HAFIZA MERKEZİ

ACTIVITY REPORT
2017 – 2018

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WHO WE ARE

Hafıza Merkezi (Hakikat Adalet ve Hafıza Çalışmaları Derneği, eng. Truth Justice Memory Center) was established with the aims of uncovering the truth concerning past human rights violations, strengthening the collective memory with regards to them, and supporting survivors in their pursuit of justice. It is an organization which believes that the prospect of sustainable peace and democracy is only possible through a just and recognition-based approach to victims of past human rights violations. The center espouses the ideal of a free and inclusive society, which values and embraces difference, acknowledges the state violence in its past as well as victims' rights and individual freedoms, and has achieved effective civil control over repressive state apparatuses. It contributes to the development of mechanisms and tools for the creation of a peaceful and free society, which considers human rights to be its fundamental values.

HAFIZA MERKEZİ

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Memory Studies
Legal Studies
Dissemination and Advocacy
Cooperation and Capacity Building
Peace

On 23 May 2017, the Monument to Human Rights on Yüksel Street in Ankara was surrounded by police barriers, which remained in place for 430 days.

"TRUTH, ONE DAY, WILL SURELY COME"

In 2009, the ideas that would lead to the foundation of *Hafıza Merkezi* were first coming to life. During our needs analysis meetings with human rights organizations, the most heated discussions we had were on how to determine a framework for confronting the past in Turkey. Which past, which violations, which period? 1915? Dersim? The military coups? Violations during the conflicts? We began with a strategy that would begin at a specific point but then over time be expanded to include other human rights violations too. During the establishment of the center, we focused our work on the "Kurdish Issue", a solution to which still remains a distant prospect, and enforced disappearances. Our approach was that of transitional justice, a tool for democratization used in post-authoritarian and post-conflict countries. We aimed to make space for narratives and voices that did not have a place in the country's collective memory as a way of questioning the official discourse, and also to carry out documentation and data analysis in line with international standards that would help bring to light the truth about incidents that had been covered up or widespread misbeliefs surrounding the issue.

It pains us to say that during the ten years that have passed since we began work to establish the center, layer upon layer of violations have been added to those of the "past". Throughout the world, there is a growing body of work looking at the levels of success of transitional justice, while authoritarian democracies, the manipulation of truth and arbitrary justice have become the new reality of the 21st century. And Turkey has taken its share of this reality, with truth and justice becoming the first target of the growing authoritarianism in the country. As George Orwell said, "Speaking the truth in times of universal deceit is a revolutionary act," and in this time of change for the world and for Turkey, *Hafıza Merkezi* felt the time had come to re-assess its objectives and fields of work. In 2018, therefore, we carried out a thorough review of our strategy. Of course, the events of today can't be compared to the great disasters of the 20th century, but Orwell's quote referring to the Spanish Civil War is sadly still relevant today, in a world that seems to be setting out on a similar path with a revival of racism and discrimination.

Just as in other countries throughout the world that are witnessing a rise in authoritarianism, in Turkey too the main target of arbitrary justice has been the most vocal segments of society. First the media, journalists and academics, and then civil society and human rights advocates, media and political leaders have been put under great pressure through defamation, arbitrary investigations, arrests and trials, legal and financial audits, antidemocratic laws and practices, and a sweeping application of the Anti-Terrorism law. According to 2018 figures from the Ministry of Justice, as of June, approximately one-fifth (48,924) of the total number (246,426) of people held in prison were being tried or had been sentenced for terrorism.

In the Activity Report 2015-16, we made the following observation: "… remaining afloat became the primary goal of the *Hafıza Merkezi* just like many other civil society organizations. In this vein, *Hafıza Merkezi* placed more weight on strengthening its institutional identity, organizational structure and democratic constitution. Improving national and international solidarity and collaborations also gained greater importance." In this report looked not only at how to remain afloat, but also at what we could add to our eight years of experience, and at what should be our priority within the changing political environment. Despite all the changing conditions, however, our main aim remained the same: To bring to light the truth about gross human rights violations, to support victims in their quest for justice, and to contribute to peace and democracy by strengthening the collective memory regarding such violations.

In line with these aims, in 2017-18 we continued to work on one of our main areas of focus, the database of enforced disappearances and the subject of impunity. We have been updating the database to make it more user-friendly, but at the same time, we have had to change our methods for data collection due to the fact that fieldwork has become practically impossible.

On our *Faili Belli* [Perpetrator Not-Unknown] website, we continue to monitor trials that confront the past, and we have expanded our scope by also looking into the impunity of state actors in these trials. *(failibelli.org)*

Although it is becoming increasingly impossible to speak of rule of law in Turkey, we have not given up the fight in this area. We continue to present applications, reports and amicus curiae briefs both at a national level (to courts of first instance and the Constitutional Court) and at an international level (to the European Court of Human Rights and the United Nations).

We increased our educational activities, with the aim of supporting organizations and actors in the field of human rights. In addition to training in legal documentation and trial monitoring, we also held a series of panel discussions and workshops on the use of new technologies in the field of human rights, an example of which could be our ongoing *Hackathon* project. With the aim of helping human rights organizations share their data and activities in creative ways, we have brought these organizations together with artists and representatives from the creative sectors in order to brainstorm and find innovative new methods for sharing their work.

We are also continuing work on our projects related to peace, an area whose value has become even clearer since the collapse of the peace process. We continue to carry out visits that enable us to benefit from international experience in the field, while also carrying out work to document the peace process and to revive memories of peace.

In this period of oppression, our communications activities were significantly limited. We were unable to publish some of the books we had prepared, and our information sharing moved from the public sphere to an online environment. There too, however, we were met with limitations due to the policing of the digital space by public authorities and online vigilantes. As a result, we had to limit our target audience, moving away from the general public and focusing on those directly involved in the field.

Despite the limitations, our work in the field of memory continued. One product of this was the *A City that Remembers* project, which took the form of a mobile website and a book. Through this project we tried to reawaken the urban memory, as well as the collective memory of violations in Turkey.

The survival strategy that has been in place since 2015 led us to introduce a new field of work: the protection of human rights defenders. Given that two members of the *Hafiza Merkezi* staff and board of directors were taken into custody — one was sentenced, while the other was taken into custody pending investigation — such a step was necessary for *Hafiza Merkezi* alone. We have an ongoing project in this field with the *Sessiz Kalma* [Do Not Remain Silent] website, which we launched along with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights and the Netherlands Helsinki Committee *(sessizkalma.org)*. As part of this project we are part of a solidarity network that was established to protect human rights defenders. Furthermore, we continue to work in partnership with Heinrich Boll on a project supported by the European Union Delegation that aims to provide corporate, financial and administrative support to human rights organizations. These two projects not only fit into our new area of activity, but also align with our aim to bolster national and international solidarity. Another aspect that falls into this area were our activities that aimed to strengthen our relationships within the Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past, which we established in previous years. Furthermore, we began work to share information and experience on the topic of enforced disappearances in the region on an international level. We also carried out visits and gave presentations with the aim of strengthening our relations with international organizations.

Partnerships and collaborations play an important role in all our fields of activity. Over the years, *Hafiza Merkezi* has developed a strong network of supporters whose expertise has been of great benefit to us in the many areas in which we work, from academia to law, and from civil society to art. Without this large *Hafiza Merkezi* family, there would always be something missing in our work. Unfortunately it is impossible to name each of them individually, the list is far too long, but without them none of this would have been possible. We would therefore like to express our eternal gratitude to all the friends of *Hafiza Merkezi* on whom we have called to share their expertise and experience.

In the coming period we will again try to create new responses to changing needs in changing times, through partnerships, collaborations and solidarity. We know that new questions and new answers require innovative ideas, and we will therefore do all we can to grow and develop by continually asking questions and looking for new approaches. The projects that form the basis of this activity report have come about thanks to the extraordinary and painstaking efforts of the *Hafiza Merkezi* staff and board of management. It was with a team spirit, collective effort and, most importantly, with belief and determination under difficult conditions that they continued to work on these projects, to produce and to speak out. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to once more offer them my thanks.

That's all from me for now. Until the next Activity Report... ***Meltem Aslan***

DATABASE OF ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES

The updated database will be shared with the public at the end of 2019, with a new appearance, new functions and updated content.

Since 2012, *Hafıza Merkezi* has been working on a comprehensive documentation process related to enforced disappearances that occurred from 1980 until today. In 2013 we released the Database on Enforced Disappearances, a platform that was informed by semi-structured interviews with relatives of the disappeared in Istanbul, Diyarbakir, Batman, Mardin and Şırnak, as well as the compilation of investigation/case files, applications to the ECtHR and rulings by the court, reports by other rights organizations, research articles/books, and news reports.

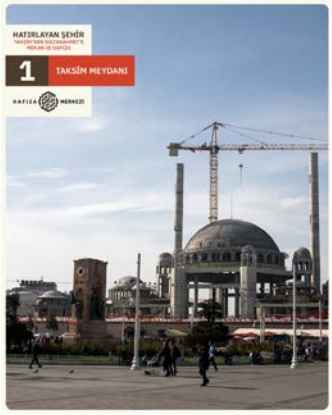
Within four years, the database became an online resource providing detailed information on 500 people who were forcibly disappeared, and in the second half of 2017 we took the decision to restructure the database. This decision was informed by a desire to make the data, and the resources from which the data came from, more easily accessible to users. By doing so, we would be able to offer a platform that enables users to carry out more faster and more detailed analysis, while also providing a more dynamic and user-friendly site by integrating videos, images and data visualization into the database.

During the redevelopment of the database from 2017-2018, we examined secondary sources with the aim of corroborating cases of enforced disappearance that were not yet included in the database. In addition, we started to move our data from the free and open-source event-driven OpenEvsys database software, designed by the Sweden-based Huridocs, to the document-oriented Uwazi Reveal database developed by the same organization. The Database on Enforced Disappearances will be shared with users at the end of 2019, with a new look, new functions and updated content:

- Data classified by individual rather than incident
- Easier and faster access to relationships between people, incidents, documents and legal processes
- Filters used in the data categorization enable simpler and more detailed analysis and reporting
- Graphic visualizations of main data
- In-text word search option for all open-source documents
- Better visual and video integration
- English summaries of data on all people, incidents and legal processes

"A CITY THAT REMEMBERS": SPACE AND MEMORY FROM TAKSİM TO SULTANAHMET

Written by Asena Günal and Murat Çelikkan, the publication is an alternative guide to Istanbul that aims to refresh the collective memory via a walking route consisting of 17 stops.



"This tour aims to map the city through its political past that is both inscribed in the urban fabric, and yet often suppressed in public memory." Asena Günal carried out this tour, which she describes above in her own words, twice when she led participants from 53 different civil society organizations from the Middle East, North Africa and the Caucasus on a walk that took them from Taksim to Sultanahmet. This publication, co-written by Asena Günal and Murat Çelikkan, shares experiences of the tour that took place in 2015-16 and offers readers and visitors to the website a permanent memory guide. The tour takes its readers along a route from Taksim to Sultanahmet, stopping at Taksim Square, Gezi Park, İstiklal Avenue, the Emek Movie Theatre, Galatasaray Square, Hazzopulo Passage, the "Mısır" [Egyptian] Apartments, Karşı Art Gallery, Aras Publishing, Narmanlı Inn, the Neve Shalom Synagogue, SALT Galata, the Camondo Steps, San(a)saryan Inn, the Union of Municipalities Building, the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum and the Four Seasons Hotel Istanbul. The tour is accompanied by stories of non-Muslim social and cultural life and of violations of minority rights and human rights, but also of social movements working towards social peace.

Columbia University's Elazar Barkan described the guide as being "oriented both toward the inquisitive tourist and locals who are intrigued by the magnificent cultural and social pluralism of the city and its resistance to oppression over generations" and as "the result of a commitment to draw out the best of the society, by recognizing its responsibility to its past, both in its enduring form and as an opportunity to reinvigorate the city."

As well as an electronic version downloadable from the *Publications* section of our website, the book *A City that Remembers* is also available in print format in most bookshops. The publication also has a web interface and a map that can be used on mobile devices. The website accompanies readers along the route, sharing with them stories and experiences from the different stops along the way, while also offering the potential to be expanded with different memory tours.

"Attempts to convert Sultanahmet Prison into a hotel began in 1992. In 1996, as the luxury Four Seasons Sultanahmet opened its doors, the wards and cells that once forcibly hosted Turkey's intellectuals, artists and oppositional figures turned into much-demanded rooms that were rarely vacant and available only at very high prices. Turkey thus wasted yet another opportunity in terms of confronting its past. The fact that what could have been a spectacular museum of the history of repression and struggles in the Republic of Turkey was instead converted into a hotel was not only significant as an opportunity missed. The construction of 50-bed annex facilities within the area of the Sultanahmet Archaeological Park right on the site of ongoing excavations of the preserved section of the Byzantine Palace also spurred much debate. The lack of preservation of the Byzantine Palace in Ottoman times with the building of the Sultanahmet Prison upon its remains was taken to a whole other level in the Republican period when the archaeological area surrounding it was marked as the prison yard and included in the plot rented out to the hotel. The construction of the Four Seasons annex buildings was halted by decision of the Council of State despite the sustained efforts of certain scholars and politicians to prevent this. Still, however, construction continued in disregard of this ruling. Minister of Tourism at the time, Ertuğrul Günay, visited the site about a month later and announced that construction had been halted. Yet in the meantime two of the three blocks planned had already been built notwithstanding the Council of State decision to the contrary." (From Chapter 17: Four Seasons Hotel Istanbul)

DOCUMENTATION VIDEO SERIES AND GUIDEBOOK FOR RIGHTS DEFENDERS

We believe that there is a great need for civil society in Turkey to hold a more in-depth discussion on documentation, and the methods and tools used.

The *Hafiza Merkezi* Memory Studies Unit is responsible for the documentation according to international standards of gross human rights violations, as well as for the analysis of data collected through the documentation process. The aim of the data analysis is to show the systematic nature of violations and to reveal the various dimensions of victimhood, as well as to produce information that will help prevent the repetition of such violations and bring the perpetrators to justice. The collection of information and documents therefore requires very painstaking work. At *Hafiza Merkezi*, we started by documenting the victims of enforced disappearances. We believe that during this process we have acquired significant knowledge and experience not only about the kinds of documents to be collected, but also about the purposes for which the documents can be used and the methods of collection. We have used the collected data to produce reports on the systematic nature and shared characteristics of enforced disappearances, the different levels of responsibility of state officials, and on the effects of these rights violation on women. As well as sharing the information that we have collected over the past two years, we have also tried to further discussions regarding our methods of data collection.

As such, we described our documentation work on a wide range of different platforms, with a focus on discussions about methodology. At the beginning of 2017, we were invited by the team at *After the Archive* to give a presentation about our work. Towards the end of the same year we offered training on documentation to lawyers working in rights advocacy. Meeting with these two very different groups once again showed us how documentation can be used for very different aims and carried out under very different conditions. However,

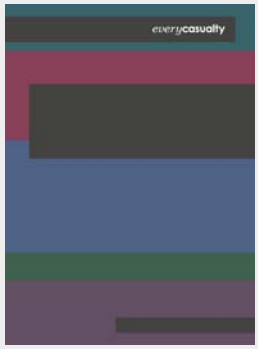
there are certain methodological and ethical principals that need to be followed regardless of the circumstances. Furthermore, there is a very detailed set of rules on how the collected information and documents should be recorded, sorted, categorized and archived. This led us to think about other ways of sharing what we had learned during this process with interested partners, and we came up with the idea of producing a series of videos. The documentation video series was mainly designed for human rights defenders. The aim behind the videos was to benefit those fighting to prevent the repetition of human rights violations by compiling documents and information.

We also felt that the documentation video series could be used as educational material. Inspired by the rising popularity in online training, we aimed to reach our target audience through videos, rather than written content. Online education is a rapidly growing field thanks to the partial democratization of access to educational materials and processes, and civil society organizations have also started to become actors in this field. Although the content we produced for this video series is suitable for online educational purposes, the format does not currently include users actively in the educational process, and we are continuing to discuss how to move forward with this project.

Our video series is made up of eight sections. The first two sections focus on the main issues surrounding documentation by looking at the disasters of the 21st century that gave rise to the fight for truth, as well as the aims of the civil society actors who led this struggle. The series continues with sections on issues such as the rules for collecting data from the field, how this data should be sorted, and what kind of data-processing programs can be used to archive the data. The final three sections are dedicated to the issue of legal documentation. Ever since its foundation, *Hafıza Merkezi* has worked to support the legal battles of the victims of rights violations, and has also monitored the related legal processes using a range of different intervention tools. At the foundation of all forms of intervention lies documentation. As such, we gave special importance to this issue in the video series in order to underscore how important it is for the documentation to be used in the human rights struggle to be carried out in line with the relevant standards

Unfortunately, the history of Turkey is full of gross and systematic rights violations. Different people and organizations fighting against the rights violations of the past and of the present continue to carry out documentation work. In particular, at a time when discussions about truth have taken on a whole new dimension, and when different truths battle with each other for acceptance, discussions on the aims and methods of documentation work also continue.

Along with technological developments, around the world both rights organizations as well as individual activists and the victims of the rights violations themselves are recording their own experiences or producing a wide range of data through archival research. Technology is called upon to enable these data to be recorded in a standard way and to be categorized in a way that transforms a huge stack of unorganized data into useful data sets. We therefore make an effort to stay up to date with all the technological developments in this field. Documentation is a never-ending process that is constantly developing, and whose aims and meaning are subjects of constant consideration.



PUBLICATION: STANDARDS FOR CASUALTY RECORDING

We believe that there is a great need for civil society in Turkey to hold a more in-depth discussion on documentation and the methods and tools used. Therefore, the moment we received Every Casualty's booklet *Standards for Casualty Recording* (published in 2016), we felt it would be extremely useful to have the booklet translated into Turkish and to share it with those working in the field. Many organizations are determined to carry out rights advocacy in conflict situations by making direct contact with those whose rights have been violated. However, there is little discussion about the fact that ensuring the documentation process is carried out according to certain standards is a responsibility both towards the victims of human rights violations and towards the struggle for truth and justice. This publication by Every Casualty was the result of contributions by representatives of a range of organizations as well as practitioners, and academics. We believe it is of great importance to determine common standards in light of a range of experiences, and to draw attention to general principals while recognizing the unique set of circumstances in question. As an organization that has, since its very foundation, taken care to carry out its documentation work according to specific standards, we hope that this booklet will serve as a useful guide for other organizations working in similar fields.

DOCUMENTATION AND ARCHIVING OF VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE

On 15-16 October 2017, we held a meeting with the aim of developing solutions to the problems faced by lawyers working in the field of violations of the right to life during their documentation and archiving work by sharing the experience and knowledge built up by *Hafıza Merkezi*. Lawyers from the bar associations of Istanbul, Şırnak, Diyarbakır and Batman participated in the meeting, which covered issues such as the basic rules of documentation, interview data collection techniques, ways of sorting and processing data, physical and digital archiving and database systems, the processing and analysis of legal data, and the use of international legal terminology in the categorization of the data.

IN CASES THAT CONFRONT THE PAST THE WALL OF STATE SECRETS HAS STILL NOT BEEN BREACHED.

Emel Ataktürk, our Legal Studies Program Director, spoke to İrfan Aktan from Gazete Duvar about the approach of the government and judiciary to cases that confront the past.

Emel Ataktürk, a lawyer who closely monitors cases of enforced disappearances, believes that the acquittal of defendants in cases related to the events that occurred in the 1990s cannot be viewed as separate from the political climate. She also states, however, that political orders are not necessary for the Turkish judiciary to adopt such a position, since the acquittal of defendants in the trials related to rights abuses in the 1990s may well be the "natural" result of the judicial structure.

Prior to the 2010 Constitutional Referendum, the AKP's main campaign pledge was that they would bring to justice those responsible for the military coup of 12 September 1980. The referendum on constitutional reform, which aimed to put control of the higher judiciary in the hands of the government, was presented to the public — with the appeal, "It's not enough, but [vote] yes" — as a way of putting the leaders of the coup on trial. Similarly, during the peace process, trials related to gross human rights violations carried out in the 1990s, as well as investigations into extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances were used as political tools by the AKP.

However, once the powers that be had made their moves, using the hopes for justice of millions of people to achieve their own political goals, things quickly changed. The cases related to the military coup or to the mass disappearances and extrajudicial killings of the 1990s were systematically transferred to different cities, and of 15 major cases, 11 were concluded. In favor of the defendants, of course!

The most recent of these was the Lice case, which was concluded last week with the acquittal of the only defendant. This leaves just four major cases awaiting a verdict. We know how these cases will end just as well as we know the perpetrators of the crimes. But how did this entire process happen, what exactly is happening? Emel Ataktürk is a human rights lawyer and one of the founders of *Hafıza Merkezi* who has closely followed these cases that "confront the past". We hear from her about the approach of the government and judiciary to these cases and the acquittals that came one after the other.

On 22 October 1993, 16 people were killed in clashes that broke out in the Diyarbakır district of Lice following the assassination of Gendarme District Commander, Brigadier-General Bahtiyar Aydın. Last week, in a hearing held in Izmir on 7 December, the only defendant in the case related to these events was acquitted. We have seen other similar trials end in acquittal, as though declaring the defendants innocent. As examples of recent acquittals we can point to the cases of Musa Çitil, Cemal Temizöz, Yavuz Erktürk (Kulp), Vartinis (Altınova) and Mete Sayar (Görümlü). The Lice case was opened 20 years after the events took place, based on an indictment prepared by the Chief Public Prosecutor of Diyarbakır. The indictment called for former Diyarbakır Gendarme Regiment Commander, Eşref Hatipoğlu, and Lieutenant Tünay Yanardağ to be tried for the crimes of "first-degree murder, inciting public disorder and murder, and forming a criminal organization". The trial was transferred to Eskişehir for "reasons of security" and then to Izmir because there was no specially authorized court in Eskişehir. This prolonged the trial, and during this time the defendants were systematically protected. Finally, in the hearing that took place on 7 December, Eşref Hatipoğlu, the only remaining defendant in the trial following the death of Tünay Yanardağ, was acquitted. Since the defendants were always going to be acquitted, why were they even put on trial?

There was a large amount of evident that meant the cases needed to be brought to trial. Given all the witness statements, autopsy reports and victim accounts, the trial should have been opened long ago. The strongest evidence of the gross human rights violations of the past tends to be witness statements and the investigations carried out based on those statements. However, whether we are talking about the Lice case or cases related to the gross human rights violations of the 1990s, the main problem is that the witness accounts are not taken into consideration and no detailed inquiries were carried out. This is how the investigation process carried out in all of these trials. You see, the state has certain structures that are untouchable, beyond investigation. And they each represent an obstacle to a thorough investigation. In such cases there are always a large number of witnesses. In cases of enforced disappearances there are many witnesses of what happened prior to the victim being detained and of their time in detention, and in cases of extrajudicial killings, which take place partly in public areas, there are a large number of witnesses. For example, in the Lice case there are many witnesses and victims who can give accounts of how the burning of the houses began, and how it spread. When a public prosecutor launches an investigation, they come up with a number of scenarios, and ask questions based on those scenarios to get to the bottom of the events. However, because there is no real desire to uncover the truth of what happened, because the judiciary is reluctant and hesitant to act, we are faced with these same problems in the legal process for all of these trials. The trials reach a certain point and then we hit a wall, and in the end we are met with verdicts of acquittal.

Istanbul, 2009.

On the *Faili Belli* (Perpetrator Not-Unknown) website, the following cases are listed as having ended in acquittal: "The Görümlü case, the Vartinis Massacre case, the Naim Kurt case, the Yavuz Ertürk (Kulp) case, the Nezir Tekçi case, the Ergenekon case, the Zirve Publishing House case, the Musa Çitil case, the 12 September [military coup] case, and the Temizöz and Others case."

Yes, and then most recently there was the Lice case. In international literature these are known as "confronting the past" trials. These "high profile" cases are of great social importance and have a large number of victims, and they are being monitored by *Hafıza Merkezi*, along with many other human rights organizations. It was extremely important to follow the judicial practices in these trials and to monitor what was and what was not being done, what was and what was not being investigated. There were a total of 15 cases related to gross human rights violations in the 1990s. In the last two years, many of these cases were closed with the acquittal of all the defendants. Currently there are only four cases still being tried.

Which cases are still being tried?

There is a case in Ankara in which a large number of defendants are being tried, including Mehmet Ağar, İbrahim Şahin and Korkut Eken. The Musa Anter trial was combined with two cases investigating the activities of *JİTEM* [Gendarmerie Intelligence and Counterterrorism Units] in the "JİTEM and Anter Trial"; this is still ongoing. There are also two separate trials related to enforced disappearances in Dargeçit and Kızıltepe in the 1990s. One of these is being held in Ankara, the other in Adıyaman. Many of these trials to confront the past were, and are, held in different areas from where the events took place. This is one of the problems.

There is a general feeling that all the cases that are transferred to a court elsewhere end in acquittal...

Whether or not they are transferred, all the trials end in acquittal. Of course there are some differences in judicial practice. For example, in the Temizöz and Others case, the public prosecutor gave a legal opinion on the accusations in which he recommended nine life sentences be given to some of the defendants. However, after the case was transferred, the new prosecutors gave different recommendations. Still, even if the case had not been transferred, the result would have been the same, and a verdict of acquittal would have been given. Because the general attitude to these cases seems to be of a more "macro" approach.

"THE CASES WERE OPENED JUST BEFORE THE STATUTE OF LIMITATION PERIOD WAS EXPIRED"

When and in what political climate were cases related to crimes and gross human rights violations of the 1990s opened? Was it during the peace process? Were these trials part of a particular political process?

The first thing to point out is that these investigations related to events that happened between 1990 and 1997 were held in abeyance by public prosecutors for many years. However, the cases were opened mainly in 2011, 2012 and 2013, just before the statute of limitation period was expired. Of course, this was in a more peaceful time for Turkey; the trials were the product of a relatively trouble-free period. However, recently in particular we have seen the defendants claim that these trials are manipulative and that the opening of the cases is connected to the Gülen movement. For example, Hamit Yıldırım, one of the defendants in the Musa Anter case, stated this clearly in his hearing on December 2016. The same claim was also made by

defendants in the Temizöz case. Their defense was based on the claim that, "We just carried out our duty and these cases were opened because we were fighting against the [Gülen] movement." For defenders of human rights, however, such claims do not prevent us from asking the most important question. Whatever the reason for such cases being opened, these events happened; people were disappeared, executions took place. Whoever was responsible should be identified, tried and punished.

These cases investigating human rights violations were opened in a relatively "trouble-free" time. Do you think the fact that they are, one after the other, ending in acquittal is related to the fact that we have returned to a time of conflict? Is there is a direct link with the structure and influence of the political leadership?

Bearing in mind that the judicial system in Turkey has always been affected by the political climate then yes, you could say that. But another issue that is equally important is that the structure of the judiciary has never been independent and impartial. Indeed, it is for this reason that there has been no desire to properly investigate such gross human rights violations and to bring the truth about them to light.

"THE EVENTS THAT WERE THE MOST DIFFICULT TO COVER UP WERE BROUGHT TO TRIAL"

Then why were the cases opened?

This is an important question. At the end of 2001, when gross human rights violations were relatively low, it seemed as though a curtain was being drawn back and, there was a desire, however small, to face the past. This was cause for real excitement both in the political sphere and also for those working in the fight for human rights. And so the demands of the victims grew more visible. Also, after 2001 there was a rapid drop in the number of enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings. At that time there was less pressure, relatively speaking, on the judiciary, and of course there was a certain political will that led to the opening of these cases. So when we got to 2008, 2009 and 2010, investigations were being opened, indictments written. But the number of cases that were opened was never high enough to reflect the desire to confront the past. Instead, it was the events that were the most difficult to cover up that were brought to trial. But even this was not sustained. It wouldn't be incorrect to say that the changing political climate had an impact on this. But had there been a judicial structure able to stand up to the political leadership, the judicial process would not have been dependent on the political climate and it would have been possible to carry out proper investigations and pierce the shield of impunity.

You are a lawyer who actively monitors these cases. What is your general impression of the different phases of the trials?

If, as a judiciary, you treat such cases as normal murder cases, if there are people or organizations who, from your perspective, are untouchable, and you have to carry out an investigation within those limits, it's already clear from the very beginning what kind of conclusion you are going to reach. So that's what happened. But if you accept that these gross human rights violations are events that will poison the country's future, you will carry out thorough investigations to put an end to such violations; you will expose the perpetrators, bring them to court and sentence them. It is by doing this that you truly confront the past. Since such an approach does not exist, the investigations remained superficial; the wall of state secrets was never pulled down. In most of the cases, when a list of state officials involved in the events that are the subject of investigation, the relevant departments never shared them with the courts. In fact, when documents were requested for the Kulp case, the response stated that the documents in question were lost in a flood following the Gölcük earthquake. However, an investigation revealed that no such declaration was made after the earthquake, and no public body was aware of the archives having suffered such damage. Just as there has always been an shield of impunity in Turkey, lines delimiting "investigability" have been drawn for the courts. All investigations and inquiries were carried out within these limits, and these limits were so narrow that they did not even allow the identification of the perpetrators.

So does that mean there wasn't enough evidence to sentence the defendants?

No, it doesn't. We believe that the evidence that was collected, despite all the obstacles, was enough to identify and sentence those responsible. But this did not happen. The cases were snatched away from the victims, and moved thousands of kilometers from where the events happened. In order to follow the trials the victims had to travel these huge distances. The Lice case was moved to Izmir; the Kızıltepe and Kulp trials were moved to Ankara, as was the JİTEM and Musa Anter case, which happened in Diyarbakır; the Vartinis case was moved to Kırıkkale; and the Dargeçit case to Adiyaman.

What was the justification for this?

Security. But, for example, while this was given as the justification for moving the Temizöz and Others case to Eskişehir, the same reason was given for moving the Ali İsmail Korkmaz case from Eskişehir to Kayseri. But seeing the perpetrators appear in court in the place they committed the crime is important for the victims' sense of justice. When we are talking about paramilitary forces in particular, most of the time the victims know the defendants. And so seeing them sat in the dock in a courtroom where the events took place is of particular importance for the victims' relatives. Furthermore, transferring the trials makes it difficult for them to attend the hearings, and therefore to really keep up with and follow the case.

Eleven of the fifteen trials related to crimes committed in the 1990s have come to an end and the defendants were acquitted. Will these cases be taken to the Constitutional Court or the European Court of Human Rights?

Judgments have already been delivered by the European Court of Human Rights [ECtHR] for the majority of these cases. In relation to most of the violations

of the 1990s, the ECtHR ruled that violations did occur, without waiting for the national judicial process to come to an end. But while the ECtHR ruled that violations had occurred, the Turkish courts acquitted the defendants on the grounds that they had not seen "sufficient and convincing evidence". There is no explanation for why these two courts looking at the same events would reach such different conclusions.

So is it technically possible for the cases that ended in acquittal but that had previously been ruled as rights violations by the ECtHR to be retried in the ECtHR?
Of course. Once the cases have been seen by the appeal courts and the Constitutional Court, they will go to the ECtHR. Because the ECtHR rulings against Turkey were based not on the merits of the case but on whether or not the investigations had been carried out effectively.

The 12 September case was a critical case; what happened with it?
In the 1980s, 650,000 people were detained. At that time the detention period was 90 days, and the majority of those detained were severely tortured; executions and extrajudicial killings also took place. Millions were blacklisted, their passports seized. But only one case was opened about the violations that occurred in this period: the 12 September case. And there are only two defendants in that case: Kenan Evren and Tahsin Şahinkaya. The case was opened in 2012, based on a large number of criminal complaints filed just after the 2010 referendum. In January 2012 the indictment was filed, in April 2012 the hearings began, and in June 2014 a verdict was given. Aggravated life sentences were given to both defendants and this was reduced to a simple life sentence due to "extenuating circumstances". Both of the defendants died before the end of the trial, but still the verdict was appealed. The prosecutor of the court of appeals gave a legal opinion that since the statute of limitation period had been expired, the verdict should be overturned and the case dismissed. The court of appeals concluded that the statute of limitation period had been expired and ruled that the case be dismissed on grounds of death. As such, the case was sent back to the 10th Court of Assize. This court complied with the conclusion that the statute of limitation period had been expired and lifted its own verdict of life imprisonment on grounds of death. This decision was appealed by the victims and the case is currently before the court of appeals.

So even though they were dead, the judge decided not to sentence Evren and Şahinkaya?
It is actually a very interesting process. One of the biggest promises of the 2010 referendum was that the temporary Article 15 of the Constitution, which gave those responsible for the military coup a jurisdictional immunity, would be lifted and that they would be brought to justice. But these big promises brought about little action. Just one investigation was conducted into events that happened between 1980 and 1983, and the defendants were only accused of "challenging the constitutional order and preventing the Parliament from carrying out its duty." All the torture and extrajudicial killings, which fall into the category of crimes against humanity, were left out of the process. In the indictment, however, a great deal of space, had been given over to such crimes, and evidence was found in relation to those taken into custody, torture and torture chambers. Despite the allegations in the indictment, no such accusations were made against the defendants. Thousands of people filed criminal complaints, but these cases were all separated, and it was ruled that there was no grounds for prosecution, including for the torture that occurred in Diyarbakır Prison No. 5. The general approach towards the 12 September case was applied to all the trials related to the events of the 1990s. In the 12 September case, the court asked the military command for documents related to the planning of the military coup, and a list of those involved and at which level, but these were never submitted to the court. Because once the case started to get close to that untouchable core, the brakes were put on.

"NEW LAWS REINFORCED THE SHIELD OF IMPUNITY"

So there were certain bricks the state wanted to remain in place, and the courts decided to let them be...?
Sure, that's one way of putting it. When we compare the total number of rights violations that occurred in the 1980s and '90s with the number of cases that were opened, it is already clear that very very few of the violations were brought to trial. But in those cases that *are* opened, once they reach a critical point the judiciary pulls back. In theory, the most important outcome of criminal cases is to prevent the repetition of the crime, to provide a deterrent and to say to the public, "don't worry, such practices will be punished." However, here the exact opposite happened, and laws were passed that reinforced the shield of impunity. Similarly, despite dozens of reports by the parliament and the office of the prime minister, political declarations, and victim and witness statements, no investigation was carried out into the activities of JİTEM.

During the run-up to the 2010 referendum, the AKP used the 12 September case as a political tool. The same can be said for cases related to events of the 1990s during the peace process. Wells were dug up, bones excavated, investigations launched; it seemed as though the past was being uncovered. So it is impossible to ignore the fact that this process is not just a legal one, it is a political process too...
Similarly, the fact that these cases were opened just a few days before the expiration of the statute of limitation periods can also be viewed within this context. There are strong indications pointing to what you have said. The fact that the judiciary in Turkey is not independent and impartial, the fact that it is not even equipped to act in such a way, means that even without any direct political order, it is very prone to drawing such conclusions. In other words, things do not necessarily have to happen with a direct order, in the way you have implied.

Some of the friends, relatives and mothers of the victims used to meet on Saturdays in front of Galatasaray High School. But recently these meetings have been subject to harsh police intervention. Is it possible to say that the verdicts of acquittal and

Press conference with relatives of the disappeared before the judgment hearing in the Temizöz and Others case. 4 November 2015, Ankara.

Source:
Gazete Duvar, 15 December 2018
https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/yazarlar/2018/12/15/emel-atakturk-yuzlesme-davalarinda-devlet-sirri-duvari-asilamadi/

the government's intervention against the Saturday Mothers are separate processes?
No, all of these are pieces of a puzzle that make up the bigger picture. The changes that we have recently seen in the political and legal fields have moved the approach to the problem to an entirely new stage. Interventions against the relatives of those who were disappeared are an extension of claims that "what you are saying never actually happened." However, these events *did* happen, and there are ECtHR rulings about most of them. And so just as the demands of the Saturday Mothers are completely understandable from a human perspective, they also have a strong legal basis.

There is a lot of controversy about the figures. How many "perpetrator unknown" cases are there in Turkey?
No human rights organizations have any corroborated statistical data on this. We do, however, have data related to enforced disappearances.

"OVER 7000 EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS, AND APPROXIMATELY 1350 ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES."

What is the difference between enforced disappearances and "perpetrator unknown" cases?
Enforced disappearance refers to when a person is taken by state officials, or people or organizations operating under their orders, and then placed outside the protection of law and is never heard of again. Most of the time their bodies are never found. In cases of extrajudicial killings, commonly known [in Turkey] as "perpetrator unknown" cases, the body is found but the perpetrator is "unknown". According to estimates, in Turkey the number of extrajudicial killings is higher than that of enforced disappearances. The Human Rights Association [İHD] estimates extrajudicial killings at over seven thousand. According to studies carried out by the Human Rights Association and the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey [TİKV] as well as by *Hafıza Merkezi*, the number of enforced disappearances, in other words people who disappeared while in custody, is around 1,350. The number of individual corroborated cases is over 500.

"THERE IS NO CRIME OF 'ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE' UNDER TURKISH LAW!"

In what year did this start?
In 1980, of course. But the method of enforced disappearances became more widespread in the 1990s. Between 1980 and 1990 an estimated 33 people were disappeared. Between 1990 and 2000 there was a horrifying increase in this number. As was seen in the Temizöz and Others case, there were a number of secret interrogation centers. People were taken there and interrogated, and according to allegations, their bodies were buried in places where they would never be found. In international legal literature, there are significant differences between enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings. The relatives of those whose bodies are never found cannot grieve, and are therefore subjected to an ongoing inhuman treatment. This is the basic feeling behind the demand for their bones to be returned. Even though there is a parliamentary report that confirms that Cemil Kırbayır was disappeared, his mother, Berfo Kırbayır, lived until 104 without ever finding out what happened to her son. What's more, there is no crime of "enforced disappearance" under Turkish law.

How is that possible?
In 2005, during the EU harmonization process, some important additions related to crimes about humanity were introduced into the Turkish Penal Code. However, "enforced disappearance" was not defined as a crime within these modifications. Therefore a large number of the enforced disappearances that occurred during the 1990s were investigated as "homicides", a crime that was valid at the time, in other words as individual murders.

Why is it important for enforced disappearances to be considered crimes against humanity?
First of all, there is no statute of limitations on crimes against humanity. But when events are legally considered as individual murders, once 20 years have passed the statute of limitation period is expired and the case can be dismissed, just as we saw in the 12 September case.

HAFIZA MERKEZİ'S FIGHT AGAINST IMPUNITY AND THE ROLE OF TRIAL MONITORING

Ever since its foundation,* Hafıza Merkezi *has carried out complementary projects with a focus on examining the attitude of the judiciary towards 'immunity', a long-running multidimensional state practice in Turkey that has been passed down by successive governments and approved by judicial practices.

Although the victims, form and dimensions of human rights violations may vary at different times of the country's history, such violations have been present in every period in Turkey, while their perpetrators have continually benefited from impunity. The continuous nature of this practice of impunity can therefore be seen as part of a political culture or state policy. Determining the legal resources and judicial practices that perpetuate such practices is therefore essential in the fight to bring an end to this culture of impunity.[1]

Hafıza Merkezi was founded in 2011, with the aim of bringing to light the truth about past human rights violations, strengthening the collective memory, and supporting those affected by such violations to find justice. Ever since its foundation, *Hafıza Merkezi* has carried out complementary projects with a focus on examining the conduct of the judiciary towards 'impunity', a long-running multidimensional state practice in Turkey that has been passed down by successive governments and approved by judicial practices.

One of *Hafıza Merkezi*'s first projects was in the field of documentation, and aimed to provide factual corroboration about enforced disappearances, a practice that became increasingly widespread in the 1990s and about which no exact statistics were available.[2] An examination of the legal data and narratives of victims' relatives that were collected during the three years of field work provided a concrete framework through which to discuss how the perpetrators of enforced disappearances were protected by an shield of impunity; how the right to truth of the victims' relatives — and indeed the whole of society — was violated; the problems were faced during the trials and investigations; the mechanisms that prevented the victims' relatives from obtaining justice; and the tools and mechanisms developed by the state for this purpose.

As a follow up to this project, we worked on determining the legal regulations that lead to impunity and examining the most problematic areas in terms of the practice of the law.[3]

During the period when *Hafıza Merkezi* was focusing on this multidimensional issue of impunity through judicial practices, a series of cases and investigations were opened — due in part to the influence of the Ergenekon investigation, which was launched in 2007 — into gross human rights violations of the past that were committed by state officials, extrajudicial killings whose perpetrators had never been found, enforced disappearances and political assassinations. These cases and investigations raised the possibility of the perpetrators of the gross human rights violations of the 1990s being taken to trial, causing a wave of excitement among the victims' relatives and sparking the hope that justice would be served.

Not only did these cases provide the possibility of courtrooms serving as a space of accountability in which the perpetrators who had always been protected by an shield of impunity being treated as suspects, and the events that had always been legitimized being treated as a crime, but they would also provide a platform for the victims' relatives, who had spent years trying in vain to make the public authorities see the truth, to make their voices heard, and present the facts to a section of the polarized society who was previously unaware of the truths about these violations, and as such open up the issue to public debate and present the public with an alternative source of information.[4]

The opening of such symbolic cases that confront the past made human rights organizations aware of trial monitoring as a method of fighting against impunity.

[1] For a detailed analysis of this observation, see The Impunity Problem: Investigation Process, *https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak_tipi/publications/*

[2] For the database created using the data collected over three years of fieldwork, see *http://www.zorlakaybedilenler.org. Two complementary reports analyzing the collected data were published. See The Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances for a sociological analysis of the data, and Enforced Disappearances and the Conduct of the Judiciary for a legal analysis.* The reports can be accessed via our website: https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak_tipi/publications/

[3] Two reports were published on this issue: The Impunity Problem: Investigation Process, and Türkiye'nin Cezasızlık Mevzuatı ['Turkey's Laws of Impunity', report available in Turkish only]. The reports can be accessed via our website: *https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak_tipi/publications/* for English reports; *https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/kaynak_tipi/yayinlarimiz/* for Turkish reports.

[4] For an in-depth analysis see Melis Gebeş, "Ağır İnsan Hakları İhlallerinde Ceza Adaleti" in *Dava İzleme: Duruşma Salonunda Devlet ve Yurttaş*, pp. 22-30 ["Criminal Justice for Gross Human Rights Violations", report available in Turkish only]. *https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/kaynak_tipi/yayinlarimiz/*

Hearing in the Lice Trial, 18 May 2017 / Illustration by Bilge Emir

Hearing in the Lice Trial, 16 February 2017 / Illustration by Su Vardal

Hearing in the Yavuz Ertürk (Kulp) Trial, 12 June 2017 / Illustration by Bilge Emir

In 2010, as part of its Democratization Program, the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) launched a project called "Human Rights Trial Monitoring" that aimed to examine cases that confront the past through the judicial process, and began to monitor the case of *Temizöz and Others.* These trial-monitoring activities, which involve the observation of judicial practices in cases of state officials accused of gross human rights violations, were carried out with the aim of objectively recording what happened in the courtrooms, creating a publicly accessible archive based on reliable information, and raising public awareness about the issue of impunity.

As part of its monitoring activities, *Hafıza Merkezi*, along with the *failibelli.org* website (which *Hafıza Merkezi* took over in 2015) determined a list of critical cases that provide a foundation from which to confront a violent past: The cases of Yavuz Ertürk (Kulp); Nezir Tekçi; Kızıltepe JİTEM; Dargeçit JİTEM; Mete Sayar (Görümlü); Naim Kurt; Ankara JİTEM; Vartinis (Altınova); Lice; Musa Anter and JİTEM; Temizöz and Others; Musa Çitil. Monitoring continued throughout 2016 for cases in which trials were ongoing.

MONITORING IN 2017

Hafıza Merkezi's trial monitoring work, which involves monitoring and reporting on court hearings, was initially carried out by the *Hafıza Merkezi* team and later by an independent observer or sometimes by a journalist. In 2017 *Hafıza Merkezi*'s trial-monitoring practices took on a more systematic form.

From 30 September to 2 October 2016 a widely attended training session, *"Transitional Justice in Ongoing Conflicts: Mechanisms, International Experience and Turkey"*, was held in partnership with the Şırnak Bar Association. Following the completion of the training, trial-monitoring teams were formed.

In 2017 the monitoring teams, made up of lawyers, social scientists, journalists and visual artists, prepared a manual entitled *"Trial Monitoring as a Tool in the Fight against Immunity"*, based on the general framework prepared by the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, an international organization that applies the most systematic, methodical and comprehensive trial-monitoring practices.

Before carrying out the victim-centered monitoring activities, a "letter of attendance" was sent to the court. During hearings, independent observers monitored everything from the physical conditions of the courtroom to the attitudes of the actors in the judicial process.

Based on international standards, the trial-monitoring manual was developed to provide principles to be followed when carrying out monitoring activities. This made it possible for teams monitoring different cases to document their observations and the main issues that appeared in their reports according to the same standards. This made it possible to evaluate the overall approach of the judiciary to widespread and systematic occurrences of gross human rights violations.

NEW CASES IN 2018

Hafıza Merkezi's monitoring work began with cases related to widespread and systematic extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances committed by state officials in the 1990s. Over time, however, the scope of this work expanded and we anticipate that it will continue to expand in coming years.

In 2018, four of the ten critical cases that were expected to form a basis for confronting the country's violent past ended in acquittal. View these verdicts of acquittal alongside the decline in the fields of human rights and the rule of law in Turkey over the past three years, makes it clear that, as well as the cases that were already being monitored, there is a need to monitor critical cases that underscore the fact that when events of the past are carried over to the present, and perpetrators of past human rights violations are not brought to justice, it invites new violations and demonstrate the ongoing culture of impunity.

As such, we expanded the scope of our monitoring work to include categories such as cases related to deaths as a result of police/military violence during protests or gatherings, everyday violations of civilians' right to life, deaths caused by tanks and armored vehicles, and civilians targeted during conflicts.

In 2018, therefore, we started to monitor the cases of Berkin Elvan, Barış Kerem and Oğuzhan Erkul, Hrant Dink, Enes Ata and Mahsum Mızrak, Medeni Yıldırım, Kemal Kurkut, Şahin Öner, and Muhammed and Furkan Yıldırım. What made these monitoring activities different from those of previous years was that they were carried out not by monitoring teams but by lawyers and journalists working as observers (mostly joined by the *Hafıza Merkezi* team). The expansion of the scope of our monitoring work enabled us to carry out a current and concrete analysis of the conduct of the judiciary related to various aspects of state violence.

PERPETRATOR NOT UNKNOWN: TWO MORE CASES END IN ACQUITTAL

In the* Faili Belli *[Perpetrator Not Unknown] project, we follow the few cases that have been opened into crimes of enforced disappearance and extrajudicial killing carried out by state officials in the 1990s. Although two of these cases — the cases of Lice and Kulp (Yavuz Ertürk) — ended in acquittal in 2018, we continue to monitor four trials that we believe serve to confront the past.

THE LICE CASE

The **Lice Case** was opened in 2013 to prosecute the military operations that resulted in the deaths of 15 civilians, soldier Yüksel Bayar, and then Gendarme District Commander, Brigadier Bahtiyar Aydın. In the indictment for this case, former Diyarbakır Gendarme Regiment Commander, Eşref Hatipoğlu, was charged with "multiple homicide for the same motive, inciting public disorder and murder, and forming a criminal organization," and Lieutenant Tünay Yanardağ with "first-degree murder, inciting public disorder and murder, and forming a criminal organization".

Initially heard at the Diyarbakir 8th Assize Court, the case was later transferred to Eskişehir by the 5th Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation "on grounds of security". The panel of judges sent the case back to Diyarbakır because there was no specially authorized court in Eskişehir, and from there the case was once more transferred, this time to Izmir.

In the final hearing of the case, held on 7 December 2018, defendant Eşref Hatipoğlu was acquitted due to lack of sufficient and convincing evidence, while the case against Tünay Yanardağ was dropped due to insufficient evidence to prosecute and the defendant's death in 2015.

THE KULP (YAVUZ ERTÜRK) CASE

On 5 November 2004, a mass grave was uncovered containing the bones of 11 people who had been taken into custody, never to be seen again, during military operations that took place from 8-25 October 1993 in the Diyarbakır district of Kulp. The operations were carried out by the Bolu 2nd Commando Brigade, under the command of General Yavuz Ertürk. In the 2013 indictment that led to the opening of the **Kulp (Yavuz Ertürk)** case, Ertürk, was charged with "multiple homicide for the same motives, inciting public disorder and murder, and forming a criminal organization".

Although the indictment was accepted by the Diyarbakır 7th Assize Court, the Kulp (Yavuz Ertürk) Case was later moved to Ankara "on grounds of security". In the final hearing of the case, held on 19 September 2018, the charges brought against Yavuz Ertürk of "forming a criminal organization" were dropped due to the expiration of the statute of limitation period and the defendant was acquitted of the crimes of the willful murder of 11 people and of inciting public disorder.

WHAT HAVE WE DONE?

As part of the *Faili Belli* project, we have been following the **Lice Case** (opened 2 September 2013) since 17 March 2016. We monitored the three hearings held in relation to the case in 2017, and four in 2018.

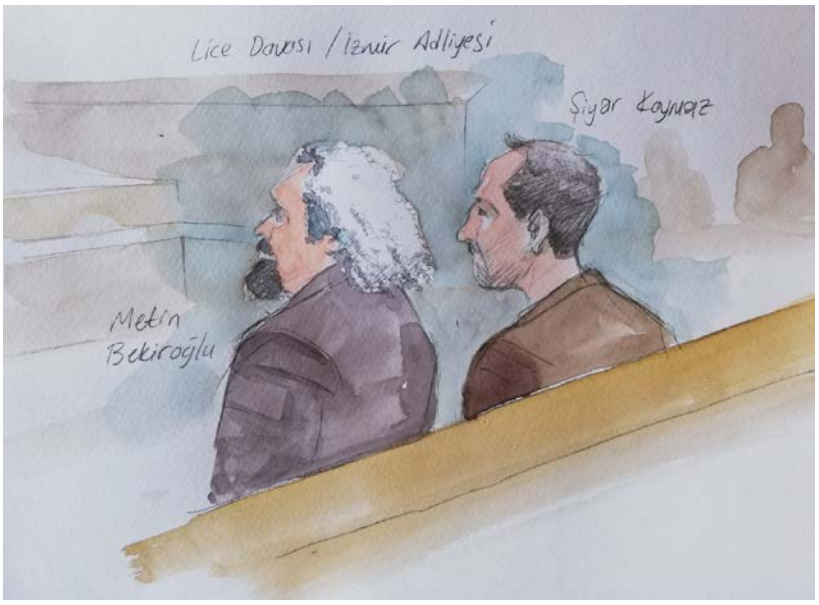
We have been monitoring the **Kulp (Yavuz Ertürk) Case** (opened 25 December 2013) since 8 December 2015. We monitored the four hearings in 2017, and three in 2018.

Prior to the hearings, teams were established to follow the case and prepare reports on the hearings. Artists also joined the teams at times, producing sketches from the courtroom. Members of the *Hafıza Merkezi* team also attended some of these hearings.

Awareness campaigns were carried out in advance of the hearings. Before each hearing an updated summary of the case was prepared and shared on social media platforms together with visuals containing information on the hearing and images related to the trial. Information bulletins were also sent to media organizations to remind the public of the case and of what had happened in previous hearings.

We published live updates about developments in the hearings via social media. For hearings we were unable to attend ourselves, we tried to share posts of those who were present at the court.

Following the hearings, we compiled news stories related to the hearing, and selected one of to publish on our own website. We again shared information about the hearings on our social media accounts. Reports prepared by the monitoring teams, which included detailed information about the hearings, were published on our website, and announcements were made on our social media accounts in an effort to share them reports with a wider audience. The sections of our website related to each case were updated based on the hearing reports and court minutes.



Hearing in the Lice Trial, 7 December 2018. Illustration by Murat Başol.

LATEST HEARINGS

In 2014, the case of Musa Çitil, another of the cases we followed, ended in a similar way to the cases mentioned above, as did the Görümlü (Mete Sayar) and the Temizöz and Others cases in 2015, and the Vartinis Case in 2016. One of the many similarities in the investigation and prosecution processes in these different cases is that they were all transferred, on grounds of "security", to areas of the country far from where the crimes were committed. The Lice Case is being heard in Izmir, the Kulp Case in Ankara. This presents a number of difficulties for the victims and their lawyers in terms of attending the hearings in order to follow the details of the trial.

As part of our project we tried to ensure a high level of attendance at the latest hearings, held in 2018, in the Lice and Kulp cases.

AMICUS CURIAE BRIEFS

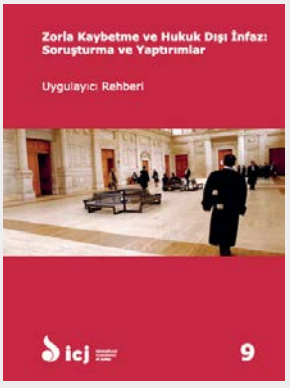
One way for rights-based civil society organizations to participate in the legal process is to present, through an *amicus curiae* brief, information or an opinion to the court on cases to which they are not party, to assist the court in forming a judicial opinion. *Hafiza Merkezi*, along with other national and international human rights organizations, presented its first *amicus curiae* to the Constitutional Court in relation to the individual application about the enforced disappearance of Hasan Gülünay. Through the brief we brought to the attention of the court the fact that according to international law such practices are defined as enforced disappearances and constitute a crime, information on the different elements of this crime, the special characteristics that investigations into this crime should hold, and judicial practices in other countries where this crime has been widely and/or systematically committed. By presenting an analysis of ongoing documentation work about the approach of the judiciary to enforced disappearances in Turkey, the *amicus curiae* drew attention to the gap between national legal practices and international laws/standards, while also offering suggestions on how to close this gap. For the published version of this *amicus curiae* brief: *https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak/amicus-curiae-report-on-enforced-disappearances/*

Following this, we worked with academics specializing in the field of human rights law to present to the Constitutional Court two further *amicus curiae* briefs on more specific issues related to the crime of enforced disappearance. Among the issues these briefs covered were the application of the statute of limitations in cases of enforced disappearances in international and comparative human rights law, the recognition of the right to truth of victims' relatives and society as a whole, and norms, jurisprudence, principles and approaches about the continuity of the practice of enforced disappearance. With these *amicus curiae* we supported the Constitutional Court, which thus far had no fixed jurisprudence on the issue, to form suitable jurisprudence and ultimately make judgments that would help bring to light the truth about enforced disappearances and to identify the perpetrators and give them appropriate sentences.

On their 694th gathering, Saturday Mothers of Turkey demanded justice for Hasan Gülünay once more.

PUBLICATION: "ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE AND EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTION: INVESTIGATION AND SANCTION"

One of *Hafiza Merkezi*'s aims is to mobilize human rights organizations and young human rights activists who are working towards uncovering the truth about gross human rights violations of the past, bringing the perpetrators of these violations to justice and obtaining remedies and reparations for victims. In line with this aim, we published the Turkish translation of the International Commission of Jurists' guidebook, "Enforced Disappearance and Extrajudicial Execution: Investigation and Sanction". This publication looks at the obligation of states to carry out effective investigations and prosecutions against the crimes of enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution in order to give proportional penalties to the perpetrators, and the importance of the role played by forensic science during this process. As well as offering examples of national court decisions in South America, where such crimes are widely and systematically committed, the report also shares examples of milestone jurisprudence established by regional human rights courts of those countries, demonstrating how different judicial systems around the world have dealt with these crimes. The arguments developed in this publication will offer inspiration and new perspectives to those involved in legal battles in Turkey.



TWO AWARDS FOR MURAT ÇELİKKAN IN 2018

In 2018, the Civil Rights Defender of the Year Award and the International Hrant Dink Award both went to* Hafıza Merkezi*'s co-director, Murat Çelikkan.

Photo credit: David Lagerlöf

In 2018, Murat Çelikkan, co-director of *Hafıza Merkezi*, was named Civil Rights Defender of the Year by the organization Civil Rights Defenders, as well as the International Hrant Dink Award, which is given every year to commemorate Hrant Dink's birthday. On 16 May 2017, Murat Çelikkan was sentenced to 18 months in prison under the Anti-Terrorism law, on the grounds of news reports that appeared in Özgür *Gündem* on the day he was serving as the newspaper's "Editor-in-Chief on Watch". After being held in Kırklareli Prison for 68 days, Çelikkan was released on probation on 21 October 2017. Below are extracts from his acceptance speeches for the two awards.

"I am here not only because of my work, but also because of the efforts of my colleagues and the human rights defenders in my country. I am here because others went out onto the streets, or into prison, to defend their beliefs. I am here because human rights defenders like Hrant Dink and Tahir Elçi lost their lives in this struggle. I am here because women in Turkey continue to march for their rights. I am here because despite all the obstructions and threats, the LGBTI community in Turkey is determined to hold a Pride march. I am here because despite the threat of imprisonment, people continue to raise their voices for peace, because human rights defenders continue to defend Kurdish villages that are under siege and to document the rights abuses, and all this under very difficult conditions. I am here because of the giant steps taken by those who came before me. The giants may sleep for a while, but they very rarely die. And they have very long memories." **From Murat Çelikkan's acceptance speech for the Civil Rights Defender of the Year Award.**

"We live in a country that is trying to criminalize every humane, democratic and peaceable demand. Like justice, truth is also being overtaken by tyranny. It is becoming difficult to talk about truth or its power; and easier to talk about the power of beliefs. We live in a Turkey dominated by whatever those in power want people to believe. Truth is now dictated by those with the power to enforce belief in what they want people to believe, and justice functions in complete subjection to this power; which is to say, it does not function. Yet despite this negativity, those who pursue truth have not ceased to exist. They do not become exhausted. They do not allow societal memory to form in the way dictated by those in power; they do not allow justice to function like a scourge of the administration, or the obstruction of truth. Whatever their jobs and professions, they are defenders of human rights." **From Murat Çelikkan's acceptance speech at the Hrant Dink Awards.**

TELLING THE NEW GENERATION ABOUT THE 1990S

In late 2018, we organized a panel series entitled "Visualization, New Technologies and Collective Memory", with the aim of learning about successful examples of the use of innovative forms of narration to raise awareness about human rights issues and to learn from the experience of such examples. The panel series' coordinator, Kerem Çiftçioğlu, told Agos's Uygar Gültekin about the project.

In Turkey, a country whose past is interwoven with rights violations, enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings, there are a number of civil society organizations working on how to confront this past. A great deal of work is being carried out into documenting and telling the truth about rights violations. However, raising the public visibility of such work is a difficult task. Such organizations face serious obstacles in making their projects, which receive no state funding or support, visible in the public arena. Increasing levels of internet and social media use in Turkey provide civil society with a significant space for discussion, yet no real effective methods of doing so have been developed. *Hafıza Merkezi* therefore launched a project aiming to help organizations working in the field of rights violations to make use of creative forms of narration. Attempts are being made to prepare the ground for creative forms of narration through fields such as virtual reality, game development and animation, and this panel series aims to spark debate on a broad range of topic. Held on Friday 26 October on the subject of 'Virtual Reality', the first panel in the series was met with a high level of interest. Coordinator of the panel series, Kerem Çiftçioğlu, told *Agos* about this project in which *Hafıza Merkezi* focuses on new forms of narration.

Could you tell us a little about the scope of the project?

At *Hafıza Merkezi* we have been putting a great deal of thought into how we can present our work using innovative forms and methods of narration. The first activity we organized in this field was a workshop in early 2017, in which we met with people working in creative industries such as **data visualization**, **graphic design**, **video editing**, **animation** and **programming**. We asked them how we could tell the stories of the victims of enforced disappearance. We told them about our work and presented them with our data. This gave them concrete material with which to work, and during the one-day workshop they developed different prototypes. Since they were able to use real data, it was a fruitful workshop that brought real results. Participants came up with somewhere around ten or fifteen project prototypes. And the atmosphere and spirit of the workshop was very unusual for people used to working in the field of human rights. It was a very motivating experience. Out of the projects we liked, we drew up a list of the ones that were feasible and began working on them. We're working on developing those. One of the projects was *Kayıplar Lügâtı* [Dictionary of the Disappeared]. Most probably inspired by the 'Lügât365' project, this project takes a word and its standard dictionary definition, alongside which we place its meaning in the world of enforced disappearances. We envisioned this idea as a mini-campaign in which we would share visuals over social media. The information we share is usually factual, and we wanted to add an emotional layer to this. We received very positive feedback about this campaign. A few other similar ideas were turned into concrete projects that we are have continued to work on. We found the entire process very inspiring and developed a step-by-step model to be followed. We are currently working on a new project within this framework. We plan to hold a practical workshop bringing together eight civil society organizations with people working in the creative industries. Our aim is to develop eight different projects by turning the organizations' data into creative communications projects. We are organizing panels to run in parallel with this. This has been a learning process for us and an opportunity for development. The practical aspect of the work means that the workshops could only be held with a limited number of people, so the panels allowed us to think aloud and reach more people.

We want to have an open discussion about how we can systematically use innovative methods to tell our story and, as organizations working in the field of human rights, in particular the truth about past rights violations. The forms of narration that inspired us were not only visualization projects. For example, game development can also be a form of narration. It can be an educational tool. You can tell a story through games, and there are inspirational examples of this from around the world. It is in this context that we are organizing a series of panels. In each of these panels we will be focusing on fields such as virtual reality, game development, data visualization and visual documentation.

Was there a particular need that led to all your work in this field?

After the curtain was closed on what was a relatively more democratic period in the country, using public spaces in Turkey for work on collective memory is not easy. Therefore the need arose for us to be able to express ourselves more effectively in digital spheres. We are aware that the digital space is also becoming more restricted, that things we share are being tracked, but we're not only speaking of using social media. Explaining our work in a more creative way is not just an issue of corporate communications. It's an opportunity to implement different ideas, ideas that are out of the ordinary. We need to create new spaces, new public spheres. Usually, in a country that has gone through the transition to democracy, or that has at least broken with the oppressive period of the past, the work that we do would

receive state support and could be carried out in public spaces. For example, there were discussions of turning the Diyarbakır prison into a museum, and this was a very realistic expectation. But now such expectations are no longer realistic.

But even if the room for maneuver of civil society organizations had not become so restricted, we would still want to learn about the communication tools that use innovative methods to reach out to the new generation.

Do human rights organizations tend to be a little outdated in terms of their communications methods?
In some ways it's a generational issue. Sometimes, when they are trying to tell their story they focus very much on themselves, with issues of form and aesthetics taking second place. This is a shortcoming in works in the field of human rights that we are trying to overcome this. We want to expand our range of connections and build a broader platform for discussion.

Is it becoming increasingly difficult to tell your story to younger generations?
It's very hard for us. When speaking among ourselves, we use shortcuts in the way we speak that we don't feel the need to explain. But it is more difficult to tell the story of what happened in the 1990s to the younger generation and to people who know nothing about it. We need to acquire those skills. We need to come up with forms of narration that will keep this interest alive.

I'd like to talk about another of the ideas that was suggested last year. We haven't yet launched the project publicly. The idea is to hold a virtual exhibition of objects that are symbolic in terms of enforced disappearances. The site will resemble an online second-hand store, selling retro items from the 1990s. But when you enter the site, the things for sale will be memorabilia from the 1990s, products such as Walkman, Tetris, or fish crackers, as well as items that symbolize extrajudicial executions and the deep state of the 1990s, such as facemasks, walkie-talkies or white Renault Toros cars. This idea, for example, is not the kind of idea that could come from someone from the world of human rights. It's an idea that can only be suggested by someone whose mind works in a different way. That's why people like this need to be in contact with those working in the field of human rights. What I personally find interesting, as much as the results, are the relationships created by this process. Civil society organizations working in this field have learned the importance of communication, but what we are talking about goes beyond that. Simply managing social media accounts and preparing newsletters isn't enough. And therefore we need models for collaboration. We need to open ourselves up to other fields to enable so that we can collaborate with them.

Are human rights organizations resistant to such new ways of learning?
On paper they say it is important, but they're not equipped to follow through. So in that sense they are resistant to it. And they don't completely understand it. Younger activists are more involved but they aren't in a position to influence the organization. They're not so insistent.

Are there any disadvantages to this project?
We are going to collaborate with different NGOs who work on monitoring. We want them to come with concrete data that can be worked with. It's difficult to coordinate all these different organizations. After all, it's a bit of an experimental process. There's always the risk that the organizations won't really adopt it and carry it through. We've set aside a budget for the project and we hope to be able to create motivation among the relevant organizations.

Source:
Agos, 5 November 2018
http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/21494/yeni-nesile-90lari-anlatmak

Photo by Berge Arabian.

BUILDING BONDS WITH CREATIVE DISCIPLINES: HACKATHON

We believe in the importance of using innovative forms of narration to tell our stories in a more effective way, and so we are trying to develop closer relationships with creative disciplines. The process of building such bonds — a new experience for us — began with the* 'hackathon' *event we held at the beginning of 2017.

"Glasses", Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum.

The picture above is, in literal terms, a photo of a pile of glasses. However, when we view this photograph, taken in Auschwitz, in the context in which it is exhibited and with the knowledge of what happened there, it is clear that it tells us much more that its basic visual representation. Images of bodies destroyed in the crematoriums may be too difficult to look at, too painful. It is easier to look, instead, at images of these glasses that have been separated from their wearers and grouped with categorical precision, or of the shoes or shaven locks of hair that are on display in other sections of the museum. Such visual representations therefore become an analogy of the tragic events, telling us much more about them than words or statistics ever could.

When we think of the fight for human rights in terms of disciplines, the main fields that come to mind are law and social sciences. And at *Hafıza Merkezi*, we regularly make active use of these disciplines in our work on human rights violations, whether in the field of documentation or legal intervention. However, we have to admit that beyond these fields which offer a structural description of the change we want to bring about, we lack strength in the area of representative narrations through which we can connect with people's feelings and experiences. However, in the world of today, there is a growing variety in the forms of visual narrative, while the repertoire of tools in this field is rapidly expanding.

Based on these observations and the needs of our field, we at *Hafıza Merkezi* give importance to the use innovative forms of narration to tell our stories in a more effective way. As such, we are trying to develop closer relationships with creative disciplines. This goal was laid out using similar language in our previous activity report (2015-2016), and we are pleased to be able to say that we carried out the steps we had anticipated.

The process of building such bonds — a new experience for us — began with an event we held at the beginning of 2017. This event was organized in the form of a *hackathon*, in which we gave data collected by *Hafıza Merkezi* to 40 participants from creative disciplines in order to get their ideas and suggestions. During the hackathon we asked, "How can we tell the truth about enforced disappearances in Turkey?" As well as discussing this question from a new perspective, participants in the *hackathon* — from fields such as scriptwriting, graphic design, programming, cinema, gaming, visual arts and corporate communications — came up with ideas about our questions and then turned those ideas into project prototypes.

DICTIONARY OF THE DISAPPEARED

One of the ideas put forward here was turned into a small social media campaign that same year. The project was the idea of Pınar İlkiz, who also worked together with us on the campaign. She told us where the idea came from:

"It's like when Oğuz Atay says, 'Words, words, my captain... They don't mean certain things.' So there are the words we know, and there are words that mean something else to other people. That was my starting point. I wanted to explain our recent past through words that carry different meanings for some people."

When it came to putting the idea into practice, Pınar went through *Hafıza Merkezi*'s reports, database and interviews with relatives of the disappeared to come up with a list of words. She then wrote definitions of what those words mean to the families of the disappeared. These texts were then turned into visuals that were regularly shared through our social media accounts.

Another idea that we had the opportunity to develop was that of a memorial proposed by photographer Anıl Olcan. Anıl suggested taking identity photos of the disappeared and printing them on pieces of marble cut to size. The cyanotype printing technique was used to transfer the photos' negatives onto marble pieces measuring 5 cm x 7.5 cm, and cut to heights between five and fifteen centimeters. Before the memorial itself was revealed to the public, the works were first shown in the presentation video at the Hrant Dink Awards ceremony in 2018, when the award was given to *Hafıza Merkezi*'s co-director, Murat Çelikkan. The photo-memorial was then displayed in our exhibition *Aşıkâr Sır* [Open Secret] at the *Karşı Sanat* gallery from 10-21 May 2018 to mark the International Week of the Disappeared. As well as Anıl Olcan's memorial, the exhibition featured works by Asya Leman, Hacer Foggo, Mert Kaya and *Hafıza Merkezi.*

The relationship-building and project development process that came out of the hackathon was extremely encouraging for us. We have always believed in the importance of using innovative forms of narration to raise the visibility of the work carried out by human rights organizations. However, this process convinced us of the importance of creating platforms that will help enable people from the creative industries to work with data collected by human rights organizations. As a result, we launched a new project called, **"Human Rights and Creative Communication"**, with the aim of developing more systematic relations between the field of human rights and creative industries. Within this project we will bring human rights organizations together with representatives of the creative industries to develop ideas, projects and collaborative practices.

VISUALIZATION, NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

An important part of this relationship-building process is undoubtedly to learn from best practice around the world. Towards the end of 2018, we held two panels that gave us the opportunity to meet with representatives of organizations that had shown us the importance of using innovative forms of narration, and whose works we had admired from afar. In these panel discussions, which were intended to be part of a panel series entitled **"Visualization, New Technologies and Collective Memory"**, we looked at projects that use new technologies to deal with difficult issues. The first panel, on *virtual reality*, was held on 28 October 2018, while the second, which looked at *game design*, took place on 23 November 2018. We envisioned these panels as part of a series in which we would examine the new opportunities for working in the field of collective memory provided by new forms of narration that have arisen through recent developments in fields such as visual communication, technology and pedagogy. However, due to the increasingly difficult political situation in Turkey, we had to postpone the remaining panels in the series.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND CREATIVE COMMUNICATION

At a time when the* Roboski Monument *has been torn down, the Saturday Mothers' protests have been banned, and public funding for filmmaking is being cut, can we still find new and original ways to explain and understand the past?

"Game Design" Panel, 23 November 2018.

We are living in a time of "post-truth", a time when the issue of right- and left-wing populism is a topic of constant debate, and when the concept of human rights in Turkey is under serious attack. The space for civil society is becoming increasingly restricted. All of this makes it necessary for those working in the field of human rights to try new ways to explain themselves and the issues they fight for, and to learn skills and strategies from other disciplines. For some time now, we at *Hafıza Merkezi* have been rethinking our fields of work — while retaining our main focus of confronting the past — in relation to the distressing problems we face today. One question we have spent a great deal of time considering is this: **What opportunities can be offered in terms of sharing information about gross human rights violations with a wider audience by developing technologies, new forms of expression and collaborations with different disciplines?**

At *Hafıza Merkezi*, an organization whose focus is on confronting the past, the issue of explaining events is an important one, as it is a way of democratizing people's relationship with the past. This requires the story being told to encourage people to think about and learn different narratives of the past. The practice known as *memorialization*, a common example of works on this issue around the world, is increasingly attracting attention. A common example of this practice is the creation of memory sites in which former centers of torture are turned into museums. Monuments, commemorations and films are other ways of raising awareness of victims' suffering, while also making us question how such disasters were possible.

But at a time when the Roboski Monument has been torn down, the Saturday Mothers' protests have been banned, and public funding for filmmaking is being cut, can we still find new and original ways to explain and understand the past? We have no other choice but to try new methods, learn from different disciplines and continue to do what needs to be done.

As part of our work in the field of **"Human Rights and Creative Communication"**, which aims to increase interaction between human rights actors and the creative industries, and through this to create new ways of narrating the past, we held panels on **"Visualization, New Technologies and Collective Memory"**. Our aim was to learn about successful examples of awareness raising in the field of human rights through innovative forms of narration and to learn from such experience.

VIRTUAL REALITY

The first panel in the series focused on the new and developing field of virtual reality. Moderated by producer Cihan Aslı Filiz, the panel hosted journalist and filmmaker Benedict Moran and film director Deniz Tortum.

Moran showed clips from his films — *Battle of Mosul*, which was filmed during clashes with ISIS, *On the Brink of Famine*, which tells the story of famine in South Sudan, and *Out of Sight*, which documents health workers battling tropical diseases in Nigeria and Congo — to present an overview of current debates about the possibilities offered to the fields of journalism and documentary filmmaking by methods such as virtual reality, 360-degree videos and augmented reality.

The second speaker on the panel was Deniz Tortum, one of the creators of *September 1955*, a virtual reality documentary on the events of 6-7 September 1955. The documentary uses photos from the archives of Maryam Şahinyan and Osep Minasoğlu to put the viewer in the position of a photography studio owner at the center of the two-day long pogrom in which the houses and businesses of non-Muslims were ransacked. Tortum, co-director of the film, pointed to viewers' reactions to the film to highlight the possibilities offered by virtual reality in terms of relating to and gaining experience from history, confrontations with the past, and trauma.

GAME DESIGN

In the second panel of the series we looked at gaming, which has become the biggest branch of the entertainment industry. Moderated by Kerem Çiftçioğlu, *Hafıza Merkezi*'s Communications and Advocacy Coordinator, the panel featured Wojciech Setlak, developer of the computer game *This War of Mine*, and Amaya Galili, Education Coordinator of Israeli human rights organization Zochrot.

Galili began her talk by presenting the games developed by Zochrot, and spoke of the difficulties they faced when writing dialogue for the game *Nakba*, due to the distressing nature of the content. She also spoke of how the team at Zochrot had come across the idea of board games when looking for different ways to give rise to direct discussions on topics such as mass displacement and the right to return, and how they discovered that games provided a more gradual and gentle form of interaction through which to present the topic.

Setlak said that the inspiration for *This War of Mine*, a game that is well known in the gaming community, came from an article they had read on the siege of Sarajevo. He also stated that they were surprised that no games had ever been developed that drew attention to the lives of civilians during war. According to Setlak, the idea that games cannot be serious is a common myth; there are simply good games or bad games. He said that what makes a game good is successful mechanics, and that under the right conditions, games with serious content, such as *This War is Mine*, can provide people with experience that helps them relate to difficult topics.

"Virtual Reality" Panel, 26 October 2018.

WORKSHOP: "COMMUNICATION AND STORYTELLING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS"

In 2018 we held a workshop in Istanbul within the framework of our project, "Strengthening and Protecting Human Rights Defenders", launched in partnership with the Netherlands Helsinki Committee and the Association for Monitoring Equal Right.

In recent years, *Hafıza Merkezi* has focused on sharing the information we produce on enforced disappearances and other areas in which we work with a wider audience, creating new collaborations by bringing together human rights issues and creative industries and tools, and creating a new language and communication strategy.

In 2018, in partnership with the Netherlands Helsinki Committee and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights, we launched the project "Strengthening and Protecting Human Rights Defenders". Under the communications branch of this project, we aim to hold events that will help us further the abovementioned focus and to share the experience we have gathered through newly established networks that aim to bring together organizations and practitioners from different disciplines.

The first of these events was a workshop held in Istanbul on 27-28 November 2018, run in collaboration with our project partners, entitled "Communication and Storytelling for Human Rights Defenders".

This workshop was developed as a result of the need for civil society in Turkey, just as in the rest of the world, to develop more effective strategies by which to share with the public information about the issues covered by human rights organizations, and to establish new alliances and collaborations in the face of growing isolation. Representatives of more than twenty civil society organizations working in various areas of rights participated in the workshop.

The two-day workshop was attended by experts from the field who shared their valuable knowledge and experience, and featured discussions on subjects such as the difficulties of communication in the area of human rights, the power of storytelling to bring about social change, and making use of the techniques of storytelling and digital disruption to establish a framework for public debate. During the workshop participants looked at successful publicity campaign examples from Turkey, held discussions about campaign tools and techniques, language and discourse, and also joined practical sessions on character development and message-building. Recognizing the fact that the majority of human rights defenders carry out their communications work with very limited financial means, participants were presented with useful guidelines for the basic principles to be followed when creating communications, content and social media strategies.

We believe that such workshops, which we hope are of benefit to the participating human rights organizations, will help us build up a body of knowledge and experience while also complementing our experience with *Hackathon* activities, and future projects aimed at capacity development for human rights organizations.


Communication
&
Storytelling
Workshop for
Human Rights Defenders
Istanbul, 27 & 28 November 2018

COLLABORATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: RNHDP AND "GLOBAL ACTION RESEARCH"

At* Hafıza Merkezi*, we do not want our work to become caught up in the country's harsh political agenda to the extent that we become isolated from the rest of the world. Because learning from similar processes in other countries and recognizing that the problems we face and the fight to bring a resolution are not exclusive to Turkey makes us stronger and opens up the possibility of new collaborations.

Since 2013, we have held regular activities that include participation from NGOs working in the fields of historical dialogue and confronting the past from nearby regions — the Middle East, North Africa and South Caucasus — within the *Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past* (RNHDP). The *Alliance for Historical Dialogue and Accountability*, run by the Institute for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University, provided support for the organization of these activities. The two main activities we have carried out in this area are thematic workshops and a summer school, which have welcomed a total of 88 participants from 53 NGOs. Following the 2017 regional workshop on enforced disappearances, we took the decision to carry the activities of this network even further and to carry out a collaborative project on this theme.

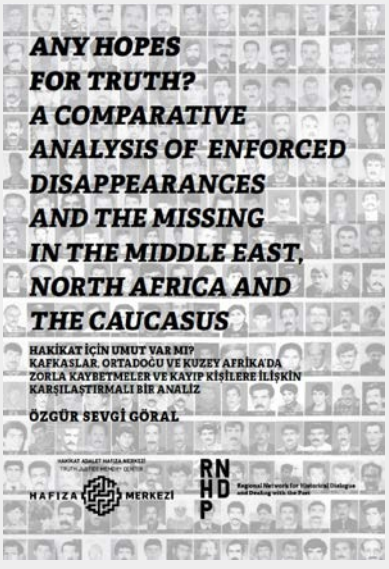
Participating in the January 2017 workshop were activists and researchers working on enforced disappearances from Armenia, Russia, Georgia, Syria, the Kurdistan Region, Iran, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Cyprus and Turkey. For each country, participants presented information about the past and present situation related to enforced disappearances, as well as the political background related to such policies, details of violations, and steps that have been taken to confront the past.

DEJUSTICIA AND "GLOBAL ACTION PROJECT" WORKSHOPS

At the same time, the wave of "nationalism-populism" faced today by those fighting for human rights around the world makes such regional collaboration a vital necessity. Within the last two years, another activity we participated in that enabled us to meet human rights advocates from around the world and develop closer relationships with them were the workshops organized by Dejusticia, a human rights organization based in Bogota, Colombia. These "Global Action Research" workshops, attended by participants from *Hafıza Merkezi* in 2015, 2017 and 2018, are held annually and focus on specific themes on the global human rights agenda, and aim at developing participants' creative writing skills on these themes. Within these workshops, participants were asked to write articles in

PUBLICATION: ANY HOPES FOR TRUTH?

As a result of the 2017 workshop on enforced disappearances, an idea was developed to carry out a comparative scientific analysis of the data presented at the workshop to establish the groundwork for regional collaboration. As a result of this project, *Any Hopes for Truth? A Comparative Analysis of Enforced Disappearances and the Missing in Middle East, North Africa and Caucasus*, written by Özgür Sevgi Göral, was published two years later. With sections on **Russia**, **Armenia-Azerbaijan-Georgia**, **Iran**, **Turkey**, **Lebanon**, **Cyprus** and **Algeria**, the publication takes on a regional perspective to look at enforced disappearances as a shameful issue of our time. With this publication we aimed to draw public attention to the argument that enforced disappearances are not a phenomenon of the past but a crime committed by the state that continues to this day, and to lay the groundwork for projects in the field of regional solidarity that we plan to carry out in 2019.



Participants in the "Global Action Project" workshop organized by human rights organization Dejusticia, September 2017.

line with the *action-research*[1] approach. These articles were then published in English and Spanish in print and digital formats. Participants were also encouraged to write short entries about more urgent issues on the blog *www.amphibiousaccounts.org*. Over the years, the human rights advocates from all over the global south who have participated in these activities have formed a unique and growing network, which has become an important platform for strengthening *Hafıza Merkezi*'s global relationships.

In a world in which the global balance of powers has started to swing in favor of the south, and information and communication technologies and virtual networks are rapidly changing the nature of our relationships, we are also witnessing a time in which the rights we have gained are being eroded. Dejusticia envisioned the network established through the "Global Action Research" workshops as an initiative that would seek solutions to this. The network aims to develop a model of organization and action that differs from the horizontal integration model, in which countries are monitored according to the levels to which they comply with the universal human rights norms traditionally adopted by western-based global NGOs. This model recommends NGOs in the global south use their own expertise related to the context of their country in order to develop regional relationships around a set of common issues. And of course in all of these new processes it is of great importance to use the virtual relationship models offered by new technologies. It is essential for traditional organizations to find common ground with tech-savvy activists of the new generation by following examples offered by digital campaigning platforms such as avaaz.org.

In the coming period, *Hafıza Merkezi* will continue to work towards developing further collaborations within the RNHDP and Global Action Research network, in order to maintain the dynamism of these networks.

Links:
Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past: *http://dealingwiththepast.org/*
January 2017 workshop: *https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/enforced-disappearances-and-the-missing-in-the-caucuses-middle-east-and-north-africa/*
Any Hopes for Truth?: *http://enforceddisappearances.dealingwiththepast.org*
Dejusticia: *https://www.dejusticia.org/en*
Amphibious Accounts: *www.amphibiousaccounts.org*

[1] Dejusticia defines the action-based research approach as 'amphibious', referring to the duality implied in this word to argue that the approach can be used in the fields of both activism and academia without compromising its scientific rigor.

DEFENDING PEACE IN DIFFICULT TIMES

Our* Defending Peace in Difficult Times *project was founded on the belief in the value of producing information about Turkey's 2013-2015 peace process by examining the issue in a comprehensive way, of listening fairly to and analyzing the different views of actors from the worlds of politics and civil society, and of making more concrete comparisons of the process in light of examples from around the world.

Saturday Mothers 700th week, 25 August 2018, Istanbul. Photo by Vedat Arık.

Periods of conflict are times in which we see systematic patterns of violence and widespread gross human rights violations, and as such, it becomes extremely difficult for civil society organizations to carry out their work. Conflict is not only as an issue that impacts the conflicting sides, it also has the effect of aggravating antagonism within the political sphere, social relations and the discourse spread by the tools of mass communication. The harsh language of militarism finds its way into every area. At such times issues are viewed as black and white, while the more nuanced narratives that form the foundation upon which civil society is built, and approaches or alternative interpretations that stray from the mainstream are silenced. Around the world, therefore, periods of conflict tend to be times in which the fields in which civil society organizations can work and make their voices heard become significantly limited.

The impact of conflicts are even more critical for civil society organizations such as *Hafiza Merkezi* who are

working to reveal patterns of gross human rights violations, to strengthen the legal battle against these violations, to find methods of confronting the past and bring those responsible to justice. The possibility of finding a solution to the conflict around the Kurdish issue through democratic and peaceful negotiations completely changed the approach we took to our work. In every area, from strengthening the collective memory on enforced disappearances to bringing the perpetrators to justice, from discussions of new and democratic ways of writing history to conceiving new forms of commemoration, the work we do is directly affected by periods of conflict and attempts to bring peace. This is why *Hafiza Merkezi* has always given great importance to following the negotiations and efforts for peace in relation to the Kurdish issue. In the period of conflict that followed the positive political atmosphere created by the 2013-2015 peace process, we had the chance to observe exactly how the atmosphere of conflict could have a negative impact on the diffusion of our work.

Even after the peace process came crashing down and the conflict flared up again with new intensity, we accepted the important task of continuing to work towards a peaceful resolution. We believe that at a time when politicians are moving further from resolution, negotiations and dialogue, the task that falls to civil society organizations is to contribute to establishing a foundation for dialogue. As such, we began work on the *Defending Peace in Difficult Times* project, which was founded on the belief in the value of producing information about Turkey's 2013-2015 peace process by examining the issue in a comprehensive way, of listening fairly to and analyzing the different views of actors from the worlds of politics and civil society, and of making more concrete comparisons of the process in light of examples from around the world.

LISTENING, ANALYZING, COMPARING

Our project is based on the fundamental idea that it is the duty of civil society to comprehensively analyze the 2013-2015 peace process in Turkey — a process that indicated a significant transformation for politics and society in the country — by listening to different perspectives, and comparing this experience with concrete examples from around the world.

The project is formed of three main pillars:
• Carrying out comprehensive research about the peace process in which we can hear different perspectives;
• Establishing a factual chronology of what happened during the peace process;
• Carrying out study visits to think further about concrete questions raised during our research, through examples and experiences from around the world.

During the research section of the project, we looked for answers to three main questions: How did the peace process develop and why did it fail? What happened after the peace process ended? What were the visions for peace of the different actors involved?
Aiming to find diverse answers to these questions, we carried out semi-structured interviews with 40 people from different segments of society, including representatives of civil society in Istanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakır, members of the business world, rights advocates, journalists, academics and politicians. Our aim was to listen to the different narratives about the beginnings, development and failure of the peace process, without using judgment or criticism, and to do fairly represent each view in order to depict the complex picture that materialized. These interviews greatly contributed to our understanding of the different aspects of this picture. We would therefore like to take this opportunity to once again thank all those who agreed to take part in the interviews as part of this project. Following the interviews we prepared a short evaluation report related to the first question about the development and collapse of the peace process, as well as the second question about what happened after the peace process ended.

The second pillar of the project was to establish a factual inventory of all of the important developments between 2013 and 2015, as well as all of the actors involved in the peace process. The events that occurred during the peace process, the ways in which different actors intervened in and the comments they made about the process became the subject of political debate. Political actors use accusatory language to make a range of claims on different levels and, with the benefit of hindsight, interpret events surrounding the peace process in relation to their current political positions. Actors from civil society are able to give a factual inventory of the period without entering into polemics. Such an inventory can a useful reference for discussing the period, while also serving as a record of the peace process. Our work on the chronology of the peace process is partially complete and we aim to finish our work in this area by the end of the project period.

The final pillar of the project consists of international study visits that aim to provide an opportunity to more closely examine examples from around the world, evaluate the experiences of these countries by looking at concrete issues in relation to Turkey and the peace process, and to encourage in-depth discussions by meeting with members of civil society who played an active role in these processes. Our first two study visits, which took us to Sweden and Norway, and then to Northern Ireland, were extremely productive.

PEACE AS AN OPPORTUNITY

In 2019 we started work on the final stage of this project, which aims to show the visions of peace held by different actors in the peace process. First of all, the project team began by building their knowledge about questions within the field of peace work, different methodological debates and the complex structure of peace processes. This research component of the project was an extremely important and informative experience for us. As we listened to the interviews, we became increasingly aware of the complex and multi-dimensional picture that arose from the factual data, various political affiliations, and different visions, mindsets and emotions surrounding the peace process. The chronology that we prepared reminded us of the existence and importance of the many experiences from the distant past that had been long forgotten. The study visits showed us not only the solutions found by different actors around the world who had faced similar problems, but also that sometimes failure is part of the process. Each section of the project proved to be a rich learning experience for us.

The most important aspect of the project, however, was that it offered us a clear reminder that, like in many examples from around the world, peace processes are not a problem-free, linear process that end with one crowning moment of peace. Above all, peace is an opportunity. It points to an opportunity for creating a space in which a range of actors work together to ensure that the work and perspectives of civil society organizations can be spread more easily, academics can think and produce under the protection of intellectual autonomy, and lawyers can practice for all citizens in formal equality. More importantly, peace offers the best opportunity for the creation of an atmosphere in which different segments of society can discuss politics and openly express different opinions in an atmosphere of political and symbolic equality. We know that the idea of peace and of finding a solution to conflict through political discussions, negotiations and dialogue have strong political and historical roots in this country. Peace is therefore a rootless, abandoned opportunity. Although today it may appear to be injured, battered and neglected, we believe in the unique importance and value of peace as an opportunity. This project was designed and implemented with the aim of contributing, even in the smallest way, to this opportunity. And if we have managed to do so, nothing could make us happier.
Özgür Sevgi Göral

Photo by Vedat Arik

INTERVIEW: PEACE PROCESSES IN THE PHILIPPINES AND INDONESIA

As part of our Defending* Peace in Difficult Times *project, we held a two-day workshop aimed at sharing information about peace processes around the world. We held interviews with workshop participants from the Philippines and Indonesia about the peace processes in their countries, which we then published on our website.

PHILIPPINES: AN INNOVATIVE EXAMPLE OF PEACE BUILDING

The conflict in the Philippines is one of the most protracted in the world, but one that is also going through a long and innovative reconciliation process. Due to this, and its similarities in terms of ethnic nature and prolonged duration, comparisons have been made to the conflict in Turkey. Kristian Herbolzheimer, director of the Transitions to Peace Program at the Conciliation Center, spoke to us about the Philippines experience:

"There's one thing that makes peace processes easier in the Philippines. It is a fact that there is no discussion as to what the problem is, what the root causes are. I think one of the most interesting innovations in the Philippines is that between '92 and '93, there was a national consultation organized by the government asking the people, everybody in the Philippines, **"What does peace mean to you and what do we have to do to get there?"** And after that broad consultation, the country came up with a peace policy which they called the *Six Paths to Peace*. One path is the negotiations, but people also identified five additional paths to peace which are equally important. After that, the government decided to create an Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process: OPAPP. (…) Well I think if I need to highlight two or three [points, the first] would be the framework of the S**ix Paths to Peace: The National Consultation** leading to the peace framework, the international peace framework that will be one of the big highlights. The other one will be a **Ceasefire Monitoring** and the third one would be creating this **international support body** which is composed of states but also of civil society organizations." **Kristian Herbolzheimer**

INDONESIA: PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND KEY MECHANISMS

In terms of the mechanisms employed in its peace process, we believe that the Indonesian case provides important lessons for a future resolution of the conflict in Turkey. We spoke with **Marta Nogareda Morena**, who spent a year in the area as a member of the European Union Aceh Monitoring Mission, about the peace negotiations in Aceh.

"I want to emphasize that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not implemented. And also the Human Rights Court is not yet in place. There are other provisions that were not put in place, but I will underline these because they are probably the ones most connected to our mandate. AMM's human rights mandate was subject to debate also in the European Council. What should it monitor? The whole human rights abuses in Indonesia or only those in the framework of the MoU? So finally, the EU Council decided to have a narrow mandate on human rights, and this we did. But this broader issue of human rights abuses has not yet been solved. (…) And when I saw this documentary, the Act of Killing, I was really, my blood was burning, but I could see that. They were interviewing people that killed in the past. They were in power. They were in local authorities. And that's it. At least the documentary shows the reality but the submission attitude is there…" **Marta Nogareda Morena**

The full interviews can be read on hakikatadalethafiza.org.

DEFENDING PEACE IN DIFFICULT TIMES: STUDY VISITS

As part of the* Defending Peace in Difficult Times *project, we carried out two international study visits. The first of these, in May 20018, took us to the Norwegian capital, Oslo, as well as the Swedish cities of Stockholm and Uppsala, while the second, in January 2019, took us to Belfast in Northern Ireland.

Although 20 years have passed since 1998, the walls separating Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods of Belfast still stand.

The main aim when planning the study visits within the project was to obtain more in-depth information about peace processes around the world, and to take a first-hand look at the activities carried out by organizations working in this field. Peace processes are difficult. It is never easy for parties who have been at war with each other for many years to sit down together at the negotiating table. Simply deciding to solve problems by talking rather than fighting is not enough. That is simply the beginning of entirely new processes and discussions. Societies lose their footing; negotiation tables are set up, knocked over, set up again... And yes, every society and every conflict has its own unique characteristics. However, we believe that listening to different experiences, success stories and mistakes has a great deal to teach us and can offer insight to help us calmly contemplate what has happened in Turkey in recent years, as well as our vision for the future. Another aim of the visits was to form relationships with organizations around the world working in the field of peace studies, and to present our own work to them in order to give them an idea of the discussions taking place in Turkey. We hope that we will form lasting relations with at least some of these organizations and develop opportunities to collaborate in the future.

Our first visit was to Sweden and Norway in May 2018. Historically, Sweden and Norway have played the role of mediator and facilitator in countless peace processes, and it would therefore be no exaggeration to say that these countries are home to organizations with the broadest experience and knowledge in the field of conflict resolution and peace building. As such, both countries have peace institutes and university research centers focusing on peace and conflict resolution studies. During our five-day visit we visited the Norwegian Helsinki Committee, Norwegian Center for Conflict Resolution (NOREF) and Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in Oslo, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in Stockholm and finally the Uppsala University Department of Peace and Conflict Research in Uppsala.

With the broad experience they have built up through their research and their work helping to resolve conflicts in countries around the world, which took place in extremely different social and political contexts, the experts and researchers we met have enabled these organizations to develop an extremely comprehensive perspective on the issues of conflict resolution and peace building. During our meetings in these three cities, we held a comparative discussion of issues such as the presence of a third party, facilitation, mediation, the participation of civil society in peace processes, ceasefire and disarmament, best practice in the documentation of periods of peace and conflict. The organizations

we visited have a great deal of knowledge and experience about issues that present obstacles to the peace process and cause negotiations to fail, but also about what brings parties back to the negotiating table. This visit provided us with deeper insight into the fundamental question within the first stage of the project — "Why did the peace process in Turkey fail?" — and also gave us ideas on how we at *Hafıza Merkezi* can vary our activities in the field of peace studies.

In January 2019 we carried out our second visit to Belfast, where we wanted to learn more about the conflict in Northern Ireland, which is often cited as an example for Turkey. We were excited to be visiting a place that, following years of conflict, had been through a peace process that resulted in the signing of a peace treaty. During our three-day visit to Belfast we met with representatives from the International Fund for Ireland, ARK Research Center – Conflict Archive on the Internet, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, International Conflict Research Center (INCORE), Sinn Féin International, Committee on the Administration of Justice, and Commission for Victims and Survivors.

During our meetings the main issues we discussed were the solutions found for political crises that arose during the process leading to the Good Friday Agreement, which was signed in 1998; the current situation regarding social inequality and the split between the Catholic and Protestant communities, which was the main cause of the conflict; practices of confronting the past; and the current political climate as a result of Brexit. Although 20 years have past since the Good Friday Agreement, the walls that separate Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods still stand, indicating that a significant step in confronting the past has not been taken. This, combined with the prospect of the conflict being reignited as a result of Brexit, once again reminded us that the road to peace is a long and complex one. In Belfast we saw very clearly that building peace is not simply about the signing of a treaty at the end of a successful peace process, and that even after this has happened, ensuring trust and reconciliation among the public is in itself a difficult process. Although the excitement we felt when on our way to Belfast gave way to a certain level of pessimism, these meetings were extremely enlightening in that they made us rethink the idea of what the peace process means and showed us the necessity of building peace in parallel to broader political and social processes. In the first meeting we held during this visit we had the opportunity to share with participants details of our first study visit, and our presentation gave rise to extremely productive discussions. We will be sharing reports about these study visits on our website in the coming months.

REPORT: SEEKING PEACE TRANSFORMING THE LAW: THE CASE OF WOMEN'S COURTS

Written by Özlem Kaya and Özgür Sevgi Göral, this report is the second concrete output of our belief that rights violations, and the pursuits of truth and justice in the context of these violations, as well as discussions on transitional justice must be gendered.

One of the main focuses of the Memory Studies Program is to analyze rights violation on a gender basis. In 2014, Özlem Kaya and Hatice Bozkurt from the Memory Studies Program wrote the report *Holding Up the Photograph: Experiences of the Women Whose Husbands were Forcibly Disappeared*. The report was written with the belief that the phenomenon of enforced disappearance can be better understood by taking into account the experiences of the wives of the disappeared, and with a feminist approach that holds that the women's experiences are a subject for analysis in their own right.

The second concrete output of our belief that rights violations, and the pursuits of truth and justice in the context of these violations, as well as discussions on transitional justice must be gendered was the report *Seeking Peace Transforming the Law: The Case of Women's Courts.* This report is comprised of three sections that discuss "women's courts", a mechanism that can create a space for pursuits of truth and justice and for the struggles for peace carried out by women in Turkey and on a global scale. The first section, "Looking at the Peace Struggle from within the Women's Movement", covers the pursuit of truth, justice and peace of women in Turkey. The second section looks at the case in different countries of Truth Commissions and Criminal Proceedings — the two fundamental mechanisms of transitional justice — from a feminist perspective. One of the objectives of the first main section is to represent the women's radical criticisms to these mechanisms, which are not raised to "incorporate themselves" into these mechanisms but which rather require a rethinking of these mechanisms through a gender-based approach. The third section of the report opens the mechanism of women's courts to discussion by focusing on three examples: Japan, countries of the former Yugoslavia, and Colombia. It first puts forth the historical origins and predecessors of women's courts and then examines the case of each country one by one.

EVENT ORGANIZATION

Workshop: In partnership with the Netherlands Helsinki Committee and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights, and in line with our aim to protect human rights defenders, we organized a two-day workshop on the topic of *Communication and Storytelling for Human Rights Defenders*. 27-28 November 2018

Panel: The second panel in our panel series *Visualization, New Technologies and Collective Memory*, was held on the subject of *Game Design*. Speaking at the panel were Wojciech Setlak, developer of the game 'This War of Mine', and Amaya Galili from the Israeli NGO Zochrot. The panel was moderated by Kerem Çiftçioğlu. 23 November 2018

Panel: We held two panel discussions within the panel series *Visualization, New Technologies and Collective Memory.* Moderated by producer Cihan Aslı Filiz, the first panel, on the subject of *Virtual Reality*, featured journalist Benedict Moran and director Deniz Tortum as speakers. 26 October 2018

Meeting: We held a meeting to evaluate the results of the research project *2013-2015: The Chronology, Concepts and Failure of Turkey's Peace Process*, which brought together representatives of 15 Islamic NGOs in Diyarbakır. 27 July 2018

Meeting: Following the completion of the first stage of our *Defending Peace in Difficult Times* project, we held a meeting with project stakeholders to evaluate the work carried out. 25-26 May 2018

Campaign: We participated in the Twitter campaign led by the Diyarbakır Bar Association to mark the second anniversary of the murder of the Diyarbakır Bar Association President, Tahir Elçi. 27 November 2017

Meeting: We held a meeting to present and discuss the report *Seeking Peace Transforming the Law: The Case of Women's Courts*. The meeting was attended by members of feminist organizations, academics, representatives of civil society organizations and politicians. Özgür Sevgi Göral and Özlem Kaya opened the meeting with presentations about the report. 21 October 2017

Meeting: We held a meeting on *Documentation for Lawyers* featuring presentations by Emel Ataktürk, Melis Gebeş, Özgür Sevgi Göral and Özlem Kaya. 15-16 October 2017

Meeting: As part of our trial-monitoring work, we held an evaluation meeting on the subject of *The Importance of Trial Monitoring in the Fight Against Impunity*, which was attended by trial monitoring teams, case lawyers and families of the disappeared. 8-9 July 2017

Workshop: In collaboration with the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR), we organized a workshop on the subject of *Transitional Justice and International Tribunals.* 26-27 April 2017

Training: We led a training session on *Gross Human Rights Violations and Application Procedures* as part of the *Supporting Young Human Rights Defenders in the Fight Against Impunity* project that we ran in partnership with the Şırnak Bar Association. 1-2 April 2017

Hackathon: We held a workshop in the format of a *hackathon*, in which we looked at our work on data with young participants from the creative sectors. The workshop was attended by around forty participants from relevant fields, such as database development, programming, visualization, video production, game design, visual arts and corporate communications. By the end of the workshop, participants had come up with a wide range of interesting ideas for drawing attention to the crime of enforced disappearances in Turkey. 11 February 2017

Workshop: We held a two-day workshop entitled *Mapping Enforced Disappearances and the Missing in the Caucuses, Middle East and North Africa.* The workshop was attended by representatives of 17 NGOs from Armenia, Russia, Georgia, Syria, Iraq, the Kurdistan Region, Iran, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Cyprus and Turkey. 27-28 January 2017

EVENT PARTICIPATION

Meeting: Murat Çelikkan participated in the meeting *Human Rights Defenders in the Council of Europe Area: Current Challenges and Possible Solutions*, held in Helsinki by the Office of the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. 13-14 December 2018

Training: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli presented the conceptual background, methodology and reporting sections at the *Trial Monitoring Training* run by Article19 and P24. 13 December 2018

Meeting: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli participated in a meeting held by *Coalition Against Immunity*, a platform established by a number of human rights organizations working on the issue of immunity. 8 December 2018

Training: Kerem Çiftçioğlu gave a presentation entitled "Confronting the Past, Transitional Justice and

Hafıza Merkezi" as part of the Karakutu Association's *Introductory Training in Memory Journeys.* 15 November 2018

Trial Monitoring: Meltem Aslan, Özlem Zıngıl and Emel Ataktürk attended the European Court of Human Rights hearings at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg for the cases of Elçi, Ahmet Tunç and Others, and Tunç and Yerbasan. 13 November 2018

Meeting: *Hafıza Merkezi*'s co-director, Murat Çelikkan, went to Brussels on a visit to the European Parliament, European Commission and EU institutions, organized by Civil Rights Defenders. 7-8 November 2018

Panel: Gamze Hızlı and Özlem Zıngıl joined the *Propositions #7: Evidentiary Methods* panel, within the series of talks for the "Forensic Justice" exhibitions organized by Utrecht-based arts organization Basis voor Actuele Kunst (BAK). 1 November 2018

Symposium: Gamze Hızlı gave a presentation entitled "Memory in the Archive: Producing Information in Difficult Times" at the symposium *Writing Society: Ethics and Politics of Research in Precarious Times*, organized by Sabancı University. 24 October 2018

Meeting: Meltem Aslan attended a working visit to Brussels, organized by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. A small group of NGO representatives from Turkey visited European Union agencies and civil society organizations working in the field of conflict resolution and the construction of peace. 7-10 October 2018

Awards Ceremony: The 2018 *International Hrant Dink Awards*, given by the Hrant Dink Foundation, were awarded to Murat Çelikkan and the Yemeni human rights organization Mwatana. 15 September 2018

Fall School: Özlem Kaya gave a presentation on *Transitional Justice* at the Karakutu Association's Fall School. 8-14 September 2018

Summer School: Kerem Çiftçioğlu contributed to Izmir Culture Platform's summer school with workshops and a presentation of his experiences with *Hackathon*, a model for collaborating with the creative industries. 13-16 August 2018

Workshop: Meltem Aslan participated in the workshop *Strategies to Develop Persuasive Human Rights Narratives*, held by Dejusticia in Bogotá, Colombia. Participating in the workshop were representatives from a human rights organization from Venezuela, Russia and Cambodia, as well as from Turkey, and also experts from various disciplines. 8-9 May 2018

Course: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli joined the Criminal Law course given by Öznur Sevdiren at Istanbul Bilgi University to explain the concept of enforced disappearances. 4 May 2018

Round Table: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli participated in the round table on *Sharing Experiences of Human Rights Education*, organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), with a presentation entitled "Truth, Justice and Reparation in a Legal Context". 27 April 2018

Awards Ceremony: Murat Çelikkan was named *Civil Rights Defenders of the Year* at an awards ceremony held in Stockholm by the organization Civil Rights Defenders. 10-14 April 2018

Webinar: Özlem Kaya gave a presentation at the *Documenting the Disappeared: Goals and Methodologies* webinar organized by Huridocs. 29 November 2017

Conference: Murat Çelikkan attended the 14th Turkey Human Rights Movement Conference, on the topic of *Defending Human Rights*, organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), the Human Rights Association (İHD) and Heinrich Böll Stiftung 25-26 November 2017

Forum: Meltem Aslan, Murat Çelikkan, Gamze Hızlı and Özlem Kaya attended the 1st Global Forum, on the subject of *Truth, Justice & Remembrance*, organized by Robert Bosch Stiftung from 15-17 November 2017. 16 November 2017

Conference: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli participated in the conference *Strategic Litigation Impacts on Torture in Custody*, held from 15-17 November 2017 and organized by Centro de Derechos Humanos (CDH), Open Society Justice Initiative and Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS). 15 November 2017

Conference: Özgür Sevgi Göral gave a presentation entitled *Failed Reconciliation*, *Impossible Justice*: *The Case of Temizöz and Others* at a conference held by Northwestern Buffet Institute. 27-28 October 2017

Fall School: Özgür Sevgi Göral opened Karakutu Association's Fall School, which ran from 30 September to 7 October, with a presentation on *Transitional Justice.* 30 September 2017

Talk: *Hafıza Merkezi* joined a screening of the film *Zer*. Following the screening, Kerem Çiftçioğlu participated in a Q&A session with the film's director, Kazım Öz. 20 June 2017

Summer School: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü and Kerem Çiftçioğlu gave a presentation about *Hafıza Merkezi* as part of the Swedish Research Institute's summer school on human rights for young civil society professionals. 15 June 2017

Workshop: Özgür Sevgi Göral gave a presentation on *Hafıza Merkezi* and enforced disappearances in a closed workshop organized by Bilgi University and the University of Belfast, entitled *Migration, Forced Displacement and Loss: Rethinking Turkey in Times of Crisis.* June 2017

Talk: *Hafıza Merkezi* joined a screening of the film *Kaygı*. Following the screening, Kerem Çiftçioğlu participated in a Q&A session with the film's director, Ceylan Özgün Özçelik. 20 May 2017

Workshop: On 22 April, Murat Çelikkan gave a presentation entitled *Truth Commissions and Confronting the Past* at the Özgür Siyaset [Free Politics] Workshops held by the Foundation for Social, Economic and Political Research (TÜSES). 22 April 2017

Meeting: On 21 April, Murat Çelikkan participated as a speaker in a meeting on "Post Referendum Turkey", as part of a program that ran from 21-24 April to commemorate the anniversary of the Armenian genocide and support pro-democracy leaders, organized by the European Grassroots Antiracist Movement (EGAM). 21 April 2017

Workshop: Kerem Çiftçioğlu participated in Dejusticia's educational program, *Research Workshop for Young Human Rights Advocates*. April 2017

Workshop: On 12 April Kerem Çiftçioğlu presented the work of *Hafıza Merkezi* to participations of a workshop organized by the Center for Spatial Justice in collaboration with the Burg Giebichenstein University of Art and Design. Some of the students from the university who participated in the workshop, *Ground Truth: Visualizing Information for Advocacy*, decided to work on projects related to *Hafıza Merkezi*. 11 April 2017

Workshop: Murat Çelikkan and Emel Ataktürk Sevimli participated in a two-day workshop organized by the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) in collaboration with the Chadian Association for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (ATPDH). The workshop aimed at sharing the lessons learned from the case of Hissène Habré, an example of a victim-centered approach to international justice. 12-14 March 2017

Meeting: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü participated in a needs analysis meeting as the first stage of a project run by the Association of Documentary Filmmakers aiming to develop audiovisual documentation and distribution tools for civil society, with a presentation of the audiovisual resources created by *Hafıza Merkezi*. 25 March 2017

Symposium: Özlem Kaya participated in the symposium *Fear of Politics & Politics of Fear*, organized by the Özgün Düşün Center, with a presentation entitled "Dealing with Fear in the 1990s". 18 March 2017

Round Table: Emel Ataktürk Sevimli participated in the round table on *Sharing Experiences of Human Rights Education*, organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), with a presentation entitled "Truth, Justice and Reparation in a Legal Context". 17 March 2017

Round Table: Özgür Sevgi Göral and Özlem Kaya participated in the Documentation Workshop organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV) with the aim of sharing information and experience about documentation with representatives of human rights organizations. 25-26 February 2017

Talk: The film *O İklimde Kalırdı Acılar* (Kêl / Endless Grief) by Zeynel Koç and Cenk Örtülü was the opening film at the Saturdox2017 film festival on the theme of enforced disappearances, organized by DOCUMENTARIST in collaboration with DEPO. Following the screening, Melis Gebeş gave a talk on "Enforced Disappearances and Impunity in Turkey". 25 February 2017

Meeting: Meltem Aslan and Murat Çelikkan visited the offices of Civil Rights Defenders in Stockholm to talk about the situation of human rights in Turkey, and to meet with a range of human rights organizations. 2-4 February 2017

Presentation: Gamze Hızlı and Özlem Kaya spoke about documentation methodologies in the field of human rights and their own experiences in a talk entitled "Memory, Justice and Archive: *Hafıza Merkezi*", as part of the *After the Archives* series of talks organized by independent art initiative 5533. 7 January 2017

(01.01.2017 - 31.12.2017) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2017)		
A - GROSS SALES		***1.823.080,85***	
1 - Domestic Sales	0,00		
3 - Other Revenues	1.823.080,85		
C - NET SALES			***1.823.080,85***
D - COST OF SALES (-)		***(1.556.380,93)***	
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(1.556.380,93)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			***266.699,92***
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)		***(461.981,44)***	
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(461.981,44)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			***(195.281,52)***
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERA		***31.794,85***	
3 - Interest Income	4.762,81		
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	27.032,04		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)		***(5.596,05)***	
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)	(5.596,05)		
INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERATIO			***(169.082,72)***
I - NON-OPERAT. REVENUES / PROFIT		***33.875,23***	
2 - Other Extra Ordinary Revenues/Profit	33.875,23		
J - EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSES LOSSES (		***(44,58)***	
3 - Other Extra Ordinary Expenses/Losses (-)	(44,58)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			***(135.252,07)***
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			***(135.252,07)***

31.12.2017 / BALANCE SHEET

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

ASSETS **LIABILITIES**

EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2017)			EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2017)		
I - CURRENT ASSETS				***I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES***			
A - Liquid Assets (Net)		***387.271,56***		***B - Trade Payables (Net)***		***3.794,01***	
1 - Cash	1.815,80			1 - Suppliers	3.794,01		
3 - Banks	385.455,76			***C - Other Liabilities (Net)***		***147,00***	
G - Prepaid Expenses and Income Accruals				5 - Other Liabilities	147,00		
2 - Income Accruals				***F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities***		***37.885,31***	
H - Other Current Assets (Net)				1 - Taxes and Funds Payable	17.929,70		
5 - Work Advances				2 - Social Witholdings Payable	19.955,61		
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			***387.271,56***	***TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES***			***41.826,32***
II - LONG TERM ASSETS				***II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES***			
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS				***TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES***			
TOTAL ASSETS			***387.271,56***	***III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY***			
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				***F - Net Income (Loss) for the Period***		***345.445,24***	
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				1 -	480.697,31		
TOTAL			***387.271,56***	2 -	(135.252,07)		
				TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			***345.445,24***
				TOTAL LIABILITIES			***387.271,56***
				IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL			***387.271,56***

(01.01.2018 - 31.12.2018) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2018)		
A - GROSS SALES		***3.458.439,37***	
1 - Domestic Sales	0,00		
3 - Other Revenues	3.458.439,37		
C - NET SALES			***3.458.439,37***
D - COST OF SALES (-)		***(1.881.777,35)***	
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(1.881.777,35)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			***1.576.662,02***
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)		***(792.620,69)***	
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(792.620,69)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			***784.041,33***
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERAT		***221.461,79***	
3 - Interest Income	17.159,46		
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	204.302,33		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)		***(132.404,06)***	
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)	(132.404,06)		
INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERATIO			***873.099,06***
I - NON-OPERAT. REVENUES / PROFIT		***38.629,79***	
2 - Other Extra Ordinary Revenues/Profit	38.629,79		
J - EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSES LOSSES (		***(0,49)***	
3 - Other Extra Ordinary Expenses/Losses (-)	(0,49)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			***911.728,36***
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			***911.728,36***

31.12.2018 / BALANCE SHEET

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

ASSETS **LIABILITIES**

EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2018)			EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2018)		
I - CURRENT ASSETS				***I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES***			
A - Liquid Assets (Net)		***1.327.888,71***		***B - Trade Payables (Net)***			
1 - Cash	4.708,11			1 - Suppliers			
3 - Banks	1.323.180,60			***C - Other Liabilities (Net)***			
E - Inventories (Net)		***282,55***		5 - Other Liabilities			
7 - Advances Given for Purchases	282,55			***F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities***		***70.971,58***	
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			***1.328.171,26***	1 - Taxes and Funds Payable	40.710,41		
II - LONG TERM ASSETS				2 - Social Witholdings Payable	30.261,17		
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS				***TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES***			***70.971,58***
TOTAL ASSETS			***1.328.171,26***	***II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES***			
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				***TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES***			
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				***III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY***			
TOTAL			***1.328.171,26***	***F - Net Income (Loss) for the Period***		***1.257.199,68***	
				1 -	1.392.425,67		
				2 -	(135.225,99)		
				TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			***1.257.199,68***
				TOTAL LIABILITIES			***1.328.171,26***
				IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL			***1.328.171,26***

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA MERKEZİ

CENTER FOR TRUTH JUSTICE MEMORY

HAFIZA MERKEZİ

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