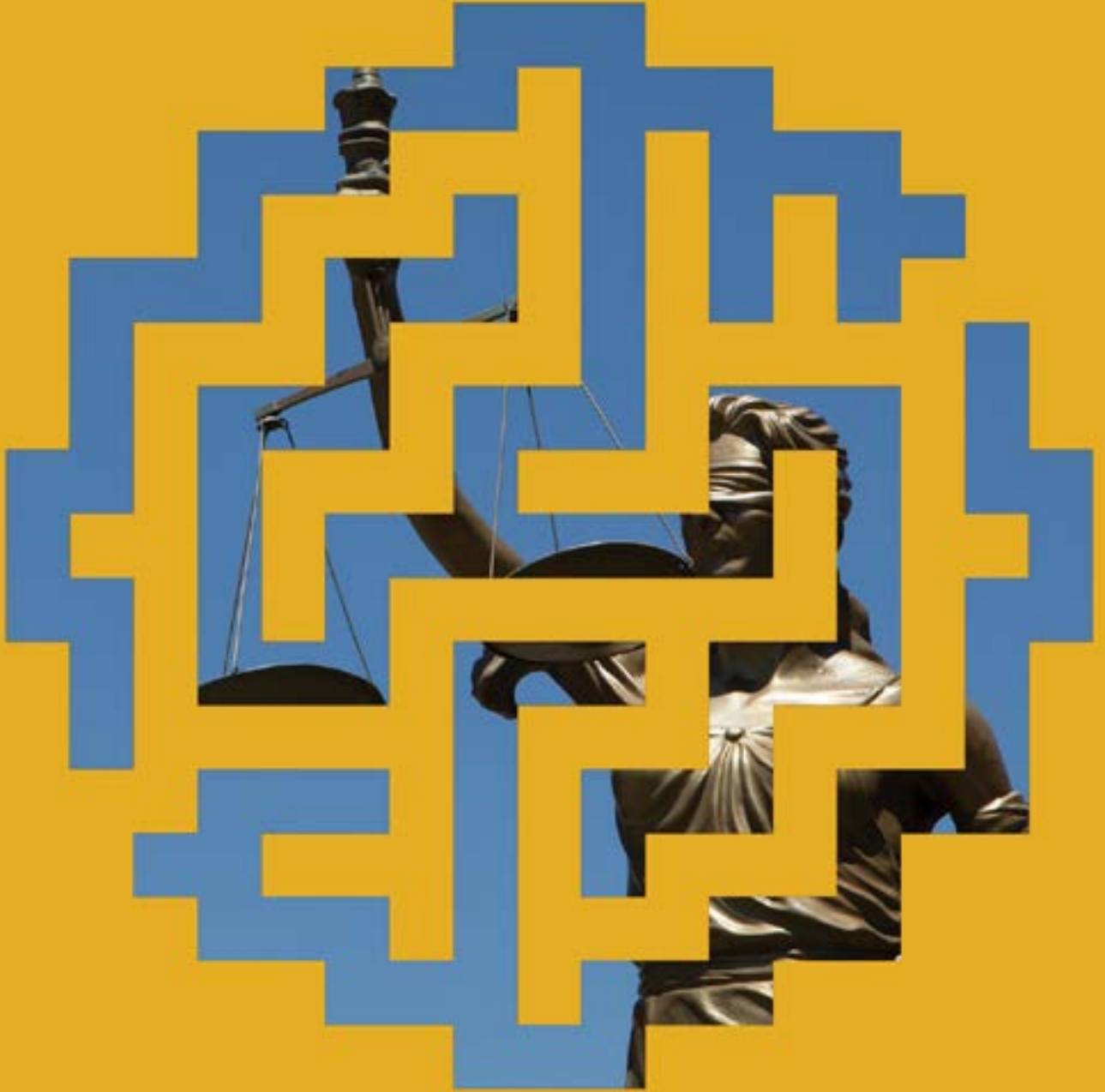


HAFIZA MERKEZİ

***ACTIVITY REPORT
2019 – 2020***



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.

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORTERS:

Oak Foundation, Sigrid Rausing Trust, Protect Defenders.eu, Civil Rights Defenders

PROJECT SUPPORTERS:

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Turkey, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey, Open Society Foundation, Chrest Foundation, Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, Consulate General of Sweden, Robert Bosch Foundation, Global Dialogue, Olof Palme International Center, Berghof Foundation

HAFIZA MERKEZİ

Ömer Awni Mahallesi,
İnönü Cad. No:14 Akar Palas Kat:1
Gümüşsuyu,
34427, İstanbul, Türkiye
info@hafiza-merkezi.org
www.hakikatadalethafiza.org

EDITOR

Koray Löker

TRANSLATOR

Sebastian Heuer

PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION BY

Ekin Sanaç

PROOFREADER

Kate Ferguson

COVER PHOTO BY **Serra Akcan-csgorselarsiv.org**

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HAFIZA ÇALIŞMALARI
DERNEĞİ YAYINLARI

TEAM

DIRECTORS

Meltem Aslan
Murat Çelikkan

PROGRAMS

MEMORY AND PEACE
STUDIES

Gamze Hızlı (Program Director)

Noémi Lévy-Aksu

Zeynep Ekmekçi

Özlem Kaya

Gülistan Zeren

LEGAL STUDIES

Emel Ataktürk Sevimli

(Program Director)

Melis Gebeş

Özlem Zingil

SUPPORTING HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Burcu Bingöllü

Banu Tuna

Ferda Önen

Hülya Kurt

Koray Löker

Olca Özer

Belgin Mete

FUNDRAISING AND PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

Enis Köstepen

COMMUNICATIONS AND CAMPAIGNS

Kerem Çiftçiöğlü

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING

Bahadır Ural

GOVERNING BOARD

Yiğit Ekmekçi (Başkan)

Meltem Aslan

Deniz Batıbeki

Emel Ataktürk Sevimli

Özgür Sevgi Göröl

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THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES AND A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

In our previous two annual reports, the team at Hafıza Merkezi have been talking about the political transformation that has been unfolding in Turkey since 2015 and about our search for ways to respond to this transformation. Although our search, of course, continues, it is safe to say that 2019-2020 was a period in which our activities in this field began to get on track.

It may sound a little strange to say this in a time of uncertainty such as this, a time marked by an epidemic that is shaking the entire world and causing us great losses, pushing us into socially distanced lives and increasingly dystopian visions of the future. However, leaving aside the new lines of inquiry triggered by the epidemic for a moment, a look back over the past two years shows that both Hafıza Merkezi and the social opposition in general are, in the face of rising authoritarianism, better prepared and equipped than ever, and we have even made some promising achievements.

Yes, politics has continued to spill over and beyond the borders and boundaries of democratic institutions and norms over these last two years, and human rights institutions and actors such as us have certainly had our share of it. Anti-LGBTI+ hate speech has become institutionalized. The government made efforts to establish its own bar association. It was announced that Turkey was withdrawing from the Istanbul Convention by Presidential decree. In defiance of the spirit of law and justice, Osman Kavala's imprisonment was continued despite his acquittal and related ECtHR rulings. Finally, hidden behind the excuse of preventing weapons of mass destruction, a law targeting the activities of civil society associations was enacted. Overall, we are therefore leaving behind a two-year stretch during which we have constantly been on the alert against these and many other adversities of a similar kind. As if such a political atmosphere in which the normalization of extraordinary developments has become a psychological necessity were not enough, the losses, challenges and radical changes brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic confronted us with brand new questions and problems.

And yet, these two years were also a period of exciting dynamics around the world and in Turkey. When the AKP-

MHP coalition in Turkey lost several of the metropolitan cities, including Istanbul and Ankara, in the local elections, it was not only the political opposition but in fact the whole social opposition that won, finally able to taste the much-needed feelings of hope and optimism. We saw historic moments of mobilization against the state's monopoly of violence in the Black Lives Matter movement in the US and the Yellow Vests in France. As the School Strikes for Climate movement, led by Greta Thunberg, mobilized over one million students from 125 countries in 2019, the demands around the issues of global warming and renewable energy technologies have become more mainstream than ever before. Remarkable examples of resistance have formed in Turkey in Mount Ida and İkizdere, where environmental disasters are in the making. Student protests, most markedly manifesting themselves at Boğaziçi University in Turkey, brought the good news that under the decaying order the new generation has already started creating a new order, one that is more vibrant and peaceful. Recalling the gift given to us by a group of Chilean women in the form of a protest dance that travelled the globe will perhaps help us feel a little better, as we realize that viruses do not have a monopoly on contagion. In the past two years, we have seen that society at large has not withdrawn into its shell and quailed in the face of oppression, intimidation and criminalization but that on the contrary, it has matured and strengthened its forms of opposition. In all of this we can see that the reflexes of the democratic opposition against the wave of authoritarianism in Turkey and across the world are growing stronger.

At Hafıza Merkezi, we too are rethinking our activities in order to respond to this shift in politics and the questions it entails. In earlier years, our focus was on proposing a framework to enable Turkey to confront its past, in particular through our documentation activities to uncover the truths behind enforced disappearances. As a result of lengthy discussions and strategy meetings, we decided to expand our focus to include peace studies and more recent rights violations in specific areas. Our current fields of work are i) memory and peace studies; ii) tackling impunity; iii) supporting human rights defenders and organizations; and iv) international cooperation and solidarity. During the period covered by this report, we completed

our project *Defending Peace in Difficult Times*, where we took stock of Turkey's failed peace process. Although circumstances did not allow us to share its findings with the broader public, this project nevertheless provided us with the valuable opportunity to establish close relations with stakeholders working in the field of peace building as well as the knowledge base that would determine the form and content of new projects. Setting out precisely from these insights, we launched two new projects in the field of peace building. In the first of these, we aimed to create a peacebuilding community by bringing together young people working in civil society organizations in regular workshops and thus facilitating an interactive learning process. The aim of the second project is to expand the network of stakeholders in the field. To this end, we are planning to carry out research on issues whose negotiation is indispensable if we are to find a political solution to the Kurdish issue, and to organise encounters between civil society actors working in the field.

2019-2020 was also a period in which we undertook new ventures in the field of memory studies. In May 2019, we organized the exhibition **Public Secret** (*Aşikâr Sır*) as part of the International Week of the Disappeared. During the preparations for this exhibition, we used creative narrative forms to illustrate the archival knowledge we have built up through our database on enforced disappearances. Moreover, we expanded the scope of the **memorializeturkey.com** website, originally launched in 2013 as a compilation of memorialization projects in Turkey.

Within the scope of our project *Memory and Art*, situated at the intersection of artistic expression and remembering, we organized a series of talks in which experts contemplated a collection of artworks assembled over the course of a two-year selection process. The 15 speakers who participated in these talks were from a variety of backgrounds—civil society, arts and academia—making it a truly interdisciplinary series. The keen interest in these talks, reflected by the large audience numbers attending each of the sessions, provided us with great motivation to continue working at the intersection of different disciplines.

While a number of lawsuits on past human rights violations ended with impunity for the perpetrators, we continued to follow the remaining ongoing trials. We also took the time to take stock of the entire process, and as a result of this, during Human Rights Week (10-17 December 2019), we published an infographic to inform the public about the problematic aspects of the trials within the 12 lawsuits we monitor (see **failibelli.org**). Furthermore, we contributed to the ECtHR's supervision of Turkey regarding the violations in question by submitting detailed monitoring reports to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

With our long-held hope of being able to confront past violations through criminal proceedings reaching a dead end, we tried to expand the framework of academic debates in this area and broaden the network of stakeholders. In line with this aim, we organized a symposium entitled *Transitional Justice in Turkey: Transforming Subjects, Methods and Tools*, at which 16 researchers from different disciplines had the opportunity to share their research with the public.

The most important development for us during this period

came with the launch of our *Haklara Destek* (Support to Rights) grant program, which aims to support rights-based civil society organizations. So far, 48 organizations working with a rights-based approach have been provided with institutional grants and offered a comprehensive capacity building program within the scope of the *Haklara Destek* program, which is financed by the EU Delegation to Turkey and run by Hafiza Merkezi and the Heinrich Böll Stiftung.

In the face of increasing pressure on rights defenders and the shrinking of civic spaces, we have largely consolidated our monitoring and reporting efforts geared towards bolstering resistance against these developments. As of the end of 2020, we have created and published informative profiles about 50 rights defenders on **sessizkalma.org**, our online monitoring and resource platform concerning rights defenders at risk, which we created in partnership with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights and with the support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee. These activities were accompanied by the panel series *Shrinking Democratic Space and International Solidarity*, which gave us the opportunity to compare Turkey with Poland, Pakistan and Brazil in terms of issues such as digital rights, LGBTI+ rights and urban participation.

In this past period, we also brought together rights-based actors and professionals from the creative disciplines through joint projects with the aim of strengthening the ties between them. With the video series *#DarAlan* (Shrinking Space), made up of images shot and collected by Fatih Pınar at various demonstrations, press releases, demonstrations and rallies, we created a visual record of the recent shrinking of Turkey's civic spaces. Meanwhile, our search for innovative ways of communicating has led us to engage with the approach of *hope-based communication*, which gives greater space to emotions and values.

So much for the past two years. Now, our plan for the upcoming period is to develop our activities in line with the following four strategic goals: i) strengthening our strategic research and analysis capacity, ii) expanding our network of stakeholders, iii) further integrating a gender perspective into our work, and iv) increasing our international reach and cooperation.

However, no matter how much we try to frame and re-frame our work, as already stated in the beginning, our search will never end. Considering the long-term ecological, geopolitical, technological and demographic upheavals that the world is going through, as well as the pressures exerted on the field of human rights by the shifts and changes in global politics, it is obvious that for the time being, awareness of the future will continue to determine the zeitgeist.

In today's times, expectations regarding the world's future tend to be quite pessimistic. Of course, there is good reason for this pessimism. However, we prefer to view the future from a window where optimism and pessimism simply appear as two faces of the same reality rather than a dichotomy. In this, we might want to take to heart from the Chinese proverb quoted on an Amnesty International poster: "It is better to light a candle than curse the darkness."

Kerem Çiftçiöğlü

HUMAN RIGHTS AND CREATIVE COMMUNICATION

In the scope of the activities we carried out in 2019 in the field of “Human Rights and Creative Communication,” we brought together human rights defenders and representatives from the creative sector to explore more creative and optimistic ways of communicating human rights.



HACKATHON

In February 2019, we organized a hackathon, in which 8 NGOs and 18 people working in the creative sector participated. During the two-day event, creative teams and rights defenders worked together to develop an institution-specific communication project for each institution. This collaboration also continued in the following months, with further development of the projects whose prototypes were developed and presented during the hackathon. For example, one of the projects was Rawest Research's study on the relationship of Kurdish youth with the Kurdish language. In line with the ideas developed during the hackathon, in fall 2019, a campaign was launched with the slogan ‘*Dil Yuvadır*’ (Language is Home) as the result of a collaboration with the Rights Initiative Association (*HAK İnisiyatifi*). The goal of Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, an organization engaged in preventing violence against women, was to create an online information system allowing them to provide guidance to women who are victims of violence. The creative team working together with Mor Çatı drew up a visual design based on the foundation's needs. While some of the hackathon projects have already been brought to life, as shown in the previous examples, others could not be completed due to the experimental and unpredictable nature of the hackathon approach. In any case, it is safe to say that this kind of work, which is rarely practiced in civil society, opened up an exciting space for cooperation between human rights and the creative fields and gave us great motivation for more systematic collaborations in the future.



PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Institutions

*Civil Society in the Penal System Association (CISST)

*Migration Monitoring Association (Göçiz-Der)

*Hafıza Merkezi

*Hrant Dink Foundation (HDV)

*Human Rights Association (IHD)

*Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation

*Rawest

*Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV)

People

Asya Leman Sanıttürk, Ali Tapık, Ali Ata Akel, Beste Yamalıoğlu, Ece İşmen, Ekin Can Göksoy, Evrim Polat, Ezgi Emel, Ezgi Tüzün, Fırat Gündoğdu, Gizem Boyacıoğlu, Gürkan Salih Çakar, Melis Balcı, Mert Kaya, Merve Midilli, Metin Akdemir, Fatma Nur Gürbüz, Pınar İlkiz Demir

İdil Aydınoglu (CISST), Zana Kibar (Göçiz-Der), Zelal Coşkun (Göçiz-Der), Ezgi Kan (HDV), Funda Tekin (HDV), Veli Aksoy (HDV), Devrim Kılıçer (IHD), Tuğçe Canbolat (Mor Çatı), Zuhal Güreli (Mor Çatı), İbrahim Halil Köprübaşı (Rawest), Sema Kahriman (Rawest), Hanifi Kurt (TIHV), Eylem Yıldız (TIHV).

Hafıza Merkezi: Burcu Ballıktaş Bingöllü, Kerem Çiftçioglu, Koray Löker, Meltem Aslan, Özlem Kaya, Zeynep Ekmekçi

PANEL

Taking a brief hiatus from our efforts regarding the cooperation between civil society and the creative fields, we organized a panel titled “The Future of Human Rights Communication” on September 20, 2019. In the first session of the panel, Krizna Gomez and Thomas Coombes talked about the importance of a future-oriented approach and hope-based communication. In her speech entitled “Why Foresight is a Muscle We Should Train,” Krizna Gomez gave an outline of her proposal for a method of what she calls *futures thinking* and explained the importance of the future-oriented system of thinking implied by this method for the human rights movement. According to Krizna, we mostly focus on the past and present when making our strategic plans. However, it is important to include our predictions about the future in our planning in order to be able to adapt to changes.

Thomas Coombes presented the key points of the hope-based approach in human rights communication. Hope, according to Coombes, is a pragmatic strategy drawing from many different disciplines such as history, communication, organization, neurology and cognitive linguistics. In his view, only such a strategy, through which we give voice to our fundamental values and to the lives to which we aspire, will allow us to move from a position of constantly reacting to a position of setting our own agenda. In his presentation, Coombes shared the practical steps of this strategy with us.

In the second session, we discussed the needs of the human rights struggle in terms of communication and creativity with filmmaker Beste Yamalıoğlu, directors Ali Ata Akel and Metin Akdemir, lawyer İdil Aydınoglu, civil society worker Barış Karasu (IHD), researcher Reha Ruhavioğlu (Rights Initiative) and copywriter Pınar İlkiz (Pikan Agency), all of whom previously collaborated with us in the “Human Rights and Creative Communication” project.

WORKSHOP

On September 21, immediately after the panel, we held a workshop with Krizna Gomez and Thomas Coombes which brought together approximately 20 people working in NGOs pursuing rights-based agendas. The workshop aimed to empower participants to construct persuasive new narratives for their target audience.

The workshop emphasized the importance for institutions of defining the values they defend and the change they dream of seeing, rather than simply following a communication strategy based on instinct. After we have defined our own values, the next step is to determine the most effective way of getting them across to society. At this point, according to Coombes and Gomez, it is necessary to understand the sets of values of our target audience and to make use of the fields of cognitive science and psychology. Because the alarmist discourses, to which we also contribute from time to time, may lead people to withdraw from politics rather than encouraging them to act. Based on these observations, the participants engaged in practical exercises to construct positive narratives targeting their audiences through values and emotions, and to model values, behaviors and ideas that can form the basis of their communication activities.

This event brought to an end the period covered by this report, following a year of activities aimed at bringing together experts focusing on new approaches in the field of communication and employees of civil society organizations working with a rights-based approach.



HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS CAMPAIGN WORKSHOP

Hafıza Merkezi, has been trying to rethink human rights campaigning for some time. For this reason, we do our best to learn about current approaches to campaign development and to further build our capacities in this area.



In October, we organized a workshop on campaigning within the scope of the project “Increasing the Role and Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Turkey” that we carry out in partnership with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights and with the support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee.

HOW DID SUCH A NEED ARISE?

In recent times, many rights defenders have been complaining about one particular issue: “We are talking to ourselves”, “We are stuck in an echo chamber.” In the face of polarization and criminalization, we are being forced to act with what Jonathan Haidt, in his TED talk, calls a ‘team psychology’ that groups us with ever more likeminded people. We have to admit that there is something about such an environment that renders us blind to other realities, and this is a bubble from which it can be hard to escape. One of the motivations for this workshop was to seek ways out together.

Another effect of the prevalent oppressive environment is that those involved in the struggle for rights slide into a reactive position. From the raid on Büyükkada Island to the Gezi Trial, which serves as the pretext to hold Osman Kavala prisoner, we have had to respond quickly to every step taken by the government to suppress the struggle for rights. Things kept happening and we were merely reacting. Our public communication has become limited to press releases and Twitter campaigns. Therefore, another motivation of this workshop was to devise a method allowing us to overcome this predicament through greater imagination and hope.

The content of the workshop program, which was prepared and facilitated by Kerem Çiftçiöğlü from Hafıza Merkezi and Pınar İlkiz from Pikan Agency, was developed based on these needs.

TRACING POLITICAL OPTIMISM...

We adopted an approach based on various practices, where the civil society representatives who came together for this workshop could work in groups. In this, we benefited from Thomas Coombes’s Hope-Based Communication and the Campaign Accelerator developed by the Mobilization Lab. We tried to adapt the hope-based approach to our method not with naive optimism, but as a political strategy. In light of these approaches, we went through the methodical steps of a campaign building process.

Because we believe in learning by doing, we chose issues of current importance to the participants for the case studies. All of the participants were members of the Solidarity Network for Human Rights Defenders, and we therefore made the subject of human rights defenders the main theme of our workshop. In the course of the program, we first tried to understand the case at hand before we moved on to generating and developing ideas about the subject. We divided this process into five pillars that we considered to be important in campaign development:

- 1) Determining a starting point and a vision,
- 2) Understanding the problem and the dominant narratives,
- 3) Determining the target audience and values,
- 4) Finding and developing campaign ideas,
- 5) Effective presentation and persuasion.

Our activities’ potential to generate hope is becoming increasingly important in a climate where those in power are trying to narrow the horizons of the struggle for rights. We hope that this workshop and similar projects we are planning to run in the future will contribute to the development of capacities in this area and to the debate on a new form of human rights communication.

SHRINKING DEMOCRATIC SPACES AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Hafıza Merkezi, the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights and the Netherlands Helsinki Committee jointly organized the four-part panel series “Shrinking Democratic Spaces and International Solidarity” in the last quarter of 2020.



Like the campaigning workshop, these panels took place with the aim of increasing the role and protection of human rights defenders in Turkey. With these panels, we sought to adopt a global perspective in discussing the obstacles to and possibilities of the human rights struggle under the current conditions of an erosion of democratic/civic spaces and the major changes brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. In this regard, we wanted to learn about the experiences in different countries and to compare them with our own. In line with this comparative perspective, each panel brought together one rights defender from Turkey with a rights defender from another country.

We began our series with an outline of the conceptual basis regarding civic spaces, authoritarianization, and populism, and an optimistic perspective on expanding civic spaces. In the following panels, we visited different topics of importance for the struggle for rights that offer good opportunities for fruitful comparison. Therefore, the second panel focused on **digital rights** in Turkey and Pakistan, the third on **LGBTI+ rights** in Turkey and Poland, and the fourth on **cities and participation** in Turkey and Brazil.

In the comparisons we made throughout the series, our overarching questions concerned the respective countries' experiences in terms of the character of populist and authoritarian politics, the methods used to target civic spaces, and outstanding examples of methods and approaches adopted in civic spaces to fight against this wave of repression.



SHRINKING SPACE VIDEOS

Both technological developments and the pandemic compelled us to complement our written documentation of the political situation, human rights, and the obstacles faced by rights defenders in Turkey with visual representation and to create a number of short videos. This is how the ShrinkingSpace video series came into being.

For this project, we contacted photo-video journalist Fatih Pınar whose work in video-journalism and activism we had been following closely. For some time already, Pınar has been documenting the unprecedented changes Turkey has been experiencing for a documentary project. For our project, which was supported by the Chrest Foundation, Pınar agreed to give us access to his archive to create short videos that would illustrate what it meant that civic spaces were shrinking in Turkey. The series was launched in July 2020 at the end of Pride Week with the publication of the video *ShrinkingSpace # 1: Pride March* on Hafıza Merkezi's Youtube channel.

The first three videos in the series were completed and released in 2020. The video on the Pride March was followed by *ShrinkingSpace # 2: Right to Defense* and *ShrinkingSpace # 3: Women's Rights*. When designing this project, we tried to make sure that the topics would both fit the notion of shrinking civic spaces and also be relevant to Turkey's agenda at the time of their publication. Completed in time for Pride Week, the Pride March video gave us at Hafıza Merkezi the opportunity to contribute to the 2020 Pride Week, which was celebrated with online events due to pandemic-related restrictions. With over 10 thousand viewers, this video was the most watched video of the series.

While the Right to Defense video was in the making, detained lawyers Ebru Timtik and Aytaç Ünsal were sustaining their hunger strike. At the same time, discussions on new legislation regarding the introduction of a multiple bar system were continuing. The video had a very specific focus and confronted us with a great challenge, as we wanted to convey the different dimensions of how the right to defense had transformed within a changing judicial system. Unfortunately, by the time the video was released, the demands of the lawyers on hunger strike had not been met, and, sadly, Ebru Timtik had lost her life. Thus, the Right to Defense video turned out to be the most difficult to prepare and share, in terms of both its diverse content and its emotional weight.

Although the third video of the series, which deals with Women's Rights, largely focuses on the 8 March Feminist Night March in terms of the images used, it was released in the last week of November, coinciding with the Night Marches on the evening of November 25, the Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. The fourth video of the series on freedom of expression is scheduled for released in early 2021.

Besides his own archive, Fatih Pınar also made use of from other filmmakers' archives while preparing his videos. We worked together to decide on people with whom to conduct additional interviews, trying to make sure that the interviewees were people who were involved in the struggles that formed the subject of each video. Our priority was not to provide expert opinions or knowledge, but to reach people who could convey the knowledge and approaches that emerged from the experience of being a part of the struggle.

Although the possibilities for screening the videos at the time of their first release was limited to online channels due to pandemic-related restrictions, we believe that their relevance is not confined to today and that they can be used for advocacy communication in the long term.



SUPPORTING RIGHTS-BASED CSOS

At the beginning of 2019, Hafıza Merkezi, in partnership with the Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS) and with the financial support of the European Union Delegation to Turkey, initiated the Haklara Destek ('Support to Rights') program.

The program offers grants to civil society organizations (CSOs) working with a rights-based approach for a period of one year, between July 2020 and June 2021, together with a mentoring and training program from which organizations will be able to benefit according to their own capacity-building needs.

The main feature distinguishing operational grant support from a project-based grant is that candidate organizations do not have to develop a new project for the application stage. Civil society organizations can apply to the program in order to meet their fixed organizational costs for basic needs, which, despite their essential nature in terms of the organizations' ability to survive and to carry out ongoing or prospective activities in line with their objectives, are not supported by many grant programs.

The mentoring / training program will be designed to contribute to meeting the needs of CSOs supported by the program as determined by the CSOs' own self-assessment.

The data related to the working areas and geographical distribution of CSOs in Turkey shows that approximately 40% of the rights organizations in Turkey are located in four cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa), while the remaining 60% are distributed across other cities. In order to achieve an adequate geographical distribution in terms of the number of rights-based organizations to be supported within the program, the call for applications was divided into two geographical groups.

Introductory meetings were held in five provinces in order to raise broader awareness of the program and to provide more effective assistance and responses with regard to questions that potential applicant institutions might have while

preparing their applications. Representatives of institutions attended meetings in Istanbul, Adana, Ankara, Diyarbakır and Izmir, at which we discussed the details of the program and answered their questions. For institutions that could not attend any of the meetings, a video recording of the meeting held in Istanbul was uploaded to the Hafıza Merkezi YouTube channel as well as to the website of the Haklara Destek program.

A special web-based grant-management system was developed for the program, the application process for which was designed to be completely online. Having experienced the flexibility enabled by completely online-based work during the application and evaluation stages, all communication between the beneficiary institutions and the program team during the program's implementation was transferred to this system following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020. Thus, while the grant management system was used for needs related to reporting and communication, meetings began to be held online via video conferencing.

The first half of the program was completed by December 2020, by which time we had held two of the three major workshops as well as the financial management and strategic planning workshops, in which all beneficiary institutions were expected to participate. In addition to these major workshops, we held a number of smaller workshops on various topics: impact measurement (eight institutions), working with volunteers (eight institutions), project design and implementation (sixteen institutions), reaching target audiences and enhancing visibility (ten institutions), and developing policy documents (thirteen institutions).



KEEP THE VOLUME UP: DEFENDING RIGHTS

DEFENDERS

The aim of Keep the Volume Up is to promote human rights defenders who are currently at risk in Turkey and to make visible and document the proceedings and investigations against them as well as the pressure faced by human rights institutions via our project website.



Saturday People 781st gathering



Photo by Meltem Ulusoy / csgorselarsiv.org

The introduction to our 2017-2018 activity report stated the following observation: “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.”

Two years later, unfortunately, nothing has changed. In fact, conditions for civil society and human rights defenders have grown even worse. In particular, in Turkey as in other repressive regimes, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 was instrumentalized to shrink and control civic spaces. While the pandemic made it very difficult to conduct any fieldwork, the government put a ban, both in fact and by decree, on meetings, demonstrations and protests. Meetings of non-governmental organizations had to be postponed. Physicians from the Turkish Medical Association and trade unionists from different confederations who made statements about the state of affairs regarding the pandemic were detained, faced investigations and were put on trial. Rights defenders were targeted from the highest levels of government, arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The “Bill on Preventing the Proliferation and Financing of Weapons of Mass Destruction” passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the final days of 2020 paved the way for trustees to be appointed to associations by the Ministry of Interior.

Due to all these developments, it is more important than ever to defend rights defenders who are intentionally marginalized and criminalized in the eyes of society, and to share information about their situation with the general public. The aim of *Keep the Volume Up*, a joint project run since 2018 by Hafıza Merkezi together with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights and with the support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee is to promote human rights defenders who are currently at risk in Turkey and to make visible and document the proceedings and investigations against them as well as the pressure faced by human rights institutions via our project website.

The website, whose content is available in both Turkish and English, presents information on rights defenders and rights-based institutions at risk, summaries of

relevant legal cases and a calendar of trials. Visitors can also follow recent developments via the news section, and access reference documents, resources and recent reports. Furthermore, information on support programs created for human rights defenders working under difficult conditions is available on the site.

Launched in August 2018, the website contained 50 profiles as of the end of 2020. Some of these profiles belong to individuals, others to institutions, and again others to groups that have come together around a certain area of advocacy and for which they have been criminalized. For example, this includes the Academics for Peace, the Saturday People and the Defenders of the Istanbul Convention. Since it has become a common practice to put rights defenders on trial in large and collective lawsuits, the number of defenders whose struggle we follow through the profiles is close to 1,300.

The creation of the profiles and news content was, and continues to be, based on rights advocacy in the broadest sense of the term. Covering a wide range of fields, from ecology to union organization, from the right to health to the women’s movement, and from academics to physicians and lawyers, the site enables its visitors to gain a good understanding of the general situation of the struggle for rights in Turkey and to see how the methods of oppression and the methods of struggle resemble or diverge from each other.

The *Keep the Volume Up* website presents profiles of rights defenders, who may or may not already be in the public eye, with the aim of raising public awareness and documenting and sharing information on the legal proceedings against them, as well as sharing news about relevant developments. As such, the website is an important resource for journalists, media workers, academics and researchers who want to convey this information to the public. Also available in English, the website is one of the rare resources where international media, researchers and civil society representatives wanting to follow developments in Turkey can find well-curated and detailed information about rights defenders. Approaching the rights system in its broadest sense, the project supports communication between different groups, includes actors involved in different struggles and their target groups and aims to expand the field of human rights.



DEFENDING PEACE IN DIFFICULT TIMES

In the first months of 2019, we continued our work on the research and chronology for the Defending Peace in Difficult Times project, while also preparing for our third field study in Colombia.



Photo by Gobierno de Chile

Hafiza Merkezi started working in the field of peace in 2017 with the project *Defending Peace in Difficult Times*. The failure of the 2013-2015 peace process and the ensuing conflict made us rethink both our field of work and the requirements of this field. As an institution working to document the severe human rights violations of the past as well as to strengthen the collective memory on these violations and support the legal struggles of those affected by them, we found ourselves amid great devastation as the conflict resumed and we tried to make sense of the situation by comparing it with the '90s, the period we had previously been researching as the “past”. We had major difficulties in carrying out our activities and communicating our work with the wider public. This entire process once again showed us how vital attempts to resolve the Kurdish issue through democratic means are for us. A reckoning with the

past and a pursuit of justice regarding past wrongs was directly connected to constructing the present and future as well as to building peace; however, the distress caused by the armed conflict foreclosed any possibility of discussing these issues. Under these circumstances, we concluded that it was essential for us to contribute directly to efforts towards ending the conflict and establishing peace as well as creating new ground for dialogue in the context of the Kurdish issue. This was the environment in which, in 2017, the Defending Peace in Difficult Times project was developed, emerging from the need to better understand what happened during the 2013-2015 peace process and to reflect on peacebuilding in Turkey in light of examples from around the world. The project, which lasted two and a half years, was made up of three main pillars: Carrying out comprehensive research to analyze different positions regarding the

peace process by conducting in-depth interviews with people from different social and political backgrounds; compiling the statements and actions of different actors and important events in the peace process in order to prepare a chronology that exhibits the factual basis of the process; organizing working visits that would allow us to gain closer insights into other examples around the world and to use these examples to reflect upon the situation in Turkey.

In the first months of 2019, as we continued working on the research and the chronology, we also made preparations for our third field study in Colombia. The agreement signed between the Colombian government and the FARC in Havana in 2016 ended the 50-year armed conflict between the Colombian state and the FARC, in which 200,000 people lost their lives, and was met with great enthusiasm around the world. In August, during our meetings in Bogota and Cartagena with academics, non-governmental organizations and individuals who personally participated in the peace process, we had the chance to learn about the different political and economic dynamics of the conflict, the challenges faced in the peace process and the current situation. In all of our meetings, concern was expressed that immediately after the peace agreement had been signed, a government came into power whose election campaign had almost exclusively focused on opposing peace. While we were in Colombia, it was reported that armed attacks against community leaders had increased in many regions and that armed criminal gangs had started to form in areas from which the FARC had withdrawn. Our visit to Colombia once again showed us how important it is that the opportunity offered by negotiations for a lasting peace between the conflict parties is carefully woven together with the correct political and social processes.

The research pillar of the *Defending Peace in Difficult Times* project was based around three different questions: What course did the peace process take and why did it fail? What happened after the process ended? How do different actors imagine peace? Within the scope of the project, we conducted in-depth interviews with 40 people in Istanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakır, including politicians, civil society representatives, business people and journalists. As a result of these interviews and a review of related secondary literature, we prepared three reports, each focusing on one of these three questions. In November 2019, we held a closing meeting attended by our interviewees and our stakeholders working in the field of peace, at which we shared the results of these reports. This meeting gave us the opportunity to both share the outputs of our work and collect comments regarding its content, as well as to realize our goal, which had initially spawned this project, of keeping the discussions on peace alive. In the upcoming period, we

plan to continue to disseminate the reports and to talk about peace with different actors, even if it is limited to different focus groups. At the conclusion of the project we had produced three reports offering in-depth analyses of the peace process, established a chronology breaking down the factual basis of the process in detail, and conducted three field visits (to Colombia, Scandinavia and Ireland), and published six short reports in which experts in their respective fields discuss the peace process by focusing on different themes. *Defending Peace in Difficult Times* has made it possible for us to get to know the field of peace more closely, to establish relationships with many actors that we plan to maintain in the future, and to analyze the peace process in a little more depth, after it ended in such great devastation.

We finished the last report of our project with a sentence frequently repeated by the Women's Initiative for Peace: "We insist on peace." We are aware that, at a time when political actors seem light-years away from the idea of peace, this insistence has its limitations. However, as mentioned above, we believe that it is very important both to keep peace on the agenda and to prepare for a potential new peace process. Therefore, taking into account what we learned from the *Defending Peace in Difficult Times* project, we launched two new projects. The first of these is the Peace Workshop, which we are running together with the Berlin-based Berghof Foundation. We regularly come together with the workshop participants—17 young adults between the ages of 25-35 who have already worked or are willing to work in the field of peace — and organize workshops on various topics such as the basic concepts of peace and conflict resolution, examples of peace processes from around the world, and participatory peacebuilding. Our aim with this project is to increase the participants' command of the conceptual and practical discussions in the field of peace, to enable them to think together about how they can relate these discussions to their own fields of work and to encourage them to take an active role in the field of peace. We started our meetings, which we had to hold online due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, in May and have held a total of ten workshops so far. Next year, the workshop series will continue, while the participants will also develop their own group projects to discuss the possibilities of peace with different target groups.

Our other project in the field of peace started in March, in partnership with the Stockholm-based Olof Palme International Center. There are three basic pillars to this project: Carrying out comprehensive research about issues whose negotiation is indispensable for the political solution of the Kurdish issue in Turkey; coming together with non-governmental organizations in different provinces to talk about our work in the field of peace and to expand the number of stakeholders in the field;

organizing a series of workshops in which the young participants of the peace workshop and institutions working in the field of peace will learn from each other. Due to the unfavorable circumstances created by the COVID-19 pandemic, we decided not to hold the meeting or to organize the other activities within the project that require large amounts of travel this year and are currently only proceeding with the research. In designing the research component of the project, we were inspired by our visit to Colombia, where many people we spoke to, told us that one of the things that had been done correctly in the last peace process was setting a limited negotiation agenda, addressing only issues essential for a political solution. We thought that it would be useful to do some brainstorming on this issue regarding the situation in Turkey and to carry

out comprehensive research on certain key issues such as decentralization, transitional justice, and collective rights. Moreover, we believe it to be essential for Turkey's democratization that these and similar issues that are from time to time discussed in different contexts are addressed in the context of the political and economic inequalities created by the Kurdish issue. The political developments in Turkey following the failure of the peace process have unfortunately been a major blow to any possibility of peace. However, the ideas, discussions and practices of solidarity that have germinated in the spaces opened by the peace process still exist, albeit undercover and in disguise. We are determined to try to reintroduce them to the area of peace and to keep insisting on peace together with actors whose work is motivated by similar aims.



INTERNATIONAL WEEK OF THE DISAPPEARED

*In 2019, as part of the International Week of the Disappeared, we organized the exhibition **Aşıkâr Sır** (Public Secret) hosted by Karşı Sanat, as well as the launch of the book **Any Hopes for Truth?**, a comparative analysis of enforced disappearances and missing persons in the Caucasus, Middle East and North Africa, written by Özgür Sevgi Görâl.*



In 2019, as part of the *International Week of the Disappeared*, we organized two events around Galatasaray Square, which has become the symbol of the struggle regarding enforced disappearances. The first event was the exhibition **Aşıkâr Sır** (Public Secret), where Anıl Olcan's installation of marble stones imprinted with the pictures of the disappeared was accompanied by works by Asya Leman, Hacer Foggo, Mert Kaya and Hafıza Merkezi.

Focusing on grave human rights violations, genocides and war crimes in its work, Hafıza Merkezi has been working on concretely documenting 'enforced disappearances' from day one. In our efforts to document and record past disasters, we, like many human rights organizations, make great use of the methodological tools of social sciences and law. On the other hand, we are aware that the acts of witnessing and narrating relate to the visual as much as to words. Sometimes a visual approach allows us to express the truth of the disaster in at least as striking a manner as the written word, if not even more so. For a while now, we have been trying to support our witnessing and narrative efforts with new styles that employ the power of visuality.

The exhibition **Aşıkâr Sır**, which was hosted by Karşı Sanat from May 10-21, 2019, evolved out of an idea that originated in a workshop we held in 2017. In this workshop, people from different disciplines, such as contemporary arts, design and software, came together to reflect on the question: How can we tell the truth of the disappeared? On that day, Anıl Olcan offered the suggestion of printing passport-size representations on marble stones in order to "recall the disappeared to daily life so as to counter enforced disappearance on the existence and presence of its victims." With this exhibition

and the marble monuments, we tried to perpetuate the memory of the disappeared, many of whom are deprived of even the right to burial. Our wish is that this will serve as a remembrance of a state crime committed in the past so that it will not be repeated and we hope that perhaps one day, as a monument, it will be part of a reckoning with the past...

The exhibition included Asya Leman's video showing Olcan's marbles in the parts of Istanbul from where the disappeared were initially abducted, a selection of Hacer Foggo's photographs documenting the struggle surrounding the forcibly disappeared in the '90s, 12 of the interviews conducted by Hafıza Merkezi with the relatives of the forcibly disappeared and a video prepared by Mert Kaya about the memory of Galatasaray Square and other public squares, bringing together the views of the Saturday Mothers/People on their protest.

Another event we organized during the Week of the Disappeared was the launch of the book **Any Hopes for Truth?**, a comparative analysis of enforced disappearances and missing persons in the Caucasus, Middle East and North Africa written by Özgür Sevgi Görâl. The event took place on 17 May 2019 at Yapı Kredi Culture Centre. Participants included Görâl who represented Hafıza Merkezi and Gülseren Yoleri from the Human Rights Association (Turkey); Nadia Kornioti and Shirin Jetha (Cyprus); Mona Nassereldin from the Lebanon-based Act for the Disappeared; Shadi Sadr from Justice for Iran, which works on enforced disappearances in Iran; and Tatiana Chernikova on behalf of the Human Rights Center Memorial (Russia). The seeds of the **Any Hopes for Truth?** publication were sown in 2017 during a regional thematic workshop on the topic of enforced disappearances in countries near Turkey.



STONES RESISTING OBLIVION*

The darkness is not yet unveiled. These stones were dressed thinking about how we can build a new life on the humming void left by those lives that have been covered up and erased as if they had never been lived.



Years have passed since the commoners' graveyard revealed a horror to us. The tortured and mutilated body of Hasan Ocak, the icon of those disappeared in custody, was found buried under a random number in the commoners' graveyard, as a result of his family's relentless pursuit. His murderers were present when he was buried, of course. They had dropped his dead body in the Beykoz forest after serving the brown-haired young man a blend of torture that pushed the limits of human imagination and attracted the envy of even the most glorious traditions of torture in history. From the poor records we learned that a member of the public had found him and that his body was passed on to the commoners' graveyard after forensic medicine had labelled his body as unclaimed. It was as a result of the stubborn efforts of his family, who put up with being pushed around, taken into custody and declared national enemies, that his body was finally traced. The horror expressed by Hasan's sister and the fragmentary images recorded by a shamefaced camera on television entirely dislocated the reality of the commoners' graveyard, which had until then been a sad but also somewhat romanticized last stop in our middle-class perception. All of a sudden, the commoners' graveyard turned into a threat that could devour us all at any moment. It had become the mass

grave of a massacre. The majority of those whose identity had been deemed unknown and who had been labelled with random numbers and buried side by side since the early '90s had not died a natural death. That is, they had been tortured, mutilated, and slaughtered. Hasan was not unclaimed. In finding his corpse, his family was finally freed from the state of crucifying agony in which the families of the thousands of recorded cases of disappeared persons are trapped.

The first example of mass disappearance at the hands of a state is the operation launched on December 7, 1941 by order of Nazi General Wilhelm Keitel. Thousands of insurgents were rounded up and disappeared in the middle of the night to intimidate Nazi-occupied Europe and to suppress all forms of resistance. The operation was called "Night and Fog." In the poetry of fascism, night and fog meant that disappearances took place in the night, shrouded in the fog of uncertainty.

But as Hannah Arendt underlines, the Nazis' "efforts to let their 'opponents disappear in silent anonymity' were in vain." For there would always be someone left alive to tell the story.

Later, in the '60s, thousands of people were disappeared in Guatemala and Brazil. Hundreds were disappeared in Chile after the 1973 coup. Pinochet lent a hand to the Argentine generals. Thousands of dissidents were disappeared in Argentina after the 1976 coup. After the transition to civilian rule, some generals would confess that most of the missing people had been drugged into a stupor and dropped into the ocean from planes.

From 1980 until today, with the '90s as a period of particular intensity, the Republic of Turkey too would become notorious for the brutal practice of enforced disappearance. Men who disdained the night often acted in broad daylight as they shoved people into their cars and took them away. Their confidence in the fog was absolute. They obviously thought that they would never have to stand sweating in front of a judge and reveal their methods before any court. Our sinister history has unfortunately proved them right.

Let's at least confess this: There is no society without memory. There are only societies that dare to sacrifice their children and cling to virtues like poverty, despair and ignorance, cautiously passing over massacres thinking, "let's not get into trouble."

Disappearing a person is the end point in the history of torture. It is a cruelty without compare. It means severing the disappeared's every tie with the world, leaving behind not even the faintest glimmer of hope. Striking that person out of the world's record. Leaving them all alone. Suffocating those who remain behind, the relatives, with their own hopes. Punishing them with their own hopes. Throwing them into a limbo that gives no respite to any of the emotions they know, or that they are prepared for.

Their loved ones now lives on in a world they no longer know. In a world whose customs and rules they do not know. The details of everyday life, all the little things that define day as day and night as night start to hurt. Everything is written in the tense stillness of waiting. All vital actions suspended. No matter how much they give their loved ones up for dead, some part of them, that part believing in miracles, making them human, continues the wait. There was a mother I once spoke to. Even fifteen years later her heart was pounding every time she saw a young man with glasses driving a car. Hanging people to their own hopes and draining them with their own hopes - this is the bloodiest of savagery.

Almost all the relatives of the disappeared I have met said that they had given up hope that their sons, daughters and siblings were alive. In order to remain human. To sit down and have breakfast in the morning. To go and earn money, to take a nap in the evening in front of the TV, to keep the house clean, to visit neighbors. With a

hopeless effort, they all said that they were out of hope. In order to survive. To remain human. While talking to them, two lines by Melih Cevdet Anday kept turning in my head like two steel screws: "*Our hope was the river that patience could not hold / Our despair was to remain human.*"

The Saturday Mothers gathered in Galatasaray for weeks, bludgeoned and beaten in custody. Now they are banned from setting foot there. Now there is no one left to remind us of the disappeared, of those whose detention is a known fact, has been witnessed, but is nonetheless denied by the authorities, of those whose bodies, hatefully ripped apart, were thrown into who knows which riverbed, which forest, or which pit. The mothers and fathers who have grown thousands of years older no longer sit in front of Galatasaray High School holding up images of their sons and daughters, mostly enlarged versions of faded passport photographs taken in a rundown photographer's shop. In their dreams, they perhaps still see their missing children knock on the door one evening, as if nothing had happened. They are the ones who are denied the right to mourn the death of their loved ones, who remain alive knowing that they cannot hold anyone to account. On the other side is a society of people whose losses increase day by day as they feel grateful because none of their relatives have been disappeared.

The darkness is not yet unveiled.

These stones were dressed thinking about how we can build a new life on the humming void left by those lives that have been covered up and erased as if they had never been lived; thinking about how we can make our life from this emptiness without succumbing to the sluggishness of hope.

These are stones resisting oblivion.

Stones that say, we remember, we know, and we will call you to account.

Text by Yıldırım Türker

**Introduction text that was published in the Aşıkâr Sır exhibition catalogue.*



CYPRUS WORKING VISIT:

A DIVIDED ISLAND AND DISAPPEARANCES

“Which terminal are we headed for, domestic or international? We can enter simply with our IDs, can’t we? Do not let them put a stamp in your passport, you won’t be able to enter Greece! Can we use our normal phone numbers? So those who have a Schengen visa can’t cross to the south either? ...”

Confused by the questions posed by a divided island, we were traveling to a country that is not recognized as such anywhere in the world except for Turkey. These questions showed us that we, as people from Turkey, were considered an immediate party to the conflict. For some, we were citizens of the occupying state. That is why we were afraid that we might not be able to go to the South, that we might not be able to go to Greece when we entered Nicosia. However, we weren’t going to Turkey, but to Cyprus, an island with its own historical and geographical unity.

Cyprus, where these everyday questions and problems have their roots, was and is shaped by a conflict that has unraveled at both international and local level. How did one confront the destruction and violations caused by this conflict in the country? We had set off with the aim of contributing to building new relations and bridges between the struggles for truth in Turkey and Cyprus. We were particularly aware of the progress and achievements in the struggle for truth regarding the disappeared and wanted to meet the people and institutions leading this struggle. However, the criticism we witnessed once we arrived went beyond our expectations. The conflict in Cyprus had caused so many casualties on both sides that it was impossible to ignore the pervasive impact of this issue on the whole of society. But whereas the “victimization” caused by disappearances was something acknowledged both by the states and the Cypriot society, the fact that disappearances constitute a crime and therefore come with a perpetrator is being swept under the rug. We once again saw how the success of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus in finding the missing persons in Cyprus and delivering their bodies to their families obfuscated the unfulfilled demand for justice of the relatives of the disappeared.



THE COMMITTEE ON MISSING PERSONS IN CYPRUS

The Committee on Missing Persons (CMP) tries to identify only those who were reported missing in inter-communal conflicts in 1974 and earlier. According to the CMP's data, the number of missing people in Cyprus is 2,002; 1,510 Greek Cypriots and 492 Turkish Cypriots. Of the people who were identified and whose remains were handed over to their families, 696 were Greek Cypriots and 269 Turkish Cypriots. 1,230 people have been found in the 1,307 excavations that have been carried out so far.

The CMP was established in April 1981 by an agreement between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of the United Nations. It is the only institutionalized bi-communal committee in Cyprus. The establishment of the CMP is based on the 31 July 1997 Agreement between the leaders of both communities. The agreement provides for the exchange of information on burial sites and the return of the bodies of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot missing persons.

Today, the CMP's management structure consists of a rotating Presidency and a three-person Committee. The latter consists of one UN official appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and one representative for each community, appointed by the President of the TRNC and the President of the Republic of Cyprus. The work is carried out by bi-communal teams that include Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot scientists. The team is made up of 130-150 people, including geneticists, doctors, archaeologists, anthropologists, psychologists and staff, members.

The CMP was established with the purpose of determining the fate of missing persons. The CMP conducts the process of exhuming, identifying and returning the persons listed as "missing" as a result of the conflicts in 1963-1964 and 1974. Its aim is for victims' relatives to be able to obtain the remains of their loved ones and to organize appropriate funerals and thus to end the prolonged state of grief and uncertainty.

The committee does not attempt to establish the cause of death and does not impute responsibility for the deaths of the missing persons. However, there are lawsuits that have been filed at the ECtHR after the fate of the missing persons was determined.

Our team consisted of Kerem Çiftçiöğlü and Özlem Kaya from Hafıza Merkezi, Hanım Tosun from the Human Rights Association (IHD) Istanbul, Ezgi Sila Demir and Ercan Yılmaz from IHD Diyarbakır, Mert Onur from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) Istanbul Office and Mert Kaya who documented the entire visit on video. Arriving in Nicosia on the evening of November 4, we met and held lively discussions with many Cypriots during the consecutive meetings we held on November 5-6.

The Republic of Cyprus was founded as a result of agreements ratified by the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey after the country had declared its independence in 1960. Shortly after, intense violence between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots started to unfold. In fact, "[d]uring the 1950s, the official political project of the Turkish Cypriots, which made up 18 percent of the total population, was the partition of the island, *taksim*; while the political leaders of the Greek Cypriots, which made up the majority of the population, were supporting union with Greece, *enosis*." [1] Conflicts between the communities continued during the '60s with many casualties suffered on both sides. Following the coup organized by Greek Cypriot nationalists on 15 July 1974 for the country's annexation to Greece territory, Turkey's army landed in Cyprus on July 20, 1974. In 1983, the foundation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) as a separate state was unilaterally declared.

In this history of internal and external conflict, disappearing people was a method used by all parties. In Cyprus, this crime is defined as the crime of enforced disappearance. We are dealing with a complex situation where there are perpetrators from both of the communities involved in the conflict and where even Turkish authorities and foreign actors got involved after 1974.

We organized this visit on the occasion of a publication we had prepared on the importance of a common framework in understanding the crime of enforced disappearances, which is committed in many different contexts, forms and regions. The report written by Özgür Sevgi Göral, deals with the patterns as well as the similarities and differences of the various incidents

MISSING PERSONS AND ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE

Enforced disappearance is a crime that describes situations where a person is abducted or detained by the state together with the state's refusal to acknowledge this fact or to provide information about the fate of that person. Missing persons, on the other hand, according to the most general definition, is a term used for persons who cannot be found for different reasons that do not imply direct involvement of the state. A missing person can be lost as a result of armed conflict, of migrating from one country to another, or of a natural disaster. Missing persons do not have to be lost as a result of an incident that constitutes a crime and points to the responsibility of the state.



of enforced disappearances in countries such as Russia, Armenia-Azerbaijan-Georgia, Iran, Lebanon, Turkey, Cyprus and Algeria. The idea for this report arose at a workshop one year earlier, in 2017, when different institutions working on disappearances in these countries came together in Istanbul on the invitation of Hafiza Merkezi. Our visit to Cyprus is part of this effort to understand and cooperate.

Journalist Sevgül Uludağ's [2] efforts were crucial in bringing the issue of the disappeared to light for the first time in Cyprus. When we met families of the disappeared from both communities in Nicosia, it was persistently emphasized how important Uludağ's efforts were in revealing and bringing up the issue of the disappeared. The changing dynamics of bi-communal life in Cyprus were another important factor in the course of this process. Prior to 1963, the communities had coexisted on the island, but the conflict eroded their bonds, and between 1974 and 2003 the two communities were unable to find a way back to each other. The situation began to change with the controlled opening of the borders in 2003. Uludağ, who was unaware of these enforced disappearances during her first years in the profession, says that it was in such an environment that she first learned about the issue by chance. Together with a group of relatives of the missing from both communities, Uludağ began collecting the stories of the disappeared. The fact that both sides are affected by this experience enables the communities to develop mutual empathy and to acknowledge that both are victims. The opening of the border in 2003 allowed the two communities to come together more frequently, leading the relatives of the missing to become officially organized in 2006. Today, families of the missing from the two communities are joined together in the organization *Together We Can*.

During our visit, it was particularly important to us to spend time with the families of the missing. In this context, we first had a small meeting with Erbay Akansoy and his father Hüseyin Akansoy [3], Sevgül Uludağ, and

Christos Efthymiou [4], all of whom are leading figures in *Together We Can* and who helped us greatly with the preparation of our program. In this meeting, Efthymiou told us that previously it was only the Greek side that had paid any attention to the issue of the disappeared, and then only in the context of disappeared persons of Greek origin. On the Turkish side, on the other hand, the disappeared were not called "missing" but referred to as "martyrs". After this small meeting, we held a closed meeting which was attended by many Cypriot relatives of the disappeared. Presentations on the issue of the disappeared in Turkey and Cyprus were made at the meeting. The exchange of stories between Hanım Tosun, the wife of Fehmi Tosun who was disappeared in 1995, and the Cypriot families left the strongest emotional mark on all of us. It was both painful and empowering to hear about the devastation enforced disappearances caused among those left behind, how the relatives of the disappeared survived this painful experience and how resolutely they continued their struggle.

Going to Cyprus, we were excited to meet the team at the Committee on Missing Persons (CMP) and to see its work on site. We had assumed that the relatives of the disappeared would look favorably upon the work of the CMP. However, as much as the importance of the CMP was underlined during our two-day visit, we heard significant criticisms regarding its work.

One of the main criticisms directed at the CMP was that its activities were structured in a way that did not allow for any discussion about perpetrators. Established by a group of lawyers to advocate accountability mechanisms regarding those responsible for the disappeared, *Truth Now* is an organization that puts precisely this issue at the heart of its work.. The CMP does not make any explanation as to the sources from which it obtains its information; this is used to encourage those responsible for the disappearances to testify, but is considered a *de facto* amnesty for the perpetrators. Although *Truth Now* requested information on whether there were perpetrators among those who testified to the CMP, it received no response to these requests for reasons of confidentiality. In fact, *Truth Now* does not request information concerning people's identities, but would like to know whether the information comes from the perpetrators, in order to gauge whether the practice of *de facto* amnesties is an effective approach. *Truth Now* pointed to the limitations of the CMP's terms of reference and developed a proposal on how they could be revised. [5] Although by offering a broader definition of the truths uncovered by the committee, their proposal does not cover jurisdiction over the issue, it does recommend investigations be carried out into how the disappearance occurred and therefore does not exclude the possibility of legal proceedings. Another obstacle to taking legal action regarding the

disappearances is the island's divided structure. An indication of this became visible when some perpetrators recently made statements to the newspapers. Often, they are able to make these statements because since there is no definition of a crime, they believe there will not be any trials in this regard, and they feel a certain pride about what they have done. Prosecutors on both sides do not initiate any investigations about these statements on the grounds that they do not fall under their jurisdiction.

Of course, these criticisms are not meant to underestimate the importance of finding the bodies of the disappeared, especially for their families. With the permission of the CMP and accompanied by an officer working in the committee, we visited an excavation site in Nicosia. Not knowing what we would encounter, we felt a slight sense of apprehension as we headed towards the site, and when we arrived we found that the excavation was taking place in a small street in the heart of the city, where daily life continued as normal. In order not to cause any disturbances in the street, only small areas were dug and immediately closed over again after the body parts of the disappeared had been disinterred. The excavation team consisted of Cypriots from both communities and the excavations were carried out with great care. Accustomed to the careless excavations carried out in Turkey, we were impressed to see such precision and diligence – qualities that are essential for such work. During our interview with the excavation team leader, we were also struck by the fact that the team's scrupulous approach to the technical aspects of the excavations was also complemented by great sensitivity regarding the feelings of the relatives of the disappeared. Cyprus is a small place; almost everyone here knows someone who is missing. This shows just how widespread the crime of enforced disappearances was on the island, as well as the extent of its emotional impact on those who live here. Therefore, the team involved in the excavations carries out its work with a level of care that goes beyond mere professionalism.

We held almost all our Cyprus meetings in the Home for Cooperation. When the border was opened for crossing in 2003, a group of peace activists led the way to the establishment of this community center established on the green line in the buffer zone in the heart of Nicosia. The building, which hosts the offices of different non-governmental organizations, is both a cafe and a cultural center, as well as a working area where people from the north and south can come together, collaborate and develop joint projects. The center also houses the office of the Cyprus Dialogue Forum, where Erbay Akansoy, who greatly supported us in creating the program for our visit, works. At this point, we need to make a brief aside for the Cypriot element of our team. We can honestly say that this program would not have been possible without Erbay, who supported us at every moment

from the preparatory stages to our two-day stay on the island. We are also grateful to Maria Zeniou and Başak Ekenoğlu from the Cyprus Dialogue Forum for readily responding to our every need.

By the time we left Cyprus, we had found answers to some of the questions in our minds and learned a lot of new information about the history and everyday politics of the island. However, this visit also raised new questions: How can the tension between truth and justice—a tension that we also see in various other contexts—be resolved? Could the complexity and coexistence of the positions of perpetrators and victims make it easier to recognize a “common pain”? What can the fact that the relatives of the disappeared of both communities stand side by side tell us for the struggle in Turkey, or, can it tell us anything at all? Can the attitude and policy of the Turkish state in Cyprus somehow be considered in conjunction with its attitude and policy on the bringing about of a solution to the Kurdish issue? Can this comparison be utilized to strengthen our demand for peace? And of course, in addition to all these questions, we left Cyprus deeply affected by everyone we met there, their personal stories and their determined struggle.

Text by Özlem Kaya & Kerem Çiftioğlu

¹ Göral, Özgür Sevgi, *Any Hopes for Truth? Enforced Disappearances and Missing People in Caucasus, Middle East and North Africa*, p. 90

² For Sevgül Uludağ's book publications on this topic see https://www.amazon.co.uk/Books-Sevgul-Uludag/s?rh=n%3A266239%2Cp_27%3ASevgul+Uludag

³ For a video report, in which Hüseyin Akansoy and Petros Suppuris talk to the BBC Turkey about what they went through 40 years ago and what they expect from the future see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KkINBAIT_DQ

⁴ For Christos Efthymiou's article about bi-communal life in Cyprus see <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/reflections-on-bicommunal-relations-in-cyprus/>

⁵ For Truth Now's proposal for amending the terms of reference see <http://www.truthnowcyprus.org/index.php/en/a-truth-commission-for-cyprus/item/27-proposal-for-amending-the-terms-of-reference-of-cmp>

INSTITUTIONS VISITED

Together We Can, the bi-communal organization of relatives of the missing and victims of the war.
Home for Cooperation: <http://www.home4cooperation.info/>
Cyprus PRIO: <https://cyprus.prio.org/>
Truth Now: <http://www.truthnowcyprus.org/>
Committee on Missing Persons: <http://www.cmp-cyprus.org>
Association for Historical Dialogue and Research: <https://www.ahdr.info/>
Cyprus Dialogue Forum: <https://www.cydialogue.org/>



MEMORIALIZE TURKEY

To highlight our shifting focus towards the landscape of memory, we added 12 new cases to the Memorialize Turkey site.



Memorialize Turkey highlights examples of memorialization among the many groups and individuals that have been harmed by grave human rights violations over the past 100 years, from the late Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey until today. The project started in 2013 as a collaboration between the World Policy Institute, the Fetzer Institute, and Hafıza Merkezi. The initial project idea was suggested by Belinda Cooper from the World Policy Institute during a workshop organized by Hafıza Merkezi in December 2011. The aim was to compile different actors' memorialization efforts in order to contribute to the democratization of the field of memory in Turkey, which is dominated by an exclusive, nationalist and one-dimensional national memory.

After the initial workshop, we organized a follow-up workshop in Mardin in February 2013 which brought together participants from various political initiatives in Turkey, who represented different ethnic and religious identities and were actively working in memorialization. We also invited civil society representatives with experience in memorialization work from Germany, Israel, and Bosnia, three countries trying to deal with difficult and contested histories. The product of our joint efforts was the website [Memorialize Turkey](#).

The website's first version, published in 2013, featured 26 examples of memorialization addressing past atrocities that are being denied, repressed, or misinterpreted today. These mostly included physical memorials and rather typical forms of memorialization, such as statues, shrines, parks, monuments and former prisons. In the following years, Hafıza Merkezi started to engage in connecting memorialization work with new technologies and creative methods. We organized public panels on the role of new mediums, such as gaming and virtual reality, in confronting grave human rights violations. We continue our efforts towards enhancing the creative and narrative capacities in the field of human rights by actively encouraging collaborations between human rights organizations and the creative disciplines. Thus, in 2018-2019, our



Özcan Alper - Kavil: In the Ruins



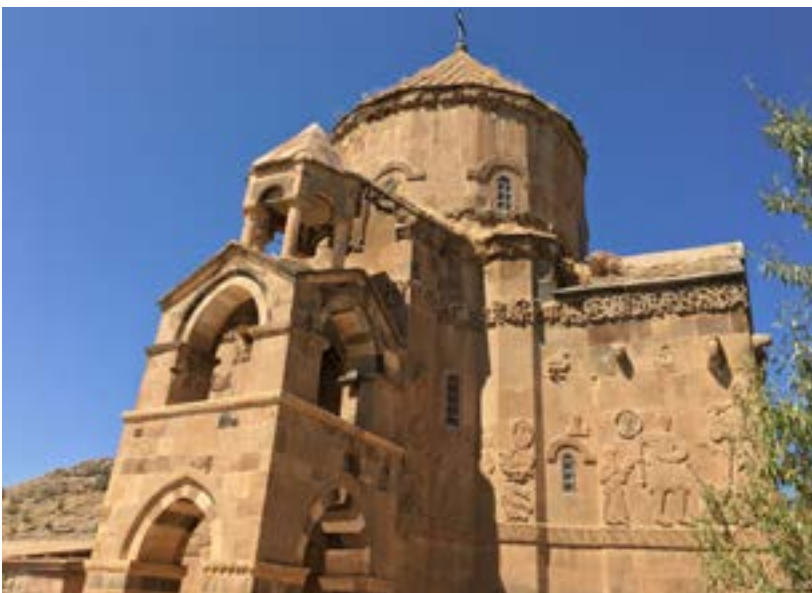
September 12 Museum of Shame

approach to memorialization became more diversified. In this context, we decided to update the [Memorialize Turkey](#) website. To highlight our shifting focus on the landscape of memory, we added 12 new cases to the site in 2019, bringing the site to where it is today, providing information about 37 memorialization projects.

The following memorialization projects were added to the updated version of the site: The books *Being a Queer in the '80s* and *Being a Queer in the '90s*; The Monument Counter: A Digital Memorial for Women Killed by Violence; bak.ma: Digital Media Archive of Political Movements, Curious Steps: Gender and Memory Walks of Istanbul; Peace Portraits: A Look at the Lives We Lost on October 10, 2015; Hafiza Kaydı: In Search of Mutual Stories; Karakutu Memory Walks; Kavi: In the Ruins;

Turkey Cultural Heritage Map; Hope Archive; 23,5 Hrant Dink Site of Memory; Conscience and Justice Watch.

In the struggle for truth, justice and memory, it is of paramount importance to include wider segments of society in the process of learning from past mistakes so as to make the motto 'Never Again!' a reality. Many of the different memorialization projects listed on this site can be seen as practices of dealing with a painful past in the form of digital, permanent or periodic works. We hope that this site, designed to offer a compilation of such practices, will contribute to an important discussion on how commemorative activities can help us to be curious about, understand and question human rights and past injustices.

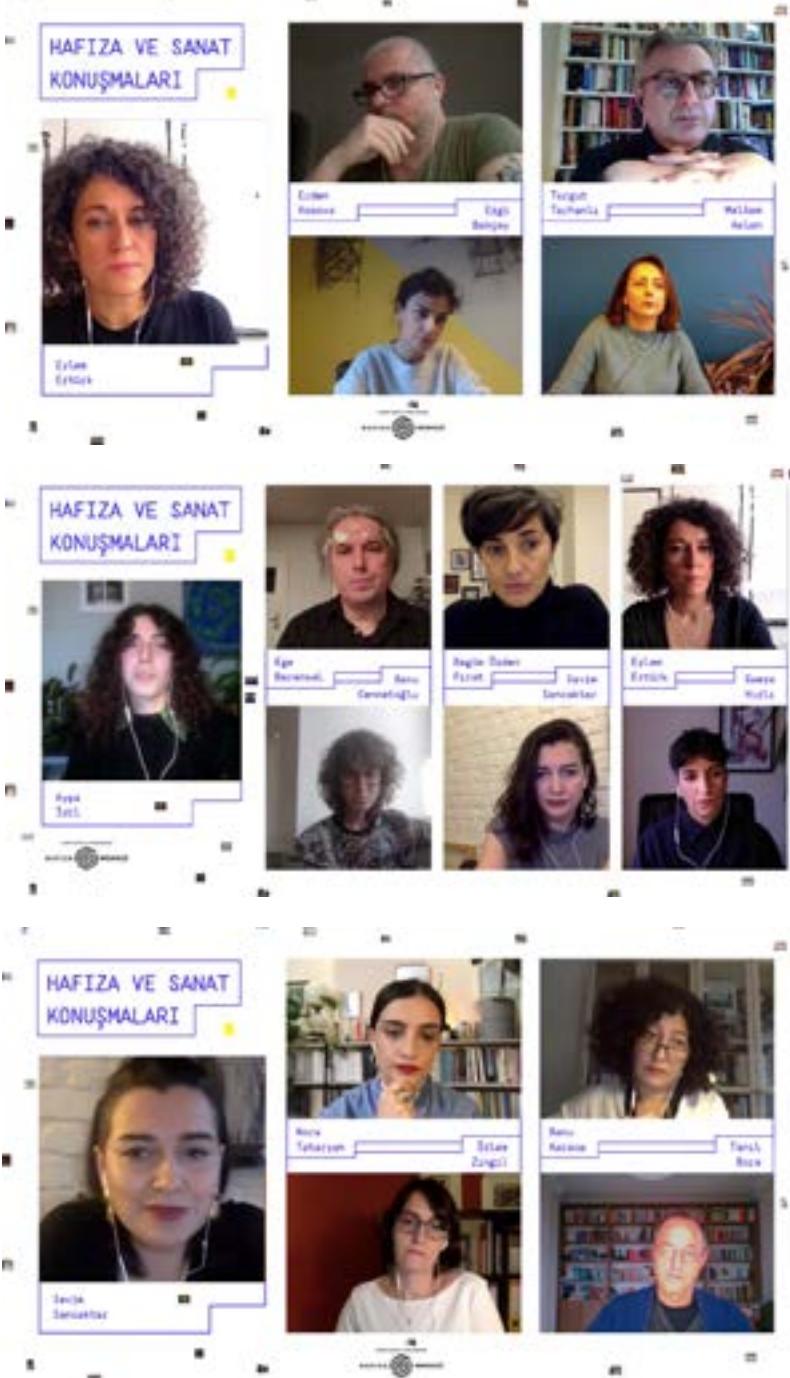


Ahtamar Church



MEMORY AND ART IN TURKEY

We launched our project Memory and Art in Turkey with the aim of examining and discussing the reflections of social memory in art.



More recently, we have been developing and conducting projects aimed at bringing together the field of art and the human rights movement in Turkey, a country whose social memory has frequently been disrupted by those in power. It was in this context that we launched our project *Memory and Art in Turkey* in order to examine and discuss the reflections of social memory in art.

Within this scope, we first of all wanted to review artworks created between 2000-2019 that dealt with social memory in the context of human rights and had been exhibited in Turkey, in order to assemble a selection. After this initial selection process, we planned to organize a public talk and to publish a book on this research, and to open up spaces where civil society, academia and the arts could come together to discuss these issues. In bringing together people working in the fields of social memory, the struggle for rights and art within such an overarching framework, our aim is to encourage these fields to draw from one another, thus allowing them to create a new language. We further aim to contribute to investigating opportunities for creative debate and to make artworks dealing with memory more visible to different audiences. At the same time, we hope to contribute to a reinterpretation of the social, political and artistic contexts in which the works of art were produced or which form the subject of the works and to facilitate a better understanding of the impacts of the systematic and ongoing rights violations in Turkey on our collective memory. After starting our research towards the end of 2018, 2020 was devoted to the compilation of the artworks and the public talks. The project will conclude with the publication of a book featuring the outcomes of our work in the early months of 2021.

In the first phase of the research, the research team, made up of Ayşe İdil, Eylem Ertürk and Sevim Sancaktar, reviewed artworks produced over a 20-year period. Since many institutions do not currently have an archive, we drew up a list of 40 institutions, venues, festivals and initiatives and went through the contents of the artworks that had been part of all the exhibitions and shows organized by these institutions since 2000. While the websites, printed brochures and catalogues of biennials, museums, festivals, performance venues, galleries and art initiatives constituted our main sources, articles published in magazines and different publications or information obtained from one-on-one interviews were included in the selection as secondary sources. After reviewing 1,670 exhibitions and screenings from a total of 40 institutions/initiatives, we prepared a list of over 400 artworks that matched our framework.

In the second step, in order to gain a better understanding of the relationship and interactions between art and social memory in parallel with the transformation that Turkey has undergone over the last 20 years, we opened the selection to interpretations. We invited 15 people from civil society, the arts and academia and between September-December 2020, we split into five different study groups to examine and evaluate the selection under certain themes, discussing different possibilities regarding their interpretation.

The third stage of the project, which was supported by the Chrest Foundation, was a series of public talks. Here, each speaker made a presentation based on our previous discussions in the study groups. The talks, which were held from 16-25 December, took place online due to the pandemic. The presentations delivered in these sessions will be collected in a book to be published in March 2021.

TALK SERIES PROGRAM

16 DECEMBER 2020 - Wednesday

Complicity, Involvement and Participation in an Ongoing History of Violence (Banu Karaca)
The Representation of Violence and the Construction of Memory (Nora Tataryan)
Planning and Sculpting Memory (Tanıl Bora)

19 DECEMBER 2020 - Saturday

The Hoping Body Drifts Towards Uncanny Spaces, or in Praise of the Void (Zeynep Günsür)
Antigone's Memory (Özlem Hemiş)
Posthuman Bodies and the Possibilities of Memory (Aslı Zengin)

22 DECEMBER 2020 - Tuesday

Period Blood, Organs, Hair, Threads and Needles: Constructing a Testimony of Oneself (Dilan Yıldırım)
Childhood, Excavation and Memory (Umut Tümay Arslan)
The Death of Memory, the Memory of Death (Zeynep Sayın)

23 DECEMBER 2020 - Wednesday

The Perpetrator's List, the Subaltern's Map: Techniques of the Archive (Ege Berensel)
The Outside of the Archive (Begüm Özden Fırat)
Tracing My/Our Dreams, the Archive and You? (Banu Cennetoğlu)

25 DECEMBER 2020 - Friday

Dealing with State Violence in the Field of Art in Turkey: Continuities and Divergences between the Different Periods (Erden Kosova)
The Politics of Art in Post-2000 Turkey: The Case of *Karşı Sanat Çalışmaları* (Ezgi Bakçay)
Violence, Memory and Art in the Context of the Freedom of Artistic Expression and Creativity (Turgut Tarhanlı)



TALKING ABOUT PUBLIC SECRETS IN THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE

The scope of Hafıza Merkezi's monitoring activities, which began with cases concerning the widespread and systematic extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances with the involvement of state officials in the 1990s, has expanded over the last two years.

Hafıza Merkezi is compiling the information gathered in the course of its monitoring of criminal proceedings regarding serious human rights violations in the recent past in a digital archive entitled *Faili Belli*. This online archive, a product in particular of the legal studies pursued at Hafıza Merkezi, contains publicly available background information on the trials, a curated compilation of related news, monitoring reports, analyses as well as translated articles and legal resources. The scope of Hafıza Merkezi's monitoring activities, which began with cases concerning the widespread and systematic extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances with the involvement of state officials in the 1990s, has expanded over the last two years.

The judicial proceedings regarding the violations of the right to life arising from the disproportionate use of lethal force by security forces in the 2000s were included in the trial monitoring. *failibelli.org* started to cover a number of critical lawsuits filed with respect to deaths caused by such use of force during gatherings and demonstrations or in daily life, especially in conflict zones. Monitoring the conduct of the judiciary regarding similar violations that occurred in two different periods allows us to understand and expose how perpetrators continue to be protected from criminal responsibility by a shield of impunity.

The existence of the JITEM (“Gendarmerie Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism”) unit was denied for many years in Turkey. Finally, a new dynamic unfolded under the guise of confronting with the past. This period saw the initiation of different criminal proceedings including the Ergenekon trials. The government acknowledged the existence of JITEM and, as in the Kızıltepe JITEM case, indictments containing detailed information about the organizational structure of JITEM, its position in the state and its illegal activities were admitted by the courts and prosecution began. The resumption of investigations that had been deferred for years and legal actions pursued on the basis of “promising” indictments gave rise to expectations that justice could finally prevail for the relatives of the victims.

By 2018, four of the cases which had been expected to

create the basis for a reckoning with the past had resulted in acquittal, and pessimism regarding the ongoing cases started to grow. Together with the network *Alliance in the Fight Against Impunity*, of which we are a member, Hafıza Merkezi organized a series of conversations, asking: If JITEM exists but does not seem to play a role in the grave human rights violations, then who committed these violations?

THE EXISTENCE OF JITEM IN THE '90S AND TRIALS

The first conversation took place after the Kızıltepe JITEM trial ended with impunity on September 9, 2019, with the participation of attorneys Erdal Kuzu from the Mardin Bar Association and Nuray Özdoğan from the Ankara Bar Association as well as journalists İrfan Aktan and Gökçer Tahincioğlu. At the Ankara Bar Association Training Center, the Kızıltepe JITEM case was discussed in all its aspects.

THE EXISTENCE OF JITEM IN THE '90S AND THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE

In this conversation hosted by the Alumni Association of the Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University on 20 September 2019, journalist Gökçer Tahincioğlu was accompanied by his colleague Ayşegül Doğan in moderating a conversation between lawyers Eren Baskın, Sertaç Ekinci, Selim Okçuoğlu and Yunus Muratakan.

DISAPPEARANCE AND STRUGGLE: SEARCHING FOR JUSTICE

The panel that took place in the Mülkiye Cultural Center on 13 December 2019, before the final hearing of the Ankara JITEM trial, included speakers from the relatives of the disappeared. The first session was moderated by journalist Ayça Söylemez and joined by Begüm Erdoğan and Leyla Yıldırım, while the second session was moderated by Filiz Gazi with Raşan Anter, Eren Aysan, Alaz Erdost and Zeynep Altıok taking the floor.

In coming together to discuss the difficulties of the search for justice, our aim was to strengthen the courage and solidarity created by this struggle.

AS CASES CONFRONTING THE PAST ARE CLOSED: WHO ARE THE PERPETRATORS (#PEKIFAILKIM)?

We took Human Rights Week (December 10-17) as an occasion to take stock of the small number of cases opened regarding this period that requires urgent confrontation in Turkey.



Extra-judicial killings and enforced disappearances were systematically carried out against civilians as a state policy in Turkey during the 1990s. A small number of trials looked promising for coming to the terms of this policy have been closed one by one. We are witnessing that the security forces, against whom powerful indictments demanding heavy prison sentences were filed, have been acquitted. In the face of this situation, as families of the victims and human rights defenders seeking justice, we ask this right question:

#PekiFailKim? #failkim?

The hashtag slogan translates as follows: (If the defendants are not guilty), then who committed these crimes?

Year	THE TRIAL OF TEMİZÖZ AND OTHERS	THE TRIAL OF MUSA ANTER + AYTEN ÖZTÜRK + MAIN JITEM	THE TRIAL OF ANKARA JITEM	THE TRIAL OF NEZİR TEKİR	THE TRIAL OF MUSA ÇİTEL	THE TRIAL OF MEFE SAYIL (GÖRÜMLÜ)	THE TRIAL OF LİCE	THE TRIAL OF NAIM KURT	THE TRIAL OF VARTINİS	THE TRIAL OF YAVUZ ERTÜRK (KULP)	THE TRIAL OF KIZILTEPE JITEM	THE TRIAL OF DARGEÇİT JITEM
1990	21 people were tortured under interrogation, 13 were forcibly disappeared or extra-judicially killed under the name of "fighting against terrorism" in 1993 in the district of Çazır in the Şırnak province.	A trial was opened on charges of state-sponsored murder, sabotage and bombing committed under the organizational framework of JITEM. This trial was later joined with the trials on the murder of journalist-writer Musa Anter in Diyarbakır in September 1992 and the killing of Ayten Öztürk after being kidnapped and tortured in Barsim in 1994.	19 people including the Head of Altındağ Registry Office in Ankara, Abdülmecit Başkan, were forcibly disappeared and extra-judicially killed in Ankara between the years 1993-1996.	In April 1995, 24-year-old herder Nezir Tekir was arrested by soldiers as he was spending the night at the hamlet of 'Kıran Çiçek' in the Yüksekova district of Hakkari province, while he was traveling between villages with his herd. After that date, he was never heard from again.	13 people were forcibly disappeared or extra-judicially killed at road-blocks or during village raids between the years 1992/1994 in the district of Dinek in the Mardin province.	Military operations were carried out in the village of Görümlü in the Şırnak province followed armed clashes in 1993. The soldiers gathered all villagers and set some houses on fire. Nobody knows the whereabouts of the 6 persons taken to Görümlü Battalion who were arrested on that day.	In 1993, 14 civilians as well as Gendarmerie Regional Commander Brigadier General Bahadır Aydın and Gendarmerie Specialist Sergeant returned to their village to collect their belongings, they were arrested by the Kızıltepe Gendarmerie Command. While some were released, Mahmut Akar, Ali Can Öner, Yakup Hatipoğlu, Mehmet Tetik and Mehmet Emin Bingöl were not. Their bodies were found near the Commandership in November 1993.	The village of Kızıltepe in the Muğ province was burnt down and its inhabitants were forced to flee in 1993. When its former inhabitants returned to their village to collect their belongings, they were arrested by the Kızıltepe Gendarmerie Command. While some were released, Mahmut Akar, Ali Can Öner, Yakup Hatipoğlu, Mehmet Tetik and Mehmet Emin Bingöl were not. Their bodies were found near the Commandership in November 1993.	In October 1993, law enforcement forces set a house in the province of Vartinis in the Muğ province on fire, where 9 persons including 7 children were put out the fire. Only one person could be saved from this house.	The whereabouts of 11 people, who were detained during the military operations carried out in October 1993 and led by the Bolu Brigade under the command of General Yavuz Ertürk in the Alaca village in Diyarbakır's Kulp district as well as in the Kayalısız village in the Mardin province, have been unknown since that date.	Between the years 1992-1996, 22 people were forcibly disappeared or extra-judicially killed in the district of Kızıltepe in the Mardin province.	Between the years 1993/1996, following the killing of two teachers and the chief village guard of the Amara village by the PKK and the found of their bodies on the next day, a wave of arrests was started in the district of Dargeçit in the Mardin province. During the operations, 8 people, including a specialist sergeant and three kids, were forcibly disappeared between the dates October 29, 1995 and March 8, 1996.
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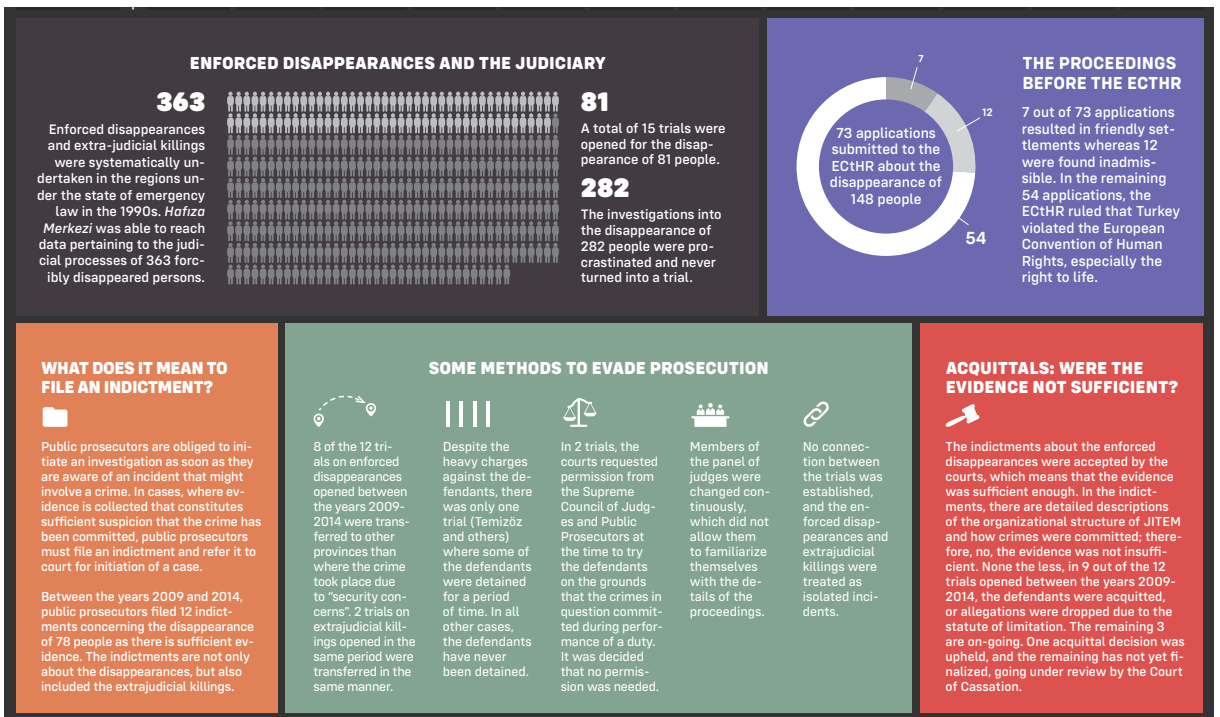
Extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances of civilians occurred as a systematic state policy in Turkey in the 1990s. In recent years, the few lawsuits on this issue, which offered the possibility of a reckoning with this state policy, have one-by-one come to a close with no convictions. In such a political context, we took **Human Rights Week on December 10-17** as an occasion to take stock of the small number of cases opened regarding this period of the country's history that requires urgent confrontation. Every year, December 10, the date of the United Nations' adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is celebrated as Human Rights Day. Together with other rights defenders in Turkey, we too organize various activities on this date and throughout the week in order to raise the visibility of our work. In 2019, therefore, we prepared an infographic that brings together information about twelve cases of gross human rights violations committed in the 1990s which we are monitoring on Faili Belli, our monitoring website for human rights cases.

Until fairly recently, indictments were being drafted against the perpetrators who stood accused in these cases, with prosecutors demanding heavy prison sentences.

Today, these cases are being closed with acquittals, on the grounds of lack of evidence. But is there really a lack of evidence? A glance at the indictments suggests the opposite to be true. These indictments contain very detailed descriptions of the organizational structure of the Gendarmerie Intelligence and Counterterrorism Unit (JITEM), which is presented as the perpetrator of the crimes, and about how these crimes were committed. In other words, there is no lack of evidence.

With our infographic, we present an account of the judicial processes that opened up the possibility to confront the dark crimes of the past, but in fact never fulfilled this promise. The study presents critical turning points in these 12 cases that we have been monitoring in conjunction with important political developments in Turkey.

Observing that commanding officers who were being charged with serious crimes are now being acquitted one by one, we, as families and human rights defenders in search of justice, ask the following fitting question: **If there is a lack of evidence, then who are the perpetrators (#PekiFailiKim)?**



WHAT IS A RULE 9.2 SUBMISSION?

Certain mechanisms have been established to ensure that ECtHR judgments are implemented in a timely and effective manner. One of these mechanisms is the submission under Rule 9.2.

The member states of the Council of Europe (CoE) and the states that are contracting parties to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) have an obligation to comply with judgments of the ECtHR that find a violation of the Convention. (ECHR, Art. 46)

In this context, the CoE Committee of Ministers (Committee), which consists of government representatives of the 47 member states of the CoE, is the body authorized and assigned to supervise the execution of ECtHR judgments. (In accordance with ECHR, Art. 46 and 39/4; Rules of Court, Art. 43)

The Committee holds large Human Rights Meetings in March, June and September, where it evaluates developments regarding the execution of the judgments under supervision. It further evaluates the action plans indicated by the contracting parties with respect to the court judgments under supervision and sets out its recommendations, instructions or concerns through decisions/interim resolutions. These meetings are closed, it is not possible for the injured parties who submitted the application or for NGOs to attend them.

Therefore, in order to prevent the Committee from basing its evaluations during the supervision process only on the action plans and statements of the states, mechanisms have been established to ensure that NGOs, injured parties and their legal advisors participate in the Committee's judgment execution procedure and that the ECtHR judgments are implemented in a timely and effective manner. One of these mechanisms is the submission under Rule 9.2.

Pursuant to Rule 9 of the Rules of the Committee of Ministers, injured parties (as per Rule 9.1) and NGOs (as per Rule 9.2) can submit communications to the Committee, presenting their evaluations and recommendations regarding the judgment under supervision in order to assist the execution process.

What is the importance of Rule 9.2? (Its impact)

When it comes to human rights violations, we mostly assume that everyone knows everything about other countries, but this is not really the case or how the system works. If not backed by specific information and analytical studies, general discourses are not really useful in the legal field. For this reason, it is extremely important for NGOs to be involved in the supervision processes of the ECtHR judgments and to provide the Committee with reliable and tangible information.

If the NGO and the injured parties are unable to present an opinion during the execution of the ECtHR's judgments, then first of all, the Committee, during its evaluations, only listens to the one-sided point of view of the state. Especially

in countries like Turkey, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Ukraine that are reluctant to execute ECtHR judgments fully and in due time, civil society holds an even greater responsibility in this regard.

The second important aspect is related to involvement in the processes regarding individual and general measures to be taken by states to remedy a violation and prevent similar violations from recurring. As mentioned at the beginning, according to the ECHR, member states are under a legal obligation to remedy violations found by the ECtHR. In practice, this obligation is fulfilled in two ways: Individual measures specific to the injured applicant, and general measures. The aim of individual measures is to provide full remedy. This may include the payment of compensation to the applicant in order to remedy material or moral damages in the context of just satisfaction, the reopening of unfair criminal proceedings, the restoration of assets, the implementation of domestic court decisions, the release of unjustly detained persons, the reinstatement of dismissed persons, etc.

General measures, on the other hand, aim for states to develop policies, judicial practices or legislative arrangements to prevent the possibility of causing similar violations in the future. In this regard, non-governmental organizations, by means of their Rule 9.2 submissions, have the opportunity to influence state policies through the recommendations of the Committee. For this reason, it is extremely important for them to present evaluations on the state's action plans and similar issues, to intervene in order for human rights policies to be developed, and to have an impact on the recommendations and requests to be directed to the state by the Committee.

Why did we need to make submissions under Rule 9.2? (Closing of the Aksoy group and our EIN membership)

We know that Turkey does not put into practice the individual and general measures or the recommendations of the Committee concerning the majority of ECtHR judgments. Given this state of affairs, we decided to present a Rule 9.2 submission regarding the *Aksoy* case group, in which judgments under supervision related to the enforced disappearances of the 1990s, one of Hafiza Merkezi's working areas, were particularly concentrated.

Within the scope of "Actions of Security Forces in Turkey," the Committee supervised the relevant judgments under four groups of cases: *Aksoy*, *Batı and others*, *Erdoğan and others* and *Kasa*.

In the *Aksoy* group (standard supervision), there are 175 judgments in which the ECtHR found that the Convention had been violated due to deaths caused by the excessive use of force by members of the security forces,

inadequate protection of the right to life, deaths and/or disappearances, ill-treatment, damage to property, and the lack of an effective domestic remedy. 42 of these judgments concern enforced disappearances allegedly committed by security forces.

The execution of several relatively recent judgments was supervised under the *Batı and others* group of cases (two out of 68 cases). The *Erdogan and others* group of cases (six out of nine cases) and the *Kasa* group of cases (one out of seven cases), which also included some cases concerning enforced disappearances, were supervised under an enhanced supervision procedure.

We prepared a detailed monitoring report containing recommendations to the Committee on the execution process of the ECtHR's judgments in the *Aksoy, Batı and others, Erdoğan and others* and *Kasa* groups that concerned enforced disappearances. Unfortunately, we were unable to influence the outcome. A number of cases in the *Aksoy* group still pending in Turkey were transferred to the *Mahmut Kaya* group and the problem headings under the *Aksoy* group were closed. The headings that were closed included: The inadequate and ineffective legal framework for providing procedural safeguards in police custody; the failure to protect the lives of the applicants' relatives; the general attitudes and practices of members of the security forces, problems regarding their education and training systems, and the inadequacy of the legal framework regarding their activities; ensuring direct effect of the ECHR requirements on domestic law; prompt and efficient implementation of the Law on Compensation of the Losses Resulting from Terrorism and from the Measures taken against Terrorism in the context of inadequacies with respect to providing remedy to injured parties; as well as the training of judges and prosecutors.

The closing of these headings meant that Turkey was taking satisfactory steps with respect to the above-mentioned problems remarked in the judgments under the *Aksoy* group and that the Committee would therefore stop supervising the cases under these headings.

There is of course a lot to be criticized about this decision and therefore we continue to submit 9.2 reports on other relevant groups of cases to the best of our abilities. In our more recent monitoring reports, we draw attention to the

current problems with respect to the closed headings that, despite reforms, continue in new forms and by different means and set out our recommendations regarding the supervision that is to be carried out by the Committee.

Hafıza Merkezi is a member of the *European Implementation Network (EIN)*, which works in the context of the implementation of the ECtHR judgments in these processes. We received great support from the network in preparing our submissions.

What was our experience? (The importance of documentation and following the process from the beginning, the interim resolution to be adopted in the *Batı and others* group)

Work in this area requires long-term engagement in gathering information and documents and an analytical evaluation and processing of documents in the context of legal standards. Relentless continuation of the struggle and the creation of alliances unquestionably make a difference over time. For example, together with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV) and the Human Rights Association (IHD) and with the support of the EIN, we made Rule 9.2 submissions regarding the supervision of the judgments in the *Batı and others* group over the past two years. Reviewing these submissions and the CPT reports, the Committee decided that Turkey should take result-oriented steps with respect to the problems indicated in our submission and that supervision of the group of cases should be resumed.

What can NGOs do in this context?

The ECtHR's judgments include more or less detailed determinations and instructions as to how detected violations should be corrected. In addition, as the number of judgments under supervision increases, the Committee groups similar cases in order to observe the "systematic and structural" problems indicated by them. In this way, it is possible to supervise the execution processes of the judgments along the lines of necessary regulations and general reforms. If each institution can utilize these supervision headings according to its own field of work and make Rule 9.2 submissions based on documentation and analytical work, this can make a tremendous difference over time in terms of demonstrating to the Committee legislation- and implementation-related problems in the field of human rights.



TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN TURKEY SYMPOSIUM

The symposium “Transitional Justice in Turkey: Transforming Subjects, Methods and Instruments” took place on 27-29 November 2020 and was joined by academics from different disciplines, graduate and doctoral students, independent researchers, rights defenders, activists, and NGO employees.

In Turkey, debates on transitional justice gained momentum in academia and civil society in the light of critical judicial and political developments that took place in the 2000s. The opening of high profile criminal cases and the revival of investigations after 2008 gave rise to cautious hopes that it would be possible to break the shield of impunity and cast light upon the denied truths. In 2015, the country entered a period of conflict that was characterized by a further escalation of violence, and in 2016, in the repressive environment that prevailed in the aftermath of the coup attempt of 15 July 2016, civic spaces were seriously curtailed, leaving no space for the exercise of freedom of expression. Furthermore, a regime change that included important transformations in the judiciary took place. Taken together, these developments weakened and almost suppressed debates on transitional justice. The crisis of democracy which we are currently witnessing on a global scale and which is being discussed in the context of debates on ‘rising authoritarianism, nationalism and right-wing extremism’ and the ‘post-truth’ era became even more pronounced under the conditions created by the COVID-19 pandemic. As we have seen in the case of the novel and powerful forms of agency that oppose state violence, institutional racism, and impunity, this process has been accompanied by new dynamics that lead us to think through the notions of justice and truth.

Just as those exposed to violence in the course of repression and conflict are not a homogeneous or passive group of individual victims of one particular injustice, the reach of violence is not limited to these people either.

Violence is closely related to deep structural inequalities and forms of social exclusion, and the state, by violating its negative and positive obligations, is responsible for it. Therefore, we wanted to consider not only forms of violence directly perpetrated by state officials, but also those forms which the state reinforces or condones by not fulfilling its obligations, as well as the practices of social struggle which are employed to counter these forms of violence. In fact, the transition to a situation where the perpetrators of violence no longer enjoy impunity cannot be achieved without examining these institutionalized power relations from an intersectional perspective that includes legal, semi-legal and extra-legal practices of struggle that are shaped by social movements and cannot be substituted for one another.

From such a vantage point we organized a symposium through which we aimed to approach the field of transitional justice from a broad perspective in order to discuss it within an interdisciplinary and critical framework that includes the experiences, practices and demands for justice of the different groups who are fighting against violence in Turkey.

The symposium “Transitional Justice in Turkey: Transforming Subjects, Methods and Instruments” took place on 27-29 November 2020 and was joined by academics from different disciplines, graduate and doctoral students, independent researchers, rights defenders, activists, and NGO employees. We are planning to publish the papers presented at the symposium as an edited book in 2021.



PROGRAM OF PRESENTATIONS & SPEAKERS:

27 NOVEMBER 2020

Session 1 – *Truth and Justice in Criminal Proceedings*

Discussing Transitional Justice in Light of the JITEM Cases

Speaker: Özlem Has

What Do the Perpetrators Tell Us? The Perpetrators of Political Violence in Turkey and Their Disclosures and Confessions

Speakers: Yeşim Yaprak Yıldız

Can the Legal Combat Against Impunity in the Area of Workplace Homicides Become One of the Fundamental Elements of Labor Organization?

Speakers: Eylem Can, Berrin Demir, Aslı Odman, Tuğçe Tezer

Session 2 – *Civilian Search for Truth, Transforming Subjects and Experiences of Struggle*

28 NOVEMBER 2020

Session 1 – *Conflicting Memories and Truth Narratives*

The October 10 Memorial: Trees as a Counter-Monument

Speaker: Hanife Kardelen Işık

Ulucanlar Prison Museum as an Example of Memorialization: Whose Memory, Dealing with Which Past?

Speaker: Esin Gülsen

Youth Between History and Memory: A Conceptual Inquiry into Ways of Relating to the Past

Speaker: Elif Can

Session 2 - *Space, Violence and Memory*

'Restoring' Social Memory: The Transformation of the Dersim Military Barracks into a Museum

Speaker: Mehtap Tosun

A Tale of Two Cities: Sur Before and After

Speakers: İdil Önen, Göksu Özahışalı

Removing the Memory of Conflict from Public Spaces and Pacifying Schools Names

Speaker: Serdar Değirmencioğlu

29 NOVEMBER 2020

Session 1 – *New Media Tools and Digital Possibilities in the Search for Truth*

Resistance Against Oblivion; Opportunities and Limitations of New Media

Speaker: Gaye Kuas

Can Visual Records Call to Account? Human Rights Archives and Transitional Justice

Speakers: Sidar Bayram, Duygu Doğan

2. Session – *Cinema as a Memorialization Tool*

Kurdish Cinema as an Opportunity in the Search for Truth and Justice

Speaker: Tebessüm Yılmaz

Memory Work from the Personal to Social Memory in Documentary Film: Saroyan Land

Speaker: Onur Aytaç



EVENT ORGANIZATION

Hackathon: We organized a hackathon on “Human Rights and Creative Communication” with the participation of representatives of eight NGOs and 18 creative sector workers. Creative teams and rights defenders worked together to develop a special communication project for each institution. 3-4 February 2019.

Conference: Together with the Ankara Bar Association we organized the conference “The Constitutional Court and Grave Human Rights Violations.” May 2019

Panel: We organized a launch for our report *Any Hopes for Truth?* with NGO representatives from Lebanon, Cyprus, Turkey, Iran and Russia. 17 May 2019.

Exhibition: We organized the exhibition *Aşikâr Sır* (Public Secret), which was hosted by Karşı Sanat and featured the works of Anıl Olcan, Asya Leman, Hacer Foggo and Mert Kaya. 10-21 May 2019.

Panel: Ten human rights organizations, including Hafıza Merkezi, organized the panel “The Gezi Indictment: Civil Society in the Cross Hairs.” 19 June 2019.

Meeting: Information meetings were held in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Diyarbakir and Adana to promote the Haklara Destek program, which provides institutional grants and capacity-building support to human rights organizations. September 2019.

Panel/Workshop: We organized a public talk on “The Future of Human Rights Communication”, followed by a closed workshop on “Hope Based Communication” the following day. Both events were joined by experts from civil society and the creative sector. 20-21 September 2019.

Conversation: Prior to the hearings in the Kızıltepe JİTEM and Ankara JİTEM cases, two public conversations with the relatives of the victims of enforced disappearance took place

under the title “Public Secrets: The Existence of JİTEM in the ’90s” to discuss the prosecution processes and the search for justice. 9 & 19 September 2019.

Network: The Solidarity Network for Human Rights Defenders (IHSDA) was established, with Hafıza Merkezi as one of its co-founding constituents. December 2019.

Conversation: A public conversation was held with the relatives of the victims of enforced disappearance entitled “Disappearance and Struggle: Searching for Justice” before the sentencing hearing of the Ankara JİTEM Case. December 6, 2019.

Panel: The first of a series of online panel discussions entitled “Shrinking Democratic Space and International Solidarity” organized by Hafıza Merkezi and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights with the support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee took place under the title “Re-Opening Civic Spaces in Times of COVID-19.” The guest speaker in the panel, moderated by Hafıza Merkezi’s Co-Director Murat Çelikkın, was Colombian lawyer, sociologist and human rights defender César Rodríguez-Garavito. 15 October 2020.

Workshop: Hafıza Merkezi and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights organized a five-week “Campaign Workshop,” joined by member organizations of the Solidarity Network for Human Rights Defenders. 3 November-1 December 2020.

Workshop: A training workshop on “Financial Management for CSOs” took place within the scope of the Haklara Destek program. 20-27 October 2020.

Panel: The second of the online panel series “Shrinking Democratic Space and International Solidarity” organized by Hafıza Merkezi and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights with the

support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee took place under the title “Digital Rights at the Pendulum of Freedom and Oversight.” The discussants invited for this event were Pakistani rights defender Nighat Dad and Ankara Bar Association Human Rights Center President Kerem Altıparmak. 5 November 2020.

Panel: The third of the online panel series “Shrinking Democratic Space and International Solidarity” organized by Hafıza Merkezi and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights with the support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee took place under the title “LGBTI+ Rights in Turkey and Poland.” The guests at this event were Karolina Gierdal, General Coordinator of Kampania Przeciw Homofobia (Campaign Against Homophobia-KPH) from Poland, and Aylime Aslı Demir, Academic and Cultural Studies Program Coordinator of Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association (Kaos GL). 18 November 2020.

Workshop: The second part of the training workshop on “Financial Management for CSOs” took place within the scope of the Haklara Destek program. 12-23 October 2020.

Workshop: A workshop on “Digital Communication” was held within the scope of the Haklara Destek program. 30 November 2020.

Workshop: A six-session training workshop on campaigning was organized for members of the IHSDA. The training was facilitated by Kerem Çiftçioğlu from Hafıza Merkezi and Pınar İlkiz from Pıkan Ajans. 10 November - 1 December 2020.

Panel: The fourth of the online panel series titled “Shrinking Democratic Space and International Solidarity” organized by Hafıza Merkezi and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights with the support of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee took place under the title of “City,

Participation and Activism in Turkey and Brazil.” Guest speakers at the event were Alessandra Orofino, Director of Nossas, a Brazilian social activism network whose Portuguese name translates as “Ours,” and Yaşar Adanalı, Director of the Center for Spatial Justice (MAD), which works to build more fair, democratic and ecological processes in urban and rural areas. 21 December 2020.

Event: We organized the Memory and Art Talks, a series of five talks in which 15 academics, art critics and artists participated as speakers. 16-25 December 2020.

Workshop: A workshop on “Project Implementation and Design” was held within the scope of the Haklara Destek program. 10-23 December 2020.

Webinar: The online roundtable

discussion “Strengthening the Rights-Based Approach through Policy Papers” was held with the beneficiary institutions of the Haklara Destek program. 18 December 2020.

Workshop: A training workshop on “Financial Sustainability” was conducted within the scope of the Haklara Destek program. 21-28 December 2020.

EVENT PARTICIPATION

Murat Çelikkın, representing Hafıza Merkezi, participated in the roundtable meeting hosted by the Council of Europe’s Commissioner for Human Rights in Helsinki, where he made a presentation on the local experiences in Turkey regarding the global shrinking of civic spaces. January 2019.

On the Day of the Endangered Lawyer on January 24, Hafıza Merkezi took part in the announcement, in London, of a report jointly prepared in Geneva with the Law Society and the International Bar Association and subsequently presented to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Lawyers and Judges, opening up relevant issues regarding the right to defense in Turkey for discussion. Following the presentation, the Special Rapporteur submitted the report to the UN. January 2019.

Emel Ataktürk and Gülistan Zeren attended a meeting of the Coalition Against Impunity in Ankara. 9-10 February 2019.

Murat Çelikkın and Burcu Bingöllü attended a meeting organized by Civil Rights Defenders, where UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders Michel Forst came together with rights defenders. 4-5 February 2019.

Within the scope of the government’s second 100-day action plan, Hafıza Merkezi was among the NGOs and human rights organizations who participated in the working meeting with the sub-heading “Preparation of

a New Human Rights Action Plan” to present and discuss their suggestions and evaluations. 14 February 2019.

Koray Löker attended two interactive workshops “From Academy to Society: Exploring the Visual History Archive (VHA)” and “Best Practices in Teaching Through Witnessing and Technology” organized by the Hrant Dink Foundation in cooperation with the USC Shoah Foundation. March 2019.

Emel Ataktürk and Gülistan Zeren attended a meeting of the Coalition Against Impunity in Ankara. 13-14 April 2019.

Hafıza Merkezi participated in the test meeting organized by the OSCE’s Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Office in Athens, in which the Office presented the tools to support human rights defenders developed using new technologies. 27-30 April 2019.

Kerem Çiftçiöğlü and Zeynep Ekmekçi participated in the 3rd Sivil Düşün Forum on the subject of “Civil Society in the Future” in Ankara where they gave a workshop on creative communication. 2-3 May 2019.

Hafıza Merkezi attended a meeting of the Coalition Against Impunity in Diyarbakır. June 2019.

Özlem Zingil from Hafıza Merkezi attended a summer school on Humanitarian Law, International Criminal Law and Universal Judgment

in Nuremberg. August 2019.

42 NGOs from 23 countries, including Hafıza Merkezi, participated in a workshop organized by the Germany-based European Hub for Civic Engagement with the aim of identifying the needs of NGOs in Europe in the face of shrinking civic spaces. September 2019.

We attended the Peace Conference and the 2019 Progressive Alliance meeting organized by the Olof Palme International Center on 13-17 September in Stockholm. 13-17 September 2019.

Kerem Çiftçiöğlü attended a meeting organized by the YADA Foundation under the slogan Living Together: “Possible Together”. 25 September 2019.

Burcu Bingöllü and Kerem Çiftçiöğlü attended CampCamp 2019, a forum meeting for civil society activists focusing on campaigning and communication organized by the Prague Center for Civil Society. 24-27 October 2019.

Hafıza Merkezi participated in the roundtable meeting on Current Grant Models and Future Trends organized by TÜSEV and joined by Catherine Herrold as speaker. 30 October 2019.

The Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA) and the Germany-based Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom organized a visit to Moscow within the scope

of the Turkish Russian Journalists Dialogue (TRUSD) network. Murat Çelikkan participated in the four-day visit which included several meetings with independent journalists, NGO executives, academics, institutions working on social memory, opposition party members and foreign journalists. 10-14 November 2019.

Özlem Zıngıl participated in the Brussels visit to the European Parliament, the European Union and other related institutions organized by Civil Rights Defenders. 11-15 November 2019.

Burcu Bingöllü attended the panel “Wellbeing and Civil Society:

Common Challenges, Different Approaches” organized within the scope of Hrant Dink Foundation’s project “Empowering CSOs and Sparking Change for Tackling Discrimination and Promoting Diversity.” 25 November 2019.

Burcu Bingöllü attended the introductory meeting of the grant program for rights defenders and human rights organizations in Turkey initiated by ProtectDefenders.eu. 26 November 2019.

Murat Çelikkan and Kerem Çiftçioğlu attended the conference “Defending European Values in the Accession Process” organized by Civil Rights

Defenders. 2-3 December 2019.

Olca Özer attended the 16th orientation meeting of the Etkiniz grant program. December 2019.

Banu Tuna attended the “Business and Human Rights” forum organized by Sivil Düşün. 15-16 January 2020.

Burcu Bingöllü attended the meeting “Protecting Human Rights Defenders and Fair Trial Principles,” which was organized as the closing event of the joint trial monitoring project of the Human Rights Association, Euromed Rights and the Citizens’ Assembly. 24-25 January 2020.

Burcu Bingöllü attended a webinar

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

(01.01.2019 - 31.12.2019) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

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EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2019)		
A - GROSS SALES			8.112.227,89
1 - Domestic Sales			
3 - Other Revenues	8.112.227,89		
C - NET SALES			8.112.227,89
D - COST OF SALES (-)			(3.431.092,42)
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(3.431.092,42)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			4.681.135,47
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)			(1.031.479,05)
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(1.031.479,05)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			3.649.656,42
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTH. OP.			465.295,99
3 - Interest Income	6.502,64		
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	458.793,35		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)			(19.185,82)
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)	(19.185,82)		
ORDINARY PROFIT OR LOSS			4.095.766,59
I - NON-OPERAT. REVENUES / PROFIT			60.518,43
2 - Other Extra Ordinary Revenues/Profit	60.518,43		
J - EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSES LOSSES (-)			(0,02)
3 - Other Extra Ordinary Expenses/Losses (-)	(0,02)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			4.156.285,00
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			4.156.285,00

31.12.2019 / BALANCE SHEET

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

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ASSETS				LIABILITIES			
EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2019)			EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2019)		
I - CURRENT ASSETS			5.564.045,42	I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			
A - Liquid Assets (Net)				B - Trade Payables			17.358,15
1 - Cash	931,75			1 - Suppliers	17.358,15		
3 - Banks	5.563.113,67			C - Other Liabilities			6.135,45
C - Trade Receivables			537,00	4 - Payables to Personnel	1.626,75		
5 - Deposits and guarantees	537,00			5 - Other Liabilities	4.508,70		
E - Inventories			643,24	F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities			128.247,39
7 - Advances Given for Purchases H -	643,24			1 - Taxes and funds payable	66.992,14		
Other Current Assets			0,01	2 - Social withholdings payable	61.255,25		
5 - Work Advances	0,01			TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			151.740,99
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			5.565.225,67	II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
II - LONG TERM ASSETS				III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS TOTAL			5.565.225,67	D - Retained earnings			1.392.425,67
ASSETS			5.565.225,67	1 - Retained earnings	1.392.425,67		
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				E - Previous year's losses (-)			(135.225,99)
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				1 - Previous year's losses (-)	(135.225,99)		
TOTAL			5.565.225,67	F - Net Income (Loss) for the Period			4.156.285,00
				1 - Net Income of the period	4.156.285,00		
				2 - Net Loss of the period			
				TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			5.413.484,68
				TOTAL LIABILITIES			5.565.225,67
				IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL			5.565.225,67

in which the winning project in the competition for the 10 October Labor, Peace, and Democracy Memorial Square organized by the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects (TMMOB) was presented. 14 May 2020.

Olca Özer attended the meeting “How does the COVID-19 Outbreak Affect Granting-Giving Institutions, Their Granting Practices and Their Relationships with NGOs?” organized by TÜSEV to share the experiences made in the context of the Haklara Destek program. 15 May 2020.

On behalf of the Haklara Destek program, Olca Özer attended

a meeting of the “Grant-Giving Institutions” working group, a network formed by TÜSEV bringing together the representatives of institutions giving grants to non-governmental organizations, activists, platforms and initiatives in Turkey. 21 May 2020.

On behalf of the Haklara Destek program, Olca Özer attended the “Consultation and Validation Meeting: EU TACSO 3 Needs Assessment Report of Civil Society of the Western Balkans and Turkey” advisory board meeting organized by EU TACSO Turkey. July 2020.

On behalf of Hafıza Merkezi, Burcu Bingöllü participated in the online

workshop “Effects of the Pandemic on Civil Society” organized by Sivil Sayfalar. 19 October 2020.

Emel Ataktürk took the floor as speaker in the online panel “Unsolved Murders III: Combating Impunity” hosted by the Media and Law Association (MLSA). 17 December 2020.

Burcu Bingöllü participated in the online workshop “Pandemic, Freedoms and Reform Discussions” organized by Sivil Sayfalar . 24 December 2020.

Olca Özer attended EU TACSO Turkey’s advisory board meeting held to discuss the 2022-2025 Civil Society Strategy Paper. 17 December 2020.

(01.01.2020 - 31.12.2020) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT			
HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ			
			Page No : 1 / 1
EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2020)		
A - GROSS SALES			16.547.153,91
1 - Domestic Sales			
3 - Other Revenues	16.547.153,91		
C - NET SALES			16.547.153,91
D - COST OF SALES (-)			(11.616.864,31)
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(11.616.864,31)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			4.930.289,60
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)			(965.564,55)
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(965.564,55)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			3.964.725,05
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTH. OP.			2.589.517,38
3 - Interest Income	6.123,67		
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	2.583.393,71		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)			(81.738,50)
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)	(81.738,50)		
ORDINARY PROFIT OR LOSS			6.472.503,93
I - NON-OPERAT. REVENUES / PROFIT			116.202,15
2 - Other Extra Ordinary Revenues/Profit	116.202,15		
J - EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSES LOSSES (-)			(19.182,04)
3 - Other Extra Ordinary Expenses/Losses (-)	(19.182,04)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			6.569.524,04
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			6.569.524,04

31.12.2020 / BALANCE SHEET				
HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ				
			Sayfa No : 1 / 1	
ASSETS		LIABILITIES		
EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2020)		EXPLANATION	
I - CURRENT ASSETS			I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES	
A - Liquid Assets (Net)			B - Trade Payables	
1 - Cash	890,47	12.306.976,16	1 - Suppliers	22.652,46
3 - Banks	12.306.065,69		C - Other Liabilities	87.972,85
C - Trade Receivables		537,00	4 - Payables to Personnel	15.588,91
5 - Deposits and guarantees	537,00		5 - Other Liabilities	72.383,94
D - Other Receivables		52.027,92	F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities	265.336,00
5 - Other Receivables	52.027,92		1 - Taxes and funds payable	151.213,39
E - Inventories			2 - Social withholdings payable	112.629,11
7 - Advances Given for Purchases			4 - Other liabilities payable	1.293,50
H - Other Current Assets		(871,09)	TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES	375.961,31
4 - Taxes Paid in Advance	918,55		II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES	
5 - Work Advances	(1.489,60)		TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES	
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		12.358.970,03	III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY	
II - LONG TERM ASSETS			D - Retained earnings	1.392.425,67
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS			1 - Retained earnings	1.392.425,67
TOTAL ASSETS		12.358.970,03	E - Previous year's losses (-)	(135.225,99)
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			1 - Previous year's losses (-)	(135.225,99)
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			F - Net Income (Loss) for the Period	10.725.809,03
TOTAL		12.358.970,03	1 - Net Income of the period	10.725.809,03
			TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY	11.983.006,71
			TOTAL LIABILITIES	12.358.970,02
			IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS	
			TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS	
			TOTAL	12.358.970,02

