

THE İMRALI POST

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

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Contents

Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan.....	2
HDP MPs call for action against the isolation of Öcalan.....	2
Self-immolation in protest against Imrali isolation.....	3
HDP Batman MP asks Ministry of Justice why a ban on visits has been imposed on Öcalan.....	5
Protest against isolation cancelled in Berlin due to ban on Öcalan pictures.....	5
Prisons in Turkey.....	6
Female prisoners launch hunger strike in Şakran.....	6
Prisoners in Afyonkarahisar No. 1 T Type Closed jail go on hunger strike, today.....	7
Violation of human rights in Afyon prison continues to increase.....	7
Peace Vigil: Release ill prisoners, lift isolation.....	8
Letter from prisoner who set himself on fire: “I wanted to break the silence”.....	9
Prosecutor dismisses an investigation into imprisoned women journalists’ complaint over strip-searches.....	10
Investigation against prisoners in Sincan chanting ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’.....	10
Jailed journalists mark Working Journalists’ Day: A day of resistance.....	11
ÖHD publishes report on inhumane practices in Sincan Women’s Closed Prison.....	12
Political prisoners in Giresun jail beaten and tortured.....	13
Hunger strike against rights violations in Şakran Women’s Prison continues on its 14th day.....	14
Military aggression and occupation.....	14
Turkish attack injures 6 Syrian soldiers in Shera, Afrin.....	14
HSM publishes balance sheet of war for 2022.....	15
HRE releases annual balance sheet for 2022: 204 invaders killed.....	17
Syrian regime embargo claims lives.....	18
Kurdish revolutionary Menal Mêrdîn murdered in Shengal.....	20
Turkish state bombs Rojava.....	21
Child injured by Turkish drone attack near Ain Issa.....	22
Syrian Democratic Council and Syrian National Alliance agree on a joint plan.....	22
Germany claims there is no sufficient evidence that Turkey violates international law in Afrin.....	23
HPG reports ongoing Turkish attacks with banned bombs and chemical weapons.....	24
Turkey attacks 13 villages in five hours.....	25
Artillery attacks on villages in Rojava.....	25
YRK announces the names of three fighters martyred in Turkish attack in Asos.....	26
Protests and regime crackdown continue in Iran and East Kurdistan.....	27
Femicide.....	28
10,000 men and women trained in Jineoloji academies and centers in 2022.....	28
Men killed at least 19 women in December.....	29
Munzur University Democratic Student Council asks about the fate of Gülistan Doku.....	29

New femicide in Izmir.....	30
16-year-old subjected to systematic rape by policemen and officials in Van.....	30
Paris massacre.....	31
Intelligence technology blown up at site of massacre in Paris.....	31
British police detain Kurds on their way to Paris commemoration.....	32
Paris martyr Mîr Perwer laid to rest in Muş under military blockade.....	32
Paris martyr Abdurrahman Kızıl laid to rest in Kars.....	33
Tens of thousands in Paris demand France to act for justice.....	34
German police prevent activists from traveling to Paris to protest deadly attacks against Kurds.....	37
‘By covering up the 2013 massacre, France prepared the ground for the second Paris massacre’.....	38
Ten years ago today, The first Paris massacre.....	40
What shooters in two Paris massacres have in common.....	43
Ecocide.....	45
Turkish army sets fire to forests, once again.....	45
300 more olive trees cut down in occupied Afrin.....	46
Human Rights Violations.....	46
Police injured two young men with gun in Istanbul.....	46
New footage shows police violence in Amed.....	47
Protesters fleeing Iran tortured by Turkish soldiers at Van border.....	47
Police in Mersin take 8 people into custody.....	48
‘Suspension of treasury funds to the HDP is another black mark in Turkey’s history of democracy’.....	48
DFG: 39 journalists arrested, 76 sentenced in 2022.....	50
Former German MP faces trial over solidarity with Kurdistan.....	51
Anadolu University professor suspended for 3 months after asking question about HDP closure case.....	53
Attacks by Turkish soldiers on refugees are increasing.....	53
Interview.....	54
Kalkan: Turkish state and AKP-MHP are behind Paris massacre.....	54
Lawyer David Andic: Paris massacre was a planned, professional terrorist attack.....	62
Announcements.....	66
Challenging Capitalist Modernity IV Conference in Hamburg.....	66
Who Are We?.....	68



Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan

HDP MPs call for action against the isolation of Öcalan

ANF | ANKARA | 13 JANUARY 2023

For 17 days, MPs from the HDP parliamentary group have been protesting for the lifting of the total isolation of Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan, of whom there has been no sign of life for 22 months. Day after day, the MPs try to march in front of the Ministry of Justice, but are prevented from doing so by the police and therefore make statements in front of the parliament. Today's protest was attended by MPs

Muazzez Orhan, Remziye Tosun, Hüseyin Kaçmaz, Kemal Peköz, Erdal Aydemir, Nuran İmir, Celadet Gaydalı and Abdullah Koç. The MPs carried signs reading “The law must also apply to İmralı” and “Isolation is a crime against humanity”.

HDP MP Huseyin Kaçmaz took the floor and said: “With the isolation of Mr. Öcalan on İmralı, all human rights are being trampled underfoot. The state must abide by the law and act according to the law. Today, every prisoner has the right to see his family and his lawyer. However, the exercise of this right has been prevented by the isolation on İmralı for two years.”

Kaçmaz noted that the isolation on İmralı has affected the whole country: “The peoples of Turkey are also isolated today. The impasse in which Turkey finds itself, the crises in politics and the economy, are directly related to the isolation. Behind all this is hostility towards the Kurds.”

Kaçmaz described the isolation as a crime against humanity and continued: “The government has turned a deaf ear to our demands for 17 days. Without this anti-Kurdish attitude, the way for talks on İmralı would have been paved. Öcalan had promised that he could end the war and the conflict situation within a week. However, the AKP/MHP government has not shown any seriousness towards this.”

With regard to the announced war budget of 2023, the MP stated: “There is a budget for war, there is a budget for Kurdish hostility, but there is no budget for the peoples of Turkey. War impoverishes society. Mr. Öcalan can end the war that has been going on for 40 years and achieve a dignified peace. The state should take this seriously but it responds to these calls by tightening isolation.”

Kaçmaz concluded his statement with an appeal: “As long as Mr. Öcalan's voice is not heard, the war, will deepen. The key to the solution lies on İmralı, the government must realise this. What is the government's fear of peace? What is the reason for imposing death and war on the Kurdish people and the people of Turkey? Everyone must raise their voices and do something about isolation.”

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Self-immolation in protest against İmralı isolation

ANF | MARDIN | 14 JANUARY 2023

On Thursday evening, 65-year-old Veysi (Bubo) Taş burnt himself to death in the industrial area of the Artuklu district in the northern Kurdish province of Mardin in protest against the total isolation of Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan. After unsuccessful treatment in hospital, Taş lost his life and was buried by his family.

Veysi (Bubo) Taş experienced repression and torture in his life. He was detained during the military coup of 12 September and severely tortured in Amed (tr. Diyarbakır) prison. Six months ago, he was released after a second detention. Before his self-immolation, he recorded a video and justified his act.

“Tonight, I will protest against the isolation on İmralı”

In the video, Taş explained: “As Musa (Anter) said, I am both a witness and a defendant in this case. I have dedicated my life to this cause, though not as strongly as he has. For ten years I had withdrawn from the struggle. For ten years I tried to stand on my own two feet. My life has passed. That is why tonight I will set my body on fire to protest against the İmralı isolation. I have no other goal or motivation. I want my children, my siblings, and my nephews and nieces to be sure of this. I have a wish for them, I want them to be sure that I am not sacrificing my life because of the people on the other side. I am not such a simple-minded person.

I sacrifice my life for this cause, I sacrifice my life for the leader of Kurdistan, because I have dedicated my whole life to this cause. For ten years I had separated myself from the struggle. I was ready to do anything, but I became silent and could not do anything because of my age. Because I am old, I can no longer do anything. Think of Abdullah Öcalan—22 years in captivity ... Don't get me wrong. I don't hate anyone. I'm not angry. I appeal to the Kurdish people. Hold each other. Nothing else will help us.”

“I am leaving out of love and free will”

Taş went on to say: “I am personally carrying out this action tonight for Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of Kurdistan. He has been in solitary confinement for 22 months. I condemn this isolation. If our leader, who has been totally isolated for 22 months, is not allowed to speak, then we as Kurds must stand up for him. Otherwise, we will all be destroyed one by one along the way. We will disperse. This is my wish for the Kurdish youth and Kurdish women. I bow deeply to you. Goodbye, all of you. The caravan of martyrs is waiting for me. Xelef Kavri has been my comrade from the beginning. The Night of Four, Ferhat Kurtay, are waiting for me. I will carry out my action with my head held high. No matter how many grandchildren and children I have, they are all in my heart. I love and kiss them all. May my brothers and sisters be healthy. May they take care of my grandchildren and children, help them. That is what I ask of them. I have told my daughters that their father is an honorable man. Your father has never brought anything bad upon you. Money, property, possessions have no meaning. They will all disappear with death. We will all go that way. But when a man is honorable, is on the path of humanity, on the path of home, that is the most beautiful thing. As beautiful as life is, so is death. If you don't know your life, you don't know your death ... My daughter-in-law, my children, my nephews, don't cry after me. Trill after me. For I have opened the way of dignity and decency for you.

My time is over. I kiss you all. Don't cry for me. Trill. My time is over. Goodbye. Goodbye. Take care of yourselves. I go with a smile. I go out of love and my own will. I am not leaving under pressure, don't get me wrong. This action is a political action. It is for our leader. I want you to understand that. Take care of yourselves. Whoever has a right to do so, I ask for their forgiveness. May they do the same. May they also be on a good path. Stay well.”

HDP Batman MP asks Ministry of Justice why a ban on visits has been imposed on Öcalan

ANF | ANKARA | 15 JANUARY 2023

Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) Batman MP Feleknas Uca asked Minister of Justice Bekir Bozdağ about the heavy isolation imposed upon Kurdish people's leader Abdullah Öcalan in Imrali F Type High Security Prison.

The written motion recalled that the family and lawyer applications for a visit made by Abdullah Öcalan's lawyers were rejected because of an alleged “disciplinary action” and a “ban on visits”.

In her motion, Uca asked the following about Öcalan and the other three prisoners held in Imrali, Ömer Hayri Konar, Veysi Aktaş and Hamili Yıldırım:

— Is there an explanation for the ban on visits imposed on Mr. Öcalan and the other prisoners, who have not been heard for more than 21 months and whose communication channels have been blocked, because of an alleged ‘disciplinary punishment’?

— What is the justification for the ‘disciplinary punishment’ given to Mr. Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Veysi Aktaş and Hamili Yıldırım?

— Why information about the reason for the disciplinary punishment given to Mr. Abdullah Öcalan and other prisoners and the date of the punishment is not shared with the lawyers?

— What is the legal basis for preventing Mr. Abdullah Öcalan, Ömer Hayri Konar, Veysi Aktaş and Hamili Yıldırım from meeting with their families and lawyers?

— What is the reason for insisting on this practice, which is a violation of the prohibition of torture article of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)?”

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Protest against isolation cancelled in Berlin due to ban on Öcalan pictures

ANF | BERLIN | 15 JANUARY 2023

A demonstration planned for Saturday afternoon in Berlin against the prison conditions of Abdullah Öcalan was cancelled by the organisers shortly before it began. The reason for the cancellation is a legal requirement by the Berlin police to prohibit the display of the Kurdish leader's portrait. “We have decided

to respond to this arbitrary repression by cancelling the demonstration,” said Erhan Firat, co-chair of the association Freie Kurdische Gemeinde Berlin [Free Kurdish Community in Berlin]. Those present, including activists from the Dest-Dan Women's Council and internationalist activists, supported the decision of the organising committee and chanted “Bijî Serok Apo” [Long Live Leader Öcalan].

“It speaks for the anti-Kurdish mentality of certain authorities that the display of Öcalan’s images is prohibited even if it is ‘socially appropriate’, as it is called in the jargon of the authorities,” Firat said. “This is the case, for example, with a vigil which, without any connection to PKK-affiliated activities, only wants to make the personal situation of the political hostage Abdullah Öcalan the subject of public opinion-forming. This was exactly our intention with our demonstration, which was to bear the slogan “Azadî ji bo Öcalan” [Freedom for Öcalan]. There are various court rulings according to which showing pictures of Öcalan in connection with his prison conditions is not forbidden. But the police accuse us of wanting to show the pictures because we are pursuing a general political cause and are not at all concerned with Öcalan’s personal situation. This is more than nonsense in view of the concerns of our society in view of his prison conditions.”

For months now, protests by the Kurdish community have again been taking place on a daily basis in Germany and other European countries. Countless people are demanding clarity about the situation of Abdullah Öcalan, the PKK founder who has been imprisoned on the Turkish prison island of Imrali since 1999. The protests are prompted by the complete silence on the situation of the 73-year-old Kurdish leader and the demand that the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) ensure contact with him and his fellow prisoners. For almost two years, Öcalan has not been allowed to see his family members or consult his legal counsel. The last sign of life from him was a telephone conversation with his brother Mehmet Öcalan in March 2021, which was interrupted for unknown reasons. Since the Asrin Law Office, which legally represents Öcalan and the three other Imrali prisoners, stated at the end of November that the CPT had no personal contact with Öcalan during its last visit to Turkey in September, concern for the life and safety of the Kurdish leader has increased. Kurdish society is demanding clarification about the CPT’s visit to Imrali and information about the condition of the prisoners.

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Prisons in Turkey

Female prisoners launch hunger strike in Şakran

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2023

Violations of rights in Turkish prisons have unprecedentedly increased. Political prisoners are trying to make their voices heard through hunger strike actions in various prisons.

Yet another hunger strike action has been launched in the Şakran Women's Closed Prison, where arbitrary and systematic violations of rights have become rampant.

Prisoners are protesting stand-up counts, aggravated isolation conditions, restrictions on books, and bans on going to the yard in company with other inmates.

Prisoner writer Leyla Saraç kicked off the hunger strike which was launched as a warning to the prison administration. The hunger strike will be rotating every 10 days.

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Prisoners in Afyonkarahisar No. 1 T Type Closed jail go on hunger strike, today

ANF | MERSIN | 3 JANUARY 2023

Pressure, violations of rights and torture against detainees in prisons continue to increase. It was reported that 16 detainees held in Afyonkarahisar No. 1 T Type Closed Prison were subjected to torture when their wards were raided, and they did not accept the standing count. The prisoners said that they will go on hunger strike today.

Prisoner Cumali Yıldırım talked about the rights violations they were subjected to at a visit he held with his family. He said that their wards were raided, they were tortured and beaten because they refused to obey to a standing count order. Yıldırım said: "Our friend Turan Bilen was dragged to the ground. We were beaten and insulted. We responded to the situation with the slogan 'Human dignity will defeat torture.'

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Violation of human rights in Afyon prison continues to increase

ANF | 6 JANUARY 2023

Afyon No. 1 T-Type Prison has sadly made a name for itself because of the violation of rights and the sale of drugs by the guards to detainees. The pressure on the prisoners is increasing and the long-standing and ever-increasing oppression and torture was once again exposed during the prisoners' visits with their families.

A prisoner named Harun Paçal told his family in detail what he experienced. The Paçal family said that the most common pressure applied in the prison is the ward raids that are routinely made by the prison administration.

According to what Paçal told his family, the prison administration ordered the raid of the wards at 5 am. The guards, said the prisoner, destroyed all their belongings, from books to tea bags and biscuits.

Harun Paçal told his family that in some raids, some prisoners were thrown from a height of two meters by the guards and that other prisoners who reacted to this were beaten.

Paçal's family, on the other hand, said that these pressures were applied not only to the prisoners, but also to the families. The hours of visits were arbitrarily changed, the right to telephone conversation was restricted, and they were insulted while being interviewed by guards.

Prisoners on hunger strike

Six prisoners went on hunger strike on 3 January against the oppression and torture. They are: Habil Emen, Yusuf Birkan, Yusuf Erkek, Mehmet Emin Dal, Sıraç Keskin and Cumali Yıldırım.



Peace Vigil: Release ill prisoners, lift isolation

ANF | ANKARA | 6 JANUARY 2023

The Human Rights Association (İHD) carries out the Peace Vigil on the first Friday of every month.

İHD Co-Chair Öztürk Türkdoğan said: “The Forensic medicine institution should not be discriminatory, comprehensive reports of state hospitals should be taken as a basis. It is very important to release sick prisoners during peace processes. There are too many political prisoners in prisons. Arrangements for sick prisoners will bring peace, equality, justice, and freedom.”

İHD Ankara Branch Co-Chair Fatin Kanat said: “According to the statistics of the Ministry of Justice on December 1, 2022, there are 336,315 detainees and convicts in Turkish prisons. Among these people, the number of people aged 65 and over is 5,513 people. According to the İHD Prisons Commission, there are 1,517 ill prisoners in Turkish prisons, of whom at least 651 are in serious condition.”

Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) Parliamentary Human Rights Investigation Commission member Fatma Kurtulan said: “Executions must be postponed as soon as possible for effective treatment of sick prisoners. All sick prisoners should be released as soon as possible.”

Ayşe Uğurlu, a member of the ATO Human Rights Commission, said: “People die before they can be released or shortly after they are released, since the final reports come out of the forensic medicine institution. We think that prisons should respect accountability.”

SES Ankara Branch Co-Chair Kubilay Yalçınkaya said: “The Ministry of Health should play a role by adopting the necessary principles and international conventions. Access to health should be provided in a holistic way.”

Münibe Koç from Peace Mothers Assembly said: “If the isolation is lifted, peace will come, and sick prisoners will get better. If the isolation is not lifted, the conditions of the prisons will not improve. The problems of prisons are related to isolation and peace.”

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Letter from prisoner who set himself on fire: “I wanted to break the silence”

ANF | 9 JANUARY 2023

Isolation, repression, and violence are increasing in Turkish prisons. Every day there are new reports of serious human rights violations. Prisoners resist by all means and risk their bodies and lives. On 23 August, political prisoners were transferred from several prisons in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan to Ereğli Maximum Security Prison in Konya, far from their relatives. In Konya, the prisoners were locked in solitary cells and a one-month communication ban and a ban on visits were imposed. The number of prisoners isolated in solitary cells increased to 40 in the following months.

In Turkey, more and more prisoners are resisting prison conditions that violate human rights by going on hunger strike. Yakup Brukanlı set his body on fire on 28 October 2022. He wanted to send a signal against the rights violations in prison. He had also previously tried to take legal action, but had been turned away. The prisoner survived his self-immolation with serious injuries. In a letter, he tells what happened and how his situation is. He emphasizes that he set his body on fire to break the silence.

About the motivation for his action, Brukanlı writes: “When everyone closed their ears and kept silent about this unlawful arbitrary act, I had come to the conclusion that this [self-immolation] is the right way to break this ignorance. Man is a living being with his own identity and social values. Without that, it is not possible to talk about human society and existence. This situation is related to the state of consciousness. The more a person’s consciousness of social values is developed, the more he or she bases his or her practical behavior on them. In my opinion, every person who says ‘I am me’ must protect his identity, sociality, and dignity against all kinds of attacks.”

Regarding his situation after his self-immolation, Brukanlı says: “Let me explain my state of health as follows: I have 30-35 per cent injuries on my body. There are first, second and third degree burns. When I was first taken to the hospital, I refused treatment. They only bandaged the wounds and sent me back. In the hospital ward, I change the bandages every day. The first-degree burns have healed. The third-degree burns have regressed to second-degree burns and the second-degree burns are continuing.”

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Prosecutor dismisses an investigation into imprisoned women journalists' complaint over strip-searches

ANF | ANKARA | 10 JANUARY 2023

Five women journalists, who were among the nine journalists arrested on 29 October as a result of a “terror” investigation into Kurdish media outlets, had filed a complaint, alleging that the incident had happened during their admission to the prison.

Mesopotamia Agency said that responding to the complaint, the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office said the practice was in accordance with the regulations.

There were four CDs among the journalists' belongings. The journalists were strip-searched to find out whether they had recording equipment on themselves, said the prosecutor.

The search was performed “without touching the person with bare hands” and “did not violate the privacy of the prisoners in any way,” they further noted.

The journalists filed an appeal with the Ankara Western Penal Judgeship of Peace.



Investigation against prisoners in Sincan chanting ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’

ANF | ANKARA | 10 JANUARY 2023

An investigation was launched against the women detained in Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison on the grounds that they chanted the slogan “Jin, Jiyan, Azadi” on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, 25 November.

An investigation was launched against Rojdan Eraz, who was not released by the Administration and Observation Board even though her sentence had ended, and politician Ayşe Yağcı, who was on trial in the Kobanê Case, on the grounds of “singing anthems or shouting slogans”.

Visit ban

The investigation report said that the “women chanted various Kurdish slogans such as Jin, Jiyan, Azadi...”.

The investigation said that “... it has been evaluated that there are actions that will disrupt the internal order, such as shouting, chanting slogans, all actions that also make the internal functioning of the personnel difficult”.

Pursuant to paragraph 2 of Article 48 of the Law on the Execution of Penalties and Security Measures, detainees were sentenced to a visit ban of a month.

According to JINNEWS, politician Ayşe Yağcı, in her defense to the prison directorate regarding the investigation launched against her, pointed out that the slogan ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’ has become the slogan of freedom all over the world, and said: “Firstly, I perceive the opening of the investigation as a serious problem. The slogan ‘Jin, Jiyan, Azadi’ is a slogan chanted by women in many countries of the world, especially Kurdish women, and even now in Iran, against the mullah regime. This slogan is a slogan against all kinds of violence against women by the male-dominated system. This is not just a slogan for Kurdish women.”

Prisoners protested the decision

Rojdan Erez and Ayşe Yağcı appealed to the Ankara West Court of Execution against the disciplinary punishment given by the Prison Directorate Disciplinary Board.



Jailed journalists mark Working Journalists’ Day: A day of resistance

ANF | 10 JANUARY 2023

According to the Dicle Fırat Journalists’ Association (DFG), 87 journalists remain behind bars on January 10, Working Journalists’ Day. These include 16 journalists who were arrested in Amed on June 16, 2022, and 9 journalists who were arrested in Ankara on October 29, 2022.

Mesopotamia Agency (MA) Editor-in-Chief Diren Yurtsever, who was sent to Sincan Women's High Security Closed Prison after being arrested as part of an Ankara-based investigation, Berivan Altan, Ceylan Şahinli, Deniz Nazlım, Emrullah Acar, Hakan Yalçın and Selman Güzelyüz, and JINNEWS reporters Habibe Eren and Öznur Değer delivered a message to mark the January 10.

‘We will continue to pursue the truth’

The message said: “The Free Press has also been affected by the crackdown on journalists as Turkey remains a top country where journalists are suppressed. The Free Press has always faced a crackdown, but it has never stopped pursuing the truth. We are also journalists, and we will continue to pursue the truth. For a journalist, the place makes no difference. Wherever we are, we will continue to do journalism. We will continue to protect the honor of journalism.”

‘January 10 is a day of resistance to us’

Serdar Altan, Co-Chair of the Dicle Fırat Journalists Association (DFG), who is jailed in Diyarbakır No. 2 High Security Prison, delivered a message through his family to mark January 10. Noting that journalists obtained their personal rights in 1962 after a long struggle against employers, Altan stated that their rights have been targeted since then. The DFG Co-Chair pointed out that apart from the attacks on their rights, crackdown, detentions, censorship and rights violations against journalists have never stopped. Welcoming January 10 as a “day of resistance”, Altan said: “Governments make every effort to prevent us from doing journalism. During the notorious 1990s, they wanted to achieve this by murdering Free Press employees in public. However, when they failed, they started to use the judiciary to punish journalists. They closed the media outlets we worked for. They confiscated our equipment. However, we have never taken a step back in the face of attacks.”

Altan pointed out that 87 journalists welcomed January 10 in prison. He stated: “Even though we are jailed, our struggle to report on the truth continues. It empowers us to know that there are journalists who have the courage to write the truth despite all forms of repression. The days will soon come when we genuinely celebrate January 10 by expanding solidarity among us. I congratulate all my colleagues on January 10, Working Journalists' Day.”



ÖHD publishes report on inhumane practices in Sincan Women’s Closed Prison

ANF | ANKARA | 13 JANUARY 2023

The Free Lawyers Association (ÖHD) Ankara Branch Women’s Commission published its report on Sincan Women’s Closed Prison at a press conference.

Sevda Aydın said that, instead of preventing the massacre of women, the government has made it a primary policy to attack every area where women’s gains are made and to imprison women whom they cannot subdue. She added that the co-presidency and women's struggle were criminalized and made the subject of trial.

Aydın said that thousands of women have been arrested for fighting for equality and freedom and that inhumane practices, especially strip-searches, are carried out in prisons. “Our report makes it clear that strip-searches, solitary confinement, battering, torture, as well as execution laws are prepared with a male perspective and do not contain provisions specific to women and aimed at meeting their needs. The male mentality is making incredible efforts to release the perpetrators of violence and rapists in prison, but the women remain in prison. The government stays away from making any arrangements to prevent discrimination based on gender, to protect women against such discrimination and to prevent discrimination.”

Woman prisoner left to die

Stating that women are exposed to many problems in prison, Aydın said: “The first violation for women begins with strip-searches at the entrance to the prison. Many applications are made to our association with torture allegations. However, the biggest concerns related to prisons are experienced by ill prisoners. Applications made to the Ministry of Justice and the prison administration for ill prisoners to be treated in hospitals are rejected and ill female prisoners are left to die. In particular, the right of access to health turns into torture with political prisoners taken to hospital in handcuffs during their transfer.”

Call for sensitivity

Calling on the authorities to immediately put an end to the inhumane treatment suffered by all women in prison, starting with those in Sincan Women’s Prison, and to implement the recommendations presented in the report, the ÖHD lawyer said: “Moreover, we encourage all women to protest the treatment of prisoners in jail. We urge people to be sensitive to this issue.”

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Political prisoners in Giresun jail beaten and tortured

ANF | GİRESUN | 13 JANUARY 2023

The prisoners in Giresun Espiye L Type Closed Prison said that they were attacked by the prison administration in a phone call with their families.

According to the families’ reports, the prisoners who have been on a rotating hunger strike for about a month against rights violations are subjected to psychological violence every day.

The prisoners told their families that on Wednesday morning, the director of the prison, the chief guard and many guards raided the ward of those on hunger strike, beat up Ismail Taylan and Isa Aslan, handcuffed them, and took them away.

The prisoners said that they were threatened by the prison director and called on human rights organizations and the public to be sensitive to their protest.

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Hunger strike against rights violations in Şakran Women's Prison continues on its 14th day

ANF | İZMİR | 15 JANUARY 2023

Two prisoners in Şakran Women's Closed Prison went on a 10-day alternating hunger strike on 2 January. The hunger strike was launched to protest the imposition of a standing counting, the deepening of the isolation conditions, book restrictions and the denial of joint airing. The imprisoned writer Leyla Saraç initiated the action, which was carried out as a warning. After Saraç, Hediye Öztürk took over the fast on 12 January.

Lawyer Serhat Arlı, a member of the Izmir Branch of the Association of Lawyers for Freedom (ÖHD), who visited the jail on 13 January and met with the prisoners, said that an intense isolation policy is implemented and emphasized that even the most basic rights of the prisoners are being hindered. Arlı said: "The prison administration and judicial authorities are deaf to the demands of the detainees. All kinds of legal and administrative remedies that prisoners may resort to against violations of rights and pressures have been used and went unanswered. At the end of this whole process, the prisoners we spoke to told us that they had gone on hunger strike as the last resort. The hunger strike in Şakran Women's Closed Prison was launched on 2 January and is still ongoing. The detainees are on hunger strike just to have access to their basic rights and to end the unlawfulness."

Referring to the violation of rights in the prison, Arlı said: "These unlawful practices must end. The democratic people and human rights defenders need to oppose what is happening. The detainees are forced to go on hunger strike. The already harsh prison conditions are getting worse."

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Military aggression and occupation

Turkish attack injures 6 Syrian soldiers in Shera, Afrin

ANF | AFRIN | 1 JANUARY 2023

The village of Elqemiye (al-Qamiyah) in Shera district of Afrin, which has been under Turkish occupation since 2018, was attacked by the occupation forces on Sunday.

According to reports from the ground, the attack targeted the positions of the Syrian regime forces and left at least six soldiers injured.

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HSM publishes balance sheet of war for 2022

ANF | BEHDINAN | 2 JANUARY 2023

The People's Defense Center (HSM) Headquarters Command published a balance sheet of the war in 2022. The HSM statement released on Monday includes the following:

“The Turkish nation state is based on the mentality of the Committees for Unity and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki) and the annihilation of all peoples of Anatolia, especially the Armenian, Greek and Assyrian-Syriac populations. The Kurdish people constituted an essential element in the foundation of the Turkish Republic and were deprived of their identity over time through systematic genocidal plans and practices. The Turkish nation state was built on a genocidal attack on the Kurdish people. The attacks of the Turkish nation state, which have continued for a hundred years, have necessarily led the Kurdish people to resistance and uprising. Our people have paid a high price, and although they have been shrouded in deathly silence at times, they have never accepted their uprooting. The historical emergence of Leader Apo [Abdullah Öcalan], his epic struggle, now in its fiftieth year, and the reality embodied in the PKK have breathed new life into the Kurdish people, given them a consciousness and a will, and turned them into a people fighting for their existence and freedom, and back on the stage of history. The Apoist movement and our struggle for freedom, which has marked the last fifty years of the Turkish Republic, have become the hope of the oppressed by breaking this artificial construct that is to be developed through the denial and annihilation of all peoples.

The fascist AKP/MHP regime organized one invasion after another against Kurdistan against this historical background. This was meant to realize these genocidal plans and to keep the regime in power even in the year of the centenary of the Turkish Republic. For this purpose, the AKP/MHP regime declared an all-out war on the Kurdish people everywhere inside and outside Turkey against all their achievements and tried to complete genocide of the Kurdish people through invasion offensives. The main current aim of this plan is to liquidate the guerrillas in Northern Kurdistan and the Medya Defense Zones. Especially in the last two years, extermination operations have been carried out against the guerrillas in the whole of Northern Kurdistan and extensive invasion attacks against Zap, Avaşîn and Metîna in the Medya Defense Zones.

“Historic resistance proved that guerrillas are invincible”

Our guerrilla forces have maintained their presence in Northern Kurdistan under the most difficult conditions and an impossible situation, guerrillas have increased their struggle in professional units, thwarted annihilation operations, demonstrated a posture of historic importance and inflicted considerable losses on the Turkish army. The Turkish state has not been able to achieve success against the guerrillas in Northern Kurdistan despite promising their annihilation every year. Despite thousands of operations to liquidate the guerrillas, the Turkish state has not been able to achieve its aim with its extermination attacks against the guerrillas in Northern Kurdistan, even though fighters of our forces have fallen in Northern Kurdistan from time to time. Being aware of their historical role, the whole guerrilla in Northern Kurdistan, especially our fallen comrades, made the enemy fail by showing great faith, will, determination, work, and effort on the basis of Apoist sacrifice.

The AKP/MHP regime's goal of occupying the Medya Defense Zones by capturing Zap, Avaşın and Metîna, which was set for two to three weeks, has still not been comprehensively realized. The Turkish state has tried to occupy the areas within the borders of the Ottoman National Pact, especially in the last two years, using the most modern war technology, banned bombs and chemical weapons and the support of the KDP. However, it could not implement this. Throughout 2022, the historic resistance in Northern Kurdistan and Medya Defense Zones has once again shown that the guerrillas are invincible. All the figures and information presented to the public by the special war ministries concerned in this issue do not reflect the reality. The picture of the war and the actual figures can be found in our annual report.

The stance against torture and oppression in İmralı and in all the dungeons, the epic resistance of the guerrillas, the resistance of our people against the fascist attacks and the resistant stance not to surrender in the field of democratic politics have destroyed the Kurdish politics of the AKP/MHP regime. Turkey could not eliminate the political line developed by the left democratic forces of the people. Thus, it has once again become clear that a genocidal policy based on violence will not lead to any goal.

The Freedom Guerrilla of Kurdistan, in the spirit of Apoist philosophy and sacrifice against all kinds of ultra-modern war technology, has shown high performance and maneuverability with its fighting tactics. The resistance of the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla in 2022 made history and foiled all the enemy's plans. In this struggle, the bravest daughters and sons of this people fell. In the year of struggle 2022, 301 of our comrades, including 64 comrades in Northern Kurdistan and 237 (55 of them by the use of banned bombs and chemical weapons) in the Medya Defense Zones have fallen. We have disclosed the identities of each of them to their families, our people and the public.”

Balance sheet of 2022

The balance sheet of the struggle of 2022 waged by the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla under the leadership of our beloved martyrs and in the Apoist spirit of sacrifice is as follows:

Attacks by the Turkish army:

Use of prohibited bombs and chemical weapons: 3,280; Attacks by combat aircraft: 4,527; Attacks with helicopters: 5,701

Companions martyred and taken prisoner:

Companions martyred: 301; Captured companions: 6

Guerrilla actions

Total: 3,034; Actions of the Air Defense Forces: 2; Revolutionary operations: 6; Ambushes: 12; Assault operations: 15; Infiltrations: 43; Coordinated guerrilla actions: 107; Sabotage actions: 333; Sniper actions: 562; Actions with heavy weapons: 722; Battles and attacks: 1232

Enemy losses

Soldiers killed: 2,942 (including four agents, twelve counter-guerrillas and 26 senior military officers); Injured members of the occupying forces: 408.

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HRE releases annual balance sheet for 2022: 204 invaders killed

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2023

The Afrin Liberation Forces (HRE) announced that 204 members of the invading troops were killed as a result of their actions against the Turkish state forces in 2022.

According to its annual balance sheet of clashes, the Afrin Liberation Forces (HRE) carried out 70 actions against the invaders in 2022. At least 20 special operations police, 72 soldiers and 112 mercenaries were killed in these actions.

Execution, abduction, torture, plunder in occupied regions

The balance sheet released by the HRE on Tuesday includes the following:

“Attacks by the Turkish army and its mercenaries continued ferociously in 2022. Our people, who were displaced after the occupation of Afrin, faced heavy attacks every day. The Turkish army and its mercenaries carried out all kinds of inhuman attacks against our people in defiance of the rules of war. Patriotic and honourable people in the occupied lands were subjected to murder, kidnapping and torture. Furthermore, the Turkish state continued its dirty policies to change the demographic structure of the region in 2022. The Turkish army and its mercenaries did not only target the people of the region, but also its nature. As a result of frequent bombings, the nature of the region was severely damaged. Turkey-backed mercenaries destroyed the forests of the region for their own interests.

7 civilians killed in bombardments

Our vengeance actions in response to the attacks of the enemy continued even more strongly during the year 2022. Many effective actions were carried out that delivered serious blows to the invading forces. The balance sheet of war in the region is as follows:

In 2022, the bombings of the invading Turkish army and its mercenaries continued uninterrupted. Throughout the year, our areas were bombed 27,498 times with howitzers, mortars and tanks. There were 18 air strikes and 13 drone attacks. As a result of these attacks, 7 civilians, one of whom was a child, were martyred and 44 citizens were injured.

204 invaders killed

In 2022, 70 actions were carried out against the Turkish army and its mercenaries. As a result of these actions, 20 special operations police (PÖH), 72 Turkish soldiers and 112 mercenaries were killed, while 16 PÖH, 67 soldiers and 56 mercenaries were injured.

Military vehicles destroyed and damaged

As a result of the actions by our forces, 14 vehicles- 3 of them armored- 1 tank, 8 motorcycles, 8 positions, 5 tents, 2 military sections, 1 howitzer, 1 M-16 machine gun, a large number of ammunition and technical equipment were destroyed. 2 hedgehog type vehicles, 2 tanks, 1 armored vehicle, 1 Reo, 1 howitzer and 1 car were hit by our forces.

Weapons seized

As a result of the actions, 8 AK-47 guns, 1 BKC machine gun, 1 B-7, 1 sniper gun, 1 gun, 4 radios, 4 military vests, 5 cell phones and a large amount of ammunition were seized.

19 fighters martyred

In 2022, 19 of our comrades were martyred in the attacks of the invading army and mercenary groups.”

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Syrian regime embargo claims lives

NUJIYAN ADAR | QAMISHLO | 4 JANUARY 2023

The Shehba region, which houses the displaced people of Afrin, is under the embargo of the Syrian regime as well as attacks by the Turkish army and its mercenaries. The Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah neighborhoods of Aleppo are also under the embargo.

Afrin Canton Co-Chair Mihemed Neso and Kongra Star Aleppo Coordination Member Roşin Musa spoke to ANF about the latest situation in the Shehba region, the Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah neighborhoods under embargo.

The Shehba region has a population of more than 200 thousand. The region is also home to 5 refugee camps. 2,000 families live in Afrin, Shehba, Veger, Serdem and Berxwedan camps, where living conditions have become more difficult with the arrival of winter.

15 thousands students deprived of education

The Shehba region is currently facing heating problems and power cuts due to the lack of fuel. 70 schools in the region have been suspended. 15 thousand students cannot receive education, while 950 teachers cannot continue their profession.

Health services restricted

Two hospitals in the Fafin and Til Rifet districts have restricted health services. Due to limited fuel and medical supplies, treatment of people with serious illnesses has been interrupted despite their life-threatening conditions.

Two bakeries stopped working

Two out of the nine bakeries in the region have recently stopped their operations. There is a limited amount of flour left in seven other bakeries that bake bread for the people of the region. Considering the suspension of fuel and flour supply to the region, seven bakeries are very likely to close down.

Russia turns a blind eye

Afrin Canton Council Co-Chair Mihemed Neso pointed out that the people of Shehba, who have been living under the Syrian regime embargo and the attacks of the Turkish state for more than 5 years, have been affected physically and mentally. He said: "The daily attacks of the Turkish state against the region continue. It is a plan designed by the Turkish state and the Syrian government. Russia cooperates with both sides, turning a blind eye to the interests of the people of the region."

Medicine cannot be supplied to hospitals

Neso remarked that people have been facing challenging living conditions since the day they migrated to the Shehba region. He said: "The most important issue right now is that medicine cannot be supplied to our hospitals. Medications are completely over at our medical center. Hospitals can no longer function to serve patients. There is neither fuel nor medication. Breathing devices do not work without electricity. Each medication needs a different heat rate in order to be protected. It is impossible to meet the needs of life without fuel. We are in the winter season. The elderly and children have become sick. Hospitals cannot handle the treatment of patients, and patients cannot be transported to hospitals due to the stopping of vehicles at check points. Doctors are desperate due to health conditions.

Forced displacement

Remarking that 15,000 students have been deprived of education, Neso continued: "Since most of the students live in villages, fuel is needed for school buses and the heating system at schools. The region is facing a major threat. The Syrian government has put into effect the policy of forced displacement. This policy relies on an alliance between the Turkish state and the Syrian government. While the Turkish state is seeking to destroy the region militarily, the Syrian government is intimidating people with starvation.

Therefore, the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria is facing a coup that suspends its operations.”

Both neighborhoods under embargo

More than 250 thousand people reside in the Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah neighborhoods of Aleppo. The neighborhoods which have 8 bakeries serving the local people have reduced the number of bakeries to four due to the lack of fuel and flour. Electricity can be provided to two neighborhoods for only three hours a day. Education and training institutions, which take care of more than 5 thousand students, have also been suspended due to lack of fuel. The Martyr Xalid Fajr Hospital has restricted its services because of the shortage of fuel and medical supplies.

A child died

In the Sheikh Maqsoud neighborhood, four-year-old Wisam Sîdo died of cold weather on January 2 due to the lack of fuel. Sîdo's family, who is originally from the Qeretebê village of Shera, migrated to Sheikh Maqsoud after the invasion of Afrin.

Kongra Star Aleppo Coordination Member Roşîn Musa pointed out that the Syrian government prevented the supply of flour, children's milk, fuel, gas, and food to the Sheikh Maqsoud and Ashrafiyah neighborhoods. Musa said: “This is an embargo from Aleppo to Shehba. The Syrian government does not even allow the supply of child's milk into the region.”

Syrian regime helps Turkish attacks

Roşîn Musa continued: “The Syrian government uses various methods to create chaos, destroy security and common life among Syrians through weapons, hunger, and embargo. The Damascus government paves the way for the invasion attacks of the Turkish state. International humanitarian organizations also turn a blind eye to the current situation. International forces should impose sanctions on these countries so that the peoples of Syria do not face a humanitarian disaster.”



Kurdish revolutionary Menal Mêrdîn murdered in Shengal

ANF | SHENGAL | 5 JANUARY 2023

Longtime Kurdish activist Menal Mêrdîn was murdered in Shengal, in South Kurdistan. According to the Shengal Autonomous Administration, Menal Mêrdîn was assassinated in Tilezêr on 2 January. The autonomous administration holds the Turkish state and the KDP responsible for the murder.

The Autonomous Administration of Shengal has announced a demonstration against the attack today.

Menal Mêrdîn was “a revolutionary and intellectual personality with a 43-year history of struggle,” said the Autonomous Administration, adding: “During this time, he did a great deal for all religious communities in Kurdistan and the Middle East. He spent twenty years in Turkish prisons, but he never bowed to oppression.”

The Autonomous Administration said that Menal Mêrdîn came to Shengal after the genocide committed by the Islamic State in 2014 and served the Yazidi people with his knowledge and experience. He was working on a book about the ISIS massacre.

Attack by MIT and KDP

The Autonomous Administration statement continued: “A cowardly attack was carried out on Menal Mêrdîn in Tilezêr on 2 January 2023. He was purposefully murdered in the house where he worked. We know who carried out this assassination and what the purpose of it is. This attack was carried out by the Turkish Secret Service, MIT and the KDP. It was a planned attack. At the time of the assassination, Turkish reconnaissance flights were taking place over Tilezêr. It is absolutely clear that the attack was planned by MIT and the KDP.”

The statement said that “the Turkish state and the KDP want to prevent the return of the displaced population to Shengal with constant attacks. People are still coming back to their homeland. Recently, a hundred families have returned to Tilezêr from the Serdeşt camp. The Turkish state always attacks when people come back to the region.”

We will hold the perpetrators accountable

The statement added: “We tell the KDP and the Turkish state once again that nothing can bring us to our knees. We will demand accountability from you for this killing as well.”

Turkish state bombs Rojava

ANF | 6 JANUARY 2023

The Turkish state systematically bombs the regions of the Northern and Eastern Syria Autonomous Administration on a daily basis.

Civilians and civilian infrastructure are directly targeted in the attacks. Today, at around 3pm local time, the villages of Seyda and Xalidiye in Eyn Isa and the M4 highway were bombed.

Earlier, at around 1pm, the village of Bene in Sherawa had been bombed with howitzers. The village was targeted with at least 30 howitzer shells. In addition, the village of Soxanekê was attacked by drones.

Child injured by Turkish drone attack near Ain Issa

ANF | 7 JANUARY 2023

Turkey continues its attacks on villages in the autonomous region of northern and eastern Syria unabated. On Friday, ten-year-old Xelifé El Elî was injured in the hand in a drone strike in the village of Xalidiyê west of Ain Issa. The airstrike was carried out at 1 pm local time. The village of Seyda near Ain Issa was also bombed.

Another drone strike took place in Soxanekê village in Sherawa district of Afrin. About thirty howitzer shells hit the village of Bêne in the same district. There is no information on the consequences of the attacks.

On Tuesday, Zeki Gürbüz, MLKP representative in Rojava, and fighter Özgür Namoğlu were killed in a targeted drone attack near Heseke. Both fighters had initially survived the attack, but later succumbed to their injuries. According to the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), Turkey carried out 120 drone attacks and 43 airstrikes by fighter jets last year. In 2022, 263 civilians were injured in attacks in northeastern Syria, including 59 children and 44 women. 59 civilians, including 12 children and five women, were killed in the Turkish attacks. 178 SDF fighters were killed in 2022, including 95 in defense against Turkish attacks and 69 in the fight against the “Islamic State”.

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Syrian Democratic Council and Syrian National Alliance agree on a joint plan

ANF | QAMISHLO | 10 JANUARY 2023

The Syrian Democratic Council (MSD) and the Syrian National Alliance held a press briefing today after a series of visits across North and East Syria on December 27, 2022.

MSD Co-Chair Emine Omer and Syrian National Alliance Secretary General Aram El Domani delivered speeches at the meeting held at the Rojava Strategic Research Center office in Qamishlo.

Emine Omer said they discussed many issues that concern all Syrians. She said they also discussed Turkey’s threats against the region, its interests and purpose, as well as the crimes committed in Syria, demographic change and the return of refugees.

Omer said: “We discussed the Turkey-Syria rapprochement mediated by Russia, and the danger of this rapprochement for the security and stability of the region. We discussed the attempts that prevent a solution to the Syrian crisis and how to achieve a political solution. We also spoke about efforts that seek a political solution in accordance with UN Resolution 2254.”

Omer added: “There are many common points between the MSD and the Syrian National Alliance. These points will be put into practice in the next stage.”

‘We have many common goals’

The Secretary General of the Syrian National Alliance, Aram El Domani, praised the experience of the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria. He stated: “The meeting between the MSD and the Syrian National Alliance came after several meetings in Washington and Europe. We have many common goals. This visit was also made to get to know the modus operandi of the civil administration. This experience in North and East Syria is important in terms of providing service, security, and stability throughout Syria.”

El Domani emphasized that the common goal is to end the suffering of the Syrian people. He stated that the Syrian people are currently facing many obstacles, and that states are taking advantage of the existing problems after UN Resolution 2254, the Astana meetings and the attacks on the 'demilitarized zones'.

El Domani noted that as a result of all these developments, demographic changes took place in Syria, the southern regions were handed over to the Syrian central government and people migrated to the north of Syria. He said: “In addition, the invading Turkish state carried out numerous military attacks against North and East Syria. Thousands of our citizens were displaced as a result of the attacks. Afrin is an example of this.”

El Domani thanked the MSD for finding a common form among national democratic forces to achieve a political solution and democratic change in Syria.



Germany claims there is no sufficient evidence that Turkey violates international law in Afrin

ANF | BERLIN | 12 JANUARY 2023

The Turkish state had said in its application to the UN Security Council, two days after Turkey’s invasion attack on Afrin Canton on 20 January 2018: “This operation is carried out within the framework of self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.”

The AKP-MHP government claimed that its borders were under threat due to attacks from inside Syria. However, despite the fact that nearly 5 years have passed since the occupation, no investigation has been carried out on how true the reasoning was about the right of “self-defense” put forward by the Turkish state for the invasion of Afrin in the international arena.

German Die Linke Deputy Sevim Dağdelen brought the issue to the agenda of the Bundestag with a short question last week.

‘We don’t have the necessary information about Afrin’

Dağdele asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Bundestag whether Turkey’s referring to Article 51 was legitimate, and whether the Federal German Government had carried out an investigation on the violation of international law.

Undersecretary Andreas Michaelis answered the Die Linke MP claiming that the government does not have the necessary information to conclude whether Turkey is violating international law in the Afrin region. The Berlin administration did not give a clear answer to Turkey’s “legitimate defense” claim and once again backed the Turkish state’s occupation of Afrin.

Stating that the Federal German Government has criticized Turkey’s presence in Northern Syria many times, Michaelis continued: “We specifically asked for attention to the protection of the civilian population and for the military presence in northern Syria to be ended as quickly as possible.”

Unlike the federal government, which has never seriously commented on the attack on Afrin and the crimes committed by Turkey and its mercenary troops, the scientific services (WD) of the Bundestag have repeatedly identified violations of international law.

In a status report commissioned by Die Linke “on the classification of the Turkish military presence in northern Syria under international law”, the WD stated at the end of 2018: “The Turkish military presence in the northern Syrian region of Afrin and in the region around Asas, al-Bab and Jarablus in northern Syria meets all the criteria of a military occupation under international law.”



HPG reports ongoing Turkish attacks with banned bombs and chemical weapons

ANF | BEHDINAN | 12 JANUARY 2023

The press centre of the People’s Defense Forces (HPG) reported that the Turkish army continues to try to break the resistance of the guerrillas in the strategically important area of Çemço in the Zap region with chemical weapons, unconventional bombs and air strikes. “The Turkish colonial army cannot prevail in the face of the historically almost unprecedented resistance of the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla and continues to attack our positions in a massive way with banned bombs and chemical weapons. Despite these attacks and the harsh climate conditions, the Freedom Guerrilla of Kurdistan continues its resistance without interruption,” said the HPG in a statement on Thursday.

According to HPG information, a mobile guerrilla unit struck Turkish troops near the village of Sîda in the Zap region with a heavy weapon on 10 January. Sîda, like Çemço, is located in the Sheladize sub-district near the town of Amadiya and belongs to the Duhok province. The Turkish army used unconven-

tional bombs and chemical weapons against guerrilla positions in Çemço twelve times on 11 January. Sîda and Çemço were also bombed six times by fighter jets and attacked several times with howitzers, tanks and heavy weapons on Wednesday. Guerrilla positions in the resistance area of Kurojahro and near the village of Saca were bombed a total of eight times by attack helicopters on the same day.

The Turkish army withdrew from large parts of the Zap region on 11 and 12 December. In the west of the Zap region, the occupation forces are now only present at Girê Hekarî and Girê FM. East of the river, the army also had to withdraw from the peaks of Kurojahro, from Saca, from Girê Şehîd Sîpan and the Şehîd Kuncî area. According to HPG commander Murat Karayilan, there are no enemy troops left in the area around the Zap River except for the hills of Rêwan and Şoreş.

Because the Turkish army has no successes to report in the Zap, it is trying to capture areas in the Avaşîn region further to the east. To do this, the resistance in Çemço and Sîda must be broken. In a radio address to the guerrillas a few days ago, Karayilan described the fortress of Çemço as a “dagger in the heart of the enemy”. Turkey is attacking this area with all the means of combat at its disposal “in order not to disgrace itself once again in the Zap”.

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Turkey attacks 13 villages in five hours

ANF | 13 JANUARY 2023

The Turkish state launched its attacks at around 5.30 pm local time. After the village of Shealê in Shehba, the Turkish state targeted the villages of Bene and Soxaneke in Sherawa, and the villages of Ayndqanê, Bêlûniyê, Miniq and Şêx Îsa in the Shehba region.

At around 9.30 pm, the Turkish army targeted the villages of Merenaz, Tat Meraş, Shewarxa, Malikiyê and Alqemiyê in the Shera district of Afrin Canton. 125 howitzers and mortar shells hit these villages.

To the west of Kobanê, the village of Ziyaret was bombarded with howitzer artillery.

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Artillery attacks on villages in Rojava

ANF | 14 JANUARY 2023

Turkey continues to attack villages in northern Syria. Starting late Friday afternoon, hundreds of shells were fired at populated areas in the cantons of Shehba, Afrin and Kobanê. The first wave of attacks at 5.30 p.m. local time focused on the villages of Şealê, Ayndqanê, Bêlûniyê, Miniq and Şêx Îsa in Shehba, as well as Bênê and Soxaneke in Sherawa, Afrin. About 80 artillery shells hit the region.

At 9.30 pm, the attacks were extended to Shera, Afrin. In the villages of Merenaz, Tat Meraş, Şewarxa, Malikiyê and Alqemiyê, 125 shells with howitzers and mortars were registered. The village of Ziyaret west of Kobanê was also shelled with mortar shells.

The Turkish occupation forces in northern Syria mainly use jihadist mercenaries in the daily artillery attacks. The permanent shelling is intended to wear down the population and drive them to flee.



YRK announces the names of three fighters martyred in Turkish attack in Asos

ANF | 15 JANUARY 2023

The Defense Forces of Eastern Kurdistan (YRK) Command has published the names of three fighters who were martyred by Turkish drone attacks on Mount Asos in the Iraq-Iran border region on 29 October 2022.

The YRK statement on Sunday said: "The attacks on our forces are intensifying at a time when the region is in turmoil, the revolutionary uprising in Eastern Kurdistan and Iran is flaring up more and more, the rights of the Kurdish people are being discussed worldwide and our movement gives hope to all rebellious and revolutionary people. The occupants see their end coming and increase their aggression. Since the beginning of the 'Jin, Jiyan, Azadî' [Woman, Life, Freedom] revolution, the attacks on our forces and especially the air attacks of the Turkish state have been intensified. The preparation and sacrifice of our forces prevent the enemy from achieving its goals. For a heavy toll paid by us, the enemy's success on this front could be prevented. There is no question that our struggle will continue until the defeat of the enemy and our people will win. In the enemy attacks on 29 October 2022 at Mount Asos, our companions Dilovan, Bager and Hogir fell as martyrs. We have already published the identities of two other martyrs. Now we are releasing the details of the identities of these three martyrs."

The YRK offered their condolences to the families of the martyrs, the people of Kurdistan and humanity, stating: "They were fighters on the path of humanity and freedom and selflessly advanced the revolution. We are determined to continue the struggle of these sacrificial revolutionaries for all humanity. The martyrs live on in our minds and hearts. Long live the liberation struggle of the peoples of Kurdistan and the entire region."



Protests and regime crackdown continue in Iran and East Kurdistan

ANF | 11 JANUARY 2023

In different cities of Rojhilat (Eastern) Kurdistan and Iran, people continue anti-government protests by hanging banners and shouting slogans from their houses.

In the city of Sine in East Kurdistan, numerous demonstrators went to Mount Awyar yesterday to protest the death sentences handed to demonstrators.

The Iranian Judicial Institution announced yesterday that 3 activists were sentenced to death in the city of Nawşahir, in northern Iran.

A total of 112 demonstrators have been sentenced to death so far. 4 of them have been executed.

As many people receive heavy penalties, the wave of arrests and detentions continues. Many demonstrators were detained in the cities of Jawanroud, Diwandara and Sine (Sanandaj) yesterday.

These three cities of East Kurdistan are the epicenter of the protests that have been going on for the last 4 months. A good number of soldiers have been deployed to the streets of Jawanroud in particular.

After a speech by the supreme leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Hamneyi, pressure on women has increased, while the authorities continue to insist on the mandatory headscarf law. Iranian Chief Prosecutor Abdulsamed Xuremabadi said: "Removing the headscarf is clearly a crime and those who do this are sentenced to 10 days to 2 months in prison along with a monetary fine. Those who encourage women to take off their headscarf can be sentenced to up to 10 years in prison."

Iranian state arrested 74 journalists

74 journalists have been arrested since the start of the uprising in Iran and East Kurdistan. The arrested journalists are held under the most severe conditions in prisons.

Nilüfer Hamidi and İlahe Mihemidi were among the first journalists to get arrested at the beginning of protests. One was arrested for reporting on the murder of Mahsa Amini at the hospital, and the other for reporting on the burial of Amini. Both women journalists are kept in Iranian prisons, although no court decision has been taken against them.

Iranian authorities charged the two journalists with spying right after their arrests. On October 28, 2022, the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence (İtlaat) and the Iranian Guard Corps made a joint statement, accusing two female journalists of espionage, claiming that they were trained by foreign intelligence agencies. According to the Reporters Without Borders, the two journalists are likely to be sentenced to death because of these charges.

On January 5, Itimad Newspaper Editor Mehdi Beik was detained by the Itlaat forces. Beik was arrested a week after the publication of his interview with the relatives of those arrested during the protests in Iran and East Kurdistan.

According to Feraz news agency, at least 73 journalists have been detained by the Iranian forces since the beginning of the protests in Iran and East Kurdistan. Following the arrest of journalist Beik, this number has increased to 74. Many of the journalists are still in prison.

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Femicide

10,000 men and women trained in Jineoloji academies and centers in 2022

ANF | QAMISHLO | 4 JANUARY 2023

Jineoloji academies and centers carried out a lot of work in many fields in 2022, including works on the sociology of women, morality and aesthetics, family relations, reasons for divorce, women's resistance in Northern and Eastern Syria and Şêxmeqşûd, as well as history.

Jineoloji education is seen as a part of life, so education is given great importance. In 2022, approximately 10,000 men and women have been trained on jineoloji. In addition, around 457 panels and seminars were held on the subject of marriage, promotion of violence against women, how to end violence.

These trainings were organized on the basis of understanding the social situation through institutions ranging from communes, justice institutions, TEV-DEM, communication, military and civil academies.

Members of the Jineoloji Academy and women from 30 countries of the world attended the 3rd Working Women's Congress held in Tunisia in September 2022 to promote jineoloji in the field of diplomacy. They also attended the 3rd International Women's Congress held in Berlin last November.

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Men killed at least 19 women in December

ANF | 5 JANUARY 2023

According to the news compiled by Bianet from local and national newspapers, news websites and news agencies, men killed at least 19 women and three children in December.

In the last month of 2022, the deaths of at least 27 women were considered as “suspicious”. Men inflicted violence on at least 65 women, abused at least 29 girls and boys, and harassed at least 16 women. Men raped at least six women in December. The death of a woman in Ankara was reported in the press as an “unsolved murder.”

In December, men killed at least 19 women. This figure was 34 in the same month last year. Men also killed two men who were together with the women they killed. One of the women was from Iraq, and one was from Germany.

Child abuse

Men abused at least 29 boys and girls in December. This figure was 37 in the same month, last year. Two children abused by men were refugees from Syria. One case of abuse was revealed after the child was impregnated. One of the children abused by men had mental disabilities.

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Munzur University Democratic Student Council asks about the fate of Gülistan Doku

ANF | DERSİM | 5 JANUARY 2023

Munzur University Democratic Student Council members commemorated Gülistan Doku, who has been missing for 3 years. The students hung a banner in the university saying “We have not forgotten Gülistan Doku, we will not let her be forgotten”.

Students chanted slogans such as “Where is Gülistan Doku?” and “Jin, jıyan, azadi”.

Born in Amed (Diyarbakir), the 22-year-old university student disappeared without a trace in Dersim three years ago.

Background

Immediately after Gülistan Doku’s disappearance, on 5 January 2020, it was feared that she might have been the victim of a violent crime. Only one day before she disappeared, her ex-boyfriend Zainal

Abakarov had forcibly tried to drag the young woman into his car. Doku resisted and passers-by who had witnessed the incident informed the police. However, the police ruled out the man, whose stepfather - now suspended - was a police officer in Dersim, as a suspect relatively early on in the investigation.

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New femicide in Izmir

ANF | İZMİR | 9 JANUARY 2023

A woman called Necmiye Vural (40), who lived in Limontepe District of Karabağlar district of Izmir, wanted to leave her partner, M.A. The man killed her.

Vural's daughter and son called the 112 Emergency Call-Center. The medical teams who came to the scene determined that Vural had died. Vural's body was taken to the morgue of Izmir Forensic Medicine Institute after the prosecutor's examination. Detained murderer M.A. was arrested and sent to prison.

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16-year-old subjected to systematic rape by policemen and officials in Van

ANF | VAN | 13 JANUARY 2023

Y., a 16-year-old student at Muradiye Nizamettin Aktaş High School, was first habituated to drugs and then sexually abused systematically, since the end of 2019. The teen was suspended from school on the grounds that she was a drug addict. 40 people, including policemen and officials, raped Y. for years, blackmailing her with the pictures they had taken.

Revealed by a report

The sexual assault case was revealed about 4 days ago. After a person heard the cries of Y. as she was raped in an abandoned building called the police crime line, policemen arrived at the scene and detained 6 people. While two of the detainees were released on bail, the other four remain under detention.

40 people involved, including policemen

Taken to the police station, Y. spoke in detail of what she had been through for years. She gave a prosecutor the names of 40 people, including 7 police officers, District Governor's officers and some local politicians. In her police statement, Y. revealed who had raped her and who had habituated her to drugs. Y. also

informed that while she was studying at school, her physical education teacher forced her to have sexual intercourse with another public official after deceiving her that he would take her to a competition.

Politicians, officials draw the curtain over incident

After the case was brought to court, it came out that some politicians and officials living in the district put pressure on both the young woman's family and the judiciary, suggesting that "Let's not defame our district, let's cover it up." The family is reportedly forced to keep the incident secret and not to reveal it to the press.

As the investigation into the incident continues, Y. has been handed over to the Van Section of Social Services.

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Paris massacre

Intelligence technology blown up at site of massacre in Paris

ANF | PARIS | 2 JANUARY 2023

Just one street away from the Ahmet Kaya Cultural Center in Paris, where Evîn Goyî, executive council member of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union), was shot dead on 23 December 2022, along with Kurdish musician Mîr Perwer and long-time activist Abdurrahman Kızıl, a vehicle carrying intelligence equipment was discovered during a routine police check at around 8.30 pm last Friday. Instead of examining the vehicle, it was assumed to be a bomb and the car was blown up. The neighborhood had been cordoned off beforehand. A device equipped with a Wi-Fi router could be seen in the vehicle. After the blast, it was determined that it was not a bomb. Images of the device suggest that it may be an IMSI catcher, used to intercept mobile phone traffic and Wi-Fi in the area. It appears to be intelligence equipment. For the police, the case seems to be closed as it was not a bomb. However, according to Le Parisien, the intelligence service was called in because the device was an information-gathering device, which also points to an IMSI catcher or similar device.

In view of the alleged intelligence technology, however, many speak of a cover-up and destruction of evidence in connection with the attack of 23 December. Among other things, an IMSI catcher can be used to determine which mobile phone is in which radio cell. There is strong suspicion that it was not a racist lone perpetrator but the Turkish Secret Service that was behind the murders in Paris.

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British police detain Kurds on their way to Paris commemoration

ANF | 3 JANUARY 2023

Executives of the Kurdish Community Center and the Kurdish Women's Movement, who departed from London to attend the commemoration ceremony in Paris, were detained by the British Police in Folkestone Euro Tunnel.

The British police stopped the vehicle carrying Kurdish journalist Diren Dicle Erden, London Kurdish People's Assembly Co-Chairs Türkan Budak, Baran Kasakol, British Kurdish People's Assembly member Ercan Akbal and Kurdish Women's Movement spokeswoman Birsen Poyraz on the grounds of "terrorism suspicion" after the passport control.

The Kurdish activists were detained, and all their belongings were confiscated after the vehicle was thoroughly searched.

The British police asked the detained Kurds why they wanted to attend the funeral of three Kurds killed in France, as well as what the Kurds expect from Britain and France, "Do you support the protests?", "Why were the Kurds targeted?", "Did the Turkish intelligence carry out this attack in Paris?". The Kurdish activists were released after more than 6 hours of detention.

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Paris martyr Mîr Perwer laid to rest in Muş under military blockade

ANF | MUS | 5 JANUARY 2023

Evîn Goyî, whose real name was Emine Kara and who was an executive council member of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union), Kurdish musician Mîr Perwer (Mehmet Şirin Aydın) and long-time activist Abdurrahman Kızıl were shot dead in an attack on Ahmet Kaya Cultural Centre in Paris on 23 December. The funeral service for Evîn Goyî, Mîr Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl took place in the Paris suburb of Villiers-le-Bel on Tuesday, and the martyrs were sent off to their hometowns in Kurdistan for burial; Mîr Perwer in Muş, Abdurrahman Kızıl in Kars and Evîn Goyî in Qandil.

The body of young Kurdish musician Mîr Perwer was transferred to his hometown, the province of Muş in northern Kurdistan (southeastern Turkey) on Thursday.

Body abducted by the police

The Democratic Society Congress (DTK) Co-Chair Berdan Öztürk, the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) deputies and Mîr Perwer's family received the body at Muş Airport and left for the village of Ewran (Yeşilova) for burial. Already deployed at the airport, the police took the body away, taking another road leading to the village. While this road was then blocked by soldiers, the crowd was stopped at the entrance of the village by the gendarmerie (military police).

Crowd attacked with tear gas and water cannon

The blocked mourners at the entrance to Ewran were attacked by the police with tear gas, plastic bullets and water cannons. The angry crowd responded by throwing stones at the police vehicles. Dozens of people were taken into custody and many were tear-gassed in the face. Hundreds more people tried to reach the village on foot via another route. The situation around Ewran remains tense.

HDP MP Gülistan Kılıç Koçyiğit was among those who were not allowed into the village by the gendarmerie. While she tried to reach the village walking on foot, she was blocked again near the village and prevented from going ahead.

Burial under blockade

After the arrival of the body at the village, only family members were allowed to attend the burial, which took place under police and military blockade.

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Paris martyr Abdurrahman Kızıl laid to rest in Kars

ANF | KARS | 5 JANUARY 2023

Abdurrahman Kızıl was laid to rest in the village of Qeregûnî in Kağızman district of Kars. The long-time activist of the Kurdish liberation movement had been assassinated in Paris on 23 December together with Evîn Goyî (Emine Kara) and Mîr Perwer (Mehmet Şirin Aydın). His body was transferred from Paris to Kars and picked up by relatives, DBP Chairperson Saliha Aydeniz, HDP MPs Sait Dede and Remziye Tosun and numerous others, and then brought to Kağızman.

The journey to the cemetery was accompanied by various harassment. First, the former HDP-governed and then the government-usurped municipality of Kars did not provide a hearse. Then an ambulance was organized, but it could not be used because of allegedly missing papers. Finally, the coffin was loaded onto a small truck and brought to Qeregûnî accompanied by a convoy of hundreds of vehicles.

The village was besieged by a large police and military presence. Part of the convoy was denied access to the village. Despite the harassment, a religious ceremony was held, and the body was buried in the village cemetery. The police even came to the cemetery and prevented journalists from documenting the funeral.

Saliha Aydeniz, co-chair of the Democratic Regions Party (DBP), recalled that Abdurrahman Kızıl had to leave Turkey in 2001 due to political persecution and had been living in exile in Europe ever since. “Kurds are arrested, expelled or killed. When Kurds are murdered, they are not even allowed to be buried according to religious customs. We cannot bury our bodies according to Islamic rules. Everyone should know that Abdurrahman Kızıl is a martyr of the Kurdish people. We will continue his struggle and fulfill his aspirations. Despite the despotic oppression, the Kurdish people will never retreat. The French government must clarify who Abdurrahman Kızıl’s real killers are. If there is no clarification, France will be responsible for this massacre. The government must reveal those behind it and treat the attack as a terrorist attack,” the Kurdish politician said.

After the speech, those present chanted “Şehîd Namirin” (Martyrs are immortal). Afterwards, the funeral guests left for Kağızman, where the relatives received condolences.



Tens of thousands in Paris demand France to act for justice

ANF | PARIS | 7 JANUARY 2023

Tens of thousands of people demand that the murderers of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez, who were killed on 9 January 2013 in Paris, and Evîn Goyî, Mir Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl, who were murdered also in the French capital, on 23 December 2022, to be uncovered, and the decision of confidentiality in the case files to be lifted. People gathered in Gare du Nord from the early hours of the morning and walked up to the République square.

The President of the Paris Bar Association, the representative of the Young Vigil Movement, addressed the crowd.

The rally was the result of 5 different branches that all reached République square.

We will win, they will lose!

CDK-F Co-Chair Xane Akdoğan said: “I respectfully commemorate our martyrs of the Kurdistan Freedom Struggle in the persons of Evîn Goyî, Mir Perwer and Apê Abdurrahman. No matter how much pain we have, we are getting stronger. No matter what they do, we will win, they will lose.”

Our revenge will be to continue the martyr’s struggle

CDK-F Co-Chair Abdullah Ülmez thanked those who attended the march and rally and said: “Dear friends, we are going through a historical process. A herd of barbarians and murderers is attacking us.

With your participation in this march and rally today, you have shown that no barbarian power can stand in the way of the Kurdistan freedom struggle. We commemorate Evîn Goyî, Apê Abdurrahman and Mir Perwer. At the same time, we commemorate Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez who were murdered on 9 January 2013. We will continue their lawsuit. As CDK-F, our struggle will not end until these two massacres are revealed. Our greatest revenge will be to keep their struggle alive.”

Polat: remove confidentiality order

CDK-F Foreign Relations Spokesperson Agit Polat criticized France-Turkey relations in his speech and said that “the invading Turkish state is not an ally but an enemy for France.” Polat, who demanded the removal of the state secret on the first Paris Massacre file said: “You have to remove this state secret, you have no choice. Is it normal that justice has not been done after 10 years? The Kurds in Paris should be under the protection of the government. How long will your silent consent last? How long will your cooperation with Turkey last? The Turkish state is not your ally. If 9 January had been clarified, today's massacre would not have occurred. Today is the time; It is time to get to the bottom of all massacres. This is the honor of France. We are living in difficult times. Now is the time to remove the PKK from the list of terrorist organizations. If the PKK had not been on the list of terrorist organizations, the 9 January massacre would not have happened, the 23 December massacre would not have happened. Mr. Macron, you have to understand why the Kurdish people are so angry. You are the only authority to lift the state secret order. The Kurdish people will never kneel, we will insist on the demand for justice!”

Speaking on behalf of Sakine Cansız's family, her brother Metin said: "You are all Sakine's family." Evîn Goyî's cousin Zeynep Kara said: “As the family of Evîn Goyî, I welcome all who come. We were supposed to meet here. Although we are sad, we bow respectfully before her memory. Our pain is great; our hearts are bleeding. No matter how much the Turkish state and its partners try to kill us or destroy us, we will never kneel before it. If the French state is a friend of the Kurds, it should bring justice for Heval Sara, Rojbîn and Ronahî and Heval Evîn, Mir Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl.”

Speaking on behalf of the family of Martyr Abdurrahman Kızıl, Cemal Turan said: “The history of our enemy is barbarism. It wants to slaughter us. You are resisting these massacres.”

Speaking on behalf of Martyr Mir Perwer's family, Musa Alan said: “10 years ago, Sara, Rojbîn and Ronahî were murdered in Paris. On 23 December, Mir Perwer, Heval Evîn and Abdurrahman Kızıl were murdered, in Paris. The force against us is barbaric. But we will never bow down. Just as Mir Perwer followed the path of Hozan Serhad and fought for the development and spread of Kurdistan art, we will follow the path of Hozan Serhads and Mir Perwer.” Musa Alan read a song written by Mir Perwer.

Cemile Renkçay took the floor on behalf of TJK-E and said: “The martyrs were leading figures of the Kurdish struggle. Ömer Güney was a member of the MIT, he died in prison under suspicion. We did not give up on this struggle. France brought a state secret decision to prevent the prosecution of Turkish state officials. Our struggle will continue. We do not believe that Evîn Goyî was murdered by a racist. This is a political murder. As the Kurdish Women's movement, we will continue our struggle. The state secret decision on the 2013 file should be lifted.”

We will liberate Kurdistan and Öcalan

KCK Executive Council member Zübeyir Aydar said: “Today, tens of thousands of Kurds, have gathered here for justice. We know the killers. Maybe the shooters were here, but those who ordered the killings were in Ankara. In 2013, our friends Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez were murdered in Paris. This file has not been clarified. That's why the Turkish state planned the second massacre. We are determined; we will achieve freedom; we will liberate our Leader. We will liberate Kurdistan. Our martyrs are not only Kurds, we also have martyrs from other peoples. Two days ago, two MLKP members fell as martyrs in Heseke. Ahmet Şoreş (Zeki Gürbüz) and Fırat Newal (Özgür Namoğlu) fell as martyrs in an invading Turkish state attack.”

KCDK-E Co-chair Fatoş Göksungur emphasized that the French state was responsible for revealing these massacres and said: “The people of France should hold their state accountable for the two massacres carried out in their own country. The Women's Revolution will be our biggest response to the Turkish state.”

Cordebard: We owe a lot to the Kurds

Mayor of Paris 10 Arrondissement, Alexandra Cordebard, expressed her sorrow for the massacres and emphasized that they stand with the Kurds as elected officials.

Cordebard said: “Let the 9 January and 23 December Massacres be clarified and justice provided. This massacre was committed not only on the Kurds, but also on Paris, the people of Paris and all France. I would like to tell you that we owe a lot to the Kurds. We are brothers and sisters. Kurds fought against ISIS for democracy and freedom. We exist because of you. Know that the elected representatives here are with you.”

Martial: France must protect Kurds

Jacques Martial, deputy of Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo, said: “We commemorate the Kurds who were massacred in France 10 years ago. We are with the Kurds. The Mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, is always with the Kurdish people. We know that the Kurds are fighting for their rights, fighting for humanity. That's why we are with the Kurds. France must protect those who fight for humanity.”

Panot: The PKK should be delisted

Mathilde Panot from the La France Insoumise (LFI) party said: “We are here with you today. On behalf of Mélenchon, I share your pain. There was a massacre 10 years ago. Again, on 23 December another massacre took place in Paris. We do not accept the media's claim that the murderer was a lone shooter. The PKK should be removed from the list of terrorist organizations. As long as the PKK is on the terrorist list, it will be exposed to attacks. Long live Sara, Rojbin, Ronahi. France must protect the Kurds. Every Kurdish person in our country should know that we are with them. Let me end with the slogan of Iranian women for women's liberation: Jin Jiyan Azadi!”

Jocelyne Dubois, National Secretary of the French Left Party said: “We want truth and justice. France must protect its allies and stand against Erdogan. There should be no attack on Rojava, the PKK should be removed from the list of terrorist organizations and Rêber Apo should be freed.”

Laurent: Macron must take responsibility

Pierre Laurent, Vice President of the Senate of the French Communist Party, asked Macron to take responsibility in his speech. “On behalf of all Communist Party members and elected officials, we would like to express our solidarity with you here. We will always be with you for truth and justice. Macron must take responsibility in this matter and must disclose all the documents. If France does not clarify this massacre, it will be a great crime. If this is not clarified, it will mean a partnership with Erdogan. There should be an investigation into the massacre. In addition, the PKK should be removed from the list of terrorist organizations. This decision continues at the request of Erdogan. France should stop its relations with Erdogan.”

Cohen: We will go to Kurdistan in February

Speaking afterwards, Communist Party Senator Laurence Cohen said: “This massacre targeted women, Kurdish women and resistance fighters. We have been with you for 10 years. Currently, 100 parliamentarians from all political parties have asked Erdogan to stop his attacks in Kurdistan. We will go to Kurdistan in February to show solidarity with the Kurdish people.”

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German police prevent activists from traveling to Paris to protest deadly attacks against Kurds

ANF | 7 JANUARY 2023

In Aachen, dozens of buses from Germany were stopped and checked as they traveled to the large-scale demonstration in Paris against the deadly attacks of 2013 and December 2022. Several people are said to have been banned from leaving Germany on the grounds that participation in the demonstration in Paris would harm the interests of the Federal Republic.

ANF German service has received a ban order from the Federal Police against one demonstrator. The woman is not allowed to travel to France until 9 January, the anniversary of the triple murder of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez by the Turkish Secret Service MIT in Paris, and must report to the police every day until then.

The order states: “Due to history, the reputation of the Federal Republic of Germany is already impaired if German citizens participate in events of banned associations abroad and show a not insignificant potential for aggression.

Furthermore, other interests of the Federal Republic of Germany may be endangered if German nationals commit criminal offenses abroad. In addition to the risk of damaging the reputation of the Federal Republic of Germany, participation in events organized by associations banned in Germany also brings with it the possibility of further networking, the acquisition of banned propaganda material, the acquisition of new members or the radicalization of these members. In addition, such events offer the possibility of appearing in public in contravention of existing bans.”

The person concerned has been known to the German security authorities for a long time as a sympathizer/activist in the environment of the banned PKK organization, “states the “threat prognosis,” according to which the demonstration in Paris serves “among other things, the networking or exchange of ideas in the environment of a banned organization on a national and international level. “By leaving the country, German nationals will also be involved in the agitation taking place at the above-mentioned event. This could have a considerable impact on the security policy of the Federal Republic of Germany.”

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‘By covering up the 2013 massacre, France prepared the ground for the second Paris massacre’

ANF | BEHDINAN | 8 JANUARY 2023

The Co-Presidency of the KCK (Kurdistan Communities Union) Executive Council released a statement marking the 10th anniversary of the triple murder of three Kurdish women revolutionaries in the heart of Paris.

The KCK statement released on Sunday includes the following:

“On the 10th anniversary of the massacre on January 9, 2013, which is known as the Paris Massacre in the history of the Kurdish people, we would like to once more commemorate all the January martyrs in the person of our comrades Sakine Cansız (Sara), Rojbin and Ronahi and all the martyrs of revolution and democracy with respect, love, and gratitude. We reiterate our promise of success and victory to all our martyrs in the person of the Paris Martyrs.

With their glorious resistance since January 9, 2013, our people living in Europe have been holding the murderers to account. Since the second Paris massacre, they have put forward a very strong and honorable resistance and struggle. On January 7, this resistance was carried to the highest level. We salute and celebrate this honorable and noble stance of our people with respect and love. Our people will continue their resistance and multidimensional struggle in the strongest way possible and will definitely ensure that the truth is revealed.

The Paris Massacre can never be considered as an ordinary attack. Leader Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] evaluated this massacre as the continuation and repetition of the Dersim Massacre in the person of friend Sara. Throughout its history, the genocidal Turkish state has carried out a continuous policy of denial against

the Kurdish people and has taken this to the level of physical genocide. Against this genocidal policy, the international powers have either remained silent or supported it. This approach towards the genocidal Turkish state has facilitated the Kurdish genocide. As a result of this encouragement by the world states, especially the European states, the genocidal colonialist Turkish state has continuously expanded the area and scope of its massacres and has spread them to the centers of Europe. For a very long time, the genocidal Turkish state has continued to use its NATO membership as a fundamental basis for the continuous Kurdish genocide.

In the last 20 years, the official discourse and practices of the genocidal colonialist Turkish state, embodied in the AKP-MHP fascist regime, and its Kurdish genocide policy is best expressed by the statement ‘we will do whatever is necessary, whether it is women or children’. As a result, thousands of Kurdish women and children have been massacred in the last few years alone, and this policy of massacre continues to expand. The genocidal colonialist Turkish state, which understands our party PKK as a Women’s Party, has especially targeted Kurdish women and their pioneers. Because when Leader Apo developed the PKK as part of the Kurdish Freedom Movement, he approached the development of liberation on the basis of women’s freedom. This dialectic has led to great excitement and support not only among Kurdish women but also among women from all over the world. This is the main reason why the genocidal Turkish state especially targets women pioneers.

The January 9, 2013, Paris massacre is one of the clearest examples of this policy of genocide. The genocidal colonialist Turkish state has tied its existence to the annihilation of the Kurdish people. It has put all its internal and external means and relations at the service of this genocidal fascist policy. Since the biggest obstacle to this genocidal fascist policy is the Kurdistan Freedom Movement, it uses all kinds of banned chemical weapons in the mountains. The fascist Turkish government, with the courage it receives from those, who remain silent about these crimes of war and crimes against humanity – especially in case of the European states and global powers – has now carried its genocidal attacks to European centers. It resorts to dirty political massacres in order to hide its incapability to crush the freedom resistance in the mountains, plains and cities of Kurdistan. The second Paris massacre, which took place as a result of these policies, was undoubtedly carried out by the Turkish MIT [intelligence service], which has turned into a murder and crime network. Some intelligence units of European states either support the massacres of this criminal network or choose to remain silent.

The approach of the French state is far away from the stance of an independent and sovereign state. By covering up the first Paris massacre and not disclosing the related facts to the public, it has prepared the ground for the Turkish MIT to carry out the second Paris massacre. This massacre would not have happened if the French state had publicized the available information and held accountable Erdoğan, the MIT and their collaborators, i.e. the perpetrators of the January 9, 2013, massacre. To remain silent or cover up the attacks against a people who have given more than 10,000 martyrs and more than 20,000 wounded against the Islamic State [IS] – the enemy of humanity and scourge of the whole world – means being a partner of the mentality and politics of the genocidal AKP-MHP fascist government and a friend and collaborator of IS. Everyone knows very well that AKP-MHP fascism is trying to avenge IS by targeting the Kurdish women and people, who are the face of humanity and symbolize the struggle against IS.

If the French state does not want to become complicit with the AKP-MHP-IS attacks, it needs to immediately shed light on the two massacres that took place within its borders, share the facts with the public and put those responsible on trial. If this is not done, France will be considered guilty in the eyes of humanity,

especially the Kurdish people, and will also provide the ground for new massacres to take place. For this reason, we call on France to protect the common democratic values of humanity and Europe and not to sacrifice them to political interests. We also call on our people and international friends in Europe to lead all the forces of freedom and democracy and continue their democratic activism until these massacres are clarified.

Comrade Sara spat in the face of fascism in the prisons of the genocidal colonialist state and became a symbol of resistance and freedom for the struggle of all free Kurdish women, the people and humanity. Today, all women and peoples struggling for freedom in the world draw strength from comrade Sara's struggle in prison, in the mountains and in the political and social arena. All those who struggle for freedom along the lines of the paradigm that has been refined in the slogan "Jin, Jiyan, Azadî" are today walking in the footsteps of comrade Sara.

Comrade Rojbin made great contributions to the debates and activities of our peoples in Europe. Comrade Ronahi, with her youthful energy, gave especially young women and men the determination to resist. Therefore, the memories of these three valuable comrades shed light on our struggle.

On the 10th anniversary of their martyrdom, we would therefore like to commemorate our comrades Sara, Rojbin and Ronahi once again with respect, love and gratitude and reiterate our promise to lead their struggle to victory."



Ten years ago today, The first Paris massacre

ANF | 9 JANUARY 2023

Ten years ago today, Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez were brutally murdered. They were hit in a place they considered safe, the office Fidan was going every day to do her job: meticulous, diplomatic work to get French politicians aware and informed on the crime and repression against Kurds.

Sakine Cansız, a co-founder of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), Fidan Doğan, KNK (Kurdistan National Congress) Representative in Paris, and Leyla Şaylemez, a member of the Kurdish Youth Movement, were brutally executed in the heart of the French capital Paris on 9 January 2013. Light is yet to be shed on the murder of the three Kurdish women and the powers behind the killings.

Three women, three generations of Kurdish women, committed at different levels and in different fields, tirelessly working both to denounce the persecution of Kurds and for a path toward a just and lasting peace through dialogue.

Both issues (exposing the violence against a people of 40 million and working for peace) were the target of those who ordered the murder. The hand which pulled the trigger may well have been that of the "suspect" arrested two days after the killings. Ömer Güney was the last who saw the three women alive. He

was with them in the office. French investigators accuse him of being the killer. If this indeed were the case, the trial would show.

After the completion of the investigation into the murder of three Kurdish woman politicians in August 2015, the case was sent to court.

A document on the massacre had pointed at arrangements in Ankara, and this document helped further the investigation. On January 12, 2014, 3 days after the first year anniversary of the massacre, the shooter was heard in a voice recording leaked online as he spoke to two people from the Turkish intelligence on assassination plans. Two days after this recording's dissemination, the written document instructing the shooter to assassinate Sakine Cansız became public. This document carried the signatures of MİT Branch manager O. Yüret, Department manager U. K. Ayık, Vice president S. Asal and President H. Özcan. The document was originally issued on November 18, 2012, and emphasized that 6 thousand Euros were paid for the massacre.

However, Turkish officials have refused to cooperate with investigators and did not share the information MİT had on the massacre. The French government only publicized a few documents that had already been known by the public, and has been hiding the information it has on Ömer Güney. Investigators note that Güney was an MİT agent who infiltrated into the Kurdish movement for espionage and assassinations. French prosecutor Jeanne Duvé decided to close the case in May 2015, two years after the massacre.

The details cannot be checked without help from Turkey, Antoine Comte, a lawyer for the Kurdish victims in France, previously said. The reality is, nothing seems to have moved as to a precise line of inquiry aimed at answering vital questions: who ordered the killings ? How could such a murder be carried out in a city like Paris, on a busy road such as Rue Lafayette ?

More, to which extent (if any) is Turkey “collaborating” to the inquiry, especially since, as Comte said, records of Güney’s phone activity with Turkey were placed in the investigations file in July, five months after his arrest. Who was he meeting during his trips to Turkey ? Who was he talking to ? Why ? Who is Güney ?

All these questions remain unanswered and justice remains far and so does truth. Three years have gone by since that sad 9th of January.

Kurds are preventing this vicious murder from ending up forgotten or being put aside. They cannot be left alone because this is a murder which concerns the very democratic and justice values professed by Europe. This is a murder which concerns Europe not just because it was committed in an European city, but also because it proved that there are those who—in Europe—feel safe to act knowing they would benefit or some kind of impunity. This is something Europe should reflect upon very seriously and act very quickly.

Sakine Cansiz (Sara)

Sakine Cansız was born in the province of Dersim in 1957. Having been active in the student youth movement in Elazığ for long years, Cansız joined the Kurdish revolutionary movement in 1976.

Cansız, a leading figure in the struggle against fascist circles in Elazığ, was mainly active in the neighborhoods of Fevzi Çakmak and Yıldızbağları. By joining political works in and around Dersim in 1978, Cansız became fully involved in the revolutionary movement after that time.

After attending the PKK Congress on 27 November 1978, Cansız was arrested in Elazığ and sent to prison together with a group of friends. She was subjected to heavy torture in the period of the 12 September military coup in 1980. She was released in 1991.

Soon after her release, she continued to take an active part in revolutionary activities in West and South Kurdistan.

After many years of struggle in the Kurdistan mountains, Cansız went to Europe where she started to lead the Kurdish women's organization. She was one of the inspiring and prominent women who made great contributions to the association and organization of Kurds in the diaspora.

Fidan Dogan (Rojbin)

Doğan, one of the two other Kurdish women killed in Paris three years ago, was born in the district of Elbistan (Maraş) on 17 January 1982. As a daughter of an immigrant family in Europe, she grew up in France.

Doğan, who took a strong interest in the Kurdistan Freedom Struggle since her childhood, started to take an active part in revolutionary works in Europe as of 1999. Besides her works which mainly focused on youth and women, Doğan also took part in diplomatic activities in Europe as of 2002. She was both a member of the Kurdistan National Congress and Paris representative of the establishment.

Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahi)

Leyla Şaylemez, daughter of an Êzîdi family from Diyarbakır's Lice district, was born in 1988 in the southern province of Mersin. She spent her childhood here until her family moved to Germany in the 90s.

She had been studying at the Department of Architecture for one year when she joined the Kurdistan Freedom Struggle. After 2006, she started to take an active part in many European cities, particularly in Berlin, Cologne, Hannover, Frankfurt and the Swiss city of Basel.

After spending one and a half years in Kurdistan in 2010, she returned to Paris, where she had been conducting work since then.

What shooters in two Paris massacres have in common

ANF | 9 JANUARY 2023

Almost 10 years after the murder of Kurdish women revolutionaries Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez on January 9, 2013, another massacre of Kurds in Paris on December 23, 2022, deeply affected the Kurdish community and their friends. In the second shooting which shocked the French public, KCK Executive Council Member Emine Kara (Evîn Goyî), artist Mir Perwer and Kurdish patriot Abdurrahman Kızıl were martyred.

The second shooting, which coincided with the 10th anniversary of the triple murder of Kurdish women revolutionaries on January 9, 2013, was organized by the Turkish intelligence MIT, like the first one. While the first shooting was carried out by MIT's hitman, Ömer Güney at the Kurdistan Information Office located near Gare de Nord (North Station) in Paris, the second one was carried out by William Malet in front of the Kurdish Cultural Centre in the Strasbourg Saint-Denis district.

The methods chosen in both massacres seem to be similar and there are common features between the two shooters, although one of them is of French and the other of Turkish origin. Here are the common points between shooters William Mallet and Ömer Güney:

They did not prefer to escape

After William Malet shot Evîn Goyî, Mir Perwer and Abdurrahman Kızıl in front of Ahmet Kaya Cultural Center at around 11:40 am on Friday, December 23, 2022, he fired at a restaurant called Avesta opposite the Kurdish association, then entered the Munzur barber shop which is run by Kurds. He continued to shoot there and was handed over to the police after he was stopped by the customers inside when he ran out of bullets.

Malet was caught with a box of 25 cartridges, a bag with full magazines and a Colt 1911 pistol. He did not choose to escape, although there he had the chance to do that after killing three people. Likewise, Ömer Güney did not run away, although he had the possibility to do so after the 9 January shooting. Güney was handed over to the police by the Kurds like Malet a few days after 9 January.

Both are professional shooters

Shooter Malet said in his first statement that he was racist and hated the Kurds. Güney was known as a Turkish racist in the region where he lived in Germany, unlike the “Kurdish-friendly” Turkish image he created in Paris.

Speaking to ANF after the January 9 massacre, the German owner of the house where Ömer Güney lived in the town of Bad Tölz gave the following striking information about his real identity: “He told me multiple times that ‘I am an Ottoman Türk’, he was a nationalist and did not like the Kurds.”

Güney was 32 when he murdered the three Kurdish women politicians, and Mallet was 69 years old. Despite this age difference, both were professional shooters. Güney did not misfire when he opened fire on Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez in the Kurdistan Information Bureau.

Likewise, shooter Malet hit all his ‘targets’ despite his advanced age. He fired a total of 7 bullets. Two bullets fatally hit Evîn Goyî, one Mir Perwer and one Abdurrahman Kızıl, and the remaining three bullets injured those in the barber shop. Like Sakine Cansız, who was murdered in the first Paris shooting, Evîn Goyî, who was murdered in the second, was a leading figure in the women's struggle and spent most of her life in the Kurdish Freedom Movement. The second bullet Malet fired at Goyî at close range after she got injured and fell to the ground is proof that the Turkish state planned an “execution” against this Kurdish female revolutionary.

Trained in shooting club

In a statement after the December 23 Massacre, the Minister of Interior, Gerald Darmanin, gave striking information about the shooter. Minister Darmanin revealed that Malet had regularly visited the shooting club and was a “shooter” himself. Likewise, Ömer Güney was a member of a shooting club in Bavaria, Germany, where he lived for many years, and received training there.

Although his friends confirmed that Güney had regularly visited the shooting club, the German police and security units did not carry out any investigation into this club. The shooting club in question, which is believed to be located near Munich, still remains a mystery.

Both have criminal records

Both shooters have criminal records. Immediately after the December 23 Massacre, a prosecutor in Paris unveiled that Malet had three previous criminal records. In 2017, Malet was sentenced to 6 months in prison for possession of prohibited weapons. He was sentenced to another 12 months in prison in June 2022 for committing acts of armed violence in 2016.

While the legal process concerning his conviction was still pending after his appeal, Malet injured two people after breaking into a refugee camp in Paris housing Sudanese refugees in December 2021 with a sword in his hand. Jailed for nearly a year for deliberate racist armed violence, Malet was released on bail on December 12, 2022, with a ban on international travel and carrying weapons.

Likewise, Ömer Güney, shooter of the January 9 Massacre, had a criminal record in Germany. Güney was caught with an unlicensed pistol during a traffic stop in 2005, and in 2011, a forbidden tear spray and knife were found in his pocket. Güney’s criminal record, which was not revealed to the public for a long time, was unveiled by the German Ministry of Interior as a result of persistent parliamentary questions introduced by a former parliamentarian of the Left Party, Ulla Jelpke.

France tolerated Malet, Germany tolerated Güney

Despite his criminal record that included injuries and assaults, William Malet was tolerated by the French security units and not followed after his release. Likewise, no investigation was launched against Güney despite his criminal record in Germany, where he had lived for about 1.5 years until before the January 9

Massacre. Moreover, Güney was involved in some attacks against Kurds in a factory where he worked with Turkish fascist groups.

Both shooters said ‘They are ill’

Shooter Malet told the police that he was psychologically ill immediately after he was caught. When Malet described his illness as “pathological hatred”, doctors who examined him concluded that he could not stay under detention. Thereupon, the police transferred him to a psychiatry clinic within the police department on the second day. However, following the objection of a prosecutor, the shooter was taken from the clinic and sent to prison again.

Even though it has been 10 years since, Güney’s sickness has always been questioned and has not yet been fully clarified. Güney himself and those who knew him in Germany and France stated multiple times that he had a brain tumour. However, whether he was actually sick or not and the level of his sickness has always remained unclear. Güney died on December 17, 2016, about a month before the January 9 Massacre trial began.

A source that spoke to the French media at the time claimed that Güney, who was kept in Fresnes Prison, had a disease called “legionellosis” due to brain cancer and died of pneumonia in a hospital where he was taken. Güney's lawyers made the following claim: “The condition of the patient who suffered from a brain tumour has deteriorated considerably in recent months. He contracted a lung infection that led to his death.” However, the French authorities are yet to announce the cause of Güney’s death.

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Ecocide

Turkish army sets fire to forests, once again

ANF | AMED | 5 JANUARY 2023

The Turkish army launched an operation in Amed, Bingöl, Muş and Batman countryside on 24 December with the participation of thousands of soldiers.

It has been reported that special units were sent to mountainous areas in four cities by helicopters, while special units were dispatched to some points by 4×4 type closed-back civilian vehicles.

In the region where Helicopter and Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicles activity is experienced, artillery fire was heard in some areas.

It has been reported that military units deliberately set forests on fire, especially in the mountainous areas of the rural neighborhoods between Kulp and Muş. The fire, which started at two different points, went out on its own after a day.

The operation was brought to an end in many areas while continuing in some strategic regions.

The Turkish state systematically burns Kurdish forests on the grounds of the operation, but the reality is that it has been plundering forests in many regions for years. Especially in the regions of Besta, Cudi and Gabar in the province of Şirnex, trees have been cut down intensively for two years. Every summer, fires are started in dozens of areas for military reasons, and no intervention is allowed.

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300 more olive trees cut down in occupied Afrin

ANF | 14 JANUARY 2023

According to local sources from inside the occupied Afrin canton, mercenaries of the Turkish occupation state cut down about 300 olive trees belonging to the citizens of Mabata district and its villages in the Afrin region.

The sources stated that the mercenaries cut down trees with the aim of selling them in the local and neighboring markets. The trees were transported by large trucks without any deterrence.

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Human Rights Violations

Police injured two young men with gun in Istanbul

ANF | ISTANBUL | 2 JANUARY 2023

According to reports, two young men were subjected to police violence in the Kanary neighborhood of Küçükçekmece district in Istanbul on Sunday evening.

Video footage from the ground shows a young man shot in the leg, while a police officer threatens a young man by pointing a gun at his head. A shot is heard afterwards.

Another young man was injured by a police officer hitting him in the head with a gun butt in the Turgut Reis neighborhood of Esenler district. According to eyewitnesses, the young man was seriously injured and

taken to a hospital. One of the residents of the neighborhood revealed that the young man reacted to the police in Kurdish.

Turkish police killed three young people in the last month in Istanbul. 25-year-old Hacı Gelenler was killed in Fatih district on December 6. On the other hand, 18-year-old Zuhale Ebrar Yıldız was shot in the head by the police in Beyoğlu district while walking on a street. On November 29, the police killed 19-year-old Göktüğ Efe Yılmaz in Taksim district.

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New footage shows police violence in Amed

ANF | AMED | 3 JANUARY 2023

Last weekend, video footage emerged, showing how a city resident named Emre Elaltunterin was subjected to violence by the Turkish police during an identity check in the Kaynartepe neighborhood of Amed's central Bağlar district.

New footage from the city shows police violence in the Yenişehir district. The footage taken on December 30 shows a team of policemen and nightmen using violence against a person during an identity check in the middle of a street in the Yenişehir district.

Videos taken by residents of the district show how state forces kick and slap the person in question.

Videos show policemen bringing down the citizen to the ground violently, handcuffing him. It is reported that those who reacted to the police violence were also subjected to it.

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Protesters fleeing Iran tortured by Turkish soldiers at Van border

ANF | VAN | 3 JANUARY 2023

Refugees caught on the Van-Iran border are robbed by the Turkish military and kept for days in the snow.

Hundreds of people were killed and thousands were arrested in the protest demonstrations that continued for more than three months in Iran and Eastern Kurdistan. Those fleeing Iran are trying to come to the border city of Van, but they are being tortured by Turkish soldiers on the border.

The border, whose temperature is well below zero in the winter months, has become a tool of death and torture for refugees. Many refugees who do not cross the border are caught by the Turkish military and tortured by Turkish soldiers.

In December, a group of Iranians trying to cross from Iran to Van were robbed and laid naked on the snow after being caught by Turkish soldiers. The group, aged between 15 and 30, was subjected to torture for hours.

A 35-year-old Persian protester, who was tortured by Turkish soldiers, said: “I live in Tehran. After the murder of Jîna Amini, I fought against Iran in the field. We have never taken a step back. The authorities learned that I had joined the resistance. That’s why they raided my house almost every day. They arrested my family many times and tortured them. My family sent me to Turkey because they feared I would be killed if I stayed. I didn’t want to come. I wanted to continue the resistance, but they also threatened my family with death. That’s why I had to leave Iran. When I got to Van, the Turkish soldiers caught me and the 5 people who were with me. They tortured us for days. They tortured us in the snow for hours. They left us all in bruises. The soldiers then left us on the Iranian side. In order not to fall into the hands of the Iranian state, I crossed over to Turkey again by other means.”

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Police in Mersin take 8 people into custody

ANF | MERSIN | 6 JANUARY 2023

Several houses in Mersin were raided this morning as part of a new political police operation.

The raids were allegedly carried out with the claim of “preparation for action”. The police broke the doors of the houses and scattered all personal things around.

Eight people, including Cafer Adsay, Agit Adsoy, Hamdullah Özen and Mehmet Fatih Uçankuş, were taken into custody as the result of the raids and were taken to Mersin Provincial Security Directorate.

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‘Suspension of treasury funds to the HDP is another black mark in Turkey’s history of democracy’

ANF | 9 JANUARY 2023

Feleknas Uca and Hişyar Özsoy, HDP Co-spokespersons for Foreign Affairs, released a statement criticizing the latest court order to temporarily block HDP’s treasury grants before this year’s upcoming elections.

“On 5 January 2023, upon a request from the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office of the Court of Cassation, the Constitutional Court temporarily blocked the treasury funds that were due to be paid to the HDP. The prosecutor submitted the request with the allegation that the HDP's “organic ties” with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were continuing during the closure case. This verdict came just days before the funds were going to be wired to our party's bank accounts,” the statement recalled.

HDP stated that this decision was unlawful, as summarized below:

1. The court had previously rejected the prosecutor's request. He has not presented any new evidence, but the court now accepts the same request. This suggests that the court has buckled under political pressure.
2. The decision to block treasury funds should be considered as part of the outcome of the closure case against a political party. The Constitutional Court made its decision without waiting for the final verdict of the closure case. This means that the Constitutional Court, directly or indirectly, has expressed its opinion before the verdict.
3. According to Article 149 of the Constitution, a “two-thirds majority of the members attending the meeting is required in order to decide whether to dissolve political parties or deprive them of state funds”. The decision to block our party's funding was taken by a majority of 8 to 7 votes, and is consequently against the constitution.
4. The court made its decision without notifying the HDP of the prosecutor's blocking request and without taking the party's objections.

“We have been facing a closure case since June 2021, and this will most probably be finalized in the coming months, before the elections. The prosecutor will set out his views on this case to the Constitutional Court verbally on 10 January 2023. The court will then allow time for us to prepare a verbal defence,” HDP stated.

The party said, “It is obvious that the Constitutional Court's decision to block our party funds is political. The MHP, President Erdoğan's ultra-nationalist ally, has been aiming at this for a long time. It seems that the court has surrendered to political pressure and has become a tool for directing politics in the run-up to the elections.”

The statement by HDP Co-spokespersons for Foreign Affairs concluded: “This court decision is another black mark in Turkey's history of democracy. It doesn't have any legitimacy and is null and void in the conscience of our millions of supporters as we prepare for our decisive political battle with Erdoğan's authoritarian regime.”

DFG: 39 journalists arrested, 76 sentenced in 2022

ANF | AMED | 10 JANUARY 2023

The Dicle Firat Journalists Association (DFG) published a report on the violations of rights suffered by journalists in 2022. According to the report, 39 journalists were arrested and 76 sentenced.

The report said: “Unfortunately, we closed 2022, which we entered with the hope of a year in which freedom of the press and expression would be ensured, with a different picture. The government increased the war in every field, targeted journalists as well as all the opposition during the year, in order to strengthen its seat. The European Union member standards that the AKP said would follow when it first came to power have been violated and the government actually acted in the opposite direction, passing legislation to abolish the freedom of the press and expression during its 20-year period. However, it took the biggest of these steps to ‘kill journalism’ in 2022.”

The statement added: “When we look at each of the violations carried out during the year, it is possible to see how afraid the government is of the truth. For this reason, it tried to prevent the journalists who were following the news in the field using police violence. Many times, journalists have been the first target of police attacks in social protests. Many journalists were beaten during these protests, prevented from taking images and photographs, or threatened with death by holding a gun to their heads, as was the case in Van. Journalists covering the police attack on the march after the 1 September rally in Van were targeted. All were subjected to police violence and threatened with death by the police holding a gun to their heads. Journalists' news coverage was blocked 132 times during the year, and 65 journalists were attacked during these blockages.”

The statement continued: “One of the biggest blows to the freedom of press and expression during the year was the ‘Censorship law’ introduced by the government with the name of ‘Disinformation law’.”

Some violations in 2022 are as follows:

“56 websites were closed during the year, access to 1,109 news and 2,210 social media content was blocked. After the bomb in Taksim, access to social media accounts and websites was blocked and access to the internet reduced, although it had no legal basis.

Investigations were opened against 68 journalists, and 65 of them turned into lawsuits. In the ongoing trials against 810 journalists, 76 journalists were sentenced. In these trials, journalists were sentenced to a total of 1 life imprisonment, 181 years, 6 months and 22 days in prison, and a fine of 8 million 105 thousand 707 TL.

The only Kurdish-language newspaper in Turkey, Xwebûn, was banned from being distributed many times during the year, despite the absence of a confiscation order.

39 journalists were arrested during the operations carried out during the year to silence the journalists. In these operations, Kurdish journalists were targeted in particular and 27 free press workers were arrested in the last 6 months and put inside four walls.

22 people, including 20 journalists, were detained in the police operation carried out on 8 June. The homes and workplaces of journalists, including our association's co-chairman, Serdar Altan, were raided. During the searches made there, all the equipment of our colleagues was confiscated. In fact, the police, who went a little further in this operation, kept the studios of the production companies under a blockade for more than 30 days. Trying to prevent the work of those who were outside, the police presented all the equipment they seized, the newspaper archives and the photographs of the martyrs of the free press as "criminal evidence".

After 8 days of detention, 16 of our colleagues who were brought to Diyarbakır Courthouse were arrested because of their news and programs. Although 7 months have passed, no indictment has been filed against 16 journalists, and all objections to detention have been rejected.

On 25 October, 11 journalists were detained in an Ankara-based operation in raids on their homes and workplaces. The violence against our colleagues, who were detained under torture, continued throughout the 4 days they were held in the police headquarters.

On 29 October, 9 out of 11 journalists were arrested, once again trying to undermine the Kurdish journalists' struggle to reveal the truth. Our friends, who appeared before the judge, were asked why they became members of our association in an attempt to criminalize their news as well as our association.

During the year, 1 journalist was killed within the borders of Turkey, and 2 journalists were killed in South Kurdistan and Northern and Eastern Syria.

On 4 October, in the city of Sulaymaniyah, Jineology Academy Member and journalist Nagihan Akarsel was assassinated. It turned out that the perpetrator, who was sentenced for criminal offenses in Turkey, was assigned by the MIT to murder Akarsel. Turkey's Ambassador to Baghdad also made a statement embracing the assassination.

On 20 November, Hawar News Agency (ANHA) reporter Isam Ebdullah lost his life during the airstrikes of Turkey against Northern and Eastern Syria. Ebdullah, who went to the region to report the attacks, lost his life in the second bombardment."

The report ended with these remarks: "As journalists, we know that a tough year of struggle awaits us. We will continue to defend and fight for the freedom of the press and expression, as well as the right to receive information in 2023, when attacks increase as the election calendar approaches."



Former German MP faces trial over solidarity with Kurdistan

ANF | KARLSRUHE | 11 JANUARY 2023

On 12 January, the appeal hearing of former member of the German Parliament, Bundestag, Michel Brandt (DIE LINKE) for his solidarity with Kurdistan will take place at the Karlsruhe Regional Court

from 9 am. An hour before, starting at 8 a.m., there will be a solidarity rally at which, among others, the member of the Bundestag, Gökay Akbulut, and the state spokesperson of the Left Party in Baden-Württemberg, Sahra Mirow, will speak.

“The PKK ban must be lifted”

Sahra Mirow and Elwis Capece, national spokespersons of DIE LINKE, said: “A conviction of Michel Brandt would be a new act of intimidation and persecution of Kurdistan solidarity. The PKK ban, which forms the basis for this, must finally be lifted. In this way, freedom of expression in Germany is further restricted. Michel Brandt has taken a stand against Turkey's war of aggression and for peace in Rojava and the Middle East. This cannot and must not be punishable.”

Akbulut: “People in solidarity are to be intimidated”

Gökay Akbulut, a member of the Bundestag, also condemned the trial against her former colleague: “The trial is a clear case of intimidation of all those who show solidarity with the Kurdish freedom movement. For weeks, the Turkish army has been attacking Rojava in northern Syria and southern Kurdistan in northern Iraq, bombing towns and villages and also demonstrably using chemical weapons and dirty bombs. In this context, we also see the assassinations of Kurdish activists in Paris. We will not allow Kurdistan solidarity in Germany to be further criminalized!”

What is Michael Brandt accused of?

The former member of the Bundestag from Karlsruhe, Michel Brandt, is accused of publishing pictures of a demonstration in Strasbourg on Facebook and Instagram in 2019, showing flags that are banned in Germany. Brandt, as a member of the Bundestag and the Council of Europe, had taken a stand in front of 25,000 Kurds against the attack on the autonomous region of Rojava, which is against international law, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops. In addition, according to the public prosecutor's office, he used banned symbols in calls on his homepage and in his social media appearances for demonstrations in Karlsruhe against the war waged by Turkey against the people of Rojava.

Public prosecutor's office awaits end of Bundestag mandate

Only two weeks after the end of his parliamentary activity in 2021, the Karlsruhe public prosecutor's office served him with a penalty order of 14,000 Euro for this purpose. In January 2022, the Karlsruhe District Court sentenced him to 60 daily fines of 70 Euro each (= 4,200 Euro). The regional association of the Left Party calls it “incomprehensible that the public prosecutor's office waited until shortly after the end of Brandt's Bundestag mandate to bring charges because of something that happened in 2019”.

Anadolu University professor suspended for 3 months after asking question about HDP closure case

ANF | 14 JANUARY 2023

Working as a lecturer at Anadolu University Faculty of Law, associate professor Bülent Yücel was suspended for 3 months by the university rectorate on the grounds that he asked a question about the closure of HDP in the exam he held on 9 January 2023.

According to a statement published on the social media account of the Youth Committees, Yücel was suspended from duty for 3 months because he mentioned the case demanding the closure of HDP in a question in the final exam of the General Principles of Constitutional Law course.

“Although we learned that the notification of the decision has not yet reached Yücel, it was stated that the decision was taken on the grounds of Article 53/B of the YÖK law.

The school administration also canceled the exam held on 9 January 2023 and sent a message to the students that the same exam would be held again on 19 January.”

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Attacks by Turkish soldiers on refugees are increasing

ANF | VAN | 15 JANUARY 2023

The Wan-East Kurdistan (Iran) border has become the death border for refugees. In recent years, many refugees lost their lives and were injured when Turkish and Iranian soldiers opened fire on them on the border. Human smuggling in Iran is carried out in cooperation with Turkish soldiers and human traffickers. Soldiers and traffickers bring refugees across the border to Wan (Van in Turkish) and its districts in exchange for money. Hundreds of refugees brought by vehicle died as a result of traffic accidents. In addition, in the winter months, many refugees froze to death on the Wan-East Kurdistan border due to the cold. This border has turned into a death journey for refugees, but it has also become a source of money for Turkish soldiers and human traffickers.

The districts of Özalp, Başkale and Çaldıran are transit points for refugees. A kilometer-long wall has been built by the Turkish state on the borders of these three districts. In addition to the walls, hundreds of police stations, fortresses, and watchtowers were built. Yet, hundreds of refugees are still crossed over by human traffickers on almost a daily basis. Turkish soldiers allow passage by taking money from refugees and human traffickers.

Sexually attacked by soldiers

Two refugees lost their lives and 6 people were injured when the police opened fire on the minibus carrying refugees at the police checkpoint in the Özalp district of Wan. No investigation was opened against the police officers involved in the incident. On 4 July 2022, in Karahisar, 3 people, including a 4-year-old child and a woman, lost their lives and 7 other people were injured as a result of a gendarmerie attack on a minibus carrying refugees. No investigation was initiated against the soldiers who committed the massacre.

In the Saray district of Wan, Afghan national Leyla M. was sexually assaulted by Turkish soldiers on 4 January. After the incident emerged, a confidential decision was made for the file. Iranian Z.M., who was kept in quarantine for precautionary purposes on 22 July 2020 at Kurubaş Removal Center affiliated to Van Provincial Immigration Administration was sexually assaulted by two security guards.

At least 50 refugees froze to death while trying to cross the border in Wan, 68 drowned in Lake Wan, 45 died in traffic accidents and 5 died as a result of firearms. Today, nearly 300 immigrants are buried in the cemetery in Wan.



Interview

Kalkan: Turkish state and AKP-MHP are behind Paris massacre

ANF | BEHDINAN | 1 JANUARY 2023

Duran Kalkan, member of the KCK Executive Council, spoke about the latest developments in Kurdistan, the Middle East and the world, including the continuing uncertainty regarding the situation of Abdullah Öcalan, the partnership of European powers with fascism in Turkey, the recent major defeat of the Turkish Army in South Kurdistan/North Iraq, the democratic struggle to overcome the blockage caused by the Turkish regime.

Continuing uncertainty regarding situation of Abdullah Öcalan

“Recently, protests by MPs have taken place [in Turkey]. Applications to go to Imralı to meet with Leader Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] have also been made. All this is important. The MPs are now protesting in front of the Ministry of Justice. The place of the protest of the MPs is well-chosen. This institution must be addressed. Because it is one of the institutions that disseminates the information in question. Not only does it spread information, but it also prevents lawyers and families from meeting with Leader Apo and other prisoners in Imralı. We can clearly say that there is a game taking place and that tricks are being made. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to carry out such protests to clarify the situation, to insist on the appli-

cations for meetings [on İmralı] and to put pressure on the current administration and the institutions that are responsible for the way to and from İmralı.”

“There has been a state of uncertainty. Many suspicions have been spread. This, of course, has created serious concerns, anxiety, and uncertainty. This situation of uncertainty which has increased our anxiety and worries continues. There have not been any changes. The situation is really serious. It is not a situation to be taken lightly. This is very challenging for the movement, all comrades, our people, patriots and international friends. Everyone is on high alert, basically not sleeping. There is a great sensitivity with regards to this issue. It has been 21 months since there has not been any contact, no information [from Abdullah Öcalan]. This is not acceptable. No one should expect the Kurdish people to accept this. We are talking about a nation of 40 million people. The will of this nation is at stake. These people are waging a struggle. They have given 50 thousand martyrs for this cause. Today they are filled with great anxiety and huge worries.”

“Some institutions, the CPT [European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment] for example, have recently been criticized. Their current attitude is really not understandable. If there is really no danger, this situation should not continue. But since it does, this means that there really is a dangerous situation. This has increased our anxiety, worries, anger and protests. Society has recently shown its anger clearly. The sensitivities of this society are important. Respecting these sensitivities would not make the CPT cease to be an institution. There is no need for the CPT to insist so much that this would break its institutional rules. At least they could have respected these sensitivities. They are dealing with a society, not just any person, institution, party or organization. There is a society they are faced with, and this society is being subjected to genocide.”

Partnership of European powers with fascism in Turkey

“The European institutions are carrying out more attacks in support of Turkey instead of creating some clarity and of assuring that the laws work in Turkey. Germany has recently arrested Kurdish patriots. They attack Kurdish houses and loot the centers of Kurdish associations. If these powers do such things, AKP-MHP fascism will of course do anything. It does not obey any law or moral rules. Therefore, these powers are indeed complicit in what is happening in Turkey and İmralı. European institutions, namely the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, the CPT, the ECHR do not intervene. We have always said and will say again and again that this constitutes support for genocide. The AKP-MHP’s mentality and politics are fascist and genocidal. They try to take revenge on Leader Apo and are carrying out all kinds of attacks and a Kurdish genocide. The international conspiracy [imprisonment of Abdullah Öcalan in 1999] also constitutes a genocide attack. For 24 years, the İmralı system has continued as a genocide system. The isolation [of Abdullah Öcalan] is a genocide attack. They continue all kinds of hostile behavior without following any moral or legal rules. And Europe is a partner in all this. Maybe Europe even encourages Turkey to do this. We don’t know. We are skeptical and have our doubts with regards to this issue.”

Increased struggle for Abdullah Öcalan’s freedom in coming months

“We will increase our struggle even more. Many relevant organizations have called for exactly this. There is movement abroad and in all four parts of Kurdistan. The society in North Kurdistan and Turkey is mobilizing. The Leadership [Abdullah Öcalan] is in Turkey, in North Kurdistan. It is therefore necessary to march to İmralı. More protests need to happen there. We would like to salute the ongoing struggle. There

is an important level of sensitivity and struggle. Yet, we must not be satisfied with what we have. Instead, we need to increase the struggle even more. We must make it more versatile and richer. We must force the powers that don't even live up to their own laws to obey certain rules. For this to happen, we should not stop for a single second. There must be more unity. We must spread the ideas of the Leadership more among other peoples, women and young people. We need to try to understand Leader Apo even better. And we need to increase the struggle for the minimum rules of law to be applied against the Imrali system of torture, isolation, and genocide. Therefore, I would like to repeat our call on this basis."

Recent major defeat of Turkish Army in South Kurdistan/North Iraq

"The war with its center in [the South Kurdish regions] Zap, Avaşîn and Metîna is now in its 9th month. It has spread everywhere to a certain extent. The attacks continue from Gever to Istanbul. On this basis, I would like to especially salute the guerrilla forces in Zap, Avaşîn and Metîna and congratulate them on their success once again. I would also like to commemorate the heroic martyrs of this resistance with respect, love and gratitude. The war is now entering the year 2023. Those who wanted to achieve results in a week or two have now been fighting for months and years. Now, they find themselves in a desperate situation. The war balance sheet for the last 8 months has been published: Firstly, all of the Turkish state's plans have failed. Secondly, they have got stuck there. Thirdly, they are struggling, are desperate and have no solution. They don't know what to do now. They need to withdraw but are incapable of doing so. Therefore, they are suffering more and more casualties, and there will be even more. All this has already taken that long but they haven't had any success. Moreover, the Turkish army had to flee from many places [in South Kurdistan]. It has been unable to carry out the occupation. It will get hit even harder and will have to abandon even more places in the coming months. This will not only lead to the end of AKP-MHP fascism. It will also bring about the end of Turkey's fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality and politics. This is the goal of this resistance. It is achieving this goal step by step. Some people did not believe us when we said that the Turkish state would be defeated in Zap and Metîna just as the Islamic State [IS] was defeated in Kobanê. Now this has become obvious. The war balance sheets and statements clearly reveal that the Turkish state, AKP-MHP fascism and the fascist, colonialist, genocidal mentality and politics have indeed been defeated in Zap, Avaşîn, Metîna and all over the Medya Defense Areas, against the resistance of the Kurdistan Freedom Guerrilla. Since they have been defeated there, since they are helpless and have reached a dead end, they now attack the people, women and the democratic political arena. Every week, they attack the civilian population in South Kurdistan and Rojava. And they use chemical weapons, tactical nuclear weapons and commit all kinds of war crimes in order to save themselves from this defeat."

Need for strong democratic struggle to overcome blockage by Turkish regime

"In Turkey and North Kurdistan, they have done everything they could. They recently attacked the press and artists. Now they are attacking democratic politics. They have imprisoned the co-chairs of the Democratic Regions Party [DPB] and all its provincial co-chairs. They have increased their pressure and torture to the utmost. They have intensified the Imrali torture and genocide system. Why? Because they had been defeated in Zap, Avaşîn and Metîna. If AKP-MHP fascism had succeeded in its war against the guerrilla forces there, it would not have attacked the press, artists, parties, and women. They have arrested so many women. They attack women as if they were taking revenge. Just like they attacked Leader Apo in Imrali. Because all their abusive faces have been exposed, and their masks have fallen off."

“The responsibility for the organized arrests and attacks that have recently taken place is not only limited to the AKP-MHP. There is not much protest from the opposition either. There is no sound from those who claim to be an alternative to the AKP-MHP government, especially the CHP. They are supposedly going to overthrow fascism and bring democracy to Turkey. Have you raised your voice against AKP-MHP fascism’s attacks on the Kurdish people, the Alevi community, the revolutionary democratic forces, women, and youth? But they still say: “I am a democrat, I will bring democracy.” No one believes that. And there are also those who support the AKP-MHP government from outside. They are holding meeting after meeting. In order to save Turkey, both Russia and the USA are offering their support. NATO is doing the same. The attacks on the Kurds and Kurdish institutions in Amed [Diyarbakir], Ankara and Germany are happening simultaneously and on the basis of the same plan. We can see this clearly. The AKP-MHP is doing all this and the German administration is not very different. They have an agreement with each other. They are trying to save the AKP-MHP. It seems that these attacks will increase even more. The US, the European Union, Russia, and other foreign powers are saying: “These attacks will weaken the PKK and the AKP-MHP will be worn out. Therefore, we will prepare the CHP and the forces called the ‘Table of Six’.” The foreign powers hoped that they would be able to create a new government in Turkey in a soft way in order to pursue their own interests. But the resistance in Zap has destroyed these games. It has not given AKP-MHP fascism the opportunity to extend its power but has defeated it instead. It has also not allowed the foreign powers to replace the AKP-MHP through a soft transition and to create an alternative fascist colonialist government.”

“This has created a blockage. In other words, the general blockage of the system constitutes mainly in Turkey and Syria. This is, of course, structural, but with some tricks and smooth transitions, the system will want to overcome these blockages. It will try to deceive society by saying that it has brought new administrations to power. But the PKK does not allow this to happen. The guerrilla resistance has not allowed this. Now everyone is desperate and without a solution. It is not clear what will happen. So what is next? Both of them [government and ‘Table of Six’-opposition] must collapse and an alternative that will carry Turkey to real democracy must develop. The way is open to the HDP, other democratic parties, the Labor and Freedom Alliance, and all the forces that truly believe in democracy. In other words, when the AKP-MHP loses power, a force like the CHP cannot replace it. A real democratic power must take over. What will really change when the CHP replaces the AKP? But change is necessary in Turkey. And this can only happen through real democratization. To prevent this, the AKP-MHP government is attacking with all its might and is cooperating with international powers. The CHP also participates in all this, just like foreign powers do.”

“So what is needed now? We need to acknowledge this reality and become more combative. The forces that really say they are democrats must unite, they must fight to overthrow fascism. They must carry the victory of the guerrillas which have defeated AKP-MHP fascism in Zap, Avaşın, Metîna and all over Kurdistan, to the arenas of political struggle, social struggle, ideological struggle, art, and literature. For this, it is necessary to fight in a more organized and multifaceted way. The upcoming elections should definitely be understood as such a struggle. It is absolutely necessary to unify the political and military developments. There is absolutely no election detached from these developments. Therefore, what needs to be done now is to increase the struggle more and unite more. The divisions must be overcome. Small things should not be made an issue. More alliances, relations, and unity must develop in the women’s movement, the youth movement and democratic politics. The resistance of the guerrillas and in the prisons must be supported even more. We need to fight more against these fascist attacks. Fascism will always attack. If

there is no pressure, we need to doubt ourselves. If a fascist dictatorship does not attack us, we should be worried about what we are doing. These attacks are proof that you are struggling.”

Current developments are sign of critical phase

“We are in a very critical phase. All kinds of things can happen. Even heavier attacks might take place. Coups, conspiracies, or massacres may be put on the agenda. We must be prepared for all this. Therefore, we must carry out the antifascist struggle more organized, more effectively and in unity. We must resist in an even stronger way and embrace the daily tasks of our struggle even more. This is the only correct, revolutionary, democratic and patriotic attitude. Only this attitude will win. There is resistance in the prisons and also outside. All those who resist shout that you cannot make a Kurd bow his head. We need to make this our slogan. We really need to make the struggle more organized and enrich it with more creative and diverse methods. We must make it bigger so that we can turn the coming months and weeks into a period of overthrowing fascism, breaking the isolation, of democracy, freedom and of one of the greatest victories in history. The way ahead is clear. I therefore call on everyone to organize more and fight harder to achieve this goal.”

Exclusion of Kurds from recent Amman meeting

“Amman is a critical place. We know that IS attacks were organized and carried out from there. Amman meetings are famous. A century ago, Jordan was given such a role in shaping the Middle East. Britain and France were managing these affairs back then. There was also a conference in Cairo a century ago, in 1921. We hope that this Amman meeting will not be like that conference in Cairo. That meeting shaped the last century of the Middle East. This century was disastrous for the Middle East. It was a result of those meetings. The Kurdish genocide was also planned at the Cairo conference. Until then, the Kurds had still been given a place in certain areas. The mentality and politics of ignorance and destruction were generated there. That’s how the century-old Kurdish genocide emerged. Everyone gathered in Amman recently except for the Kurds. Why? It was called the second Iraq meeting. Iraq’s problems were discussed there. Iraq has no problems of its own. It has problems created by the ruling, statist forces and the system. Its wealth is a problem. Its material wealth, cultural wealth, multi-nationality and multilingualism are a problem. This is due to the ruling, statist, colonialist system, mentality and politics. There are no other problems. Half of Iraq’s problems are related to the Kurdish question. What is called Iraq’s border problem is the Kurdistan problem. The problem with Iran is the Kurdistan problem. The problem with Turkey is the Kurdistan problem. And so is the problem with Syria. It is the problem of dividing and sharing Kurdistan. The Kurdish problem was discussed in Amman, but there were no Kurds. Why not? Why didn’t they invite the KCK? Why didn’t they invite the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria? Apparently, this was also a meeting to improve the fight against IS. The biggest part of the fight against ISIS, and therefore, of the efforts to stabilize Iraq, has been done by the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria and the SDF [Syrian Democratic Forces]. They are still holding thousands of Iraqi IS fighters captive. North and East Syria defeated IS. Iraq was only then able to take Mosul and other places from IS. Therefore, the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria has made the biggest contribution to the stability of Iraq. The improvement of the security and stability of Iraq was recently discussed in Amman. But it was the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria that has served this purpose the most and has played the biggest role in this. So why weren’t they invited? Why were there no Kurds? This has caused concern and anxiety among us. Are they trying to renew a century-old mentality and politics based on the denial and extermination of the Kurds? If this is the case, the UN, France, and

the other participating states need to think carefully, because they are playing a dangerous game. The results of the past century are obvious. How have the Kurds defeated this mentality and politics? Through their century-long resistance. And they will resist even more.”

“We don’t know exactly what the results [of the Amman meeting] are. For example, the Turkish state carried out an invasion attack with tens of thousands of troops from Heftanîn to Xakurkê [in South Kurdistan/North Iraq]. Who has resisted this occupation? The Kurds have. They have prevented the occupation. All these territories are officially considered Iraqi territory. It is the PKK that has prevented the occupation there. Why have these forces not been invited to Amman? Where and how did the Iraqi forces resist against the occupation, against the massacres? What security and defense can they talk about? We have the Medya Defense Areas. We announced 20 years ago that if they attack here we will fight. And this is still the case. Everyone needs to be aware of this. If they want to unite and crush us, they themselves will end up in a dead end. They can go to AKP-MHP fascism and ask them what results this war has produced. And then, they can draw their own conclusions.”

“Various Arab states recently sat at a common table with Turkey [in Amman]. IS was basically invited there. But those fighting against IS were not invited. They sat down with IS. They sat down with the Muslim Brotherhood. This is really too much. There is a need for a certain degree of democratic mentality and politics. Arab's politicians, intellectuals, and writers need to democratize themselves a bit. Therefore, this narrow Arab nationalism must be overcome. Kurdish rights must be recognized, and the values of Kurdish society must be acknowledged. The Kurdish-Arab alliance really needs to be strengthened on a democratic basis, based on the principle of brotherhood. We could not see such attitudes [in Amman]. They could have easily achieved this themselves. They are supposedly discussing the problems of the Middle East, the problems of Iraq. But they do not establish any relations with the Kurds, the free Kurdish will, the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, which has recently given the greatest support to Iraq, the Middle East and the Arab world. So how will the problems of the Middle East be solved? How will we get rid of this exploitation? How will this fragmentation, occupation, and colonialism be overcome? How will the Middle East become free and democratic? How will the Middle Eastern societies, the Kurds, Turks, Persians and Arabs, live in brotherhood? I think it is necessary to think carefully. We don’t know its details, but we attach great importance to the recent meeting in Amman. We followed it carefully, but of course the results have not been made public. At least, we can say this much in order to promote a certain degree of sensitivity.”

Responsibility of AKP-MHP government for recent targeted attack on Kurds in Paris

“As we are approaching the 10th anniversary of the massacre in Paris on January 9, 2013, a second Paris massacre has now happened. Who committed the January 9, 2013 massacre? Why did they do it? Who were the shooters? Who was massacred? All this is well known. At that time, comrade Sara [Sakine Can-siz], one of the founders of our party, was the main target. Now we see that comrade Evin, a member of the KCK Executive Committee, was targeted in the recent attack. Again, a Kurdish revolutionary, again a female revolutionary, has been targeted by the fascist-genocidal mentality and politics and has thus been murdered in the heart of Paris. Therefore, we have no difficulty in determining how, why and by whom this second Paris massacre was carried out. This is a very similar scenario. In 2013, they said that a sick Turk had carried out the massacre. Later, they announced him dead without really clarifying the issue. And now they are doing a very similar thing by saying that a sick French citizen carried out the attack.

They are trying to muddy the waters similarly by claiming that he is a racist and a psychopath'. These are all empty attempts. No one will be able to convince the people and humanity with such lies.”

“Why does a racist only attack Kurds, their association, and workplaces? He could have attacked other foreigners too. How sick is he really that he was released from prison only 10 days ago but did not get any treatment? He could indeed be acting with racist motives, he could be involved in such organizations. But this person had been a prisoner until recently. He was obviously trained in prison. He was undoubtedly surveilled by the French police after his release, but he was not prevented from committing such a massacre. There are reports that he got in a car, got out of the car and then committed this massacre. The car was probably waiting somewhere nearby. He was going to reach it and thus escape. But when Kurdish patriots got hold of him and captured him, he could not escape. Thus, the murderer was handed over to the French police and state. Of course, the entire Kurdish society, the 50 million Kurds in the four parts of Kurdistan and abroad, all their international friends, democratic and libertarian forces all over the world are now demanding from the French state, police, and government to expose, interrogate and put on trial the forces that decided and planned this incident, and to hold them to account for the massacre on the basis of law. This is a very justified demand.”

“There have been many condemnations recently. Many statements have been made. Many have said that if those responsible for the January 9, 2013, massacre had been held to account, if the real culprit had been exposed and put on trial, this second Paris massacre would not have happened. They have said that if those responsible for the IS attacks in France had been properly held to account, this would not have happened. The second Paris massacre is definitely a continuation of the January 9, 2013 massacre. It is also a continuation of the attacks carried out by Al-Qaeda in France and of the occupation and massacres in Kurdistan. So who is the power that stands behind all this? Everyone knows very well that it is the Turkish state and the fascist AKP-MHP dictatorship. In Kurdistan, Turkey, the Middle East and the world, no one except the AKP-MHP fascist dictatorship, the Turkish state and its National Intelligence Organization (MIT) under the leadership of Hakan Fidan attacks the Kurds today. Nobody has anything against the Kurds. In fact, there is great sympathy and friendship for the Kurds in the region and around the world. Why? Because they resisted against IS in Şengal [Sinjar], Mexmûr, Kobanê and in Rojava as a whole. Because they defeated IS, the enemy of humanity. IS is the enemy of the Kurds. And the friend of IS is the AKP-MHP. The AKP-MHP can never be considered as separate from IS. There is an AKP-MHP-IS alliance and union. Just as many massacres in North Kurdistan and in Turkey were carried out by this AKP-MHP-IS alliance – e.g. the July 20, 2015 Suruç massacre, the October 10, 2015, Ankara train station massacre or the June 2015 massacre in Amed – it is precisely these forces that have organized the Paris massacre on December 23, 2022 at the Ahmet Kaya Cultural Center and thus the murder of three Kurdish patriots. Attacks have not only happened in Paris recently. DBP members have also been arrested. There is an ongoing lawsuit to shut down the HPD. Dozens of Kurdish women in North Kurdistan who were waging a struggle for freedom have been arrested. In other words, the AKP-MHP fascist dictatorship is not only attacking and massacring Kurds in Paris. At the same time, it is attacking them all over North Kurdistan and Turkey, from Amed to Ankara. Dozens of Kurds have recently been arrested, murdered, imprisoned and tortured. The torture in the prisons, the isolation in İmralı and the psychological and physical pressure on Leader Apo have been taken to the extreme. All this is happening at the same time as the Paris massacre. Just by looking at all these developments, everyone can see clearly who has made this person pull the trigger, in Paris – no matter who actually was the person who shot.”

“This was also clear in the case of the Paris massacre on January 9, 2013. In this case, it was also revealed that the killer was an agent of the MIT led by Hakan Fidan. It was also revealed that the AKP under Tayyip Erdoğan had given the order. But the French administration concealed all this. Now it is again the MIT under Hakan Fidan who carried out the recent massacre. The MIT and the AKP-MHP fascist dictatorship are responsible for this. Did this person become an enemy of Kurds in prison? How did he become such an enemy of Kurds that he immediately attacked a Kurdish Cultural Center and a Kurdish workplace within 10 days of his release from prison? What made him differentiate so much between Kurds and others? That meant he was well-trained and very organized. In short, Kurds and humanity are faced with a highly organized and well-planned fascist colonialist-genocidal attack. Especially the people of Paris, French society do not really deserve this. They don't deserve such massacres. But they have become the site of these kinds of massacres. Therefore, Kurdish society and humanity expects the French state to expose those responsible and hold them to account. They will follow up on this issue. The Kurds and humanity will support all efforts in this direction. Those responsible for the January 9, 2013 massacre and the December 23, 2022 massacre will be held to account. Therefore, we invite all intellectuals, revolutionaries, democrats, left-socialist forces, all those in favor of democracy, all international friends of the Kurds and the democratic forces in Europe and around the world to expose those responsible for this incident and to hold them to account. As Kurdish people and the Freedom Movement, this is our call and our expectation based on solidarity and friendship.”

“We will increase the struggle against the massacre of December 23rd. All those responsible for the December 23rd massacre will definitely be held to account. This struggle will bury the fascist colonialist-genocidal mentality of the AKP-MHP-IS alliance, while leading humanity to a free and democratic life. It will lead to an even stronger struggle for a democratic solution to the Kurdish question. This is what we believe in. On this basis, we call on all our people, especially in Paris and abroad, to take the right attitude and wage the right struggle. We commemorate all our martyrs of the Paris Massacre, especially comrade Evin, with respect, love and gratitude. And we call on our people to unite around our martyrs, to effectively wage a struggle that will avenge the martyrs, to continue the struggle for freedom and democracy until all murderers are exposed and held to account, and to continue their protests and actions.”

“Of course, it is necessary not to fall for simplistic attitudes or tricks and to be careful in regard to provocative approaches. We must not make mistakes in any way. We must not give any opportunity to provocative attempts that want to make our position, which is absolutely justified, seem illegitimate. We call on our people to act with the utmost sensitivity and caution in this regard. We believe that the real perpetrators of both massacres will be exposed, tried and held to account. This will lead to people's unity and democratization on the basis of women's freedom and freedom of the Kurdish people.”

“As the PKK, together with our people and our international friends, we will definitely adopt such an attitude. No one should have any doubts about this. The blood of our martyrs will not be in vain. The fascist murderers will undoubtedly be held to account. This will lead to the realization of women's freedom, Kurdish freedom and a free and democratic life for humanity. Therefore, the Paris massacre will increase our anger and reaction even more and strengthen our consciousness. It will make our will sharper. We will further increase our struggle for freedom and democracy in the right way and with the appropriate methods. On this basis, we once again commemorate all the martyrs of the Paris massacre with respect and gratitude. We share the pain of their families and our people. And we call on all our people and international friends to hold those responsible for the massacre to account by leading the struggle for freedom and democracy, which we are waging on the basis of the physical freedom of Leader Apo, to victory.”



Lawyer David Andic: Paris massacre was a planned, professional terrorist attack

MAXIME AZADI | 10 JANUARY 2023

On 23 December 2022, KCK Executive Council member Emine Kara (Evîn Goyî), Kurdish cultural movement member Mîr Perwer (Mehmet Şirin Aydın) and Kurdish activist Abdurrahman Kızıl were murdered in an armed attack on the Ahmet Kaya Kurdish Cultural Centre in Paris. The killer, 69-year-old William Malet, was arrested and charged with “premeditated racially motivated murder and attempted murder targeting a specific ethnic origin, as well as possession of unlicensed weapons”. David Andic, the lawyer of the attacked Democratic Kurdish Council of France (CDK-F), which was attacked in Paris, pointed out in an interview with ANF the many unanswered questions in this attack and expressed fears that evidence was manipulated.

There are many question marks surrounding the murder of the three Kurdish activists in Paris on 23 December. Why do you call the attack classified by the prosecution as a “racist attack” a “terrorist attack”?

Even without reference to the open questions, a racist attack can be defined as an “assassination”. The Criminal Code provides that an assassination can be committed individually or collectively. There is also Article 421-1 of the Criminal Code, which defines terrorism. In other words, any intentional individual or collective attack on the life of a person can constitute an act of terrorism. The issue at stake here (in relation to the massacre of 23 December) concerns the intentions of the person. But one cannot rely solely on the statements of the alleged perpetrator. Even if there is no group or state behind him, he alone can carry out an assassination, a terrorist attack. What we do not understand in this case is why the National Anti-Terrorism Prosecutor's Office (Parquet National Antiterroriste, PNAT) has not launched an investigation.

Is the approach the same when Kurds carry out a protest action?

Let me give you an example: when Kurdish youths wrote graffiti on the Turkish embassy in Boulogne-Billancourt (a suburb of Paris) and set off fireworks, the PNAT automatically launched an investigation. This is considered a “terrorist incident”. Although the Kurdish Democratic Council of France was the target of three assassinations and several assassination attempts, the question of the “terrorist” nature of the attack is not even raised. First, the public prosecutor's office starts an investigation, and then it is said that “the definition could change”. This is what is worrying. The PNAT did not take the matter into its own hands, but it was directly pointed out that it was a racist attack and there was no terrorist intent. In reality, the investigation was approached the wrong way round. When Kurds write slogans at the Turkish consulate, the PNAT is immediately mobilized because it is a terrorist act and the secret services are activated, but when a person attacks the CDK-F and murders three Kurds, a few days before the anniversary of the murder of three Kurdish women in the center of Paris (10 years ago), the PNAT does not take action. And it wasn't just anyone who was targeted. Emine Kara, also known as Evîn Goyî, is an official representative, a fighter. Yet this was treated like third-rate news. We do not know if the intelligence services are investigating this

matter. What is clear, however, is that the resources mobilized against graffiti and fireworks were not used here.

This has a political background, doesn't it?

I can only put the facts on the table. There is a difference in treatment. When Turkish interests are targeted, the PNAT automatically takes action, but when Kurdish interests are targeted in France, it is treated like a third-rate story.

What information is there about the perpetrator? He was already known and in custody. How was he dealt with after his detention?

Undoubtedly, this action raises questions. There were eleven days between his release (on 12 December) and the assassination. When he was arrested [after the assassination], it was decided that he “might” not be fit to be detained. One has to wonder whether he was sane enough eleven days before [the assassination] to be released by the judges. There is a mistake somewhere, either before or after. Eleven days before the assassination, he was released by the French judiciary. Eleven days later, he set out to murder three people and try to kill more. There is also no mention that he was incarcerated during his earlier detention. At no time during his one-year detention was he in a psychiatric ward. No one spoke of him having mental problems. But in the French newspapers, this card was then played. People began to say that he was unstable. Even his arrest [after the assassination] was suspended for that reason. Although he was eventually returned to his cell, the fact that his detention was interrupted shows that everything was done to show that his condition was pathological.

He himself stated during his questioning by the prosecution that he was a “pathological racist”. Isn't it strange that a mentally unstable person would make such a clear statement?

Yes, he himself said he was a pathological racist. In other words, there is a patient who defines himself as a patient. It is remarkable that he even uses the term “pathological hatred”. It seems that he has been well counseled in this regard. As a result, we are dealing with someone who was in good mental health for eleven days and never mentioned his pathology. However, as soon as he gets arrested, he talks about his “pathological hatred” and says he is sick. In other words, he is healthy enough to be released under judicial control, but when it comes to answering questions in detention, he goes crazy.

Is that credible?

That is how he defines himself, and this statement runs like a red thread through the media. I don't believe in the words of a murderer. If someone wants to believe the words of a murderer, that is his business. I am a criminal lawyer. I have defended many people, including murderers. I can say, even as a lawyer, I don't believe it. I always have reservations. He is not a sick person because he was sent back to prison after being re-examined in a psychiatric hospital. It was decided that he was fit for questioning and should be brought before a forensic doctor. He will do anything to make himself appear ill. His lawyer would do anything to make him look sick. You want people to believe that a sick person has done something crazy.

But there are dark stains in his past, especially his prison time. Is that right?

There are a lot of dark spots. Who was he in prison with? That's why we want the PNAT to investigate. The PNAT is familiar with such investigations. We haven't had access to the file yet, but here's what we want to know: Who was he in prison with? Did he go out in the yard? With whom did he have communal activities? Did he work and, if so, with whom? Who else was in his cell?

There are also unanswered questions about the eleven days after his release ...

Who did he meet with after his release from prison? Who did he have relations with before he went to prison? These are legitimate questions that we are asking. This person, who was released under judicial control when he was in a perfectly sane state of mind, has gone too crazy to be tried today. If this is so, then it is necessary to clarify what happened during those eleven days.

An investigation into an attack in 2021 also proved problematic ...

As far as we can see, the first investigation against him was a bit sloppy. In other words, the attack was treated with a certain disdain. I have heard that even the migrants (who were attacked) were detained. [On 8 December 2021, he had seriously injured two people with a sword in a camp of migrants. Those attacked in that incident were also arrested and volunteer members of non-governmental organizations who helped those attacked were fined]. We can say that he got off well in this incident.

There is testimony that the killer was dropped off in a car at the site of the 23 December massacre. Do you have any information that can confirm this?

There was such testimony, but there were also other testimonies that said the opposite, that the murderer had come on foot. There is only one witness statement that he came by car.

Does it make a difference whether he came on foot or not?

Even if he came on foot, this is a neighborhood also called "Little Kurdistan" where there are dozens of Kurdish shopkeepers. There are dozens of people in each shop. When he walks there, he passes an African restaurant, an Asian restaurant and an Arabic grocery shop, where there are many people right in front of him and they are much more visible. He also passes Kurdish restaurants and cafés. But he doesn't attack anyone there. He targets the members of the CDK-F first.

Are you saying that it was a planned attack?

He executed her. When he attacked Evîn Goyî, he also shot her in the head. This was an execution. It was a planned execution. In any case, the indictment already said that it was a "pre-planned attack". That is why we speak of an "assassination". Otherwise, we would speak of murder, and if it is planned, we call it an "assassination". We can clearly see that this is the work of a professional. He comes here, he has a mission. He targets the CDK-F first. Passing restaurants and shops that are full, he heads for the CDK-F, a centre that is almost empty at this point, but where an important meeting is scheduled. The meeting had been postponed by an hour at the last minute. What a coincidence! Normally, a lot of people would have

been there at that time for the significant meeting. If the meeting had not been postponed, many people would have come. So when this person comes there, he specifically targets CDK-F.

Isn't it strange what the murderer said in his interrogation about the reasons for his actions against Kurds?

When asked "Why the Kurds?" he replied: "It's true that they fought against ISIS, but instead of executing them [ISIS], they arrested them." That makes no sense. This is absurd. Despite such absurd claims, they try to make us believe that he did all this because he is a racist. What he says is not consistent. What he is trying to get at with these statements is this: "I am a racist, this is pathological, this is not my fault." Perhaps when he was arrested, he deliberately stated that he was ill so that he could be hospitalized. But then we saw that he was quickly turned away. Less than 24 hours later, he was returned to his cell.

This motive is doubtful. Have French racists targeted Kurds so far?

The French extreme right has never explicitly targeted the Kurds. The French extreme right does not see the Kurds as an enemy.

Can this investigation be transformed into a terror investigation?

Just because the charge of "racist motive" was accepted does not mean that this definition will not change. For us, the problem is that this was not treated as a terror investigation from the beginning. Let me come back to our example: when the Turkish embassy was sprayed, PNAT initially launched an investigation, but when it came to the verdict, it was decided that it was not a "terrorist attack". In other words, they were only considered as young people who graffitied the Turkish embassy. Very often it ends up like that. The definition can change on the way to a verdict. But the issue is that the case is handled the other way round. In other words, you start from the principle that it is not a terrorist attack, and then even the Minister of Justice himself says that the definition could change. Why did PNAT not get involved immediately? PNAT is familiar with such investigations and has more resources.

What worries you about the fact that the investigation was not initiated by the PNAT?

Our fear is that evidence will disappear. In fact, we see in the press that, so far, the investigation is only being conducted on the basis of the perpetrator's statements. We therefore demand that the investigation be conducted by the National Counter-Terrorism Prosecutor's Office.

When looking at this case, do you see a connection with the assassination ten years ago?

Given the similarities between the first assassination ten years ago and the assassination a few days before the anniversary, this is a legitimate question. It is legitimate to ask whether there is a connection between these two events. The fact that CDK-F was targeted leads to such questioning.

Despite numerous documents and testimonies about the role of the Turkish Secret Service in the assassination ten years ago, there is impunity. Do you currently fear a similar outcome?

Undoubtedly, we have this concern. The specter of the 2013 murders and the very long, arduous process and, above all, the imposition of a "state secret" on this case ultimately lead to the question of whether a

foreign power is behind it. Now the public also knows that the Turkish secret service was involved in the attacks. There are many elements that prove this. If there was no such problem, why would it be called a “state secret”? If this case is marked as a “state secret”, it means that there is information that should not be disclosed. It is not a simple case, there is something behind it. Lawyers have been fighting for ten years to have the “state secret” lifted. And yes, we are concerned that in this latest case, a whole part of the complex is being covered up. While the “racist” nature of the attack is being addressed, the terrorist nature is being sidelined. But, I repeat: a person can be both a racist and a terrorist. It can be a racist attack with a terrorist target. We consider this to be a terrorist attack. We do not understand the logic that when Turkish interests are targeted, anti-terrorist investigations launched very easily, but when Kurds die, this does not happen.

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Announcements

Challenging Capitalist Modernity IV Conference in Hamburg

ANF | HAMBURG | 11 JANUARY 2023

The ‘Network for an Alternative Quest’ will hold its fourth “[Challenging Capitalist Modernity](#)” conference over the Easter weekend in Hamburg. The motto is “We want our world back! Resist, Reclaim and Rebuild!”, the main themes of the conference are “Autonomous Education and Organizing”.

“Our world has never seen such a pace of destruction”

The organizers said presenting the conference that “our world has never before seen such a rate of destruction. In the last hundred years, not only are different languages and cultures dying off, but every day numerous plants and animals become extinct.

Capitalist modernity and its source, patriarchy, have brought us not only to the brink of the destruction of human society as we know it but also of our world. However, it is not all hopeless, if we take a collective stance, we may come out of the chaos with a better civilization — democratic civilization — but only if we do something about it now. We do not need to search for another world elsewhere; we want our world back!”

Network for an Alternative Quest adds that at this fourth conference “we will continue to focus on the critique of capitalist modernity, but our discussions have shown us that it is more important than ever to discuss alternatives, organize and educate ourselves. Thus, the main theme of this year’s conference will focus on rebuilding: Arts, Education, and building Democratic Confederalism.”

The organizers add: “We would like to give substantial time to possible solutions and alternatives. This year we will continue with the traditions of “Call for Papers” and “Call for Workshops”. There will be a

call for both on the website. There will also be a call for interpreters, as the conference will once again be multilingual. Please check the website for updated information.”

The past three conferences

The past three conferences not only brought together leading intellectuals but also gave young activists, students, and scholars a chance to present their ideas. In this fourth conference, the organizers said they want to “once again build bridges between different communities and movements in Kurdistan and worldwide.”

The previous three conferences were: “Challenging Capitalist Modernity I: Alternative Concepts and the Kurdish Case,” in 2012; “Challenging Capitalist Modernity II: Dissecting Capitalist Modernity — Building Democratic Confederalism,” in 2015; or “Challenging Capitalist Modernity III: Uncovering Democratic Modernity — Resistance, Rebellion and Building the New,” in 2017.

For three days, hundreds of students, intellectuals, activists, and movements came together and discussed not only the things they were critical of or the existing obstacles, but also how these obstacles can be overcome and what alternatives these criticisms give rise to. Many ideas from around the world and from the Kurdish freedom movement, and in particular its key thinker, Abdullah Öcalan, came together to strengthen our collective understanding and practice.

In 2019, there were dialogue and discussion with many people around the world to determine what the fourth conference should discuss. However, due to Covid-19, that conference had to be postponed.

Technical Information

Date: 7–9 April 2023

Place: University of Hamburg, Audimax.

Translation: Simultaneous in Kurdish, English, German, Turkish; possibly Italian, Spanish and/or French.

Food: Lunch is 3 € for registered participants; tea, coffee, and water will also be available.

Livestream: The entire conference will be streamed in several languages.

Cultural activities: There will be cultural activities on Saturday evening.

Accommodation: Sleeping in private homes at no extra cost between April 6–10, 2023

Registration is now open; register early to secure a place. Registration cost 20 € for students/unemployed and 30 € for others requested to defray the expenses of the conference.

Please register at registration@networkaq.net, and tell us if you need accommodation. This is required for smoother registration on the day and to secure accommodation.

Who Are We?

The International Initiative “Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan—Peace in Kurdistan” was founded in March 1999, a month after Öcalan’s abduction from Kenya and his imprisonment by Turkey. Since its initial foundation, the International Initiative struggled for Abdullah Öcalan’s release from prison so that he can play his rightful role in the establishment of a just peace between the Turkish state and Kurdistan’s Workers Party (PKK). The International Initiative also aimed at contributing to the repairing of the ties between the Kurdish and Turkish peoples, as well as all other peoples of the Middle Eastern regions.

In order to achieve its aims, the International Initiative followed several related paths. Influencing international and national audiences through international campaigns to interfere with Turkish state’s policies towards Abdullah Öcalan has been one of these paths. A second area of work the International Initiative committed itself is the dissemination of Öcalan’s views through art, publications and conferences. Finally, the International Initiative has also been active in raising awareness for Öcalan’s conditions and the human rights violations he faces through reports, fact-finding delegations and lobbying.

Campaigns

The International Initiative organizes signature campaigns to influence the policies towards Öcalan. One such campaign which was launched in 2012 by one thousand preliminary signatories including Gerry Adams, Prof. Antonio Negri, Prof. Immanuel Wallerstein, Prof. Achin Vanaik, and other intellectuals, politicians, MPs, and NGOs from South America, Europe, Asia, Russia, and the Middle East. The campaign reached 10,328,623 signatures and may be the biggest signature campaign for the freedom of a political prisoner that the world has ever seen. It significantly challenged the isolation that was enforced on Öcalan and possi-

bly paved the ways for the peace talks that the Turkish state and Öcalan led between 2013 and 2015.

The International Initiative also organizes video campaigns that educate the public on Öcalan’s life-story, his prison conditions and the demands for his freedom.

Publications

The International Initiative translates, edits and publishes books written by Öcalan in different languages including in English, German, French, Spanish and Arabic.

It compiles brochures from his works on specific topics, such as democratic confederalism or women’s freedom.

It edits books on Öcalan that discuss his main ideas.

The International Initiative also publishes regular reports on Öcalan’s prison conditions and his isolation.

Conferences

The International Initiative organizes biannual conferences and invites scholars, activists, students and politicians to discuss Öcalan’s ideas in order to initiate a conversation between different Movements around the world.

Delegations

Every year on February 15th, which is the date of the abduction of Abdullah Öcalan, the International Initiative organizes a group of internationally acclaimed people to take a trip to Turkey for a fact finding mission and publicizes their findings.

Lobbying

The International Initiative lobbies in the European Council, CPT and other international organizations against the human rights violations against Abdullah Öcalan and his total isolation in İmralı prison.

Art for Öcalan

This campaign aims to express the relationship between Abdullah Öcalan, Kurdish people, freedom and women's freedom and to educate the wider public on the past and present of the Kurdish people. The International Initiative

has already collected art from Brazil, South Africa, USA, South America, Italy, Germany as well as Kurds from different parts of Kurdistan. These works have been printed in postcards, t-shirts and canvas and made available for solidarity sale.

Contact e-mail: imralipost@freeocalan.org

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