

TRUTH JUSTICE MEMORY

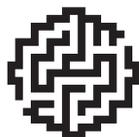
CENTER

ACTIVITY REPORT 2011-2014

HAFIZA MERKEZİ



**TRUTH JUSTICE MEMORY CENTER
ACTIVITY REPORT
2011-2014**



Truth Justice Memory Center was established with the aims to uncover the truth concerning past violations of human rights, strengthen the collective memory about those violations, and support survivors in their pursuit of justice. Truth Justice Memory Center is an organization basing the ideas of sustainable peace and prosperous society in the future on just and sensible approach to rights of victims of human rights violations in the past. The Center works toward a free, inclusive and socially prosperous society with effective civil control over state's repressive apparatus, based on acknowledgement of past violence, rights of victims and individual freedom. It develops mechanisms and tools that contribute to building a peaceful and free society, where human rights are its fundamental values.

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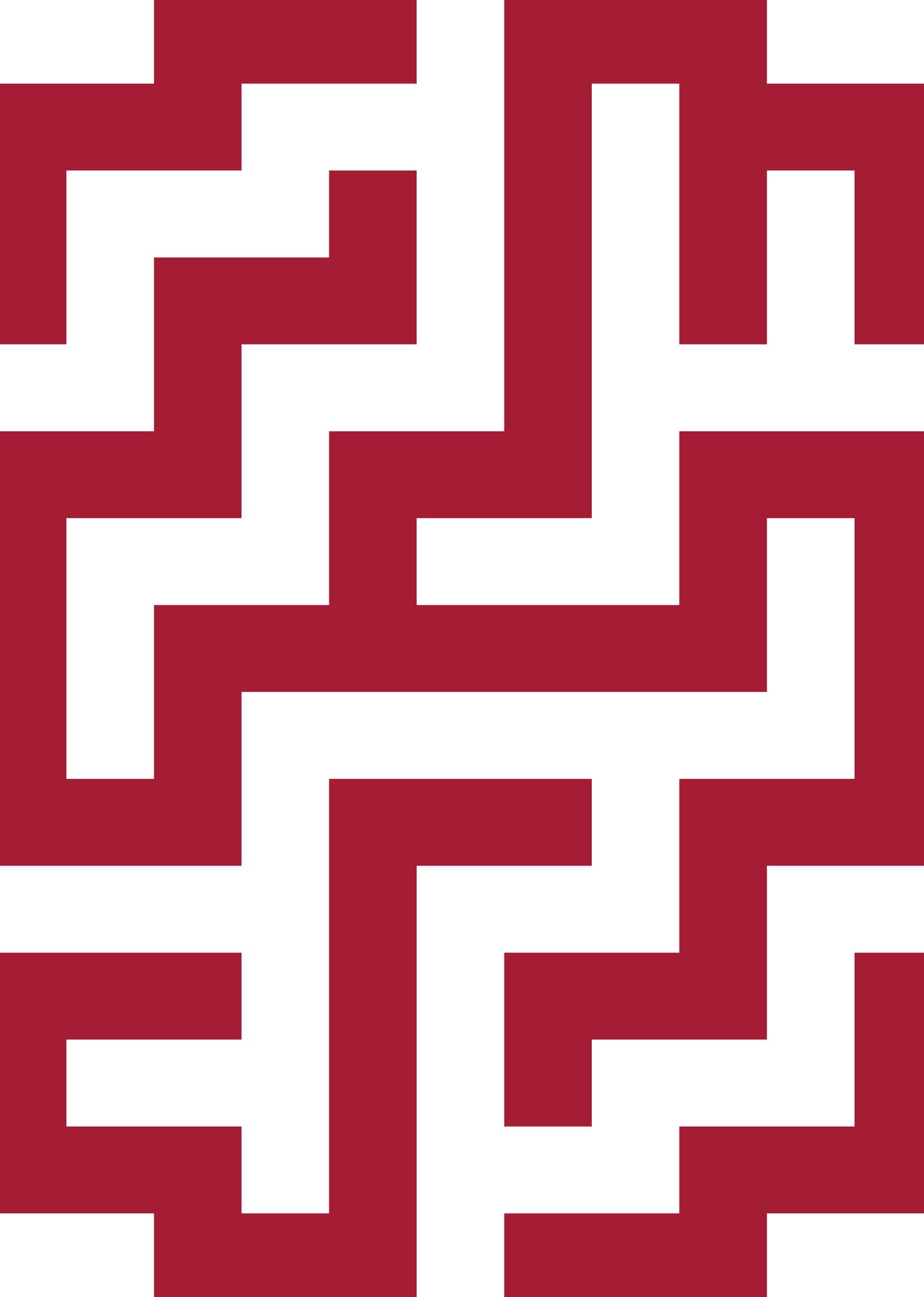
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INTRODUCTION

Although it was in November 2011 that we, a group of human rights activists, lawyers and journalists, founded Hakikat, Adalet ve Hafıza Çalışmaları Derneği (**Truth Justice Memory Center**) as an incorporated association, in actual fact, our work toward laying the groundwork for the establishment of the center had already started in 2010, as you will see in the coming pages.

Our Objectives

Carry out work to uncover the facts about grave human rights violations in the past

Today, building a culture of remembrance to restore the sense of justice is recognized as a prerequisite for a democratic society. It is essential that a society comes to terms with mass massacres, deportations, genocide and crimes against humanity in its past; firmly establishes that these serious crimes entail a moral and legal responsibility; and makes sure that they never happen again. The 1990s were marked by acts of state violence in various forms, primarily forced migration, extrajudicial and arbitrary executions and enforced disappearances – realities overlooked by a large section of society. The precondition for a lasting peace is an environment that allows a public discussion of such cases of state violence and accommodates efforts to reveal the mechanism behind it, as well as the collective complicity that serves as an enabler. This requires wide sections of the population to be informed of the facts surrounding the “truth”, as uncovering the facts is a step towards acknowledgement of what has been denied, discarded and repressed. We believe such a step will contribute to the process of healing. To this end we built an archive and a database within the framework of our Memory Studies Program aiming at collecting data in this field by means of field research, interviews and examining a wide variety of sources.

Support the victims in their search for justice

One of the biggest obstacles to democratisation is **impunity**, a powerful shield that protects the perpetrators of human rights violations from being held accountable for their crimes and a leverage that enables the continuity of the human rights violations. The mechanisms of impunity are so solid and invincible that they impede,

	<p>and from time to time even prevent, the victims' access to justice. Our Legal Studies Program that covers judicial documentation, monitoring judicial processes and analysing laws and regulations aims to support the victims in their search for justice.</p>
<p>Developing a collective memory to contribute to societal peace and democratisation</p>	<p>States that build their value systems on the basis of dichotomies like “heroes” and “traitors”, and rewrite history based on founding myths, cannot survive without creating a nationalistic collective memory. It is this manipulation of historiography that lays the mental ground for a never ending conflict. We, as Truth Justice Memory Center, believe that we can contribute to the democratisation of Turkey by memorialising state-sponsored crimes. It is obvious to us that without justice no peace can be built. However international experience in the field has undoubtedly demonstrated that retributive justice, i.e. merely prosecuting and punishing the perpetrators, will not serve as an adequate remedy; and that it should be complemented by restorative justice, i.e. rectifying the injustice done to the victim.</p> <p>We remain convinced that global examples provide us with valuable guidance in attaining our goals. It was because of this that we set ourselves the task of sharing knowledge, experience and methodology with organizations from countries whose past is marked by conflicts and the rule of authoritarian regimes, learning from their valuable experience, and trying to adapt successful examples to Turkey's specific circumstances.</p> <p>The history of the Ottoman Empire, which tried to secure its rule over a very diverse society, and the history of Turkey, which tried to establish a homogenous nation-state, is marked with genocides, ethnic cleansings, the violent repression of social demands and crimes against humanity that remain unprosecuted thanks to mechanisms of impunity, as is the case for numerous other similar countries. Today we still lead our lives in a country where the truth remains unseen, crimes go unpunished and justice lies unattainable. The result is a never ending state of conflict and continuous tension.</p>

What can we do if we know that we cannot go on living like this? What have others done to put an end to injustice? These were the questions we searched answers for, and this was the process that led to the founding of Truth Justice Memory Center.

We identified **enforced disappearances** as our long term priority area of focus as they present a concrete case of human rights violation. Also referred to as “Night and Fog”, the strategy used by the Nazi regime as a means of terrorisation, intimidation and repression, the method of enforced disappearance has been a systematic practice used by more than 70 countries. Among them is the State of Turkey which forcibly disappeared hundreds of people as a special war method specifically in the 1990s. Enforced disappearance is not only a crime against humanity as described by the international law but also one of the most concrete manifestations of a state's allowing itself the liberty of stepping out of its own laws. To wage an effective struggle against such a grave violation, through close contact with relatives of disappeared people, lawyers, representatives of civil society, human rights activists, and bar associations, we try to gain insight into enforced disappearance cases, and to inform others as to how this practice came into being in Turkey, and in what forms, with which mechanisms and along which patterns it has been implemented.

When we set off to formally establish ourselves as an association against the gloomy background of a recent past marked with enforced disappearances and other state-sponsored crimes, we set ourselves the task of laying the grounds for the processes and mechanisms of transitional justice in line with our objective of contributing to the efforts for democratisation and societal peace in Turkey.

This was the foundation on which we formulated our fundamental values, vision and mission.

Our values

Democracy, Accountability, Truth, Justice, Dignity and Peace are the fundamental values of Truth Justice Memory Center on which it builds its reason of existence and carries out its work.

Vision

A free, inclusive society which enjoys and respects its diversity; has successfully established an effective civil control over the state's repressive apparatus; recognises grave human rights violations committed in the past, the violent practices of the state, the victims' right to compensate, and fundamental individual rights.

Mission

Truth Justice Memory Center believes that the aspirations for a sustainable peace and democracy can only be realized by adopting a fair and just approach to victims of past human rights violations and acknowledging the injustice carried out against them.

Work Previous to the Establishment of the Association

Before acquiring the legal status of an association, we had started our activities in line with the same objectives, mission and vision under the umbrella of Anadolu Kültür.



Our first project “**Capacity Building for Active Participation of Civil Society in the Resolution of the Kurdish Question**”, supported by the Chrest Foundation and Heinrich Böll Stiftung Association, was carried out from February to December 2010. We released in December 2010 our “**Report on Interviews with NGOs**”, a compilation of our findings based on in-depth interviews conducted with representatives of 28 NGOs actively working for the resolution of the Kurdish question. During the conference “**Truth, Justice, Memory: Experiences, Testimonies, Pursuits**” we organized on 4-5 December 2010 in Istanbul, the Argentinian and Croatian experiences were discussed under three headings we identified in the light of our findings during the implementation of the project.

Another activity in the first year was the development of our website intended to provide a bibliography covering recent discussions of transitional justice mechanisms and the international experience in this field. The website proved to be a valuable resource for human rights advocates, offering them Turkish translations of materials on transitional justice mechanisms and confronting the past, accompanied by information on organizations active in this field.



1 DEPO is a culture and debate center in Istanbul serving as a platform supporting the collaboration of artists, artist collectives, civic and cultural organizations in Turkey, the South Caucasus, the Middle East and the Balkans.

We paid a study visit to **Argentina** on 11-15 April 2011 for on-site observations of initiatives aimed at facilitating the confrontation with the past. The report on the visit was posted on our website, and our observations during the visit was discussed at the meeting organized under the topic “**Never Again: Argentina Experience on Confronting the Past**” at DEPO,¹ Istanbul, on 12th September 2011, the 31st anniversary of the 1980 military coup in Turkey (Check out Study Visit to Argentina under the Study Visits We Organized, p.51).

In preparation for the international workshop on truth commissions to be organized in October 2011, we started



contacts with several NGOs. The meeting titled “Civil Society Initiative for Truth Commissions” was held at Cezayir Meeting Hall in Istanbul on 23-24 July 2011 in partnership with the Migrants' Association for Social Solidarity and Culture (Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği - Göç-Der), the Legal Aid Office for the Victims of Sexual Harassment and Rape in Custody (Gözaltında Cinsel Taciz ve Tecavüze Karşı Hukuki Yardım Bürosu), Foundation for Social and Legal Studies (Toplum ve Hukuk Araştırmaları Vakfı - TOHAV), Association for Solidarity and Support for Relatives of Disappeared Persons (Yakınlarını Kaybedenlerle Dayanışma Derneği - YAKAY-DER), and Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı - TİHV). Deliberation on truth commissions continued after the meeting with the inclusion of new NGOs to the collaborating organizations.

We were the local partner of the “Training for Documentation of Human Rights Violations” organized by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) and United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Istanbul on 15-19 August 2011. 19 human rights activists from Afghanistan, 6 from Nepal and 6 from Turkey participated in the training held at Point Hotel. The main topics of the training were the fundamentals of documenting human rights violations, experiences in Afghanistan, Nepal and Turkey, public advocacy, strategies for documenting gender-based violations, the Burma documentation experience and the Martus database program.



The aim of the meeting under the title “Truth Commissions: Turkey in Light of World Experience” that took place on 15-16 October 2011 was to share different countries' experiences on truth commissions and open a discussion on the process of truth seeking in Turkey.

The Truth, Justice and Memory Studies Initiative that started its activities in 2010 under the umbrella of Anadolu Kültür, acquired the legal status of association upon the approval of our application filed in November 2011 and continues its work under the name Truth Justice Memory Center.

Our Fields of Activity

*Truth is not an alternative but a prerequisite for justice.*²

Mahmood Mamdani

² Mahmood Mamdani, "Truth According to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission", in Ifi Amadiume and Abdullahi An-Na'im (eds.), *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing, and Social Justice*, Zed Books, 2000, London and New York, p. 182.

The confidence that justice will be served is as important as justice itself. Authoritarian regimes produce societies which have lost their hope of any justice, paving the way for a landscape where peace is a remote possibility, where conflict and violence prevail.

Today, we have a tool to perpetuate the hope that justice will be served: **Transitional Justice**. Referring to the process of efforts and researches for confrontation with past human rights violations, massacres and crimes committed by the state, transitional justice is a response to systematic and widespread human rights violations. It covers an array of complementary judicial and nonjudicial strategies that include prosecution of perpetrators, establishment of truth commissions, delivering reparations for those most affected by the violence or violations, and commemoration and remembrance of victims.

We, as Truth Justice Memory Center, aim to contribute to the process of implementing these strategies in Turkey by making the necessary adjustments to fit local conditions.

We carry out our activities to this end based on four main pillars:

Memory Studies Program

Intends to document systematical human rights violations committed by the state in line with internationally recognised standards for the ultimate purpose of uncovering the truth in connection with such violations.

Legal Studies Program

Covers legal activities to unveil structural mechanisms that are active in grave human rights violation situations, uncover and challenge mechanisms of impunity, and support victims in their pursuit of justice.

Dissemination and Advocacy Program

Coordinates the activities carried out to disseminate the information produced by Truth Justice Memory Center, communicate its findings to the public and government authorities, and cooperate with civil society actors to this end.

Cooperation and Capacity Building Program

Aims to improve both its own technical knowledge and capacity, and those of other organizations active in similar areas through cooperation networks at local, national and regional level.

I MEMORY STUDIES PROGRAM

"It is true that totalitarian domination tried to establish these holes of oblivion into which all deeds, good and evil, would disappear; but (...) one man will always be left alive to tell the story."³

Hannah Arendt

Right to truth has been, for the last couple of decades, included amongst the widely recognised rights in international law, referred to in conventions and acknowledged by both local and international courts. It's not merely an individual right. The right to truth also bears significance for society as a whole, for the simple reason that public awareness of grave human rights violations facilitates efforts to put an end to such violations. A collective memory reshaped around the truths uncovered will serve as an enabler for the masses to develop ownership of the demand for justice against government-sponsored crimes.

The most immediate example of the state's illegal practices in Turkey is **enforced disappearances**, a type of special warfare operation employed in the 1990s. Truth Justice Memory Center, under the scope of the Memory Studies Program, carries out in-depth interviews with victim relatives and witnesses to document and analyze the findings associated with enforced disappearances which is defined as a crime against humanity under international law.

Our work so far in this field can be categorized under two headings, namely **Preliminary Preparations**, i.e. the stage of **collecting information, document and data**; and **Field Research**.

Preliminary Preparations: For a sound, reliable infrastructure

As a first step we identified our sources for further studies. Reports and books released by the Human Rights Association of Turkey (İnsan Hakları Derneği - İHD), Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı - TİHV), Association for Solidarity and Support for Relatives of Disappeared Persons (Yakınlarını Kaybedenlerle Dayanışma Derneği - YAKAY-DER) and Amnesty International (AI), along with the verdicts of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) reports, and various internet references were the sources we used in compiling a list of 1352 enforced disappearance cases. This tentative list, which grows as new names are added as we examine new sources available to us, serves as a yardstick for us in verifying our data by cross-checking on the basis of primary and secondary sources.

To this end, we prepared questionnaires for three main groups of sources, namely (i) relatives of the disappeared, (ii) lawyers,

³ Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Penguin Books, 1977, p.272.

representatives of organizations, and activists who witnessed incidents in the 1990s, and (iii) politicians and journalists. We decided to start the field work in Şırnak and particularly Cizre, a district where enforced disappearances were most concentrated during those years. Before the actual start of the field research, a presentation was organized about the geographical and historical background of the Şırnak province, which focused on the Cizre district, followed by two workshops where in-depth interview techniques and methodological aspects were discussed in the light of the selected academic materials in the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and ethnography. The workshops were followed by a trauma training given by two psychiatrists specialised in this field. Upon the completion of the preparations, in-depth interviews started in July 2012 in İstanbul with the relatives of the disappeared, lawyers and organizational representatives, to be continued at later dates in Şırnak, Diyarbakır, Batman and Mardin.

Field Research: Listening to testimonies

The first three visits were made to Cizre, Silopi and İdil in July 2012 during which interviews were conducted in connection with 57 enforced disappearance cases, in addition to meetings held with the Cizre and Silopi municipalities, Şırnak Bar Association, lawyers, activists and people who personally witnessed the atmosphere in the 1990s. Based on the testimonies gathered during the visits, we released our report titled **Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances** in Turkish and English, along with a limited print-run in Kurdish, containing our findings as to how the enforced disappearance strategy was put into practice in Şırnak, and particularly in the Silopi and Cizre districts in the 1990s, which units of the state apparatus were engaged in the practice, and how people experienced the process. The report's second edition was published in 2014 (See "Our Reports" section under the heading "Dissemination and Advocacy Program", p. 31).

Until the end of 2014, a total of 6 visits were paid to Şırnak, Diyarbakır and Batman, each lasting about a week, covering 161 interviews related to 140 forcibly disappeared persons.

From women's perspective: What did they experience?

We once again realized the importance of approaching the issue from a gender perspective during the process of analysing the interviews carried out during the first year. A woman, as the one left behind, undergoes a distinctly different experience and her life is affected in different ways compared to male members of the family due to the male-dominant system. Guided by this fact, we had the questionnaires revised and adapted accordingly by a field research team of 5 women under the leadership of Dr. Handan Çağlayan, an academic and writer specializing in Kurdish women's

life experiences. Using the new questionnaires, additional interviews were held with the wives of men who were forcibly disappeared in İstanbul, Şırnak and Diyarbakır. A total of 33 interviews, of which three were conducted in İstanbul, and 30 in Diyarbakır and Şırnak, were analysed from women's perspective. The findings of this study were published in May 2014 in our report titled **“Holding up the Photograph”: Experiences of Women Whose Husbands Were Forcibly Disappeared** (See “Our Reports” section under the heading “Dissemination and Advocacy Program”, p. 31).

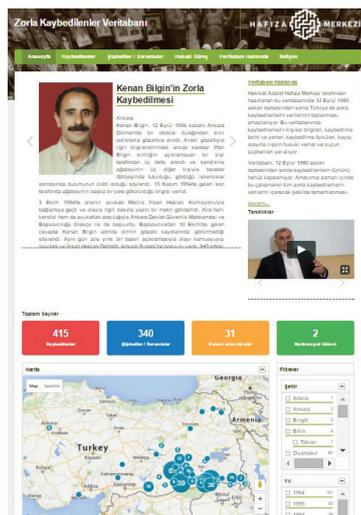
Enforced Disappearances Database

“And afterwards, let me tell you, even now sometimes I say maybe he is alive. Because it's not like we saw his dead body. I mean I still do not believe it. Why don't I believe it, because we could not find his body. We could not find his dead body.”⁴

Relative of a forcibly disappeared person

United Nations International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance defines the concept of enforced disappearance as “the arrest, detention or abduction of persons by, or with the authorisation, support or acquiescence of, State or a political organization, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of freedom or to give information on the fate or whereabouts of those persons, with the intention of removing them from the protection of the law for a prolonged period of time.”

Enforced Disappearances Database



⁴ “Holding Up the Photograph” – Experiences of the Women Whose Husbands Were Forcibly Disappeared, Interview: Şırnak-İdil, 23.09.2013, p. 50.

This **database** is one of the most significant outputs of our Memory Studies Program. The aim is to collect data about persons who were forcibly disappeared after the 12 September 1980 military coup in Turkey and turn this data into a source easily accessible to researchers, human rights activists, relatives of the disappeared and lawyers. We intended to collect and present personal information about forcibly disappeared persons, date and place of disappearance, an account of the event itself, related legal data, and the suspects of the crime committed in the database.

To this end, we examined various database systems employed across the world and decided to use the OpenEvsys database system developed by HURIDOCS, an NGO based in Switzerland. When the translation of the database was complete, we drew up procedures for guidance as to which methods should be used in verifying unprocessed data and organized two workshops with the participation of two software developers for the customisation of the database. Lastly, another two-day workshop was held again with the participation of two software developers from the HURIDOCS team to develop and design a secure and easily accessible public version of the database through a new website (www.zorlakaybedilenler.org).

	<p>The database website was publicly introduced in a press conference together with our first two reports in July 2013. In addition, shortened versions of 20 selected videos recorded during the interviews with the relatives of the disappeared were posted on the website.</p>
<p>An important phase: Verifying the data</p>	<p>In building up the database, we included all cases that fit the enforced disappearance definition even if the body of the disappeared person was found later on. We constructed the database on the basis of information we gathered from interviews with the relatives of the disappeared, applications filed with the ECtHR in connection with enforced disappearances, legal files collected from bar associations and lawyers involved in enforced disappearance law suits in İstanbul, Cizre, Silopi, İdil and Diyarbakır.</p> <p>Below are the sources that we made use of in verifying the information on the database:</p> <p>Narratives of the relatives of the disappeared;</p> <p>Reports of the Parliamentary Commission for the Human Rights;</p> <p>Trials referred to local courts;</p> <p>Legal files in connection with ongoing investigations;</p> <p>Complaints filed with the court for legal action;</p> <p>Applications filed with and the rulings by the ECtHR; and</p> <p>Official statements which are signed in the presence of lawyers and therefore have acquired the quality of evidence.</p> <p>In case of discrepancies between different sources, we took as basis the legal documents, and in case of a discrepancy between the narrative and legal data, we included the narrative of the disappeared people's relatives as well. Final ECtHR verdicts and details contained in the applications filed with ECtHR were the sources we gave priority to in providing information about a case of enforced disappearance.</p>
<p>For the prosecution of perpetrators</p>	<p>Under the heading “Suspects/Responsible Parties” in our database, we shared the names of persons referred to by the relatives of the disappeared, in legal documents and other sources mentioned above. As the overwhelming majority of the suspects have still not been brought to court, by publicising their names we aim to trigger investigations and legal actions against them, as a result of which they may be acquitted if innocent, or punished if found guilty.</p>

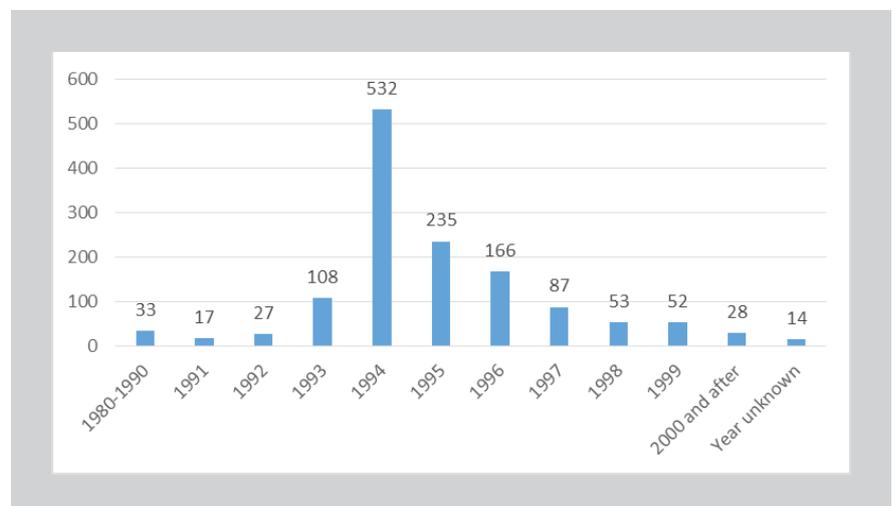
Subject to constant updating

Our database is founded on the list that appears at the end of our two reports, namely **Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances** and **Enforced Disappearances and the Conduct of the Judiciary**, both of which are accessible through our website <http://www.hakikatadalethafiza.org>. Regularly revised and updated, the information provided in our database represents the last updated version of the list.

An ongoing process

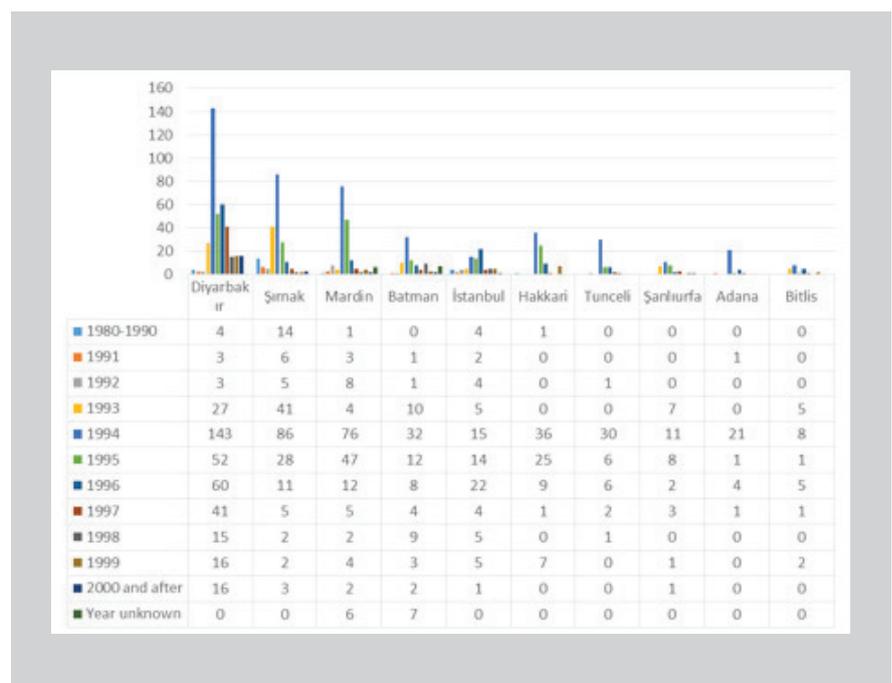
Presently, our database does not cover all the forcibly disappeared since the military coup of 12 September 1980. We aim to complete the list, in the course of time, to include data in connection with all victims of enforced disappearance in Turkey.

Enforced Disappearances in Years*



* Numbers on the chart are taken from the unverified list of 1352 people.

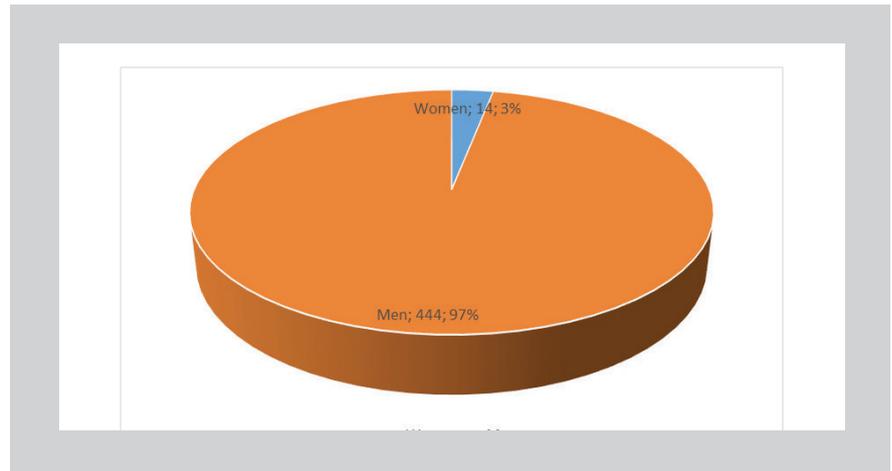
Locations of Enforced Disappearance Cases*



* Numbers on the chart are taken from the unverified list of 1352 people and only the figures for first ten cities are given.

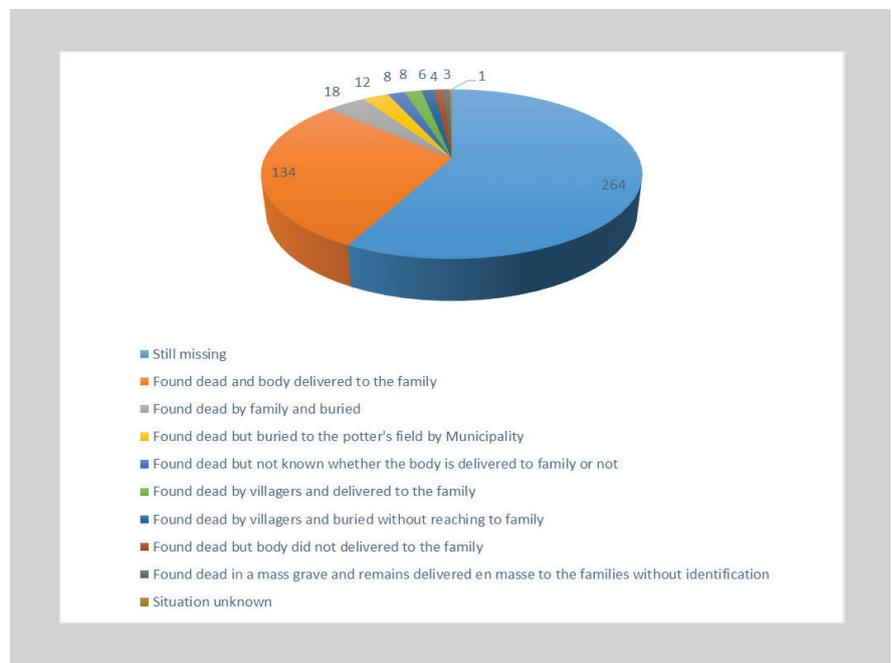
Gender Distribution of Forcefully Disappeared People*

* Numbers on the chart are taken from the verified list of 458 people on our database.



Final Situation Regarding Whereabouts of Forcefully Disappeared People*

* Numbers on the chart are taken from the verified list of 458 people on our database.



Memorialize Turkey Project

The late 19th century, marked by the birth of nation states, witnessed the construction of a nationalistic memory by means of rewriting history based on founding myths, heroic narratives, invented traditions, and erection of national museums and monuments. A change in such historiography took place thanks to post-Holocaust works of remembrance. From then on there has been an ongoing shift from official monuments to sites of conscience, and democratisation and de-colonialisation of memory. We can describe this evolution as a memorialisation process that facilitates the establishment of justice, by means of drivers such as a memory and memorials placing victims at their center; museums holding exhibitions on crimes against humanity, sometimes by focusing on the victims, other times the perpetrators; and works of art commemorating victims of state terrorism.

An essential method for coming to terms with the past: Memorialization

Coming to terms with the past is a major step towards democratisation. However, such confrontation is a complicated process as the victims' and perpetrators' narratives differ a great deal, as the former concentrate on their grievance and suffering, while the latter on denial, placing emphasis on their own victimhood. The process becomes even more complicated when the same group or an individual is portrayed as both the victim and the perpetrator. Memorialisation is an essential method not only for displaying these narratives but also for confronting them.

MEMORIALIZE TURKEY

The second most important product of our Memory Studies Program is the **Memorialize Turkey** project which was carried out jointly with the New York World Policy Institute and supported by the Fetzer Institute based in Kalamazoo, Michigan. The project was inspired by the realisation that Turkey shared many characteristics with other societies which aim to leave behind a past full of oppression and violence, and proceed towards a peaceful future with greater democracy.

An output of our workshops: Memorialize Turkey website

Our first activity in the field of memorialisation was the workshop we organized in December 2011 where the project idea first originated. The second workshop, aiming at gaining a deeper insight into how memorialisation could contribute to progress in the field of human rights and democratisation, was held in Mardin in February 2013 with participants from different political, ethnic and religious groups in Turkey who took interest in the subject. We also had with us at the workshop experts on memorialisation from three countries dealing with the difficulties in facing a troublesome and controversial history, namely Germany, Israel and Bosnia. The idea of setting up a **Memorialization website** at <http://www.memorializeturkey.com/tr/>, a



compilation of information about memorial projects in Turkey, came into being as an output of this workshop. The website offers positive examples of memorialisation developed by groups and individuals in the name of those who suffered grievance since the dying days of the Ottoman Empire up to this day, as well as information on a large number of initiatives seeking to address historical events that have been denied, repressed, or misinterpreted.

We believe dealing with history in a new and honest manner through these or similar initiatives, in itself, is a step towards a more democratic and just society in which all groups and all people are respected and heard.

EVENTS

Events, in fact, constitute an inseparable part of our work done in all our main fields of activities for the simple reason that our projects, reports we publish, field researches and all others invariably include meetings, presentations and workshops. You will see a selection of events organized within the framework of each field of activity under relevant headings. For this subheading, we have selected those events which, although interrelated with the **Memory Studies Program**, stand more or less independent and bear a specific importance due to their content and the topic dealt with.

Documentation presentations

As part of our work for building a database for enforced disappearances, we organized periodic meetings with the representatives of human rights organizations we have been working in cooperation with during the first two years. During these meetings, in addition to Truth Justice Memory Center, TİHV and Mazlum-Der made presentations sharing findings of their documentation work. Representatives of all three organizations as well as those from YAKAY-DER, Göç-Der and TOHAV attended these meetings.

Forensic anthropology: A discipline to identify the bodies of the disappeared

Our meeting where we discussed the role played by forensic anthropology in dealing with enforced disappearances was held on 9th December 2013 with the participation of **Luis Fondebrider**, the founder of the **Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense - EAAF)**.

It was the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, renowned for their adamant struggle to uncover the fate of their children forcibly disappeared during the military rule, who first asked

in 1984 for the help of forensic anthropology to identify the bodies found in mass graves in various places across the country. However, at that time no anthropologist in Argentina was specialised in this field. Thanks to international support, a group of university students went through trainings on the issue. Luis Fondebrider was one of those students who first attended the training programs. From that day on, the EAAF has been supporting the families of the forcibly disappeared, not only in Argentina, but also in around 50 countries, by starting or taking part in the excavations, or providing training in this discipline.

The meeting started with Fondebrider's presentation where he shared with us the team's experiences in various countries they worked, and also the connection between forced disappearances and anthropology. He underlined the significance of the discipline in uncovering the past sufferings of people and the great ethical and political responsibility involved in each step of the process of confronting the past. The meeting attracted a significant number of members of the Association of Forensic Medicine Specialists in Turkey (Adli Tıp Uzmanları Derneği), and also the staff members and volunteers of various NGOs including İHD, TİHV, TOHAV and the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı - TESEV), as well as members of academia.

A video production: Holding Up the Photograph

We produced an 18-minute long video collage from the interviews we have conducted for our report *Holding up the Photograph* for the exhibition **Mobilizing Memory: Women Witnessing**, organized at DEPO between 5 September and 3 October 2014. In the video, which compiles footage shot during face to face interviews with the wives of the forcibly disappeared in Turkey, we see these women talk about their experience from the moment their husbands were disappeared and their subsequent search for them, the social problems they have been facing as single women, and their ongoing struggle for recognition. Video link: <https://vimeo.com/106799622>

We participated in conferences and meetings

Apart from the events we ourselves organized, our team members participated in events directly associated with our fields of activities. Participation in these events offered us not only the opportunity to share what we do, how we look at the issues at hand and where we stand, but also enriched our knowledge about both local and international practices and experiences in the relevant fields. Below are some of the events we participated during the period this report covers:

Gamze Hızlı, from our Memory Studies Program, took part in the 7-day “Commemorative Cultures Study Tour” in Germany, covering the visits to memory sites in Berlin, Dresden and Buchenwald/Weimar between 3 – 10 May 2014.



At the forum “The end of 100 years of denial: Confronting the Armenian Genocide” organized at Taksim Hill Hotel on 20 April 2014 within the framework of “Istanbul Marxism Days”, *Truth Justice Memory Center* was represented by Murat Çelikkan and Özgür Sevgi Göröl.



Özgür Sevgi Göröl was one of the speakers at the panel discussion under the topic “Recognition of the Armenian Genocide: Apology and Justice” organized by the Genocide Recognition Platform on 23 April 2014.



The presentation “Peace Process, Reckoning With the Past and the World Examples” was given by Özgür Sevgi Göröl at the “Confrontation and the World Experiences” session of the Conference “Genocide, Justice and Reckoning with the Past” organized by the Peace and Democracy Assembly of Europe at Cologne, Germany on 6-7 December 2014.



II LEGAL STUDIES

"The law always comes in two types: There is the law full of jiggery-pokery, an apparatus used by the states and the sovereigns for their machinations. This is a type of law with a simple motto: 'Gotcha'. And then there is the law that is an instrument to fight, to corner, to push back the other one. This one also has a simple motto: 'Back off.'"⁵
Ali Topuz

One of the primary obstacles blocking the path of Turkey's democratisation is **impunity** – a policy of unquestionable continuity handed down by successive governments, which protects government agencies responsible for gross human rights violations from being brought to justice, hence depriving the victims of any remedy for their losses.

It is the aspiration of Truth Justice Memory Center to document the shortcomings and defects of the judicial system in Turkey in prosecuting government officials responsible for grave human rights violations, to uncover the truths in this connection, to identify problem areas and to support the search of justice by those affected, guided by our belief that this is the way to lay the grounds for a just and peaceful tomorrow.

During the first two years, our legal studies program focused on four main fields of activity:

1 Field work and gathering data with respect to legal processes;

2 Data analysis and profiling the conduct of the judiciary;

3 Monitoring legal cases and providing support to local bar associations and lawyers; and

4 Studying the world experience, pinpointing alternative new methods of legal intervention, and implementing those applicable to comparable cases in Turkey.

1. Field work and gathering data with respect to legal processes

⁵ Ali Topuz, "Şu İşkencecinin İşine Bak" ("Look What That Torturer Has Done"). Radikal, 19 February 2013, in *Enforced Disappearances and the Conduct of the Judiciary*, p. 64.

Our work for collecting data and documents in connection with judicial processes started with the production of fact sheets and guidelines for this purpose. During this phase, we relied on our research on the state's responsibility in enforced disappearances, prosecution processes, and the rights laid down in national and international law and conventions. This was followed by our field work. Simultaneously with the interviews conducted by our Memory Studies team with the relatives of the forcibly disappeared, our Legal Studies team took action. Field work was carried out in Şırnak, Diyarbakır, Mardin, İstanbul and Batman whereby the team collected information specifically in connection

with the investigation and prosecution files. During this reporting period, meetings were held with 55 lawyers and 296 lawsuit and investigation files were archived.

Both the interviews with the relatives of the forcibly disappeared and the legal data collected proved to be particularly instrumental in documenting the fact that the frequency of enforced disappearances concentrated in the period 1990-2001, and that these were committed systematically against Kurdish citizens.

In addition to serving as a groundwork for verifying our findings related to enforced disappearance cases, the legal facts thus compiled enabled us to profile, based on material facts, the judiciary's conduct in the face of human rights violations committed by the state and to establish the prevailing patterns of its response to such violations.

2. Data analysis and profiling the conduct of the judiciary

By means of our documentation and data analysis work we aim to bring to light, based on material evidence, the systematic nature and the large-scale commission of the crime of enforced disappearance and the silence of the judiciary in the face of this crime.

To this end our Legal Studies Program subjected the legal data collected to in-depth scrutiny by taking as basis ECtHR criteria and the obligations laid down in national legislation and international conventions. This enabled us not only to document such facts as to by whom, against whom, where, when and how the crime of enforced disappearances was committed, but also to identify each step of the long process that generates impunity at every level of the state apparatus.

We published the findings of our work in this respect in our report titled **Enforced Disappearances and the Conduct of the Judiciary** which gained wide media coverage as a result of our comprehensive communication activities. Detailed information regarding the report can be found under the heading Our Reports.

As a result of our detailed examination of the 296 case files, we identified the suspects of enforced disappearance crimes and grouped them in five categories of government officials, namely staff members of the infamous Gendarmerie Intelligence and Anti-terror Unit (Jandarma İstihbarat ve Terörle Mücadele - JİTEM), Turkish Intelligence Service (Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı - MİT), units attached to the Special Forces Command, the confessors⁶ and the village guards.⁷

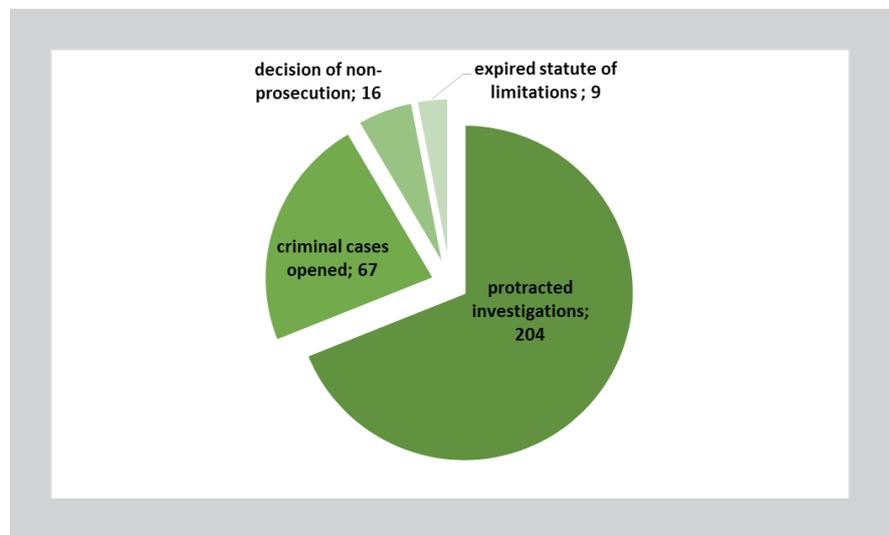
⁶ Confessor is a popular term attributed to former PKK combatants who change sides to start working for the security forces after being caught and arrested.

⁷ Village guards are paramilitaries funded by the Turkish state since 1985 to act as local militia in the southeast of Turkey whose duty is to support the state security forces in their fight against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). A large number of village guards were found to be involved in crimes ranging from rape and robbery to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions.

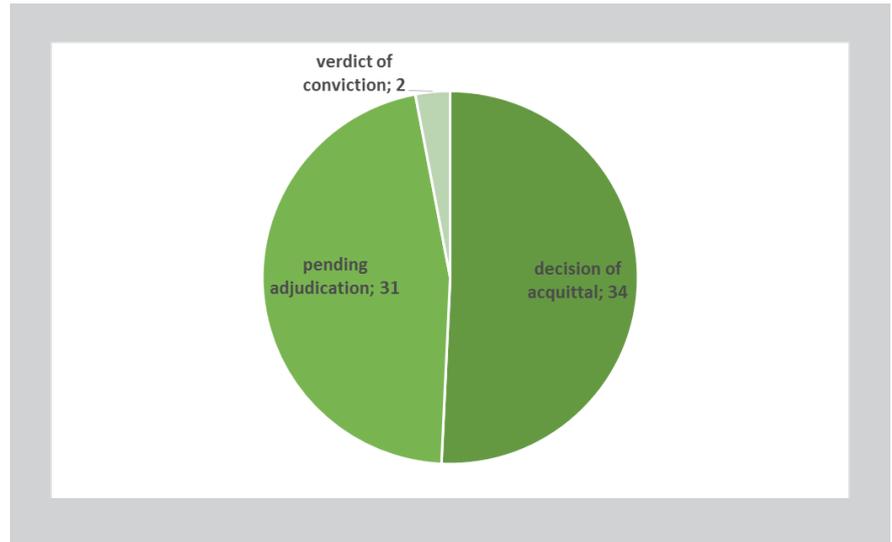
The Turkish juridical authorities' deep-seated legal interpretation places these types of offences within the scope of Articles 448-450 of the old Turkish Penal Code No. 765. The time period for the statute of limitations for such offences provided by Article 102 of the same law is 20 years. As the enforced disappearance offences were most common between the years 1990-2001 and the time elapsed from the date of offence to this day is 20 years 6 months on average, it becomes adequately clear that for most of the cases the statute of limitations either have already expired or are about to expire.

Our detailed examination of the court files demonstrated that in cases of enforced disappearances, the judiciary did not conduct an effective investigation, and the legal procedures were deliberately prolonged or delayed, with the result that a mechanism was put into action which kept the truths in the dark and protected government officials responsible for this crime from being prosecuted.

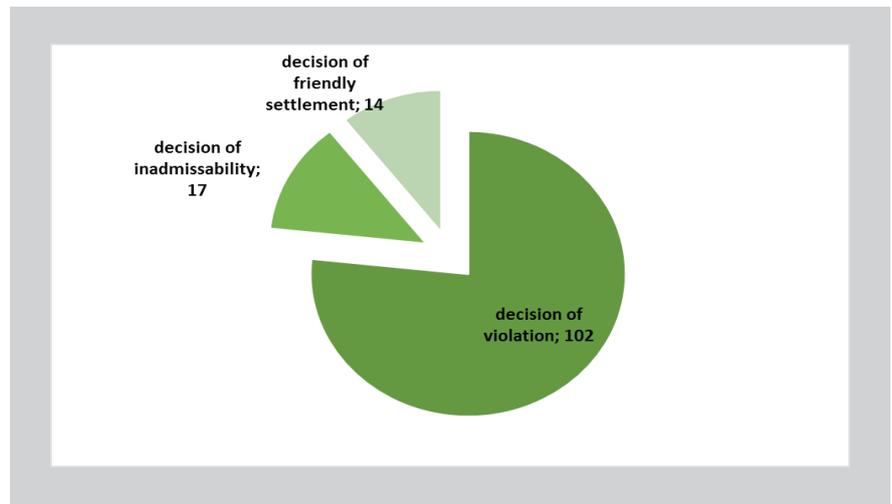
Up until now, we have collected lawsuit and investigation files regarding 296 forcefully disappeared persons. The analysis of these records showed that investigations regarding 204 forcefully disappeared persons were protracted (69%), statute of limitations have expired for 9 cases (3%) and decision of non-prosecution was given for 16 cases (5%). Legal cases were opened for 67 forcefully disappeared persons (23%).



13 criminal cases were opened regarding 67 forcefully disappeared persons. Decisions of acquittal were given in 7 of these cases regarding 34 disappeared persons. 4 out of 13 cases, where the perpetrators are tried for 31 victims, are still ongoing. It is only in 2 cases regarding 2 forcefully disappeared people that verdicts of conviction were given.



69 applications were filed with ECtHR regarding 133 out of 296 forcefully disappeared people whose legal files we have analysed. Contrary to the domestic rule, European Court of Human Rights ruled that Turkey violated the articles of European Convention of Human Rights in 51 applications regarding 102 forcefully disappeared persons. In 7 of 69 applications in connection with 14 disappeared persons, Turkey offered friendly settlement. Thus, Turkish state's responsibility was established for 116 out of 131 disappeared persons in 58 out of 69 applications. 11 applications regarding 17 forcefully disappeared persons were ruled inadmissible and not investigated by the Court.



In our struggle against impunity, we aim to contribute to the efforts for bringing about a change in the judiciary's approach to investigations and prosecutions of enforced disappearances and arbitrary executions; while at the same time to ensure that the crimes committed during the above mentioned period are addressed as crimes against humanity and/or ongoing crimes.

Screening of the laws for identifying the provisions paving the way for impunity has now been completed. For the purpose of formulating recommendations for the necessary amendments to the Turkish Penal Code, Law on Criminal Proceedings, Law on Prosecution of Civil Servants and Other Government Officials, Anti-terror Law, Law on the Duties and Authorities of the Police, as well as the relevant circulars and regulations were examined in detail by Dr. Gülşah Kurt. The findings of this comprehensive work were compiled in a report with the heading **The Impunity Problem: Investigation Process** which was published in September 2014. In the report, we focused on the criminal investigation process in line with our holistic approach to the problem encompassing a wide range of aspects from the right to truth to the redress mechanisms, as impunity is a phenomenon which deserves an in-depth analysis covering such diverse factors.

We organized a round-table meeting in Ankara on 5 October 2013 attended by judges, prosecutors, heads of bar associations and members of academia taking part in the law screening team. In the next phase of our study, we plan to seek answers to questions such as how to create an impartial and independent judiciary in a manner to ensure its sustainability, and the reasons why the legal investigations of human rights violations committed by government officials result in impunity.

3. Monitoring legal cases, providing support to local bar associations and lawyers

We gave priority to identifying the needs of lawyers working in Şırnak, Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin and İstanbul during our Legal Studies team's visits to these provinces with a view to provide them with the legal support that best suited their local circumstances.

Guided by the outcome of the meetings held with lawyers, the team members prepared application letters and petitions addressed to local members of the judiciary conducting the investigations and proceedings related to ongoing enforced disappearance cases, to remind them of their obligations laid down in national legislation, international covenants and ECtHR case law. The use of such petitions and application letters by local lawyers enabled them to intervene in the proceedings, and in return obtain significant positive results.

We launched a new initiative in 2014 in partnership with the Batman Bar Association, İHD Batman Branch, Batman branch of the Mesopotamia Association for Solidarity with the Families of Missing Persons (Mezopotamya Yakınlarını Kaybedenlerle Dayanışma Derneği - MEYA-DER) and the Association of Ehmedê Xanî with the purpose of reactivating the legal cases in Batman region which have been left unattended and exposed to the risk of closure on grounds of the expiry of statute of limitations period.



Meeting with lawyers from Batman Bar on 21st of November 2014. From left to right: Serap Işık, Emel Ataktürk, Erkan Şenses.

Thanks to our collaboration with lawyers Nuri Mehmetođlu, Ayőe Acar Baőaran, Leyla Orak, Derya Onatlı, and Abdölsamet Kansu, members of the Batman Bar Association, we intervened in a number of judicial procedures, one of which was a case about enforced disappearances and arbitrary executions.

Supported by Truth Justice Memory Center, lawyers in Batman continue to attend and closely follow the developments in the investigation files of forcefully disappeared Zeynel Kürsep, Resul Sačan, İsmail Ađaya, Edip Çelik, İbrahim Çelik, Tahsin Bađıő, and Abdurrahman Acar, as well as the case of extrajudicial killings in Heybeli village of Erzincan.

An application was drawn up jointly with attorney Nuri Mehmetođlu and filed with the Constitutional Court for the arbitrary execution of Abdurrahman Acar in Batman.

Working in close cooperation with lawyer Veysel Vesek, a member of őirnak Bar Association, we prepared ten application files to be submitted to the Constitutional Court in connection with forcefully disappeared Lokman Akay, Abdullah Döőkün, Ömer Ölker, Süleyman Durgut, Ahmet Ürün, Hasan Esenbođa, Hüseyin Demir and Nezir Acar, as well as arbitrarily executed Ali Bulut and Abdullah Duva.

Along with a number of other NGOs, we also closely followed the **Temizöz and Others** case, popularly known as the **Cizre Jitem** case. The retired Colonel Cemal Temizöz and eight other defendants were charged with the enforced disappearance and unsolved murder of 21 people in Cizre in the years 1993-1995. Upon the dissolution of the "Special Criminal Courts", the trial was first sent to the Criminal Court of Cizre and then transferred to the Second Criminal Court of Eskiőehir due to security reasons. Agreeing with the Prosecutor's demand at the 47th hearing on 18 June, the panel of judges acquitted all defendants at the 49th hearing of the trial on 5th of November 2015, hence ruling for the continuation of the well-established practice of impunity.

Another case we have been following is that of **Musa Çitil**, who had served as a Captain and the District Gendarme Commander in the Derik district of the Mardin province between 1992-1994, to be then promoted in 2013 to the rank of Brigadier General and appointed as the Ankara Regional Commander, and whose term of office was extended for one more year in 2014. Musa Çitil was being tried as the army officer responsible for the brutal killing of 13 villagers. He was acquitted on 21 May 2014. Supreme Court of Appeals approved the decision of acquittal on 2 June 2015. He continued to

serve in Ankara Gendarmerie Regional Command with the rank of Brigadier General during the trials and promoted to Major General by Supreme Military Council (YAŞ) on 8 June 2015. He was then appointed to Diyarbakır Gendarmerie Regional Commandership on 8th of August 2015.

Mete Sayar and Others case with six defendants, including the retired Brigadier General Mete Sayar, accused of the enforced disappearance of 6 villagers 21 years ago in Görümlü village of Silopi was another legal case we have been following together with several NGOs. At the hearing held on 3 July 2015, the prosecutor demanded acquittal for the defendants and the court, without hearing the victims' lawyers, ruled for the acquittal of all six defendants. This was an indication that the few cases against military officers charged with involvement in extrajudicial and arbitrary killings and enforced disappearances now tend to result in acquittal and absolution of the defendants of such grave human rights violations by the state. Regrettably no political and judicial will has been displayed in Turkey to transform these cases into a process of confronting the country's past.

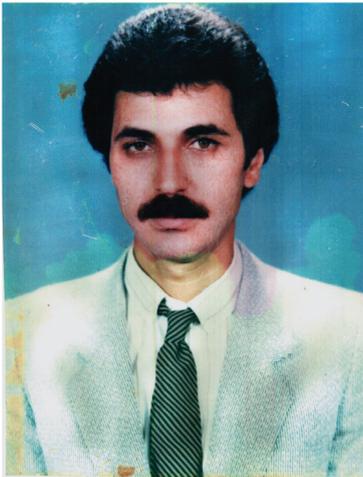
As of 2014, we are an active participant in the meetings of the Network Against Impunity. The Network is composed of the organizations under the umbrella organization **Human Rights Joint Platform**, namely Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, İHD, Human Rights Agenda Association, Human Rights Research Association and Amnesty International Turkey as well as TİHV, TESEV, Bar Associations of Batman, Diyarbakır, Muş, Bitlis and Şırnak, Human Rights Watch Turkey, Progressive Lawyers Association Antalya Branch, representatives of the Medical Forensic Specialists Association of Turkey and members of academia.

To strengthen the Network, we paid several visits since the second half of 2014 to the Bar Associations of Şırnak, Batman, Diyarbakır and Mardin and held meetings. In this process, we prepared and shared with the lawyers, petition templates to be used for the revival of stalled investigations and starting legal interventions with the ongoing trials. Work is underway to build a web-based databank where lawyers will be able to access legal intervention practices and international experience in this respect.

We are also monitoring the legal case opened in late 2013 and presently being heard by the 7th Criminal Court of Ankara where the retired Brigadier General **Yavuz Ertürk**, the former Bolu 2nd Commando Brigade Commander, who is charged with the enforced disappearance of eleven civilians in 1993.

4. Studying the world experience, pinpointing alternative new methods of intervention, and implementing those applicable to comparable cases in Turkey.

Constitutional Court accepted our application to give legal opinion on the case of Hasan Gülünay.



Legal Studies Program of the Truth Justice Memory Center attaches great importance to efforts for closely observing the evolution of the world trends in the prosecution of gross human rights violations by states and for identifying and adapting to local conditions those practices which are applicable to Turkey.

Another area we concentrate on is setting up partnerships with relevant NGOs for the application at national level of the methods largely used at international scale for intervening in criminal prosecutions. Our work bore fruits and we succeeded in intervening in the judicial processes in connection with the Gülünay and Güçlükonak cases, both of which resulted in favour of the victims as explained below.

Hasan Gülünay was taken into custody by plainclothes policemen on 20 February 1992 and since then his fate remains unknown, despite the existence of witnesses who had seen him at the Public Security Directorate of Istanbul after his disappearance.

10 years later when the court decided on 31 October 2012 to close the case on grounds of expiry of statute of limitation period, Hasan Gülünay's wife Birsen Gülünay chose to exercise her right to individual application with the Constitutional Court. To support her, a platform of NGOs was set up which submitted to the Constitutional Court an *amicus curiae* brief containing their opinion and the legal justification of their demands. The platform was consisted of Truth Justice Memory Center, TESEV, the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights, as well as the members of the Human Rights Joint Platform in Turkey, namely TİHV, İHD, Human Rights Agenda Association, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and Human Rights Research Association.

Amicus curiae is a legal term in Latin, meaning friend of the court, which refers to an individual or an organization that is not a party to a case but is given the right to offer information and opinion to the court. It is an established institution adopted by international courts like European Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American System of Human Rights and European Court of Justice, as well as a number of national courts.

The *amicus curiae* file signed by 8 NGOs was personally submitted to Hüseyin Ekinici, the Chief Rapporteur of the Constitutional Court. During the long meeting with the participation of the representatives of the signatory organizations, Ekinici had our *amicus curiae* file registered as a third party intervention, by taking into consideration the ECtHR practice although such a procedure was not included in the internal regulations of the Constitutional Court. He also spoke favourably of the possibility that the Court would examine the content of the file before

passing a ruling. The Chief Rapporteur's recognition of the file as a valid legal document and his favourable approach was very encouraging for the signatory organizations and raised hopes for overcoming the statute of limitations problem in cases confronting the past.

Additional information about the enforced disappearance of Hasan Gülünay and the judicial process can be found at: <http://zorlakaybetmeler.org/event.php?id=HAH/event/269>

Our intervention prevented the closure of the Güçlükönak extra-judicial killings case



Excavation of mass grave in Ormaniçi village of Güçlükönak district in October 2013.

The legal case opened for the mass extra-judicial killings at **Ormaniçi village of Güçlükönak**, a district of Şırnak, on 5 June 1994 was about to be closed, as no further progress was made in the criminal prosecution process since then. We worked with lawyer Veysel Vesek, a member of the Şırnak Bar Association, and just before the expiry of the statute of limitation period, succeeded to have the court issue a warrant for the suspects. The court decided in favour of an excavation in the designated place to uncover the dead bodies and identify these by means of analysis to be made by the Medical Forensic Institute.

One of the biggest difficulties in excavations of mass graves is the necessity to conduct the excavations in line with the Minnesota Protocol which incorporates the standards laid down in the Principles on the Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Summary and Arbitrary Executions adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and which Turkey signed with a number of reservations. The Protocol requires the excavations to be carried out without damaging the evidences including the DNA samples and without destroying the associated materials such as clothes and bones.

To ensure compliance with these requirements, we suggested Prof. Dr. Ümit Biçer's participation in the excavations at the place where the Güçlükönak massacre victims' bodies were buried. The Medical Forensic Institute's report on the findings of the exhaustive excavations carefully done at the site indicated that the body in the first grave was that of Mehmet Kaya, the second Şerif Ekin and the third Abdülislam Demir. It was found that the victims were civilians, they were wrapped in blankets with their clothes on and all of them had wounds inflicted by bullets. Arrangements were successfully made for the proper recording of this extraordinarily critical set of evidence and for the proper aligning of the bones in a manner to ensure an effective DNA examination. Analysis to determine whether the disjointed skull with a bullet hole on it, which was found in the fourth grave, belongs to Mehmet Özkan or not still continues.

We submitted a Third Party Opinion file to the Grand Chamber of ECtHR on the Perinçek vs Switzerland case



Human Rights Association and Truth Justice Memory Center organized a joint press meeting on 23th of January 2015, just before the hearing of the Perinçek v. Switzerland case at Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights on 28th of January.

Our report on ECtHR rulings

In July 2014, Truth Justice Memory Center submitted an application to the ECtHR, jointly with İHD and Toronto-based International Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (IIGHRS), for permission to intervene before the Grand Chamber with regard to its consideration of the Perinçek vs Switzerland case. Upon approval of our application by the Grand Chamber, the three human rights organizations submitted a Third Party Opinion file in their capacity as a collective *amicus curiae*.

In 2005, Doğu Perinçek travelled to Switzerland, a country that officially recognised the Armenian Genocide and passed a law criminalizing its denial, in order to make declarations in Bern and Lausanne where he impugned the Armenian Genocide as a fabrication. In 2007, Perinçek was found guilty of deliberately violating national law and convicted by the court of Lausanne. Upon Perinçek's appeal, the European Court of Human Rights ruled in his favour in 2008 and found that the court of Lausanne had violated the freedom of expression principle enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), article 10.

Our decision to take part in the *amicus curiae* coalition was based on our mission "Truth Justice Memory Center believes that the aspirations for a sustainable peace and democracy can only be realized by adopting a fair and just approach to victims of past human rights violations" and our fundamental values of **"Democracy, Accountability, Truth, Justice, Dignity and Peace"**.

In the Third Party Opinion file, the three organizations explained that, in light of Doğu Perinçek's comments before and after the trial, as well as the context within which his public statements subject to the Swiss court's conviction were made, it was obvious that Perinçek's real motivation in using such discourse was discrimination and racism. It was also underlined in the file that such discrimination and racial hatred paved the way for deathly consequences and safety risks on the part of Turkey's Armenian community. The file concluded that Perinçek's discourse should not be assessed from the viewpoint of the Armenian community in Switzerland, but also by bearing in mind its consequences for the Armenian citizens of Turkey.

On 15 October 2015, the ECtHR Grand Chamber decided in favour of Perinçek and ruled that the Swiss court had violated Article 10 of ECHR by convicting Doğu Perinçek for his denial of Armenian Genocide.

A report on ECtHR rulings against Turkey on enforced disappearances to be submitted to the Committee of Ministers of the European Council was prepared together with our partner Berlin-based European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR).

III | DISSEMINATION AND ADVOCACY PROGRAM

“Without accurate knowledge of past violations, it is difficult for a society to prevent these violations from occurring again.”⁸

David Tolbert

It is communication that gives words a meaning and power. No truth, no memory, no piece of information, no fact can bring about a change in life if they cannot reach the public. One of the primary objectives of Truth Justice Memory Center has been, right from the start, to have the information we produce generate a material change in people’s lives in Turkey. This is precisely what our Dissemination and Advocacy Program aims to do: To communicate what we do so as to effect a change.

Turkey has not been able to leave behind an environment of armed conflict in the southeastern and eastern regions for more than three decades. Our main fields of activity, enforced disappearances, unsolved murders, villages evacuated and burnt down, gross human rights violations in this region, and the refusal of the authorities to confront with such violations all stem from this environment of war and armed conflict.

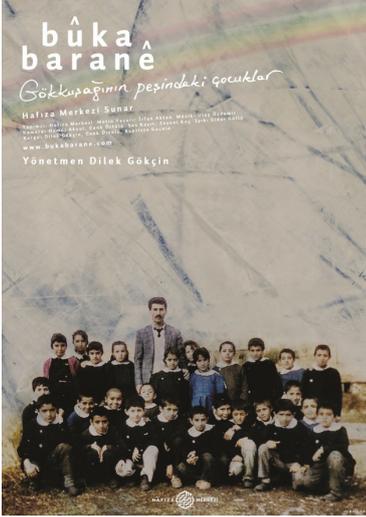
The work we have been carrying out through research, sharing of our findings and the knowledge we gather from the international experience in the fields of truth, justice and memorialisation, is aimed to contribute to peace-building efforts in Turkey. To our belief, the efforts to uncover truths about gross human rights violations in the recent past can only contribute to healing and reparation of sufferings if the recognition of the past acts of injustice goes beyond the narrow sphere of politics and acquire a social scale in its broadest sense, and if the legitimacy of demands for justice are acknowledged and steps are taken for their fulfilment.

Our Dissemination and Advocacy program encompasses our activities to convey the outcome of our work in this respect to diverse sections of society, primarily government authorities, decision makers, human rights organizations and university students. Such activities include preparation and servicing of our press releases; developing creative ways for effective use of communication tools to tell people the truths; publish books; organize exhibitions jointly with cultural organizations; produce documentaries; raise funds for art projects; develop training programs on topics such as human rights, transitional justice and confronting with the past; support youth projects; conduct research and analyses on social and political choices of young people; and organize capacity building training programs.

⁸ David Tolbert, President of the International Center for Transitional Justice, “Hakikat Komisyonları” (Truth Commissions), foreword for the Turkish edition of the report, 2014, p. 16.

Events and Outcomes

Documentary: Bûka Baranê



In this section of our Report, amongst numerous events and activities organized by our Dissemination and Advocacy Program, we only chose the most prominent ones, as the Program itself is largely based on events and outcomes of our activities.

In addition to the dissemination of resources and news on our website, active use of social media, visualisation of data, production and sharing of short interview videos and similar regular activities, our Dissemination and Advocacy team produced the documentary **Bûka Baranê**.

Literally meaning “the bride of the rain” in Kurdish, *Bûka Baranê* is indeed a very poetic expression of the word “rainbow”.

In the film, before the start of the story, we see a photograph from the year 1989 of a group of primary school students in the garden of their school in the village of Karlı, in Kurdish Befircan, in the Yüksekova district of Hakkari. There at the top corner of the photograph, a rainbow catches our eye. This is a very familiar spectacle of nature in the region emerging just after the rain.

Then we find ourselves on a journey starting in 1989 together with ten school mates appearing in the photograph when İrfan, one of them, returns to the village after 23 years to attend the wedding of Aysun, who is also one of the figures in the photograph.

The road to this journey passes through frequently declared states of emergency, village guards, arrests, repression, torture, and of course young people “going up to mountains”.

Now the children looking at us in the picture have completed their university education, becoming persons of professional standing. Of course they are the ones who were able to proceed in life, as the others are either up in-the mountains or in the rural areas of the Middle East. We see in the film those who were left behind telling us how they see today's state of affairs through the prism of their memories, comment on the current practices and compare today's youth with their younger selves.

The text was written by İrfan Aktan and the documentary was directed by Dilek Gökçin. Screened in 18 cities at home and abroad, from İstanbul to Batman, from Paris to Dohuk (*Duhok* in Kurdish) *Bûka Baranê* was awarded the Special Honorary Mention by the Documentaries Jury at Boston Festival of Turkey in 15 November 2013.

Youth Activities: Learning from the Past, Changing Today



Learning from the Past, Changing Today project poster.

We launched our project **“Learning from the Past, Changing Today”** with the support of the Open Society, Oak and Mott foundations with the aim of encouraging young people to participate in the processes of confronting the past. We mainly focused on activities such as organizing seminars for youth to raise their awareness and to inform them on how to confront the past and the issue of enforced disappearances, and to support their project ideas. What motivated us in embarking on this project was our belief that sharing the truths with the public and contributing to raising a responsible new generation sensitive to victims' rights is crucial to realizing our mission and vision.

As part of the “Learning from the Past, Changing Today” project, we employed a diversity of ways to reach young people. This was an attempt to offer a richer content for the public discussion on truth, justice and restoration, in addition to rendering greater visibility to the demands in this context.

As a first step in preparing for the Youth Projects, we examined similar programs carried out in other places of the world, followed by extensive discussions on the specific local conditions of Turkey that would guide us in selecting the projects to be supported. We decided on “Facing the Past” as the main theme and announced that we would give priority to those projects dealing with enforced disappearances. In our call for applications issued on 10 September 2013, we invited young people to submit their “peace-promoting, non-profit, feasible and reproducible projects that communicate the truths about the past crimes committed by the state and/or the demands of the victims”.

In an effort to ensure the widest possible publicity amongst youth, we carried out a comprehensive communication campaign. Our efforts bore fruit when our team members were invited to radio and television programs and our call for applications gained wide media coverage in both online and printed press. The announcement was also disseminated through e-mail groups, as well as the electronic bulletins of ab-ilan.com,⁹ Civil Society Development Center (Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi - STGM), NETWORK,¹⁰ and Truth Justice Memory Center. The Eurodesk network of European youth organizations, youth and human rights organizations in Turkey were informed of the program by means of e-mail messages.

Accounts were opened on Twitter and Facebook for the program and posters were distributed for display in 1500 places where young

⁹ A platform based in Turkey communicating EU-related news and announcements.

¹⁰ Youth and Participation Project supported by EU and Republic of Turkey.

people spend time most such as universities, culture centers, cafes, etc. in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Eskişehir and Diyarbakır.

We received 32 applications from İstanbul, Edirne, Ankara, Eskişehir, İzmir, Burdur, Tarsus, Mersin, Hatay, Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, Dersim, Malatya, Van, Yüksekova and Berlin. The projects were all developed by youngsters in diverse formats ranging from oral history, to videos, documentation work, workshops, awareness raising activities and publishing of magazines. Of the 32 applications, we chose 6 on the following topics: the Kulp massacre, enforced disappearances, killing of children in Diyarbakır and forced displacements. Short descriptions of the projects are given below. All were accomplished by young people with concrete outputs such as day-planners, magazines, blogs and videos.

Our support to the projects came in three forms: • **Training:** A training session was held between 31 October – 3 November 2013 with a view to enrich the project groups' knowledge about the various aspects of confronting the past and developing their respective project ideas. • **Financial support:** Following the training, we provided funds to the selected projects. • **Support in terms of content:** We opened our archives to the project teams, shared our facilities and resources with them, in addition to providing them with assistance at the implementation phase.

6 Youth Projects that came to life:

1. Disa-Kulp

On 22 December 1991 when hundreds of people from different districts of Diyarbakır headed for the mountainous area to retrieve the dead bodies of the guerrillas killed in an armed clash with the Turkish military, soldiers opened fire on the unarmed villagers trying to cross the bridge at the town of Kulp, killing seven there. 22 years after the Kulp massacre, the project team, composed of Berivan Öztürk from Malatya and Burcu Akbalık from Dersim, conducted interviews in İstanbul and Diyarbakır with journalist Ahmet Sümül, lawyer Nahit Eren, M. Şah Altun, a relative of one of the victims, Şehmus Altındağ, who survived with wounds, and a witness, Süleyman Öztürk.

The team's objective was to document what happened at Kulp, Diyarbakır, in December 1991, raise awareness through the effective use of social media and memorialize the massacre.

The testimonies, information about the event and the judicial process is available at: <http://disakulp.wix.com/disakulp>.

2. Open Door

The Open Door project was carried out by the Ray Performance Group from İstanbul, with Çağıl Naz Hapoğlu, Lara Aysal, Sedat Can Güven and Doğu Yaşar Akal as members, which organized **Forum Theater Workshops** with the participation of the children of families who had migrated to İstanbul as a result of forced displacements in the Kurdish provinces in the 1990s.

Workshops, using the Forum Drama method, aimed to facilitate social and societal transformation through the past experiences of participating children and their families. Forum Theater is a kind of **'theater of the oppressed'**, which aims to help spectators and actors find a solution to their oppressed state in the safe environment of a theater by helping them produce a play out of their stories of oppression.

As of 24 October 2013, in collaboration with the **Youth Re-Autonomy Foundation of Turkey**, a 13-week workshop of two hours' sessions was conducted on Sundays, by 3 instructors taking turns. The oppressor-oppressed relations were dramatised around three main sites, namely home, street and school. The interactive dramaturgy practices enabled them to perceive, transform and re-express themselves as both the oppressor and the oppressed. Body, voice and breathing exercises were done collectively and a stage aesthetics was spontaneously created through improvisations.

3. A Woman – Ax Welat!

A Woman - AX Welat! is a short documentary produced by Pınar Pamuk and Filis Sali from Çanakkale. The film tells the story of a woman, a relative of a forcibly disappeared person in the 1990s, how she carried on her individual and social struggle after the disappearance, where she stands now, how she sees her past conditions of life from her current standpoint, and how her view of her past life affects her present.

The project team summarizes their message as “a greeting to all Kurdish women through the story of one of them who, despite all sufferings, is determined to go on smiling and make others smile.”

It is the story of Ax Welat, who is very good at expressing herself, whose past, present and future are all torn apart, but at the same time held together by her resilience, and who continues her life along a very solid, although still risky path. The documentary, says the project team, aimed to catch her most natural moments, smiling face and strong willpower as much as possible.

As the documentary is due to be screened at a number of film festivals, we have not yet put the film live on our website, but we intend to share a short trailer soon.

4. 6 Children 4 Streets

The project focuses on the story of the 6 children killed by security forces who opened fire on a crowd of local people attending the funeral of dead guerrillas following the Kurds' Newroz festivals in 2006 in four streets of Diyarbakır.

The project team comprising Ercan Jan Aktaş, Sibel Aktaş, Sedat Özel and Mazlum Mızrak memorializes the death of Abdullah Duran aged 9, Emrah Fidan 17, Enes Ata 8, Mahsum Mızrak 17, Mehmet Akbulut 17, and Mehmet Işıkcı 19, through the details of the incident, and interviews with their family members and witnesses.

Despite numerous evidence of the crime committed, no perpetrator has been punished. All of them are still serving and moreover, have been rewarded with promotions. A legal action was started only for the death of Enes Ata. In the case of others, either no criminal prosecution was started, or the ones started were closed by court rulings not to prosecute the defendants.

5. Memory Agenda

The simple idea of the “**Memory Agenda**” project by Ecem Pınar Sayar, Feyza Şapcı and Özge Boztaş from Ankara was to turn an everyday object into a reminder of the human rights violations that took place in the recent history of Turkey.

Released in January 2014, the agenda provides information both about the people forcibly disappeared in 1994 and the unique nature of such a crime.

The agenda was printed in a run of 1000 copies and distributed to students and lecturers at the Middle East Technical University where the project team members continued their higher education, and to the cafes and bookstores in Ankara frequently visited by youngsters.

6. Siya Jana Ziraz – The Shadow of a Delicate Aching

Under this project, carried out by Melis Öner, Hamdullah Demir, Emin Solak, Uğur Tekin, Eren Yeşildal, and Şilan Yazgan from İstanbul, one issue of the **Bastille magazine** published by the students of the Marmara University Faculty of Law, was dedicated in its entirety to enforced disappearances.

The following articles and interviews appeared in the special enforced disappearances issue of the Bastille magazine:
We Don't Have Him – Hamdullah Demir

The Truth at the Bottom of the Well – Şilan Yazgan and Eren Yeşildal

The Sky Covers the Dead Without a Grave – Uğur Tekin

Media's Litmus of Conscience – Emin Solak

Relatives of the Disappeared – Saturday Mothers – Melis Öner

Before the Earth Was Naked

Interview with Tahir Elçi

Interview with Emel Ataktürk

University Seminars

For this set of seminars to be organized at universities, we first prepared a program covering transitional justice mechanisms and the consequences of enforced disappearances in Turkey. Then we made a list of discussion topics to facilitate the students' active participation by asking questions and making comments. The main learning objectives were (a) raise awareness on democracy, peace building and human rights; (b) familiarize them with the perspective and practices of transitional justice and encourage them to deliberate on the steps that can be taken for meeting the demands for truth, justice and equitable remedy; (c) provide basic knowledge about the crime of enforced disappearance and help them develop an understanding of the victims' demands.

The 9 seminar programs thus prepared were organized in the below 8 universities:

Yeditepe University (10 May 2013)

İstanbul Bilgi University (13 May 2013)

Sabancı University (15 May 2013)

Ankara University (17 May 2013)

İstanbul University (24 May 2013)

Bahçeşehir University (15 November 2013)

Sabancı University (19 November 2013)

Işık University (18 April 2014)

Symposium: “Facing the Past and Education in Turkey: Needs and Experiences”



Left to right: Neşe Özgen,
Emrah Gürsel, Bülent Bilmez

The symposium project originated from our awareness of the need to deal with the question of facing the past and enforced disappearances at the secondary education level and to reach out to educators and teachers for this purpose. The “Facing the Past and Education in Turkey: Needs and Experiences” symposium organized jointly with İstanbul Bilgi University’s Sociology and Education Studies Unit (SEÇBİR) covered a series of presentations and a workshop on 25 May 2013.

In the morning, a group of 25 young teachers and instructors attended the workshop facilitated by Alev Tuğberk from the Cyprus-based Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR). The workshop focused on a handbook prepared for teachers to help them in addressing the question of the missing people in Cyprus with their students and discussed the ways to overcome the obstacles in dealing with the topic of facing a country’s past in formal education.

In the afternoon three sessions were held. In the first one, chaired by Aydın Uğur from İstanbul Bilgi University’s Sociology Department, Kenan Çayır from SEÇBİR focused on the role of education in the construction of peace and facing the past, and Meltem Aslan from Truth Justice Memory Center emphasised the importance of transitional justice mechanisms in meeting the demands of victims and the process of democratisation.

Chaired by Emrah Gürsel from Truth Justice Memory Center, the second session’s topic was “Memory and Facing the Past from Various Disciplinary Perspectives”. Here sociologist Neşe Özgen from Mimar Sinan University gave a presentation entitled “‘The Disappeared’ and Imagining the Homeland in Textbooks from a Historical Perspective”, followed by the talk of Bülent Bilmez from İstanbul Bilgi University and the President of the History Association on “The Thorny Paths of Facing and Dealing with Our Recent History: Ways, Methods, and Goals”.

In the last session, Meltem Onurkan Samani from the European University of Lefke spoke on behalf of AHDR and told the story of how they prepared the above-mentioned handbook, and the Association’s other projects. Mutlu Öztürk, a history teacher at the Notre Dame de Sion High School in İstanbul made a presentation on “Memory at School, the School in Memory: Thoughts on a School of Peace”.

Presentation to Parliamentary Commission for Societal Peace and Resolution Process



Truth Justice Memory Center,
Memory Studies Program Director
Özgür Sevgi Göral

The Investigation Commission set up at the Turkish Grand National Assembly to **Search Ways for Societal Peace and Assessment of the Resolution Process** had invited Truth Justice Memory Center to their meeting on 10 July 2013 to present them our two reports on enforced disappearances and to brief them on transitional justice mechanisms employed in other parts of the world in the aftermath of violent conflicts. The meeting was held with the participation of AKP deputies Fatoş Gürkan, Naci Bostancı, Ziver Özdemir, İdris Şahin, Süleyman Hamzaoğulları and Abdülkerim Gök, and the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) deputies Hüsamettin Zenderlioğlu, Sebahat Tuncel, Ertuğrul Kürkçü and Erol Dora with Murat Çelikkan and Özgür Sevgi Göral as the guests from the Truth Justice Memory Center.

Murat Çelikkan briefed the Commission members about the types of transitional justice mechanisms to be introduced for confronting the past with examples from different countries of the world, as well as those methods that can be adapted to Turkey to create a shared collective memory and language for peace building. Drawing on our analysis of the 227 legal cases of enforced disappearances, he also gave examples of impunity enjoyed by government officials that protect them from prosecution for the crimes they committed.

Özgür Sevgi Göral, on the other hand, presented the findings of the field research we carried out in Şırnak which formed the basis of our report "The Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances". She also underlined the importance of the public circulation of the narratives of the forcibly disappeared persons' relatives, truth commissions, apology, and memorials, as well as putting into practice the means of restorative justice such as redressal and compensation.

Memorials, Museums and Commemorative Events Workshop



A stained glass in Olimpo Detention
and Torture Center

The workshop organized jointly with International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) in İstanbul on 17-18 December 2011 brought together participants from Turkey and the representatives of international organizations active in the field of memorialisation.

The presentation on sites of conscience by Silvia Fernandez from ICSC was followed by a session on the memory studies conducted in Turkey with Prof. Dr. Leyla Neyzi and Banu Karaca from Sabancı University and Prof. Dr. Meltem Ahıska from Bosphorus University as speakers.

María Eugenia Mendizábal from Argentina gave an informative presentation on the conversion of the Olympic Garage, one of the junta regime's 400 clandestine detention centers, to a site of memory and a social center in 2005.

10 Madımak Hotel in Sivas is the building where 35 people, mostly Alevi intellectuals, writers, musicians lost their lives as a result of an arson attack staged by a crowd of thousands led by radical Islamists on 2 July 1993. The violent crowd was permitted to besiege the hotel nearly all day long, and watched the flames consuming the building and people die there, without any intervention on the part of the security forces. The intellectuals were invited to Sivas to take part in a culture festival.

The work carried out for the conversion of Derb Moulay Cherif, a torture center during the colonial and post-colonial regime in Morocco, into a museum was the topic of Fatna El Bouih's presentation. The artists Frieder Schonock and Renata Stih from Berlin gave an interesting talk about the public art projects they coordinated and their experiences in connection with sites of memory.

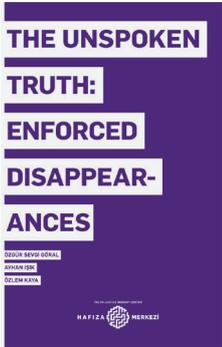
The story of and the activities carried out by the project Healing Through Remembering based in Northern Ireland was the topic of the project director Kate Turner's presentation.

Participants from Turkey discussed the commemorative events organized Turkey, sites of memory such as Diyarbakır and Ulucanlar prisons, and the Madımak Hotel.¹¹

Our Reports:

The Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances

Published in 2013



"The state may even murder us, it is its job after all, it is within its powers. But it must show us the bodies of our dead ones, it must give us their bones."¹¹

Interview: Şırnak-Cizre
02.09.2012.

¹¹ *The Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances*, Özgür Sevgi Göral, Ayhan Işık, Özlem Kaya, 2013.

Our reports, prepared on the sound grounds of our research and documentation activities, constitute one of the corner stones of our Dissemination and Advocacy Program.

Our report, written by our Memory Studies team Özgür Sevgi Göral, Ayhan Işık, and Özlem Kaya, is based on the one-year long field research.

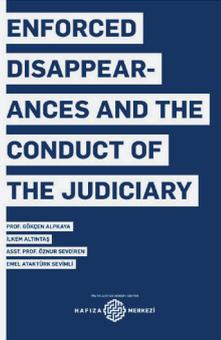
In our research we sought the answers to a number of critical questions: Through which judicial, political and social mechanisms the policy of enforced disappearances was put into practice in Turkey after the military coup of 1980? What factors contributed to society's prolonged silence and indifference towards this phenomenon? What kind of an experience did the relatives of the disappeared go through after the disappearance and what meaning did they attribute to it? What does this strategy tell us about the state, justice and citizenship in Turkey?

The report calls for the fulfilment of the victims' demand that in addition to the **punitive justice**, i.e. the prosecution and punishment of the perpetrators, a **restorative justice**, involving the uncovering of the truth, the official acceptance of the violation, and an official apology should be provided.

The full text is accessible at: <http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak/unsspoken-truth-enforced-disappearances/>

Enforced Disappearances and The Conduct of the Judiciary

Published in 2013



"When one loses a loved one, it is not only the person that is lost, but also a part of one's own self, constituted in the relationship with the lost person."¹² Judith Butler

¹² Butler, J., *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, Verso, 2004, p.22.

"Holding up the Photograph"

Published in 2014



"They abduct us, they kill us, they disappear us, and

Our second report on enforced disappearances was prepared with the support of prominent actors of human rights movement in Turkey, particularly the bar associations of Diyarbakır, Şırnak, and Mardin, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, Human Rights Association and Turkey representative of Human Rights Watch, Emma Sinclair Webb.

The report consists of the following sections:

- The Conduct of the Judiciary in Enforced Disappearances – Emel Ataktürk Sevimli
- Enforced Disappearances in International Law – Prof. Gökçen Alpkaya
- The Recognition of Enforced Disappearance as a Crime Under Domestic Law and the Statute of Limitations: A Problematic of International Criminal Law – Asst. Prof. Öznuur Sevdiren
- Enforced Disappearance Cases from the Perspective of the European Court of Human Rights – İlkem Altıntaş

The report elaborates on a number of topics including the conduct of the judiciary in Turkey in connection with enforced disappearances, international law on human rights violations, laws of war, the time limitation question and the ECtHR rulings on similar cases. In addition, a detailed account is provided in the report on how the demands of justice for enforced disappearances were often left unanswered in Turkey on the basis of our analysis of legal documents related to 227 cases. It is our hope that the report contributes to the efforts to crack the shield of impunity, and the institution of accountability.

The full text is accessible at: http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Zorla-Kaybetmeler-Yargi_ENG.pdf

The report prepared by our Memory Studies team focuses on the experience of the women whose husbands were forcibly disappeared. The objective of the interviews we conducted with them was to present the dimensions of state violence more holistically through the experiences of women and analyse state violence with a gender perspective.

In addition to those conducted during the first year of our research, we carried out in-depth interviews with 33 women in Cizre, İdil, Silopi, Güçlükonak, Uludere, Şırnak city center, Diyarbakır and İstanbul. The women's own words are frequently quoted in the report, where it is underlined that any pursuit of justice in connection with enforced disappearances must take into consideration the experiences of women left behind.

so much more they do. They do everything. Their cruelties against us are many. Dear God, do not let our rights go forsaken!"¹³

Interview: Diyarbakır, 04.11.2013

13 "Fotoğrafı Kaldırmak" – Eşi Zorla Kaybedilen Kadınların Deneyimi, Hatice Bozkurt, Özlem Kaya, 2014.

The Impunity Problem: Investigation Process

Published in 2014



"At the beginning, the prosecutor may not know with whom he/she will come across at some point of the process. Very regrettably (...) as some progress is made into the depths of the case, the prosecutor will be confronted by such people that he/she either stops or is made to stop or will have no other alternative than to stop."¹⁴

14 Sancar, M., Atılğan, E. Ü. "Adalet Biraz Es Geçiliyor": Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Hakimler ve Savcılar. (Judges and Prosecutors in Democratisation Process), TESEV Publications, interview with a prosecutor, 2009, p.119.

In the report concrete policy recommendations from a gender perspective regarding enforced disappearances are followed by the general comment of the UN Human Rights Council Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances on the women affected by enforced disappearances.

The full text is accessible at: http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/holding_up_the_photograph_R.pdf

When we first started in 2011 to gather legal data about the people forcibly disappeared by units at the service of the state apparatus, one of our main objectives was to lay bare, based on material evidence, the judiciary's response to such grave human rights violations ongoing for long years. We could guess that the result would not be quite relieving, but it proved to be shocking even to us, because there emerged a picture hardly acceptable.

Written by Gülşah Kurt and prepared for publication by a team comprising of Emel Ataktürk Sevimli, Melis Gebeş, Murat Çelikkan, Özlem Kaya and Serap Işık, this report exposes the components of this regrettable picture.

The report provides an analysis of the legal provisions facilitating impunity, the implementation of such provisions, and the judiciary's current patterns of reasoning within this context, in addition to the shortcomings, misleading and problematic aspects of the laws. The readers will also find in the report various other aspects of the matter, such as the administrative arrangements, amendments to laws, a comparative analysis of the old and new versions of laws in Turkey, evaluation of rulings by the domestic courts and ECtHR, and the manner in which the question is dealt with in the international legal documents, including Turkey reports of international human rights organizations. Furthermore, the report covers recommendations of amendments to laws to overcome the obstacles to the elimination of impunity, as well as interpretation of current laws and their implementation.

An executive summary of the report is accessible at: http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Cezasizlik_Sorunu_Yonetici_Ozeti_ENG.pdf

Truth Commissions

Published in 2014



“Our experience at ICTJ shows that an important element in establishing a common ground of values and civic trust is the willingness to hear the voices of victims of conflict and repression, and to examine the root causes of violence. Truth commissions serve as means to achieve these ends.”¹⁵ David Tolbert

¹⁵ David Tolbert, President of International Center for Transitional Justice, *Hakikat Komisyonları*, 2014, preface to Turkish edition, p.16.

As the discussions are under way for setting up of truth commissions in Turkey, attention should be drawn to the guidance offered to us by the 30-years' world experience for adapting the best practices in this respect to our country's needs and local conditions.

The Truth Commissions report consists of two sections. The first one is the direct translation of the publication *“Truth Seeking: Elements of Creating an Effective Truth Commission”* by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), an international NGO based in New York. Here, a general overview is presented on the effective practices of truth commissions from their foundation phase to reporting methods.

The second chapter lists sample cases from 10 truth commissions and 2 commissions of historical reconciliation which the Truth Justice Memory Center has compiled from a wide variety of sources. We hope that both the first section serving as guidelines built on ICTJ's experience of more than 20 years, and the actual sample cases will contribute to discussions on the establishment of a truth commission in Turkey towards a lasting peace.

The full text in Turkish is accessible at:

<http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/kaynak/hakikat-komisyonlari/>

Communication of our Reports and Database

Press Conferences and Presentations



Press Conference to present “Unspoken Truth: Enforced Disappearances” and “Enforced Disappearances and the Conduct of the Judiciary” reports on 11 July 2013.

Communication of our reports and the database at www.zorlakaybetmeler.org was carried out by the support of Grup 7 Communications Consultancy. The press conference in this context took place at the Cezayir Conference Hall in İstanbul on 11 July 2013 with the participation of media outlets such as the Dicle News Agency, the dailies Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Dünya, and Özgür Gündem, as well as various other media members including Açık Radyo, the weekly Agos, the history magazine Atlas Tarih, the TV channel Sky 360 and the internet portal T24. Interviews and news reports in the printed press played an important part in creating wider public awareness of our work. Our team members Özgür Sevgi Göral and Emel Ataktürk gave an interview to the İMC TV channel.

On 26 November 2014, a short film on our report **“Holding up the Photograph”: Experiences of the Women Whose Husbands were Forcibly Disappeared** was screened at the “Yoğurtçu Women's Forum” held at the Yoğurtçu park in İstanbul, where a presentation was made by Özlem Kaya, one of the writers of the report.

	<p>Özlem Kaya gave another presentation on our subject report during the International Psychological Trauma Meetings organized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey on 6 December 2014, at the session titled "Gender-based Violence in Environments of Armed Clashes".</p> <p>Özlem Kaya also took part in the Women in War conference organized in Sarajevo on 7-8 June 2014 where she gave a speech on the report. Women in War, an NGO presided by Carol Mann and based in Paris and Sarajevo, organizes conferences and presentations by academics and activists on women's experiences in areas of armed clashes.</p>
<p>Printed Press and Internet</p>	<p>Our reports and the database was covered by Agos, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Taraf, Zaman, Today's Zaman, Özgür Gündem newspapers and Internet news portals such as Bianet (Independent Communication Network).</p> <p>Apart from news items, columnists of the above mentioned newspapers, as well as those of high-circulation dailies like Radikal online, Sabah and Milliyet, wrote articles where our reports and database were dealt with in detail.</p>
<p>Distribution</p>	<p>We attach special importance to the efficient distribution of our reports and use different methods for different categories of stakeholders. We sent our reports by mail to our stakeholders who take primary interest in our work, among whom are lawyers, bar associations, representatives of public bodies (judges, prosecutors, members of parliamentary commissions, bureaucrats), civil society actors, media members (printed, visual, digital and social media) and academicians. Our mailing lists differed according to the content and area of expertise of each report.</p> <p>We also delivered our reports by hand at events and meetings we took part, or to interested people who made specific requests or visited our office.</p>
<p>Bookstores</p>	<p>It is a common observation that reports by NGOs often circulated within a narrow circle of people who already have an interest in the subject matter. So, in an effort to reach a wider audience in different provinces of Turkey, we offered our reports for sale at bookstores in October 2014.</p> <p>The list of bookstores that you can find our reports is published on our website.</p>

Digital and social media

Lastly, without a doubt digital media offers an exceptionally vivid environment for us to distribute our reports across a much wider audience. In addition to devoting a separate and visible section of our website to our publications, we regularly share them within the context of relevant current topics through social media, a communication channel we attach special importance to in disseminating information we produce.

Not limiting ourselves to popular social media outlets such as Facebook and Twitter and aiming to make effective and full use of all audio and visual formats which display an ever increasing diversity, we also provide content through audio and video sharing platforms such as Vimeo and Soundcloud. In addition to the products of our work and our activities, we also share news and information on developments in Turkey and other parts of the world relevant to our fields of activity.

Presentations to government bodies, politicians and diplomats

In addition to our meeting with the Parliamentary Commission on the Peace Process on 10 July 2013, where we briefed the commission members about our reports, and also to sending out copies to a large number of organizations and public institutions, we also presented our reports to the Minister of Justice Sadullah Ergin during our visit to his office on 2 October the same year. This was an important opportunity to inform the highest-level government authority responsible for judicial affairs about the findings of our analysis in our report **Enforced Disappearances and the Conduct of the Judiciary** and to ask him to take action for the removal of the barriers to personal contacts with judges and prosecutors during probes into the mechanisms that enable impunity. Additionally, we gave presentations to Mustafa Şentop, Deputy President of the ruling party AKP and Rıza Türmen, as the representative of the main opposition party CHP, and discussed with them the possible steps that can be taken to put an end to impunity. Our presentations to the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey and embassies of Sweden and Denmark aimed at briefing the EU community on the present situation in Turkey, sharing our road map ahead, and establishing diplomatic contacts for publicising our reports on an international scale.

Media coverage of our activities

Truth Justice Memory Center reaches media outlets by several means. One of these is preparing and servicing press bulletins for media coverage of our statistical data, or events we organize. However, our contacts with media can be established the other way round in cases where journalists approach our office for interviews on the topics they are interested, or to gather information for research purposes.

A third manner of contact with media is our taking the initiative to bring a question to public attention. A good example of this practice took place following the death of Dođan GreŖ, the former Head of General Staff, when we compiled from our database the enforced disappearance incidences that occurred during his term of office and then disseminated the resultant data through social media. Realizing that our post in this context went viral in social media, several internet journals spotted these sharings and published reports on enforced disappearances committed during Dođan GreŖ' term of office. In this way we made a fact-based contribution to the efforts towards discrediting prominent figures who are responsible for human rights violations, and reminding the authorities of their obligations in this respect – a practice we attach great importance to in promoting the need to confront the past. Such proactive moves on the critical topics of the country's agenda also offer significant opportunities to disseminate the information we produce.

IV CAPACITY BUILDING AND COOPERATION PROGRAM

Capacity building is an ongoing process, embracing a wide variety of activities that individuals and organizations carry out to attain all-round skills, and to further strengthen their capabilities to accomplish the goals they set themselves. This is an area that acquires a special importance in the case of human rights organizations active in societies traumatised by armed conflicts, tension, violence and human rights violations, and initiatives aiming for peace and democratisation, for the simple reason that capacity to bring about a change is a precondition for the fulfilment of their missions. Cooperation with other organizations with similar objectives, supporting and sharing information with them is an inseparable part of capacity building.

Truth Justice Memory Center believes that only an open process in which numerous organizations work together, exchange knowledge and support each other can bring about a desired societal change. This is why the Center makes effective use of international experience in the fields of transitional justice, historical dialogue, confronting the past and democratisation, and exchange expertise with local and international organizations in these fields.

Activities of our Capacity Building and Cooperation program are:

Translation and dissemination of articles and books,

Building relations and partnerships with international organizations,

Forming, coordinating and joining international and regional networks,

Providing financial and organizational support to local organizations,

Organization of conferences, meetings, symposiums and workshops.

Our achievements in this area can be grouped under three subheadings, namely • Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past • Institutional Support and • Study Visits

Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past

Truth Justice Memory Center started its efforts to build a regional network on historical dialogue and accountability in 2012 in cooperation with the Alliance for Historical Dialogue and Accountability (AHDA) at Columbia University, Institute for the Study of Human Rights.

Historical dialogue and accountability is a growing field of advocacy and scholarship that encompasses the efforts in conflict, post-conflict, and post-dictatorial societies for coming to terms with their pasts.

Within this context historical memory is considered as leverage to pave the way for reconciliation, peace and democracy and aims to:

collect and present to the public historical findings about specific conflict periods;

uncover past practices of violence and human rights violations;

problematise the memory of national or ethnic-based heroism and victimhood which fuel conflicts;

intensify efforts for dialogue and reconciliation between the two or more parties to the conflict;

carry out research into and analyse abuses of history that incite conflict;

enrich public discussion on history and uphold the importance of historical narratives in conflict resolution.

The ultimate aim is to build a regional cooperation network, modelled after AHDA successfully put into action by the Columbia University, which will cover the NGOs working in the field of historical dialogue and coming to terms with the past in the region extending from the Balkans and the Caucasus to North Africa and the Middle East, a region inhabited by different peoples with close historical ties.

Workshop for a Regional Network on Reconciliation and Historical Dialogue

The first event we organized towards building a regional network jointly with organizations active in the fields of historical dialogue, peace, human rights and transitional justice was the workshop for a regional **Network on Reconciliation and Historical Dialogue** (RHDN) in İstanbul on 24-26 October 2013.



Institutional Support To Capacity Building Efforts

Representatives from 14 organizations from Cyprus, Armenia, Lebanon, Croatia, Palestine and Israel, alongside those from Turkey took part in the workshop we organized in cooperation with AHDA and Columbia University Global Centers – Turkey. At the end of the two-day workshop, agreement was reached by all parties that the **Regional Network for Historical Dialogue and Dealing with the Past** should be based in İstanbul under the leadership of Truth Justice Memory Center. In line with the decision taken at the workshop, work is underway to construct a website to facilitate the operation of the network. The website will contain information on the member organizations, activities carried out, reconciliation and peace processes in the respective countries of the member organizations. Another important decision was to organize a one-week concentrated training program, modeled after the AHDA fellowship at Columbia University, to be carried out in İstanbul in 2015.

At the end of the workshop, all the members of the Network expressed their commitment to achieve the Network's objectives through conducting joint initiatives and projects.

Our support to capacity building efforts is not limited to the translation of selected articles and publication of reports. We also provide institutional support to organizations and activities that aim to increase capacity.

As a result of a series of meetings, discussions and analysis of the needs, we provided institutional support to the following organizations starting from August 2012:

YAKAY-DER (Association for Solidarity and Support for Relatives of Disappeared Persons): For the temporary recruitment of a staff member to be employed in the standardisation and digitalisation of their existing files; and for the procurement of technical support and equipment for upgrading their website and digitalisation of archives.

Göç-Der (Migrants' Association for Social Solidarity and Culture): For the procurement of technical equipment to digitalise the visual documents compiled during their field research; short-term employment of a staff member to perform this job; and financial support to complete and publish a field research report.

TİHV (Human Rights Foundation of Turkey): For the temporary recruitment of a part-time employee to ensure the sustainability of their daily documentation based on press scanning, and to improve their archives.

The Office of Legal Aid for Sexual Harassment and Rape under Custody: For the employment of a short-term and part-time staff member for the management of their press archives, especially about the forcibly disappeared.

YAKAY-DER took steps to improve their information base. Their re-classified and updated archives were opened to the public in a format that allows browsing of the database by means of an interface on their website. They completed the bulk of their digital archive, transferred the material to the digital environment and translated related parts of it into English. By making use of this data YAKAY-DER gave a presentation at **Femed** (*Fédération Euro-Méditerranéenne Contre Les Disparitions Forcées*).

Göç-Der completed the scanning of visual materials collected during their field research on forced displacements. Their work is underway for compiling in a book the findings of their second field research.

TİHV started updating and verifying the data they have been collecting since the 1990s and rendered this accessible in digital format with the help of the staff member they recruited for this purpose. They reviewed their archives covering the period between the years 1991-2001, and prepared an in-house report on the work done. The report, prepared in nine months as an output of our institutional support, contains statistical analysis of the enforced disappearances, unsolved murders and extra judicial killings in the period covered.

The Office of Legal Aid for Sexual Harassment and Rape under Custody scanned, classified and digitalised all the newspaper cuttings archived since 1990s.

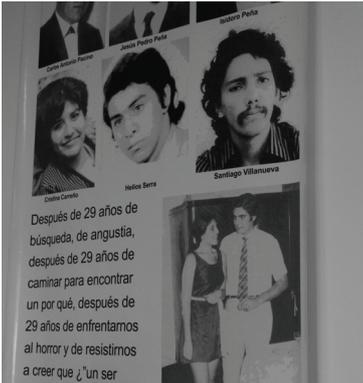
Apart from organizations, we also supported Veysi Altay's documentary **Faili Devlet** about the enforced disappearances and unsolved murders, in connection with the film's post production, gala screening and its promotion on international scale.

Another initiative we supported was the 15-member theater group comprising of independent artists under the direction of Özlem Özhabeş from Kadir Has University. Their play "**Taş**" (Stone), for which we provided consultancy and content support, starts with archaeological excavations in Göbeklitepe and probes into the story of enforced disappearances, mass graves and the collective apathy in 1990s.

Study Visits we Organized

In line with our commitment to the efficient fulfilment of the tasks we set ourselves, we attach vital importance to observe on site the work carried out in different countries for uncovering the crimes committed by the state during authoritarian regimes; for promoting efforts for confrontation with these crimes and ultimately for building mechanisms of restorative justice; as well as to exchange knowledge and experience with parties undertaking such initiatives.

Study visit to Argentina



It was during the period when we worked under the umbrella of **Anadolu Kültür** before the formal organization of Truth Justice Memory Center as an association that the members of the team carrying out our activities in the field of **confrontation with the past**, namely Meltem Aslan, Murat Çelikkan, Özgür Sevgi Göral and Nazan Üstündağ paid a study visit to Argentina between 11-15 April 2011. Argentina, a country suffering a military dictatorship between the years 1976-1983, is often cited as an exemplary case in discussions as to how transitional justice can be achieved, and how truth commissions, memory studies and legislative reforms can contribute to this process. Our visit proved to be a valuable source of new ideas and inspiration for the Center we were going to establish, and played an important role in putting our plans into practice. The full text of the study visit report is accessible at: <http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak/dealing-with-the-past-argentinean-experience/>

Contacts in Argentina

Centro de Estudios Legales Y Sociales –CELS (Center for Legal and Social Studies): The Center was founded during the reign of junta in 1979 by two lawyers who themselves suffered state violence. After the junta and before consequent amnesties, it accumulated immense data on perpetrators and today shares all this data with prosecutors. They operate as partners of prosecutors in trials against perpetrators who managed clandestine detention centers.

Madres de Plaza de Mayo - Línea Fundadora (Mothers of Plaza de Mayo): Having been waging an adamant struggle to bring the perpetrators of enforced disappearances in Argentina to justice, the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo told us that they were considering to discontinue their demonstrations at Plaza de Mayo considering the fact that the prosecution process started for the perpetrators and justice was being established in the country step by step. However they will continue to take part in trials as litigants.

Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense – EAAF (Argentinian Forensic Anthropology Team): EAAF has gained much reputation on the international scale with its achievements in exposing state

	<p>violence in Argentina. The team is in possession of a database containing the life stories of 10,000 people forcibly disappeared, their political affiliation, medical records of each of them, as well as press reports and photographs of the incidents. At the present time, out of 10,000, only the bodies of 440 have been found.</p> <p>Memoria Abierta: The initiative was set up in 2000 to establish cooperation amongst various human rights organizations to build a shared memory of Argentina. Serving as a regional coordinator carrying out memory and documentation activities, Memoria Abierta organizes seminars on how to collect materials on periods of armed clashes and dictatorships, make them publicly visible and use the oral narratives as evidence in trials, while at the same time taking part in legal cases as an expert organization.</p>
<p>Memory sites we visited</p>	<p>In Argentina we visited impressive memory sites such as the Olympic Garage, Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada - ESMA (The Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy), Parque de La Memoria y Monumento A Las Víctimas del Terrorismo de Estado (the Park of Memory and Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism).</p>
<p>Working Study visit to Serbia and Bosnia Herzegovina</p>	<p>Our study visit to Serbia and Bosnia Herzegovina on 22-28 March 2013, with the participation of Murat Çelikkan and Meltem Aslan, the directors of the Truth Justice Memory Center, and our program officers Özgür Sevgi Göral and Emel Ataktürk, aimed to enrich our knowledge on the efforts undertaken in that region in the fields of dealing with the past, building transitional justice mechanisms and documentation of human rights violations, in addition to exchanging views and experiences with similar organizations. During the visit, we had the opportunity to hold meetings with various human rights organizations including the Humanitarian Law Center, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Women in Black, the Sarajevo-based Research and Documentation Center and Youth Initiative for Human Rights Belgrade, where we were informed of their activities and working methods. At the end of the visit a panel discussion was organized, accompanied with the screening of our documentary film <i>Bûka Baranê</i>.</p>
<p>Contacts in Serbia</p>	<p>In Belgrade • The members of the judiciary at the Prosecutor's Office of War Crimes shared with us the number of people they prosecuted so far, the number of the convicted, and the trials still underway. • Snezana Nikolic Garotic, the president of the Magistrate at War Crimes Court explained us the type of lawsuits they were in charge of and the responses they got from the public. • Gordana Igric, the director of Balkan Investigative Reporting Network</p>

informed us about the network of the independent media outlets covering the war crimes in Balkans and human rights violations.

- During our visit to the **Humanitarian Law Center** we listened to their work in connection with the documentation of the gross human rights violations and the war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, as well as their cooperation with the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.
- **Helsinki Committee for Human Rights** executives talked to us about the challenges they faced arising from Serbian authorities' refusal to acknowledge their responsibilities in human rights violations, the reasons why they objected to the establishment of a regional truth commission, and their ongoing projects.
- We also visited the **Fabrika Knjiga** publishing house where we were briefed on the books they published to contribute to the elimination of ethnic and religious tensions in the southeast of Europe.
- Representatives of the **Women in Black**, the legendary women's organization of Serbia still continuing the protests they started during the war and carrying out activities to uncover war crimes, shared with us their struggle against militarism, war, sexism and nationalism.
- **Heartefact Fund**, an independent foundation providing funds to organizations told us about their activities to support social inclusion of marginalised communities and groups.
- Another organization we got into contact with was the **Youth Initiative for Human Rights Belgrade**, whose representatives gave information about their summer schools where trainings are organized on transitional justice and their campaigns for a regional truth commission.

Contacts in Sarajevo

Our visit to the **Association of Transitional Justice, Accountability and Remembrance in Bosnia and Herzegovina** gave us insight into the association's work in connection with the regional truth commission.

- **Youth Initiative for Human Rights** is the Bosnian center of the NGO network active in Serbia, Kosova, Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia Herzegovina. Executives of the Initiative shared with us their activities for democratisation, supremacy of law, and participation of the youth in efforts for confronting the past. During our visit, we had opportunity to watch the documentary on the Srebrenica massacre produced by the Initiative.
- **TRIAL** (Track Impunity Always), is a Geneva-based association comprising lawyers, NGO leaders and victims, fighting impunity. Their aim is to put the law at the service of the victims of international crimes. Our visit was a valuable opportunity to exchange information and ideas.
- **Research and Documentation Center** representatives informed us on their database which is renowned for containing the most comprehensive collection of data about the Bosnian war and their impressive use of multimedia.
- During our visit to **FAMA**,

whose request of support for the establishment of a museum on Bosnia's invasion was turned down by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, we learned more about the FAMA Projects which represents a combination of the world's biggest multimedia projects. • We also paid a visit to the **Association of Former Detainees**, the organization of the victims of Bosnian concentration camps, dealing with the donations and legal support to victims, as well as their demands for compensation. • During our visit to the **Assistance to Women Victims of War**, we gained an insight into the organization's activities for solidarity with victims of rape and for empowering women in general. • We discussed with the representatives of the War Crimes Department of the **Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina** the indictments they prepared for war crimes and the crimes committed against humanity and the ongoing trials. • Our visit to the **Sarajevo War Theater**, a group that have continued their performances since the days of the Sarajevo siege, was a valuable opportunity for us to listen to the interesting experiences they had during their performances.

Study visit to the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade

On 23-25 October 2013, Özlem Kaya and Gamze Hızlı, members of our Memory Studies Program, paid a visit to the **Belgrade Humanitarian Law Center** with whom we had established contacts during our study visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The three-day program aimed at learning from their 20 years of experience in documentation. Our team members held a meeting with Predrag Miletic, the database analyst of the organization's Kosovo Project, where information was exchanged on the documentation and verification methods employed, the division of labour in collecting, processing and analysing the data collected, the database program and archiving system.

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FINANCIAL TABLES

2012

(EK- 16)

İŞLETME HESABI TABLOSU

THE STATEMENT OF OPERATING ACCOUNTS OF HAKİKAT ADALET VE HAFIZA ÇALIŞMALARI 01/01/2012 – 31/12/2012

EXPENSES (YTL)		INCOMES (YTL)	
Payables Carried Forward	0,00	Income Carried Forward	0,00
		a) Cash	
		b) Bank	
		c) Receivables	
General Expenses	24.243,50	Membership fees	540,00
Personnel Expenses	143.576,82	Financial Income	961,00
Purpose and Service Related Expenses	410.633,46	Commercial Enterprise Incomes	0,00
Other Expenses (Foreign Exchange Losses)	1.769,00	Donations and Grants	1.245,00
Cash	1.654,84	Government Grants	0,00
Bank Accounts	154.152,34	Contribution Income	708.204,72
Marketable Securities	0,00	Withholding Tax and Social Security Payables)	29.564,19
Advances Given	5.200,00	Other Liabilities	715,05
Grand Total	741.229,96	Grand Total	741.229,96

(01.01.2013 - 31.12.2013) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT
HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

Page : 1 / 1

EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2013)		
A - GROSS SALES			802.259,99
1 - Domestic Sales	0,00		
3 - Other Revenues	802.259,99		
C - NET SALES			802.259,99
D - COST OF SALES (-)			(659.859,75)
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(659.859,75)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			142.400,24
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)			(226.129,23)
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(226.129,23)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			(83.728,99)
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERATIONS			8.579,12
3 - Interest Income	3.398,61		
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	5.180,51		
INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERATIONS			(75.149,87)
I - NON-OPERAT. REVENUES / PROFIT			7.824,87
2 - Other Extra Ordinary Revenues/Profit	7.824,87		
J - EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSES/LOSSES (-)			(3,90)
3 - Other Extra Ordinary Expenses/Losses (-)	(3,90)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			(67.328,90)
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			(67.328,90)

31.12.2013 / BALANCE SHEET

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

Page : 1 / 1

ASSETS			LIABILITIES		
EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2013)		EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2013)	
I - CURRENT ASSETS			I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES		
A - Liquid Assets (Net)		74.363,39	B - Trade Payables (Net)		224,45
1 - Cash	3.098,43		1 - Suppliers	224,45	
3 - Banks	71.264,96		C - Other Liabilities (Net)		
E - Inventories (Net)		1.694,22	4 - Due to Personnel		
7 - Advances Given for Purchases	1.694,22		5 - Other Liabilities		
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		76.057,61	F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities		23.683,98
II - LONG TERM ASSETS			1 - Taxes and Funds Payable	19.813,12	
D - Tangible Fixed Assets (Net)		10.349,86	2 - Social Withholdings Payable	3.870,86	
6 - Furniture and Fixtures	10.349,86		TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES		23.908,43
E - Intangible Assets (Net)		900,00	II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES		
6 - Other Intangible Fixed Assets	900,00		TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES		
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS		11.249,86	III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY		
TOTAL ASSETS		87.307,47	F - Net Income (Loss) for the Period		63.399,04
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			1 -	130.727,94	
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			2 -	(67.328,90)	
TOTAL		87.307,47	TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY		63.399,04
			TOTAL LIABILITIES		87.307,47
			IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS		
			TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS		
			TOTAL		87.307,47

(01.01.2014 - 31.12.2014) BUSINESS DETAILED INCOME STATEMENT

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

Page : 1 / 1

EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2014)		
A - GROSS SALES			975.576,91
1 - Domestic Sales	0,00		
3 - Other Revenues	975.576,91		
C - NET SALES			975.576,91
D - COST OF SALES (-)		(612.743,20)	
3 - Cost of Services Rendered (-)	(612.743,20)		
PROFIT OR LOSS FROM GROSS SALES			362.833,71
E - OPERATING EXPENSES (-)		(313.613,27)	
3 - General Administration Expenses (-)	(313.613,27)		
OPERATING PROFIT OR LOSS			49.220,44
F - INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERATIONS		11.112,99	
3 - Interest Income			
7 - Profit from Foreign Current Exchange	11.112,99		
G - EXP. AND LOSSES FROM OTH. OP. (-)		(3.772,93)	
4 - Loss on Foreign Current Exchange (-)	(3.772,93)		
INCOME / PROFIT FROM OTHER OPERATIONS			56.560,50
I - NON-OPERAT. REVENUES / PROFIT		13.830,61	
2 - Other Extra Ordinary Revenues/Profit	13.830,61		
J - EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSES LOSSES (-)		(4,50)	
3 - Other Extra Ordinary Expenses/Losses (-)	(4,50)		
INCOME OR LOSS FOR THE PERIOD			70.386,61
NET PERIOD PROFIT OR LOSS			70.386,61

31.12.2014 / BALANCE SHEET

HAKİKAT ADALET HAFIZA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ

Page : 1 / 1

ASSETS				LIABILITIES			
EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2014)			EXPLANATION	CURRENT PERIOD (2014)		
I - CURRENT ASSETS			182.437,71	I - SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			5.108,07
A - Liquid Assets (Net)				B - Trade Payables (Net)			5.108,07
1 - Cash	491,70			1 - Suppliers	5.108,07		
3 - Banks	181.946,01			C - Other Liabilities (Net)			200,00
E - Inventories (Net)				5 - Other Liabilities	200,00		
7 - Advances Given for Purchases				F - Taxes Payable and Other Fiscal Liabilities			43.378,99
H - Other Current Assets (Net)		35,00		1 - Taxes and Funds Payable	33.358,32		
5 - Work Advances	35,00			2 - Social Withholdings Payable	10.020,67		
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			182.472,71	TOTAL SHORT TERM LIABILITIES			48.687,06
II - LONG TERM ASSETS				II - LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
D - Tangible Fixed Assets (Net)				TOTAL LONG TERM LIABILITIES			
6 - Furniture and Fixtures				III - SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			
E - Intangible Assets (Net)				D - Retained Earnings			130.727,94
6 - Other Intangible Fixed Assets				1 -	130.727,94		
TOTAL LONG TERM ASSETS				E - Accumulated Deficit (-)			(67.328,90)
TOTAL ASSETS			182.472,71	1 -	(67.328,90)		
III - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				F - Net Income (Loss) for the Period			70.386,61
TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS				1 -	70.386,61		
TOTAL			182.472,71	2 -			
				TOTAL SHAREHOLDERS EQUITY			133.785,65
				TOTAL LIABILITIES			182.472,71
				IV - REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL REGULATORY ACCOUNTS			
				TOTAL			182.472,71

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**TRUTH JUSTICE MEMORY CENTER
ACTIVITY REPORT
2011-2014**

