers made its first serious call to Turkey only in 2021. However, this call did not impose any significant sanction on Turkey; rather, it remained in the form of a recommendation. The issue was brought back onto the agenda in a more serious manner in September 2024, when the Council of Europe called on Turkey to review the judgment concerning Mr. Öcalan within the framework of the "right to hope" and to introduce the necessary legal amendments to enable this right to be realized.

The Committee did not even issue a strong warning

Turkey has made no legal amendment on this matter. Not only does Turkey lack any intention of doing so, but it also does not feel sufficient pressure from the Council of Europe. As a result, it continues to act comfortably without showing even the slightest indication of willingness to introduce such legislation. Mr. Öcalan's case came before the Council of Europe once again in September. Unfortunately, instead of taking a serious decision, the Council merely issued a recommendation to Turkey. In fact, according to its own internal regulations, the Council of Europe should have made a strong and serious call to Turkey. A commission should have been established regarding Turkey, and a strict monitoring process should have been initiated by this commission. Clear and firm warnings should have been issued, stating that Turkey **would face severe sanctions if it failed to comply with the ECtHR ruling.**

The issue has been political from the very beginning

In reality, law in Turkey has never included those outside the imposed notion of "Turkishness." Its legal basis has never been questioned or debated. Therefore, it is impossible to speak of any "law of nations" or a legal system that protects ethnic identities other than "Turkishness." Such a legal culture, legal construction or legal perspective has never existed in Turkey. For this reason, only one form of law exists, namely "the law of the Sunni White Turk." In this context, the Kurdish question, the heavy sentence imposed on Mr. Öcalan, the prosecution of Kurdish politicians and the accusation of terrorism against all those who struggle for Kurdish rights, regardless of their method or level of engagement are entirely the result of this mentality. Since there is no such thing as Kurdish law, the issue has been political from the outset; it is not a legal matter. Even if it were to be approached as a legal matter in Turkey, it would still be confined within the framework of the "law of the White Turk," and this law contains no humane principles whatsoever.

The solution will also be political

In civilized countries, accusations based on thought, freedom of expression, the law of nations or ethnic identity are not accepted, and there is no such concept as a "political crime." Therefore, the issue is entirely political, and its solution will also be political. Law can only provide a facilitating framework to this process within the boundaries of universal and democratic principles. Of course, this is a hope for what ought to be. Yet, there is an additional problem in Turkey concerning the implementation of law: the problem of "legal interpretation" instead of the rule of law. Every law has a framework and what jurists call its "spirit." However, judges and judicial authorities interpret the law in line with the will, interests and directives of the government and the state. In this way, a non-legal interpretation is presented by legal authorities as a legitimate legal judgment. In Turkey, "interpretation" goes far beyond the law itself. A judicial practice has emerged in which interpretation replaces law and the very meaning of legislation has collapsed. As a result, even existing laws become meaningless at a certain point.

Problematic social dynamics

If the current process in Turkey is to evolve into a peace process, then what truly constitutes democratic law, how a legal framework for Kurds will be established and how constitutional and international legal guarantees will be ensured must be seriously discussed. This must not be done through the existing legal understanding in Turkey but rather from the perspective of universal principles of law, law as it should be. In this respect, European politics must act as a political guide for Turkey. I do not believe that Turkey's internal social dynamics are conducive to democratization. Therefore, political pressure from outside Turkey is extremely important. In states like Turkey, which are based solely on a narrow ethnic identity and a specific religious understanding and remain closed to all other identities, beliefs and opinions, law functions merely as a tool to formalize administrative decisions.

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Sipan Hemo: Accelerating the integration process depends on the government's positions and steps

ANF | 18 October 2025

Sipan Hemo, a member of the General Command of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and a member of the military committee negotiating with the Damascus government, confirmed that the SDF is ready to join the new Syrian Army to be formed—but only if the integration is carried out on the basis of respect for the SDF's identity, struggle, and sacrifices, and if the rights of all components of the Syrian people are preserved without exception. He emphasized that the next steps of the Damascus government will determine whether the integration process will accelerate, slow down, or even freeze.

In a lengthy interview with the SDF Media Center, Hemo provided a comprehensive overview of the SDF's vision regarding the ongoing negotiations with the Damascus government, discussing the obstacles facing the integration process since the signing of the March 10, 2025, agreement. He stressed that the SDF will remain a unified national force defending all Syrians until a just, democratic system is achieved.

The text of the interview is as follows:

The Launch of Dialogues with Damascus

On behalf of the Syrian Democratic Forces, I salute all components of northern and eastern Syria, and Syria in general. As you know, a series of meetings and dialogues have taken place between us and the Damascus government, and the term integration has been introduced into the negotiation framework since the March 10 agreement.

Since the founding of the Syrian Democratic Forces, we have struggled for a fundamental goal: building a democratic Syria based on participation and guaranteeing the rights of all components of the Syrian people without discrimination or exclusion. For this goal, our forces were founded and continue to adhere to it. They have fought fierce battles against the terrorist organization ISIS and all aggressors, making enormous sacrifices to achieve this goal.

SDF: A Political and Social Project Before Being a Military Force

The Syrian Democratic Forces are not merely a military formation; rather, they are forces with a clear political and social vision. From the outset, they declared their struggle against marginalization, dictatorship, and injustice—and have continued that struggle steadfastly.

This struggle persisted until the fall of the Ba'athist regime, after which an interim government was formed, based on Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham. On March 10, 2025, an agreement was signed with Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham, and since then, we have engaged in direct dialogue to discuss ways to implement that agreement.

Integration is Necessary to Build the New Syrian Army

We seek integration into the future Syrian army and believe that the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) form the foundation for building the new national army. In fact, a truly national Syrian army cannot be built without the participation of the SDF. In this context, we have declared our readiness to join the new army, and this remains our strategic goal.

In recent periods, our forces have been accused of obstructing or delaying the integration process. These allegations are completely untrue and unfounded.

On the contrary, we are eager to join the new army, but some parties are attempting to interpret the integration process through narrow visions that remain captive to the mentality of the former regime.

These parties seek to eliminate our forces or erase their political, social, and administrative identity—something we will absolutely not accept, as such attempts cannot be described as patriotic or aligned with legitimate national objectives.

We emphasize that the integration we seek must preserve the identity of the SDF and respect its struggle. We are not only referring to North and East Syria but to all Syrian components that should participate in building the new Syria: Sunnis, Druze, Christians, Kurds, and Alawites.

If the rights of even one component are not recognized, Syria will not yet have been freed from the injustice it has long suffered.

Last Damascus Meeting: Positive Atmosphere Needs Results on the Ground

During the last meeting in Damascus, a positive atmosphere prevailed with our participation, along with that of the Ministry of Defense and several U.S. officials.

However, no tangible results were achieved, and the outcomes were limited to verbal promises and general statements of intent without clear, written agreements.

We emphasized the need to translate the positive atmosphere into practical steps on the ground.

Obstacles to Trust and Reassurance

During the meeting, we discussed the mechanisms for integrating the Syrian Democratic Forces into the Syrian Army. We elaborated on the reasons and motivations behind the formation and struggle of the SDF, and we explicitly stated that the reasons that led to its formation still exist.

For the integration process to succeed, the root causes of the threats facing our people in northern and eastern Syria must be addressed.

In our view, the Interim Government remains unable to instill reassurance and security among the various components and has not taken serious steps to alleviate fears.

Recently, we have witnessed disastrous policies by the government and its forces, manifested in mass killings targeting Alawites and Druze, in addition to widespread security chaos across the country.

These practices pose a serious challenge to the SDF's integration efforts and underscore the urgent need for our forces to continue protecting our people. Here, we ask: What positive, tangible steps has the Interim Government taken to support the integration process in light of these violations?

The Sheikh Maqsoud Attack and New Concerns

At a time when we are discussing the integration of the SDF, the Sheikh Maqsoud neighborhood in Aleppo was subjected to a siege and attack—despite the March 10 agreement under which our forces withdrew from the area.

Nevertheless, factions affiliated with the Damascus government attacked the besieged neighborhood, attempting to replicate what happened in Sweida and on the coast, attacking the area from ten fronts.

Had it not been for the steadfastness and resistance of the residents—based on their previous experience between 2013 and 2016—the catastrophe would have been even greater.

These attacks raise many questions and concerns and completely contradict the propaganda suggesting that the situation is going well.

Therefore, positive rhetoric must be transformed into practical steps that inspire reassurance—not actions that generate tension and problems, as is currently the case.

Exclusion from Decision-Making Institutions

We have repeatedly emphasized that the exclusion of Syrian communities—especially our people in northern and eastern Syria—from dialogue conferences, constitution drafting, lawmaking, and government formation represents a real problem for us.

The other side must realize that disregarding the will of Syrian communities will prevent the current government from being representative of all Syrians.

No government or army can be respected unless all communities participate in its construction.

Syria will not be a homeland for all without the participation of all, and we will not allow a repetition of the exclusionary policies that Syrians have suffered for decades.

The presence of the SDF is essential for protecting Syria and its communities.

We emphasize that our presence within the Syrian Army is a prerequisite for overcoming the current crisis and protecting all communities.

However, this integration must be based on mutual respect and partnership—not on the vision of some parties in Damascus, who base their plans on exclusion and liquidation.

Therefore, dialogue will continue, and addressing our people's concerns will remain the foundation of any action we take.

As long as the current government does not take real measures to reassure Syrian communities, the SDF will remain the force defending the existence, lives, and identity of our people against any threat.

The Timeline of the Integration Process

We explained to officials in Damascus that accelerating the integration process depends on their positions and next steps regarding the rights of all communities and on opening the door to national partnership.

Their next steps will determine whether the integration process will accelerate, slow down, or even freeze.

We presented one clear example they could pursue to prepare the ground for the SDF's integration—namely, the Afrin issue. We emphasized that the return of displaced Afrin residents, compensation for those affected, and holding accountable those responsible for violations are key indicators of the government's seriousness in building a national army.

We told them that their position on Afrin will be the true benchmark for their stance on other issues in North and East Syria, and in Syria as a whole.

If you act justly toward Afrin, address the injustices, and pave the way for the return of the displaced, then the Interim Government can be viewed differently—not only regarding Afrin, but for all of Syria.

SDF: A Unifying National Force

We have reiterated that the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) are a national Syrian force and the only force capable of communicating and coordinating with all Syrian components—Sunnis, Kurds, Druze, Alawites, Christians, and even the government in Damascus.

We are prepared to be the core of the new Syrian Army and a guarantee for correcting the country's political and military course.

Through their struggle and policies, our forces have proven the success of their national project in preserving Syria's geographic and social unity at a time when the country was torn apart by sectarianism and divisions.

This is why the SDF enjoys widespread respect among all Syrian components.

A Message to the Components of North and East Syria

Since the founding of the People's Protection Units (YPG), and later the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), we have sacrificed thousands of martyrs in defense of our people and in pursuit of building a shared homeland for all Syrians.

We have achieved great accomplishments and will continue to achieve further gains worthy of our people's sacrifices.

Today, we live in safety and stability in our regions thanks to the SDF, while the rest of Syria suffers from chaos and daily killings.

Therefore, we must preserve what we have achieved and confront all conspiracies and challenges.

We hope that the security we are experiencing will spread throughout all regions of Syria—from Sweida to the coast, and from the interior to the north—based on tolerance, coexistence, and generosity.

Our people must trust their forces and fighters, knowing that they will not hesitate for a moment to defend them and will continue their struggle no matter how severe the challenges.

We call on everyone to be vigilant against the attempts of enemies seeking to undermine our cohesion and implement their destructive plans.

I especially mention the people of Deir ez-Zor and Raqqa, who must realize that the Syrian Democratic Forces, which sacrificed thousands of martyrs to liberate them from ISIS terrorism, will continue to defend them and represent them in Damascus in a manner befitting their sacrifices.

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Opinion

Iraqi elections and the situation in Shengal

ARGEŞ ŞENGALÎ | SHENGAL | 12 October 2025

Preparations have begun for the parliamentary elections scheduled for 11 November in Iraq, and the official election process started a week ago. Taking place in a period when political stability remains elusive, these elections will make the country's internal conflicts and regional rivalries even more visible. Iraq's political and military situation remains chaotic, and elections often become a process heavily influenced by external powers. Therefore, Iraqi parliamentary elections are generally viewed as a reflection of domestic power struggles and regional rivalries. Although the Iraqi Constitution mandates elections every four years, since 2005 there has been little real change in the system of governance. The political balance in the country continues to be maintained among three main forces. Thus, the elections in Iraq function more as a compulsory political procedure than as a genuine democratic process.

Muqtada al-Sadr and his party boycotted the 2021 parliamentary and 2023 provincial elections, creating a major vacuum in Shia politics. Although the boycott led to a drop in voter turnout, control over parliament shifted into the hands of pro-Iranian groups — a development that those circles considered a success. Iran's influence in Iraq is not limited to politics; Iran-backed armed groups, such as the Hashd al-Shaabi (Popular Mobilization Forces), also play a decisive role in domestic decision-making mechanisms. Consequently, the issue of expelling U.S. and Turkish troops from Iraq has become one of the central

themes of election campaigns. Political divisions in Iraq continue to deepen, particularly among Sunni and Kurdish communities.

Each group seeks to safeguard its own interests by strengthening ties either with Iran or with the West, particularly the U.S. and Europe. The U.S. and several Western countries aim to curb the influence of Iran-aligned Shia groups. As a result, some individuals and organizations linked to Iran have been placed on "terror lists." The objective is to cut off Iran's financial resources and weaken these groups' power. Similarly, efforts are underway to limit the influence of Iran-backed structures like Hashd al-Shaabi within state institutions. While the Iraqi government struggles to bring these groups under control, it faces international pressure to remove them from official positions. The main goal of the U.S. and anti-Iran forces is to reduce Iran's military influence in Iraq and prevent the country from turning into an "open battlefield." However, due to Baghdad's close ties with Tehran, these objectives have not been fully achieved.

Turkey and Iran's influence over Baghdad

Both Iran and Turkey are key regional actors with significant interests in Iraq. Iran seeks to keep a Shia-dominated government in power and strengthen an administration loyal to its agenda, using Shia parties and militias to maintain leverage in Baghdad. Turkey, meanwhile, exerts both economic and military pressure. Seeking to benefit from Iraq's instability, Ankara aims to strengthen its ties with Baghdad and Hewlêr (Erbil) in the fields of energy and trade. Turkey's military occupations in Southern Kurdistan directly influence Iraqi electoral politics. Both Turkey and Iran attempt to shape election outcomes through the parties and alliances they support to suit their own interests.

Kurdistan Region President Nechirvan Barzani and Iraqi Foreign Minister Fuad Hussein recently visited Turkey ahead of the elections. This visit took place during a highly sensitive period, coinciding with the anniversary of the International Conspiracy. In 1998, the KDP supported Turkey's role in that conspiracy against Abdullah Öcalan. On 9 October 2019, Turkey invaded Serêkaniyê and Girê Spî with full military force, while the KDP closed the Habur border gate, halting all crossings to Rojava. Again, on 9 October 2022, the Iraqi government, the KDP, and the United States signed the 9 October Agreement against the Yazidi people. That agreement continues to serve as a political tool targeting the Yazidi community today. Both Nechirvan Barzani and Fuad Hussein are trying to strengthen their positions within the Baghdad government with Turkey's support — efforts that have intensified as the elections approach.

Shengal has always been a critical region in Iraqi elections. Every political force, especially the KDP, seeks to expand its influence there. After abandoning thousands of Yazidis to ISIS gangs during their attacks, the KDP is now trying to reassert control over Shengal. The signing of the 9 October Agreement between Baghdad and Hewlêr amounted to a denial of the Yazidi community's will. The KDP repeatedly pressured the Iraqi government to enforce this agreement but faced strong resistance from the Yazidi people each time. The presence of the Iraqi army and other political forces in Shengal directly affects both the elections and the return of displaced residents. In the 2023 local council elections, the votes of the Yazidis living in camps were largely shaped by the influence of regional political parties. For the past 11 years, the KDP has used these votes to serve its own interests and manipulate election outcomes.

KDP's electoral strategy and objectives in Shengal

The candidate selection process generally depends on the decisions of the Iraqi High Electoral Commission. The quota reserved for the Yazidis often becomes an open instrument of political manipulation, frequently used to favor candidates supported by the KDP or other major parties. This results in the suppression of Shengal's self-governing will at both political and institutional levels, leaving Yazidi representation under the control of external parties. In the 2023 provincial elections, the KDP aimed to maintain and strengthen its position in Nineveh province, particularly in Shengal, but failed to do so and subsequently altered its strategy. This time, it has sought to expand its influence by embedding loyal forces within the Yazidi community.

The KDP's main goal is to dismantle the existing autonomous administration in Shengal through cooperation with Baghdad. It seeks to exploit the Yazidi community's electoral representation for its own benefit and to reshape the balance of political power in the region. After suffering setbacks in local elections, the KDP now plans to regain ground in Shengal either with the support of the Baghdad government or through military pressure.

In conclusion, the Iraqi elections are seen as a crucial stage in determining both internal and regional power balances. Shengal, however, remains one of the regions most deeply affected by this ongoing power struggle.

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The state's contradiction with the Kurdish language

ANF | 18 October 2025

The official X account of the Turkish Parliament made a post in Kurdish for the first time. The Kurdish words spoken by Parliamentary Speaker Numan Kurtulmuş during the opening ceremony of the 2025–2026 Academic Year at Dicle University, "Bi hev re bibin dil bi dil, dest bi dest; aşîtî li nav me ra be" (Be united, heart to heart, hand in hand; let there be peace among us) were shared in Kurdish on the Parliament's official social media account. Yet the same Parliament still records Kurdish speeches in its official minutes as an "unknown language."

The post on X marks the first time a Kurdish expression has been used through the Parliament's official channels. While it quickly became a topic of debate on social media, described by some as "a long-delayed symbolic step", others criticized it as "a double standard on language rights."

Kurdish still recorded as 'unknown language' in the same Parliament

However, the contradiction in the Parliament's approach to the Kurdish language continues. At a time when Kurdish expressions can be shared as a "message of peace" on social media, Kurdish speeches made in the General Assembly of the Parliament are still recorded in the official minutes as an "unknown language." When members of parliament say even a few words in Kurdish at the podium, their microphones are turned off, and those parts are documented in the minutes as "unknown language."

Voice of the Peace Mothers was silenced

The most recent example of this contradiction occurred in recent weeks in the "National Solidarity and Brotherhood Committee." The Peace Mothers, who were invited to the committee, stated that they wanted to express their call for justice and peace which they have maintained for years in Kurdish. However, this request was rejected by Parliamentary Speaker Numan Kurtulmuş himself. Despite their words, "We do not speak Turkish; we want to express our pain in our own language," they were not allowed to speak. This incident took place just weeks before a Kurdish sentence was shared on the Parliament's official account.

Kurdish: between prohibition and symbol

This ambiguous stance toward the Kurdish language has once again exposed the structural contradiction in Turkey's language policy. While Kurdish is showcased as a form of cultural diversity on the surface, it is still kept outside the boundaries of legitimacy in the political sphere.

Where does the word 'peace' truly resonate?

The emphasis on "aşîtî" (peace) by Parliamentary Speaker Numan Kurtulmuş in Diyarbakır (Amed) carries symbolic meaning for those living in the Kurdish region. However, the same office's refusal to allow Kurdish to be spoken under the roof of the Parliament turns this symbolism into a political inconsistency. Kurdish, presented as the "language of peace," is at the same time rendered "unknown" by the language of power. Kurdish still does not possess an officially recognized status in the official documents of the Republic of Turkey. Its use in education, public services and the judiciary is not permitted. Although limited legal changes in 2012 allowed Kurdish to be introduced as an "elective course," it remains "unrecognized" in the eyes of state institutions.

The sharing of a Kurdish sentence on the Parliament's official account may be a symbolic "first," yet it does not eliminate the systematic exclusion of the Kurdish language. On the contrary, it makes the contradiction in the state's approach, a balance between "visibility and prohibition", even more striking. In a country where Kurdish still cannot be spoken freely in public institutions, especially from the podium of Parliament, society questions whether a few Kurdish words shared on social media can truly be considered a message of "peace."

Source: Mezopotamya Agency

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