

# 100 REASONS TO PROSECUTE THE DICTATOR!

THE FEMINICIDAL POLITICS OF  
ERDOĞAN AND THE AKP





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# Introduction

As a Kurdish women's movement, the murder of women and violence against them is a topic that deeply affects us. Our goal is to build a society in which patriarchal violence has no place. In this sense, we have been conducting targeted education and awareness campaigns on violence against women since 2009. Since the beginning, educational activities to empower women have been part of our more than forty years of struggle for liberation. Our campaigns, for example the campaign „Jin Jiyan e, Jiyan Nekuje“ (The woman is life, don't kill life), the campaigns „We are no one's honor - our honor is our freedom“ and „Let's advance the liberation struggle and eliminate the culture of rape“ have led to important social and political debates. By revealing the historical, social and power-political background of the concepts of „honor“, „dowry“ and crimes such as rape and femicide, we have tried to make them understandable as part of a more complex system of oppression. By bringing the taboos of society from the private sphere into the public sphere, we have shown both - women that violence is not their natural fate, and men that they do not necessarily have to make themselves perpetrators. We see our work, including in the form of these campaigns, as educational work for the purpose of a mental revolution and as strengthening our organization against patriarchy.

While these campaigns helped to change the way of thinking and practice in Kurdish society, the AKP government adopted an openly misogynist policy. We became more and more aware that violence against women not only results

from traditional patriarchal gender roles, but is to a large extent controlled by current policies. Impunity for perpetrators, sexist propaganda in the media, which have now been brought into line, and statements by well-known politicians and public figures who despise women create a social climate in which it seems normal that women are beaten, raped, married as minors, tortured and murdered. In order to emphasize the political dimension and the responsibility of governments, we have launched the campaign „Violence against women is political! Our aim was to raise awareness of the interplay of the oppressive mechanisms of nationalism, racism, colonialism and violence against women promoted by the system of the nation state. In 2019, with our campaign „Stand up for change and freedom!“, we then focused on the necessity arising from this analysis to build an alternative system with joint effort.

But in order to build an alternative system, we must also remove the obstacles that have piled up in front of us. Developments in recent years have shown the whole world that the policies of the Erdoğan dictatorship are based on violence and leave no possibility for political organization. Wherever we organize ourselves and live according to our ideas of a democratic, gender-free and ecological society, we are attacked - be it militarily, politically or socially and psychologically. Because of these developments, we have decided to put a stop to feminicidal politics of Erdoğans for the year 2020/21 and say „No!“ We will no longer allow Erdoğan to continue its war against women, especially organized wom-



women, especially representatives of minorities. With our campaign we also want to contribute to an official recognition of femicide as a human rights violation. We locate our campaign in the worldwide struggles against femicide, violence against women and the patriarchal system of rule. We hope that all of our efforts will soon lead to a worldwide campaign for the recognition of femicide as a human rights violation and for the effective combating of it. What was made by mankind can be changed by us!

en, and to be supported by some EU member states through illegal weapons and refugee deals that deprive them of any humanity. With our campaign „100 reasons to prosecute the dictator“ we demand not only justice, but also a clear position of the democratic forces for an end to femicidal politics of AKP. The fact that Erdoğan's politics is also a threat to the people in the European countries was recently shown in the reactions of the Dschihadists supported by Erdoğan to the latest attacks of the IS in Europe: While Europe continues to isolate itself further and further, the assaults in the Turkish-occupied areas in northeast Syria are greeted with jubilation and the hoisting of IS flags.<sup>1</sup> Women's organizations in particular should well understand that Erdoğan's cooperation with Islamist groups is a direct threat to women. To this end, we demand that foreign policy relations with Turkey be realigned to take into account the situation of

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1 <https://npasyria.com/en/48755/>



# I.

## Why this campaign? Aims and demands



# I. Why this campaign? Aims and demands

It's clear from recent history that nothing has brought more catastrophe on humanity than dictatorial regimes. From the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, and settler colonial genocides against indigenous peoples in the Americas, to the many massacres in places like the Middle East, including Kurdistan, humanity has had to bear all sorts of genocides, especially in the last two centuries.

According to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, genocide is defined as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: Killing members of the group; Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

The widely accepted definition of dictatorship is a ruler's monopolization/concentration of power to uphold themselves as the supreme leader. This shows plainly that Erdoğan is a dictator and he must be prosecuted for his crimes. The dictatorial president of Turkey systematically targets Kurdish women with his chauvinist, fascist and racist mentality. In 18 years of AKP rule, Erdoğan has presided over a regime of massacre, murder and rape against women.

On October 29, 2009, 12 year-old Ceylan was killed by a Turkish army howitzer, while tending sheep. On January 9th, 2013, Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan, and Leyla Şaylemez were assassinated in Paris by the Turkish intelligence. Kader Ortakaya was shot in the head in November 2014, while trying to cross into Kobane during the ISIS siege. Young activist Dilek Doğan was assassinated in her house by the police on October 18th, 2015. In December 2015, the dead body of Taybet Inan, a civilian killed by the Turkish armed forces, was left to rot in the streets during the curfew in Silopi. On January 4th, Kurdish women's activists Seve Demir, Pakize Nayır, and Fatma Uyar were massacred by army fire under army siege in Silopi. On October 12, 2019, Kurdish women's activist and politician Hevrin Xelef was murdered by Turkish-backed jihadist gangs in the Turkish state's 'Peace Spring' Operation in Serekaniye (Ras al-Ain) in Northern Syria. In June 2020, three Kurdish women activists of the women's movement umbrella Kongra Star were murdered in a Turkish drone strike on a house in Helince village of Kobane, Northern Syria. There are many more examples.

Violence against women has risen by more than one thousand percent in Turkey. Rape is increasingly normalized. Women are systematically excluded from political spheres (including by imprisonment). All this in addition to the criminalization of academic, artistic and professional work.



Our memory and anger are alive because we face another massacre every day. We have the power to hold the perpetrators accountable. We have sufficient reasons and evidence. We also have enough consciousness and understanding to know that these are all war crimes.

As the Kurdish women's movement, we have been fighting back with campaigns, actions and resistance against femicide in our country. With our campaign "100 reasons to prosecute the dictator", we will stand up against the main perpetrator of these crimes, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Without a doubt, in his 18 years in power, Erdoğan has not committed 100, but hundreds of crimes. However, as women, our conscience cannot find peace without the confrontation of these heinous crimes we we have decided to focus on.

We will not say 'The number of incidents and deaths is impossible to count'. As women, we do not only condemn these crimes as statistics. We also condemn them with our being, conscience, hearts and minds. We do not want Erdoğan to be like the others who were called 'state leaders', and only named as 'dictators' after their war crimes had been exposed or they had died. We want him to be prosecuted now. Our list of Erdoğan's crimes is long enough and we do not want it to get even bigger.

As the Kurdish Women's Movement in Europe (TJK- E) we want to collect 100.000 signatures

for 100 reasons to oppose the dictator and his mercenaries in their use of law, military and the police for violence and injustice. In the first phase of our campaign, in the 104 days between 25 November 2020 and 8 March 2021, we will give another "reason" every day, by sharing the stories of women who were murdered by the state. The dictator manages to commit new massacres every day. Against this we will tell you about the women who have been murdered. We want them to permanently enter the pages of history and the memory of humanity.

The signatures that we will collect will constitute the first step of our quest to prosecute the dictator. In the second phase, we will take our signatures, the incidents we have recorded, and all the evidence we have collected to the UN and other relevant institutions. Through actions and legal and social campaigns we will demand the beginning of the process of recognizing femicide as a crime like genocide. The UN's failure to do what is necessary encourages dictators like Erdoğan, who represent the male dominated mentality institutionalised.

Each signature we collect will take us one step closer to prosecuting the dictator, while each voice we raise in action will narrow the space available to dictators. You can add power to our power, your voice to our voice to remove the dictator from our life by signing up to this campaign at [www.100-reasons.org](http://www.100-reasons.org)



## 100.000 signatures for 100 reasons - Erdoğan must be prosecuted for his feminicidal policies!

Once upon a time, the AKP promised to meaningfully democratize Turkey, to implement justice, to solve domestic issues such as the Kurdish question by political means; to build a pluralistic, democratic parliamentary system, with zero tolerance for torture, and zero problems with neighbouring countries. For years, these promises raised expectations for the

urgent demands for change made by society. Among the promises were the struggle against sexism and for gender equality. In the 18 years of AKP rule, the Turkish state has not only not fulfilled these promises; it has taken unprecedented steps backwards. Together with its coalition partner, the ultra-nationalist Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), the government has established fascist/dictatorial one-man rule, seizing control over all bodies of the state, removing freedom of thought and expression, turning the justice system into the greatest vehicle for injustice, and dismantling the division of powers.

The Erdoğan government recklessly uses all re-

sources of the state against those who oppose its rule.

Like everywhere else in the world, women are an important force of resistance in Turkey. The Kurdish Women's Movement is at the forefront of a serious women's awakening. It is not a coincidence that Erdoğan's feminicidal policies increase as this awakening grows. With femicide, the state is trying to eliminate opposition and thereby any prospective force of change. The aim is to hold society hostage.

The fact that femicide is still not recognized as a crime against humanity means that states and dictators are not afraid of being held accountable. As long as femicide is not treated as a crime against humanity, it will not be possible to truly challenge attacks on society such as genocide.

With this campaign, we want to expose and draw attention to the feminicidal policies of the AKP. We want to seek justice and demand prosecution for Erdoğan. We want to be a voice for all women in the world who are subjected to violence, and draw attention to all state crimes against women.

We want to put an end to the violence against women committed in the Turkish Republic on a feminicidal scale, where one woman is killed by male violence every day.

With this campaign, we want femicide to be internationally recognized as a crime against humanity. Add your signature to our demands. No tolerance of femicide.

# II.



**Femicide -  
The systematic war  
against women**





# II. Femicide - The systematic war against women

## Definition of Femi(ni)cide

The term femicide is derived from the Latin words *femina*, meaning „woman“ and *caedes*, meaning „murder“. The term, which has been used in Latin America since the 1990s, particularly in Guatemala and Mexico, refers to the murder of women because they are women. However, for some feminists and human rights activists this definition was not sufficient. They felt that in order to explain the crimes against women that escalate into serial killings and downright massacres, the social and political basis, structural and state sexism, must also be named. In Latin America, femicide is therefore defined as the massacre of women and the killing of women with direct state responsibility. This responsibility of the state includes, for example, delayed legal punishment and impunity. The Mexican feminist politician Marcela Lagarde, wants to use the term femicide to refer to the „totality of the violations of humanity that characterize the crimes against women and their disappearance. As a Kurdish women’s movement, we speak of femicide as a comprehensive, structurally anchored war against women - both in armed conflicts and in everyday life. This war takes place on a physical, military level as well as on an ideological and psychological level.

## The systematic war on women

The history of civilisation is the history of a war on women. In order to understand this history, we must look closely at violence against women. It has been normalised precisely because it is completely pervasive, but it is far from ‘normal’ in the sense of ‘natural’ or inevitable. History as written by the oppressors is reluctant to tell this story. If violence against women, of all kinds (not just physical attacks), would be discussed properly, the outcome would undermine those in power in the current system by exposing the roots of oppression.

The violence against women of the patriarchal system is being maintained in different ways in different contexts. Crimes against women cannot be divided into unrelated categories such as ‘violence in conflict zones’, ‘domestic violence’, ‘violence in the workplace’. Their sum total is systematic oppression. An undeclared war is being waged against women, whether in conflict areas or in states where capitalist modernity is most ‘developed’. The same patriarchal mentality responsible for atrocities in wars and conflict areas produces daily sexual assault and attacks including the murder of women for excuses like the length of their skirt. All over the world, the

(ex-)partner is statistically the most dangerous person in the lives of women. The risk of being murdered by their (ex-)partner is higher for women than dying from cancer or in a traffic accident. The same mentality results in the stoning to death of women because they didn't comply with arbitrary and patriarchal moral codes.

The destruction of a society is brought about by femicide. Social and cultural destruction have long been recognized as essential components of genocide, also by international law. The genocide of a people, which is not only understood as a massacre, is committed through femicide. Hundreds of thousands of women were murdered, raped or sexually abused in the 20th and 21st century wars when imperialist powers were dividing up the globe. One of the most immoral

war crimes against women in war and conflict zones is rape - which continues to be used as a tool to annihilate a society psychologically, at the level of community, as well as physically.

Women represent and hold together their communities and societies as well as families. They play a leading role in diplomacy, peace and co-operation. Communal life, particularly egalitarian communal life, is almost always centred around spaces run by women and where women are empowered. Unlike patriarchal power, matriarchal social traditions tend to create connection and safety for everyone in a community. Particularly in Middle Eastern societies, women are also representative of their land and of the earth, due to the historical connection they have with the central role of cultivating and stewarding land. Violence against women is therefore violence on society itself and even on the earth.

Furthermore, the patriarchal system that defines women as men's property utilises such violence. When women who represent the family are "dishonoured" by rape or captured, it is seen as a disgrace to the men via their "property" and so is used against them as well. The system that makes women property also means they will be the first to suffer violence.

In the 1993 Vienna Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the UN General Assembly stated that violence against women is



an instrument of the patriarchal system and that all member states must actively ensure that violence against women is eliminated.<sup>1</sup> Based on the UN definition, the 2011 Istanbul Convention describes „gender-based violence against women as violence directed against a woman because she is a woman or which affects women disproportionately. It defines violence against women as a „violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and defines all acts of gender-based violence which result or are likely to result in physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life“ as the violence to be combated.<sup>2</sup>

The United Nations (UN) 2019 report on the situation of women globally states that 60 percent of murders of women are committed by one of their family members. Marital rape is officially a crime in only 4 out of 10 countries. In many countries, the rapists go free if they marry their victims. 35 percent of women are subjected to violence at least once in their lifetime. 1 in 5 women and girls aged between 15 and 49 is subjected to physical and sexual violence by their relatives. 500 million women and girls become disabled because of practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM). More than half of society - no matter where they live - continue to face violence because of their gender.

This violence is of such a broad extent that we must understand it as part of a systematic destruction of women's identity, free thought, will, creativity and self-determination. Women are not (only) attacked as biological bodies, but as potential representatives of a society based on cooperation and care, justice and peace, community and sustainability, love and diversity.

They are attacked in order to exploit their potential and make it available for the patriarchal system of rule. From the beginning until today, the creation, implementation and maintenance of the patriarchal system of rule has been based on feminicide. Even the deepening of this first relationship of oppression through colonialism, imperialism, capitalism and nationalism always used feminicide as one of its most powerful instruments.

Just as women are targeted and attacked, all those who, through their existence or actions, challenge the patriarchal gender system based on dichotomy and hierarchy are exposed to this systematic and comprehensive violence.



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- 1 Declaration on the elimination of violence against women. Resolution 48/104 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1993
  - 2 Extract from Article 3 of the Istanbul Convention

# III.

A photograph of a severely damaged multi-story building, likely a residential structure, with significant structural collapse and debris. The building's facade is heavily cracked and crumbling. In the foreground, a young child stands amidst the rubble, wearing a light-colored hoodie with the text "A WORLD WITHOUT FOREST IS A WORLD WITHOUT LIFE" printed on it. To the right, a person wearing a dark headscarf and a long dark coat is partially visible, looking towards the child. The entire image is overlaid with a semi-transparent magenta color.

**The feminicidal politics  
of AKP/MHP**



# III. The feminicidal politics of AKP/ MHP

## Who is the AKP?

Turkey for the last 18 years is governed by the Islamic-conservative Party for Justice and Development (AKP). When the AKP came to power in Turkey in 2002, expectations and hopes were high. It presented itself as a democratic-conservative party with liberal approaches. In its party program, it formulated goals such as EU membership, overcoming the predominance of the military, the development of democracy and human rights, the rule of law, the abolition of discrimination policies against different ethnic and religious groups such as the Kurds or Alevis. Equality for women was also propagated. In addition to these political goals, prosperity and economic upturn were also promised. The country had suffered for decades under the Kemalist elite, in which the military was dominant. "Zero tolerance of torture", "Zero problems with neighbours" and "Political solution of the Kurdish question" were the AKP's most important political promises, with which it sought sympathy and support. After some time, the AKP's deeper political agenda came to light. The real political attitude had actually existed since the beginning, as can be understood from a poem for which Erdogan was briefly imprisoned. In the poem it says among other things "Democracy is only the train we hop on until we reach our destination. The minarets are our bayonets...

the mosques are our barracks." Diyanet (Office for Religious Affairs) published on its website on March 8, 2008 a document of its foundation in which it says: "Feminism has negative consequences from an ethical and social point of view. As soon as a woman falls victim to the feminist movement, with the idea of unconditional freedom, she declares many rules and values that are indispensable for the family null and void"<sup>41</sup>

The political upheaval and the deepening crisis in the region led to an abrupt change of strategy on the part of the Turkish state. Crucial factors were the popular uprisings in the Arab world in 2011, also known as the Arab Spring, but above all the war in Syria. The Kurds in northern Syria began to organize their territories in the form of a grassroots democratic autonomous self-government. These emancipation efforts of the Kurds caused panic in Turkey, because they feared that they could influence the Kurds in Turkey. It tried with all means to prevent this development.

In 2012, the former Prime Minister (current President) Erdogan announced in his foreign policy his neo-Ottoman strategy. This strategy aims to take back all the territories that were surrendered after the First World War. Since the Middle East is predominantly Muslim, the AKP used Islam as an instrument to implement its



interests. In all predominantly Sunni countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), the AKP tried to expand its political influence by strengthening the structures of the Muslim Brotherhood. In doing so, it tried to create a political and social division in the countries in order to build a basis for the occupation. On the one hand, the AKP tries to turn society against the state leadership and on the other hand to bring it under its influence and control by instrumentalizing its Islamic identity. In all countries in which Turkey has occupied regions, such as in Syria in the Kurdish Afrin, Serekani and Gire Spi, as well as Idlib, Azaz, El Bab, it is introducing an Islamist model of society according to the Sunni-Ottoman Empire and is pursuing a practice of assimilation, i.e. Turkisation, such as by building up infrastructure as part of Turkey or by introducing Turkish as the official language. In doing so, it seeks above all to achieve male power over the brutal oppression and discrimination of women. By strengthening patriarchy and the culture of rape, more and more jihadists and mercenaries are to be recruited as proxies for the Turkish expansionist strategy.

The more the AKP expanded its power within the state, the more it turned out to be an autocratic-dictatorial party, waging war against its own people at all levels. Furthermore, they see the Kurds as their main enemy. During the 18 years of the AKP's reign, the list of "enemy forces" has

been extended to all forces that do not agree with the AKP's course. Since the presidential and parliamentary elections in February 2018, an electoral alliance called "Cumhur Ittifaki" (in English: People's Alliance) exists between the AKP and the extreme right-wing Nationalist Party Milliyetçi Halk Partisi (MHP). Today, the AKP stands for nationalism, imperialism, neoliberalism and patriarchy with Islamist colouring. Of course, this was further strengthened by the alliance with the MHP. The country is governed autocratically - dictatorially. All the characteristics of autocracy and dictatorship, such as the reduction of the separation of powers, centralisation of power, media control, corruption, arbitrariness, nationalism, militarism and war and, of course, patriarchy, have become reality within the 18-year AKP government in Turkey.

## From "women-friendly" party to femicidal politics

The developments toward an autocratic-dictatorial government are being followed worldwide with great concern and criticism, albeit to an insufficient degree. Their patriarchal femicidal policies, however, receive hardly any attention.

Women's organizations in Turkey state that violence against women has increased by up to 1400 % under the AKP government.<sup>2</sup>

The AKP's women's politics has also undergone various changes over the 18 years. In the period between 2002 and the 61st government period (between 2011 and 2014), which began with the elections on 12 June 2011, the women's issue was a showpiece of the AKP.

In terms of improving the social status of women, the early years of the AKP government saw the passing of laws, measures and institutional restructuring. Women's rights were addressed, the participation of women in politics and economics was declared a goal and corresponding election promises were made. During this period, EU funds were also used to finance and implement projects on gender equality. As with other problems of the country, hopes were raised in the women's issue. In addition to the general rights of women, the ban on headscarves in public institutions has always been a major issue for the AKP. The lifting of the headscarf ban was one of the few election promises it kept. After 8 years of government, the headscarf ban for female students was lifted in 2010, two years later for female students at state schools and finally in 2014 for all female students from grade 5 on.

The conservative conception of gender roles as well as the overemphasis on the importance of a strong family existed throughout the AKP period of government. In 2011, for example, with Law 633, the Ministry of Women's Affairs was renamed the Ministry for Family and Social Policy.<sup>3</sup> This renaming shows that from now on women are no longer seen as independent individuals, but that their existence is only of importance in the context of the family. Like all conservative parties, the AKP fears that the

family as the main pillar of the state is in disintegration and therefore needs to be protected and strengthened by practical measures. To this end, the role of women in the family as daughter, sister, mother and wife should be reconstructed. Government representatives were not afraid to publicly express their ideas about the role and tasks of women. For example, the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared that "*women should bear at least three children*". Later, he increased the optimal number of children from three to five. 2014 Deputy Prime Minister Bülent declared Arınç "*A woman has to be chaste. She should be able to distinguish between private and public. She will not laugh out loud among others. Where are our girls, who blush easily and lower their heads in shyness when we look at their faces*".<sup>4</sup>

In order to secure the existence of the traditional family, laws, regulations and state measures such as the introduction of family counselling centres were implemented to prevent divorce. With a new regulation called "Ask the family counsellor", couples who are in the process of divorce are sent to these counselling centres by family courts. The counsellors, in turn, are instructed to persuade the couples to change their decision. The judges make their decision on the basis of their reports.<sup>5</sup> Other regulations also disadvantage divorced women. For example, women whose spouses have died receive financial support, whereas divorced women who are financially unwell do not.<sup>6</sup> While on the one hand attempts are being made to minimise divorces, on the other hand it is mainly young people who are encouraged to marry. For example, as of 2013, new regulations have been introduced to support marriage during school and university with financial offers and improved conditions.

The conservative family model is also projected onto society via schools (gender roles in textbooks) and via role models in series. Both the way people think and act are manipulated in this way and a reactionary, patriarchal society is formed.

The AKP's efforts to lower the age of marriage should also be seen in this context. Religious officials or alleged academics make public statements advocating child marriage. In 2018, Diyanet (Office for Religious Affairs) published on its website that children could be married religiously during puberty. The age limit for girls would be 9, and for boys 12 years. Early marriage would prevent people from entering into extramarital sexual relations and would guarantee reproduction.<sup>7</sup> After heavy criticism, the department did pull back, but these discussions about the age of marriage are still being held in public in order to familiarize society with this idea. For example, in May of this year, Prof. Dr. Muttalip Kutluk Özgüven (Professor at Aydin University Istanbul) declared during a TV program that the ideal age for having a first child was between 13 and 16 years.<sup>8</sup>

Another discussion that will have a negative impact on the lives of girls and women is the plan to reduce the sentence for rapists if they marry their "victims". The AKP has been trying to introduce this law since 2016. It is mainly focused on sexual violence against minors. The protest against this plan is rightfully strong, because it would legalise rape and force girls and women to marry their torturers. This law was put back on the agenda at the beginning of this year.

Another intervention concerned the legal regulation of abortions. Government representatives publicly declared abortion to be "murder" and "haram" (impure). A decree was issued that abortion was no longer considered a medical measure and therefore the payments were cancelled.

Again, the AKP had to withdraw this decree - due to the public reaction. On every occasion abortion is verbally criminalised and women who have had an abortion are defamed.

Single women are branded as potentially "immoral" persons and made targets of attacks. Similarly, women who dress liberally and have an un-conservative lifestyle are also targeted. More and more women are being verbally and physically attacked by men in the open street, because they allegedly violate social values with their revealing lifestyle. The perpetrators remain unpunished - which leads to an increase in these crimes. It



must also be seen in this context, that women are deprived of the basis for building a life outside the traditional family. In June of this year, for example, the so-called guards (auxiliary policemen) were authorised to observe the homes of women living alone, in addition to their other competences, for the purpose of preventing possible prostitution.<sup>9</sup>

With the AKP, women are deprived of their already limited freedom and the right to a self-determined life, and the state and the family are given the power to dispose over their lives. A life determined by others, in which the woman is no longer a subject of herself, is gradually being prepared.

Necati Tıgılı, Member of Parliament of the Republican People's Party (CHP), and member of the Equality Commission for Women and Men in the Turkish Parliament, has published a report on femicide, sexual violence and child abuse for the period from 1.1.2016 to 31.12.2019. The report states: "In Turkey, women continue to be murdered by men. In 2019 alone, 474 women were killed. At least 166 women were subjected to sexual violence and at least 96 children were abused. A steady increase in the number of women being murdered can be seen. In 2016, the number was 329 women, in 2017 it was 409, in 2018 440. According to the platform "We will stop the murders of women", 474 women were killed in 2019. The number of women killed in 2003 was 83."<sup>10</sup>

Under the AKP, however, women's refuges and advice centres for women were closed. There are 145 women's shelters in Turkey (as of 2019)<sup>11</sup>. In comparison, there are 353 women's shelters and about 40 shelters or sheltered housing units in Germany.<sup>12</sup>

There are many cases in Turkey where women's

murders are not or insufficiently investigated and the perpetrators are brought to justice. For example, in October 2019 the 23-year-old Nadira Kadirova from Uzbekistan was found dead in the apartment of the Istanbul AKP member of parliament Şirin Ünal. She worked as a housekeeper for the member of parliament. Although there was sufficient evidence that she had been exposed to sexual violence and was killed with the weapon of the MP, the public prosecutor's office assumed suicide and the proceedings were dropped.

By not pursuing charges, violent men who are known to the authorities by the reporting of women are able to murder women in the open street. This constant threat situation has an intimidating effect on women and they feel threatened rather than protected by state institutions. In order not to be murdered, they often undergo a life of torture and mistreatment.

During the corona pandemic, this development has been reinforced by the adoption of a law. This law released approximately 90,000 prisoners. Political prisoners were excluded from punishment. Women's organisations in particular criticised this law as it released sexual criminals and men from prison who were a threat to women. Their fears have come true. Dozens of women were murdered by the released men, while political prisoners remained intentionally imprisoned, thus accepting an increased risk to their health and life from a corona infection.

At present, the AKP government is threatening to withdraw from the Council of Europe's Convention to prevent and combat violence against women, also known as the "Istanbul Convention".

Besides these clear attacks on the body and mind of women almost all women's demonstra-



tions in recent years - whether on the international women's day of struggle 8 March, on the occasion of 25 November, the day of struggle against violence against women, or most recently the demonstration of women in response to the murder of Pinar Gültekin - were brutally attacked by the police. Turkey has the highest number of female political prisoners in the world. The Turkish state apparatus's actions are mainly directed against organised women. For years, the Turkish state has consciously used sexualised violence against political women, above all against Kurdish and organised women. Erdogan personally promised the special units and soldiers in the fight against the supposed "terror" freedom from guilt. This also resulted in soldiers committing war crimes without ever being prosecuted for their actions. For example, Turkish soldiers filmed their crimes of sexual violence and extrajudicial executions against Kurdish women and distributed recordings of them on the Internet.

## **Nationalism and fascism are based on patriarchy - Organised women in particular are a thorn in the side of the AKP**

Today's Kurdish women's movement (TJA - Free Women's Movement) in Turkey/Northern Kurdistan is building on the basis of the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom that has lasted for 40 years. While the struggle against colonialism and oppression politicised many women, at the same time the traditional social role of women



was challenged. With the enormous participation of women in the people's uprisings in the 1990s, they became a leading force of resistance till today. As a result of the development of the resistant potential of thousands of women, hundreds of women's associations were banned and their members arrested.

As already mentioned above, Turkey has been trying to smash the revolutionary developments of the Kurdish people in Northern and Eastern Syria since 2012. In Northern and Eastern Syria, women are organized autonomously and have built up their own social women's system. Under the umbrella of Kongra Star, women and women's organisations organise themselves autonomously at communal, municipal and cantonal level and are thereby a leading social force. Through the commitment of the women's movement, society is transformed from a patriarchal to a gender-liberated one. In the Turkish-occupied areas of Afrin, Serekaniye and Gire Spi, a systematic femicide is committed. On the one hand, these areas are governed de facto according to Sharia law and, on the other, women are kidnapped, raped, sold and murdered. The women's movement Kongra Star has published a dossier on this subject.<sup>13</sup> In addition, on 23 June 2020, three women were murdered by a

targeted Turkish drone attack in the northern Syrian and Kurdish city of Kobane, which became known worldwide for its successful resistance against the IS. The women were 60-year-old homeowner Amina Waysî and Zehra Berkel and Hebûn Mele Xelîl from the women's umbrella organization Kongra Star in the Euphrates region. Also the attack of the so-called IS on the Yezidi settlement area in Şengal (Iraq) on 3.8.2014 was carried out in cooperation with the Turkish state. The attempted genocide and femicide resulted in 5000 Yezidi women being abducted, raped and sold as sex slaves.<sup>14</sup>

However, the targeted assassinations of political women have a long history. On January 9, 2013, Sakine Cansiz (founding member of the PKK) was executed together with Fidan Dogan (member of the Kurdistan National Congress KNK) and Leyla Saylamez (member of the Kurdish youth movement) in the rooms of the Kurdistan Information Center (CIK) by an agent of the Turkish secret service. Although the murderer Ömer Güney was arrested, no court case was brought because he died in prison.

Especially in Kurdistan, the Turkish state applies the strategy of femicide in addition to the strategy of political and cultural genocide. For the Kurdish women's movement in Kurdistan democratizes society above all by overcoming patriarchal structures. One of the achievements of the Kurdish women's movement is the principle of co-presidency, where all institutions, the party as well as the municipalities are led by a double leadership, a man and a woman. The principle of co-presidency works in conjunction with the parallel organisation of all women in the autonomous women's movement. In northern and eastern Syria, the Kurdish women's movement also has an influence on Arab women and women from other social groups. The revolution

in Rojava, which the Kurdish freedom movement calls the Women's Revolution, offers women throughout the MENA region hope for a free life. By defeating the IS as the most pronounced form of male domination, the Kurdish women's movement has empowered and motivated women not only in the region but throughout the world. Erdogan's femicides against Kurdish women are also an act of revenge, as they have broken the cult of men represented by jihadist proxy forces. Moreover, the Kurdish women's struggle is an ideological counterbalance to Erdogan's patriarchal ideology and thus a threat to his retention of power.

- 1 <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/diyanet-feministleri-kizdirdi-8434696>
- 2 <https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/tuerkei/184972/frauenrechte>
- 3 <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/316233>
- 4 <https://www.cnnturk.com/haber/turkiye/bulent-arinc-kadin-herkesin-icinde-kahkaha-atmayacak>
- 5 <https://www.cnnturk.com/haber/turkiye/bulent-arinc-kadin-herkesin-icinde-kahkaha-atmayacak>
- 6 <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/316233>
- 7 <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/diyanet-9-yasina-giren-kiz-evlenebilir-gebe-kalabilir-897196>
- 8 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9PuMTf6uEyo>
- 9 <https://artigercek.com/haberler/bekciler-bekar-veya-yalniz-yasayan-kadınların-evlerini-gozetleme-yetkisine-sahip-oldu>
- 10 <https://www.sivilsayfalar.org/2020/01/10/mecelis-komisyonu-kadin-orgutleriyle-ortak-akil-yurutmeli/>
- 11 <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-50524072>
- 12 <https://www.big-berlin.info/news/414>
- 13 "Women under turkish occupation - femicide and gender-based violence as systematic practice of the turkish occupation in Afrin" <https://womendefendrojava.net/en/2020/06/30/new-dossier-women-under-turkish-occupation/>
- 14 <https://www.dw.com/de/die-jesiden-f%C3%BCnf-jahre-nach-dem-genozid/a-49839355>

# 100 reasons to prosecute the dictator

While the aggressive expansionist policies of the AKP/MHP are repeatedly in the focus of public attention, feminicidal policies receive practically no attention. For this reason, we would like to show the devastating extent of this policy by looking at 100 women who were directly or indirectly murdered by this policy. Yet the murder of these women is only the most obvious and brutal consequence of feminicidal politics. Also the hundreds of thousands of women who had to flee their homeland, who were persecuted, abducted, imprisoned, tortured and raped, who were married by force and/or as minors, who were removed from their political offices, who are prevented from being politically active, must be seen as a consequence of feminicidal politics, which makes a self-determined, free life of women impossible. Every woman who has lost her life as a result of these politics is one more reason for us to intensify our struggle for self-determination and freedom and to become even louder and more organized!

1. Sakine Cansiz, 9. January 2013, Paris
2. Fîdan Dogan, 9. January 2013, Paris
3. Leyla Saylemez, 9. January 2013, Paris
4. Hevrin Khalaf, 12. October 2020, Tal Abyad
5. Kevser Elturk (Ekin Van), 10. August 2015, Varto
6. Ceylan Önkol, 28. September 2009, Lice
7. Taybet Inan, 19. December 2015, Sîrnak

8. Kader Ortakaya, 6. November 2014, Suruc
9. Baby Solin, 21. August 2011, Kortek
10. Cemile Çağırca, 7. September 2015, Cizre
11. Derya Koc, 7. February 2016, Cizre
12. Eyşê Ahmet Ferhan, 15. April 2020, Mexmur
13. Dilek Dogan, 18. October 2015, Istanbul
14. Asya Yüksel, 7. February 2016, Cizre
15. Aqeeda Ali Osman, 13. October 2019, Serê Kaniyê
16. Amina Omar (Barin Kobanê), 1. February 2018, Afrin
17. Fatma Uyar, 4. January 2016, Silopi
18. Sêvê Demir, 4. January 2016, Silopi
19. Pakize Nayir, 4. January 2016, Silopi
20. Zehra Barkal, 23. June 2020, Kobanê
21. Badia Mulla Khalil, 23. Juni 2020, Kobanê
22. Amina Weissy, 23. June 2020, Kobanê
23. Hediye Şen, 8. July 1905, Cizre
24. Fatima Kanna, 19. April 2020, Afrin
25. Gülistan Doku, 5. January 2020, Dersim
26. Berjin Demirkaya, 7. February 2016, Cizre
27. Houria Muhammad Bakr, 6. September 2019, Afrin
28. Sonya Şemal, 21. August 2011, Kortek
29. Hanife Ali, September 2009, Hakkari
30. Ipek Er, 18. August 2020, Êlih

31. Media Khalil, 10. October 2019, Suluk
32. Nadira Kadirova, 23. September 2019, Ankara
33. Ankara, 10. October 2015, Ankara
34. Amina Muhammad Mardini, 10. October 2019, Qamislo
35. Azize Celal (Amara Renas), 21. October 2019, Kobanê
36. Tulane Beru, 22. October 2018, Afrin
37. Golestan Hassan, 11. November 2013, Kobane
38. Leyla Hannan, 25. June 2008, Agiri
39. Remziye Bor, 18. April 2016, Van
40. Dilovan Ismet Rashid, 9. July 2018, Idlib
41. Ayşe Ahmed Mustafa, 1. August 2015, Zergele
42. Kurdistan Abdula, September 2019, Sangasar
43. Rezan Hüseyin, 21. August 2011, Kortek
44. Asya Elî Mihemed, 13. December 2018, Mexmur
45. Nariç Ferhan Qasim, 13. December 2018, Mexmur
46. Evîn Kawa Mehmûd, 13. December 2018, Mexmur
47. Pakize Hazar, 14. June 2017, Diyarbakir
48. Dilan Kortak, 3. December 2015, Istanbul
49. Eylem Mihemed Emer, 13. December 2018, Mexmur
50. Iman Ibrahim, 12. October 2019, Qamislo
51. Jamila Musa and Khadija Musa, 24. January 2020, Ras al Ain
52. Polen Ünlü, 20. July 2015, Suruc
53. Nazegül Boyraz, 20. July 2015, Suruc
54. Nazlı Akyürek, 20. July 2015, Suruc
55. Fikriye Ece Dinç, 20. July 2015, Suruc
56. Büşra Mete, 20. July 2015, Suruc
57. Duygu Tuna, 20. July 2015, Suruc
58. Aydan Ezgi Salcı, 20. July 2015, Suruc
59. Ferdane Kılıç, 20. July 2015, Suruc
60. Hatice Ezgi Sadet, 20. July 2015, Suruc
61. Nuray Koçan, 20. July 2015, Suruc
62. Baharin Pirno, 4. June 2018, Afrin
63. Malak Nabih Khalil Juma, 7. June 2020, Aleppo
64. Hewa Emer Hisên, 15. April 2020, Mexmur
65. Ezîme Tahir Ferman, 15. April 2020, Mexmur
66. Hacer Aslan, February 2009, Cizre
67. Meryem Akyol, February 2009, Cizre
68. Gülistan Üstün, February 2009, Cizre
69. Sakine Siray, February 2009, Cizre
70. Meryem Süne, 8. September 2015, Şırnak
71. Aliye Timur, September 2009, Hakkari
72. Zuzan Balu, 11. November 2013, Kobane



73. Sawsan Jamil Suleiman, 22. August 2018, Tal Sallour
74. Al-Mazza Sheikho Horo, 31. January 2018, Cindires
75. Sultanah Nasiru, 7. August 2018, Afrin
76. Aisha Hanan, 8. November 2018, Burj Abdalo
77. Zainab Mustafa Musa, 24. September 2019, Cindires
78. Fatima Obaid Hamdan, 18. August 2020, Gire Spi
79. Sabiha Sido Sadiq, 23. July 2019, Afrin
80. Zulikhan Hasan Junaid, 1. December 2019, Shera
81. Feride Yildiz, 7. February 2016, Cizre
82. Helin Hasret Sen, 12. October 2015, Diyarbakir
83. Rozerin Cukur, 8. January 2016, Diyarbakir/Sur
84. Şehriban Altınışik, 8. July 1905, Sirmak
85. Selamet Yesilmen, 6. November 2015, Mardin/Nusaybin
86. Fatima Hamaki, 27. June 2020, Afrin
87. Hadya Ahmed Murad Musa, 9. February 2019, Border Turkey/Syria
88. Lovin Khalil Nuri, 8. February 2019, Idlib
89. Zeynep Taşkin, 7. September 2015, Cizre
90. Zeynep Yılmaz, 8. July 1905, Cizre
91. Yasemin Cikmaz, 8. July 1905, Cizre
92. Jouuryeh Ali Irfan, 28. January 2018, Afrin
93. Rania Muhammad Hamadeh, 14. March 2018, Afrin
94. Hevin Mustafa Khlo, 16. March 2018, Afrin
95. Laila Ibrahim Maamou, 3. October 2020, Rojava
96. Hanadi Keno, 21. January 2018, Afrin
97. Nazi Yusef Youssef, 25. January 2018, Afrin
98. Badriya Al-Abdullah, 28. January 2018, Kobala
99. Samira Muhammad, 3. February 2018, Afrin
100. Amina Muhammad Mustafa, 5. March 2018, Afrin

In the following we would like to introduce some of these women and the background of their murder. You can find information about all women on the website at [www.100-reasons.org](http://www.100-reasons.org).









Place: Paris, Rue Lafayette  
147, France

Date: 09.01.2013

## Sakine Cansiz

Born 12. Februar 1958 in Dersim/Southern Turkey was one of the co-founders of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), having a leading role in the development of the Kurdish Women's Movement. As a Kurdish women activist in the 1980s, she was arrested and tortured by Turkish police in the Diyarbakir Prison. She is known for her resistance against the torture and assimilation practices in the Prisons of Turkey.

Sakine Cansiz joined the Kurdish liberation movement at a time when it was just forming. She was one of the few women who took part in the founding congress of the Kurdistan Workers' Party PKK. She continued her struggle without interruption until her violent death on 9 January 2013, together with Fidan Dogan and Leyla Saylemez.



Place: Paris, Rue Lafayette  
147, France

Date: 09.01.2013

## Fidan Doğan

Born on 17 January 1982 in Elbistan/Southern Turkey, two years after Fidan's birth, her family had to immigrate to France. Fidan was 9 years old, and continued her education there. Fidan gets to know the Kurdish freedom struggle in Europe. She takes part in cultural activities in these years and in youth work in Europe during this period, Fidan prefers not to use the name "Fidan" anymore but "Rojbîn", which means "to bring the sun". 2002 Rojbîn took over the responsibility as Representative of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNK) in France and 2011 also she was leading the Kurdistan Information Office in Paris. Rojbîn, known for her work in diplomacy, was murdered with Sakine Cansiz and Leyla Saylemez on January 9 2013.



Place: Paris, Rue Lafayette  
147, France

Date: 09.01.2013

## Leyla Şaylemez

Leyla, who turned 24 a few days before 9 January 2013, was born on 1 January 1989 in Mersin. Leyla, the third child in a family of seven, comes from the Lice district of Diyarbakır, Southern Turkey. Leyla's family left their village due to state pressure and had to settle in Mersin like thousands of Kurdish families. Later, because of the persecution by the Turkish state her family fled to Germany in the 1990s and lived in Halle. Leyla's life in exile, which began at the age of 8, spends the first part of her childhood in Mersin and later in Europe.

She was organising young women in different cities of Europe. Latest



she was a representative of the young Kurdish women's movement in France.

Like Sakine Cansiz and Fidan Dogan, with whom she was murdered together, Leyla dedicated her life for the liberation struggle of the Kurdish people.

## Description

On January 9 2013, Kurdish activists Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Saylemez were executed with a bullet to the head in the premises of the Kurdistan Information Center at 147 Rue La Fayette in Paris. The investigation in France revealed numerous indications that the suspected murderer Ömer Güney, who was arrested a few days after the crime, had acted on behalf of the Turkish secret service (MIT), as the prosecution's indictment confirms: "Many elements of the trial suggest that MIT is involved in the arrangement and preparation of the murders".

Although Ömer Güney has been identified by the French authorities as the person, who was used to pull the trigger, it is evident that no initiatives or efforts have been made by the French authorities in charge to adequately illuminate the background of this political murder case. The murderer, Ömer Güney, was declared to have "died in prison". With this, the French authorities tried to cover up a high-level political assassination. However, for a meaningful sense of justice, it does not suffice to merely reveal the assassin of the massacre; likewise, the forces that planned and decided on the implementation of this crime must be exposed.

## Current legal situation

The death of Ömer Güney on December 17, 2016, one month before the start of his planned trial in Paris on January 23, 2017, deprives us of the possibility of a public trial that would have made it possible to convict not only the perpetrator, but also and above all the people behind it, the Turkish state. Important questions haven't been answered: Why was the trial set so late, even though the investigation had already been completed in May 2015 and Güney's serious health problems were already known since his arrest? By delaying the trial, France has missed the crucial opportunity to finally solve a political crime on its territory.



Place: *M4 road, Ras Al Ain & Tal Abyad, Northern Syria*

Date: *12.10.2019*

## Hevrin Khalaf

Hevrin Khalaf was a politician and human rights activist, born in the city of al-Malikiyah on 15 November 1984. She studied in Malikiyah schools, after which she enrolled at the University of Aleppo to study at the Faculty of Civil Engineering and graduated in 2009. After she joined political work with the beginning of the Syrian crisis and was active in human rights and humanitarian institutions. She was elected as Secretary General for the Future Syria Party after its formation on March 8, 2018, Hevrin was working for a democratic, pluralistic and decentralized Syria and was seeking to promote equality between women and men and to guarantee the rights and freedom of all women of all races

## Description

On the morning of October 12, 2019, Hevrin Khalaf, the Secretary-General of the Future Syria Party, was going to her workplace in Raqqa, near the village of al-Tarawaziyah on the international road. She was executed with her driver in the field. The factions affiliated with the brigade of the Syrian National Army loyal to Turkey and called the Ahrar al-Sharqiya faction had ambushed the way, knowing that she would pass by. They executed her and boasted of their brutality in front of the international media.

## Current legal situation

Civil institutions work with her family and her party to deliver their voice to the international judicial authorities in order to achieve justice for them, but there is a terrible silence on the part of these parties even though the assassination of the politician Hevrin met global and local condemnations and all evidence was proven against the criminals who are supported by the Turkish state.



Place: *Varto district, Muş, Southeastern Turkey*

Date: *10.08.2015*

## Kevser Elturk (Ekin Wan)

She was born in 1986 in Van Çaldıran, Southeastern Turkey

## Description

Kevser Elturk died in the clash between PKK members and Turkish soldiers in Varto district in Muş. Kevser Eltürk's body was displayed naked by the soldiers and her photo was shared in the social media. Kevser El-

türk (Ekin Wan) was undressed, photographed and paraded at the place where she was shot.

## Current legal situation

No one was ever held accountable - neither soldiers who were at the scene nor the social media services, where the photos were distributed.

### Aqeeda Ali Osman

She was born in 1966 from the people of Kerky Laki, and she is a national figure, fighter and female activist. She was chased and arrested by the Syrian regime's forces during her struggle. She decided to wear black from the arrest of Abdullah Ocalan in 1999 and remained faithful to her decision to wear black until the day of her death on October 13, 2019.

### Description

She died as a result of the brutal bombing of the Turkish occupation against a convoy of civilians from the north and east of Syria heading to the city of Serê Kaniyê (Rojava, Northern Syria) to help the people under attack.

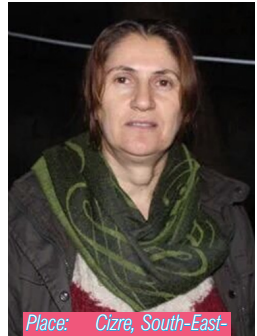


Place: Serê Kaniyê, Rojava, Northern Syria

Date: 13.10.2019

### Asya Yüksel

Asya Yüksel was born in 1973 in Şırnaks Uludere district. She was married at a young age and mother of two children. She was only 22 years old when her husband died in an accident at work. In 2005, Asya was involved in the activities of the People's Democratic Party (DEHAP) in Uludere. Asya, who later dedicated herself to the fight for women's freedom, was actively involved at political party level in Şırnak until 2011. Asya, who has been working for women in Siirt and Batman for a long time, continues this struggle as co-chair of the Cizre People's Assembly in 2015. One of the most delicate problems of Asya Yüksel, who was also married at a young age, was the question of women. For this reason, as co-chairwoman of the Cizre People's Assembly, she first made decisions prohibiting the marriage of children. Also under wartime conditions she



Place: Cizre, South-Eastern Turkey

Date: 07.-12.02.2016

always stayed with the families. She also played a role in the care of the injured. Asya Yuksel lost her life in one of the cellars of Cizre.

## Description

On December 14, 2015, a 78-day curfew was imposed in the Cizre district of Sirnak as part of the military victories. During this period at least 280 people were killed by police and military. In 262 cases, the identities of the victims could be established, another 18 people are still buried in the cemetery of the nameless. In days of February 7 to 12 2016, 137 people lost their lives in the cellars of three buildings.

Several people from the cellars tried to call for help over the phone and contacted HDP members of parliament, the media and even the European Parliament. They reported that they had taken refuge in the cellars with other survivors in order to seek shelter. They also reported that murdered people were in the cellars who had not survived the attacks. They pointed out that the Turkish military bombed the building they were in and called for immediate medical help to get them to the hospital. Their calls were then relayed to the emergency call centers 112 and 115. But because they didn't receive help, all people in those cellars were massacred in the cruelest way by the Turkish state. February 7, 2016 marks one of the cruelest episodes of these attacks. Turkish security forces diverted gasoline into a basement where dozens of people were locked up and burned them alive.

After this horrific mass execution of the people and the destruction of the buildings, the Turkish state had several TOKI buildings built on the ruins to prevent the collective memory of the cruel massacre in the cellars of Cizre.

## Current situation

In Turkey, the processes on this case are not progressing. As an alternative, the ECHR has been called upon, but the application has been rejected. On March 2018 HDP published a report on the incidents in Cizre: [https://de.scribd.com/document/373008068/Cizre-Report-in-English-5th-March2018#from\\_embed](https://de.scribd.com/document/373008068/Cizre-Report-in-English-5th-March2018#from_embed)

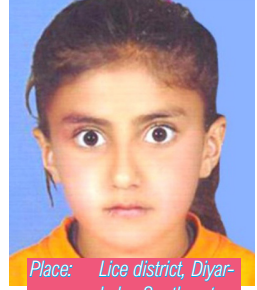


## Ceylan Önkol

Date of birth: 16.09.1997. She was born in the village of Şenlik in Lice district of Diyarbakır, Southeastern Turkey. She was the daughter of a family of 2 girls and 4 boys.

### Incident content

On 28.09.2009, Ceylan Önkol was only 12 years old and a primary school student when she lost her life. Mother Saliha Önkol states that at around 11 o'clock on September 28, 2009, her daughter Ceylan went out to graze the animals after saying "Mom cook me pasta", and they heard a humming sound and then a big explosion shortly after she went out. After the explosion sound, son Raif and other villagers in the house run to the place of the explosion and they encountered the shattered body of Ceylan at the site of the explosion. She died due to a mortar shell shot from Tabantepe police station, 200 meters from their home. After the incident, the prosecutor was informed, but the Lice Public Prosecutor did not go to the scene on the grounds because the incident was "in a terrorist zone" and ordered the villagers to take the body and bring it to the nearest Abalı Gendarme Station. Saliha Önkol had to collect the parts of her body by herself. She says that she had to collect the parts of her daughter's body on her skirt and take them to the prosecutor. Upon the public reflection of the incident and the reactions, the prosecutor went to the scene by helicopter three days later.



Place: Lice district, Diyarbakır, Southeastern Turkey

Date: 28.09.2009

### Current legal situation

In line with the reactions to the incident, he later brought a confidentiality order to the file. Serdar Çelebi, one of the IHD Lawyers, said, "The feet and legs of Önkol's body were intact. There was no hole in the ground either. This eliminates the possibility of a mine." Ceylan stated that in the case of the death of Önkol, there is a possibility of having been targeted.

Kocaeli University Faculty of Medicine, Forensic Medicine specialist Prof Dr. Ümit Bicer stated in the independent report, that that Ceylan Önkol died in "defensive position". Lawyers stated that this determination strengthened the allegations that Ceylan was shot from the gendarmerie battalion from the hamlet where she died.



Place: Helanj village, Kobane, Rojava, Northern Syria

Date: 23.06.2020

## Zehra Barkal

Zehra Barkal, a member of the coordination of Kongra Star (Kurdish Women's Organisation in North and Eastern Syria) for the region in the Euphrates region, was born in 1987 and is from the city of Kobanê. She studied law at the University of Aleppo and from 2013 on she was one of the participants in the struggle to improve the lives of women in north and east Syria. First she worked in „Mala Jin“ (House of women) and later for “Heyva Sor a Kurd” (Kurdish red crescent). She became part of the People's Assembly in the city of Kobanê, later being elected the co-mayor of Kobanê. During her work in the people's municipalities, she became the co-president of the Justice Commission in the city of Kobanê and gave an example of free and just women in the body.



Place: Helanj village, Kobane, Rojava, Northern Syria

Date: 23.06.2020

## Badia Khalil

Badia Khalil, a member of the coordination of Kongra Star, was born in 1979 in the village of Bbandar near the city of Kobani. She was a participant in the struggle to improve the lives of women in north and east Syria

In 1999, Badia began her struggle for women and on September 15, 2014 Badia joined the ranks of the Women's Protection Units against the ISIS attack on the city of Kobanê and provided a lot of aid to the people of Kobanê, whose homes were damaged. Despite her cancer, she did not stop working for the liberation of women.



Place: Helanj village, Kobane, Rojava, Northern Syria

Date: 23.06.2020

## Amina Weissy

Amina Muhammad Weissi was born in 1965 from the village of Helanj in the city of Kobani. She is a mother of five children. She took part in all activities of the women's movement and devoted all her energy to the revolution.

## Description

On June 23, a Turkish drone targeted the house of Amina Weissi in the village of Helanj, near the city of Kobanê. The bombing of the house resulted in the loss of life of Badia Khalil, Amina Weissi and Zehra Berkel.

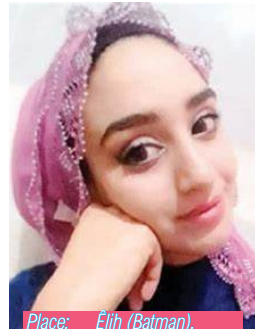
## Ipek Er

born on 20.04.2020

### Description

Ipek Er was Kurdish and lived in Batman. She was only 18 years old when she took her own life after being raped by a Turkish sergeant. In a farewell letter she had informed her family that she had been held prisoner, drugged and sexually abused by the non-commissioned officer Musa Orhan

for several days. On 18 August she died in hospital as a result of her suicide attempt.



Place: *Elith (Batman),  
Southeastern Turkey*

Date: *18.08.2020*

### Current legal situation

The perpetrator, an avowed supporter of the extreme right-wing “Grey Wolves”, was briefly arrested but was released because there was no danger of escape. The rape had been confirmed by a forensic

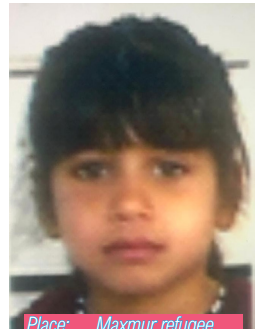
medical examination. Following massive protests by the population, Musa Orhan was arrested again on 19 August. A week later, however, he was released by court order.

## Eyşê Ahmet Ferhan

Eyşê was a child of 17 years. She worked to support her family financially, going from her mother’s place to the sheep pen. Eyşê was a high school student, but in order to help her mother went along with two young women named Hewa and Ezîme to the place where her family takes care of sheep. Eyşê, as well as the other two women, were targeted by Turkish warplanes and were killed.

### Description

On the 15th April 2020, at 1pm in the afternoon, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) of the occupying Turkish state targeted and martyred three young women by the names of Hewa, Ezîme û Eyşê who were looking after sheep. All three women traveled to and from the sheep pen every day in order to support their households. Hewa and Ezîme were both



Place: *Maxmur refugee  
camp, Northern Iraq*

Date: *15.04.2020*

killed on the spot, but Eysel was injured and was found by the people of the camp who came out shouting in order to find her. Because ambulance services were restricted to leave the camp, she was treated at the camp's hospital with various procedures, but the doctors were not able to save her and she lost her life. Their bodies were badly burned as a result of the airstrikes. Their deaths, as always, were reported to the United Nations and Iraqi officials have been following the situation, but until today accountability for these crimes against humanity has not been achieved.

## **Current legal situation**

We can say that from the beginning of our lives as refugees until today the Turkish state has been attacking us. Our camp is a camp of political refugees and these illegal attacks against humanity are taking place under the observation of the United Nations. Up to now, the camp has been bombed 5 times by warplanes of the Turkish state, and in these airstrikes we have suffered many deaths and losses. Likewise, it has been nearly four years that nearly every day unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) circle over the camp. Without a doubt these UAVs have a big psychological impact on our people, especially the children are negatively affected by the aircraft. In our camp there are almost 4,000 students and every day that the UAV drones circle over the camp, these children experience the negative psychological affect. It is women and children who experience the damage and loss of these most serious risks. Because as a result of these airstrikes, the sisters, brothers and mothers of these children are killed. It also has a negative impact on our economic situation and quality of life, the camp community is a working community and according to the communal system that exists in our camp, in normal circumstances we can continue with our lives and help each other. But because of the risks of the airstrikes from the Turkish state and the daily circling of Turkish UAV drones and the risks from Islamic state gangs we cannot engage in shepherding or agriculture. We cannot even move around the camp easily because of the aircraft flying over. Because as we are reminded every day, we are facing the risk of airstrikes from Turkish drones. Because of this we cannot work in the surroundings of the camp. The presence of UAV drones routinely circle above the camp daily has a significant negative impact on our society physically, psychologically and economically.



## Kader Ortakaya

Kader Ortakaya, 28, was born to a working class family in the Siverek district of Urfa. She was a woman who started working at a young age, trying to contribute to her family through her work.

In order to support the labor movement, in which she was also active, she used her academic time after graduating in sociology at Eskişehir Anadolu University, Turkey, by writing her research papers on labor movement issues in the Department of Development Economics and Labor Economics at Marmara University. Kader Ortakaya was a member of the Initiative for a Free Society (TÖP-G).



Place: *Suruç/Urfa, North-eastern Turkey*

Date: *6.11.2014*

## Description

On November 6, 2014 the Free Art Initiative tried to reach the border of Kobanê through a human chain action. The border had been closed by the Turkish government to prevent humanitarian aid and human rights observations and to cover up Turkey's support for the IS. The Free Art Initiative action was banned and attacked with tear gas and Live Ammunition. In this attack, a border guard shot Kader Ortakaya with a bullet to the head.

## Current legal situation

According to a Bianet report dated November 10, 2020 (<https://bianet.org/english/human-rights/234242-prosecutor-stalled-investigation-into-ortakaya-s-killing-in-border-area-after-intelligence-note>), the report of the Forensic Medical Institute (ATK) Scientific Committee confirms that on November 6, 2014, Kader Ortakaya was murdered at the border in the Suruç district of Urfa by a targeted shot from a soldier. According to Ayça Söylemez's report from Bianet, based on this new evidence, a petition was filed with the Suruç Attorney General's Office to reopen and expand the investigation. According to lawyer Müslüm Baran, the latter has not yet taken any action to find the murderer of Kader Ortakaya.



Place: *Istanbul, Turkey*

Date: *18.10.2015*

## **Dilek Doğan**

Date of birth: 1991; The family living in Istanbul originally comes from Maraş and is of Alevi faith. Dilan is one of the five children of a working mother and father who emigrated to Istanbul and settled in Küçükarmutlu. She had 4 brothers and was the only daughter of the family.

### **Description**

The house of the family Doğan in Istanbul Küçükarmutlu was searched by the special operations on October 18th around 04:00 in the morning and the policemen entered the house with shoes on. Dilek Doğan asks the police officers to wear overshoes and the debate ends with a drawn gun with which Dilek is shot. She is still taken to hospital, but unfortunately too late.

### **Current legal situation**

The accused policeman got 7 years and 6 months for “wilful negligent murder”, but his sentence was later reduced to 6 years and 3 months.

The brother of Dilek Emrah Dogan made statements to the press about the trial and has now been sued for these statements. In addition, Ebru Timtik, Dilek’s lawyer, was arrested for similar unlawfulness, went on hunger strike demanding a fair trial and died on the 238th day of her action.





# IV.

**Against Femicidal  
Politics -  
Self-Defense!**

SÖZLEŞİM  
ANSAYD





# IV. Against Femicidal Politics - Self-Defense!

We as women are aware as victims and resisters in the dominant “history of civilization” that the goal of violence is the destruction of a society based on values of freedom, life, love itself and justice. These values have been preserved for thousands of years in societies built around the power of women. In these societies other foundations of life were considered desirable. These other values ensured that, according to the possibilities of the community, care was taken for each individual person. A social system built around women is able to live together peacefully because it maintains and develops itself by its own strength instead of relying on exploitation, oppression and violence.

In the face of the comprehensive war against women and thus against a democratic, peaceful, pluralistic and sustainable organization of society we need to organise as women from the grassroots and take peace making, community building, and self defence in the broadest sense into our own hands. We cannot rely on the same states and powerful actors who have created all this oppression to undo it. That they will always stand opposed to freedom and struggle means being organised to defend ourselves against them. Therefore women should be central in all negotiation, diplomatic and peace processes with the awareness that women are the main groups targeted by genocide and femicide during wars and conflicts.

We address self defence on the social, mental

and emotional level as well as the physical. Armed self defence is only one part. Even more important is developing self defence against the mental attacks on ourselves, our strength and our unity that come from the culture and media run by patriarchal systems. We must also defend ourselves against division. Historically, united women are strong, and divided we can be used and colonised. Developing our collectivity, self organisation, and the ways that we relate to each other free from the dominant male mentality, is at the core of our self defence and of building alternatives.

Resistance is victorious where it is organised; where concrete, sustainable structures of self defence are built up. It is essential to establish women's internationalism by forming an alliance against femicide. The stance of women's forces of liberty, resistance and organisation will determine the character of the 21st century and the course its history will take.





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