

MAPPING COMMEMORATIVE CULTURES, BEST PRACTICES AND LESSONS LEARNED

CASE STUDY: Turkey

AUTHOR: HAFIZA MERKEZİ

1. Background

The history of modern Turkey, since the 1960s, has been marked by a succession of military coups and an alternance of authoritarian rule and relatively more liberal periods. Following the military coup in 1980, thousands of political activists were imprisoned and subjected to heavy torture, political parties were banned and social movements impeded. The return to civilian politics in the following years was perceived as a period of liberalization, both from a political perspective and with respect to economy. Political parties flourished and the country rapidly opened to market economy. However, this liberalization paradigm does not capture all the complexity of the 1980s and 1990s decades. Indeed, the violent conflict between the guerrilla conducted by the Kurdistan's Workers' Party (PKK) and the Turkish army culminated in the 1990s and civilians in the Kurdish were particularly affected by forced displacement, enforced disappearances, torture and intimidation. In these years, state repression also targeted leftist and Islamist movements.

Despite the persistence of political violence, civil society initiatives and contestation of the national ideology grew in the 1990s. The feminist movement became more visible and claimed for legal changes and protection of women's rights. Alevis, one of the largest ethnoreligious groups in Turkey, also started to develop mobilization and organization for their rights and recognition as a distinct religious entity, with the support of Alevi communities in the diaspora. The memory of the violent pogroms against Alevi civilians in Kahramanmaraş in December 1978 and Çorum in 1980 was also a powerful theme of mobilization.

2. Sivas Massacre

The Fourth Pir Sultan Abdal Festival was held in Sivas, an Anatolian city, in 1993. This gathering was a crucial event for Alevis, whose collective rights and distinct religious identity are not recognized by the state. The festival consisted of conferences, discussions, speeches and religious rituals, and brought together various Alevi NGOs and individuals. On July 2, 1993, participants staying at the Madımak Hotel in the city center were victims of an outburst of violence known as the “Sivas Massacre.” Following continuing protests against the gathering by fundamentalists and nationalists in Sivas, the Madımak Hotel was set on fire and 33 poets, intellectuals, and young participants, as well as two members of the hotel staff, were killed. Two of the perpetrators also lost their lives in the course of the incident. The massacre occurred as a result of collective violence led by a Sunni radical conservative mob, while security forces who were present during the attack deliberately refrained from stopping the attacks.¹

124 persons were arrested in relation with the arson and 33 initially sentenced to death penalty. However, the death penalty convictions were overturned by the Court of Appeal in 1998 and many perpetrators were either released during the judicial proceedings, or granted pardon. In 2012, the statute of limitations was used to drop the case, despite the mobilization of the Alevi community and human rights defenders. In 2015, the report published by the State Audit Board (DDK) of the presidency, acknowledged “serious negligence and failures” of the state authorities and pointed their responsibilities in the massacre, but it did not result in holding accountable the persons involved. The survivors, victims’ relatives and Alevi community have relentlessly advocated for justice and denounced the lenience of the authorities towards the perpetrators.

The governmental reactions following the attacks minimized the scope of the event and either pointed to a conspiracy or described the massacre as a spontaneous outburst of violence against leftist, atheist intellectuals, whose values conflicted with those of the local Sunni population. Despite the recent history of pogroms, violence and hate speech against Alevi communities, this official interpretation of the massacre denied a pattern of violence specifically targeting the Alevis.

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3. State Narrative

The state narrative left little space to commemoration. In the first years, despite continuous mobilizations of Alevi NGOs and other civil society organizations, no public commemoration was held on July 2nd. The State also opposed to the transformation of Madımköy Hotel into a site of conscience. Instead, the restaurant in the hotel continued to operate until 2009, when it was closed under increasing pressure from the civil society. The Madımköy Hotel was nationalized in November 2010 and the newly renovated building was designed to be a multi-functional space in which one area would be used as a memorial site, while the remaining parts of the building would be turned into a Science and Culture Center.

The Science and Culture Center was inaugurated in the spring of 2011. The lobby of the building is conceived as a place to commemorate the people who died during the Sivas massacre in 1993. Photos and basic information about victims are located in this section. Thirty-seven fountains are arrayed in alphabetical order according to the names of the victims. However, the state authorities also included the names of the two perpetrators who died that day. Moreover, a bust of Mustafa Kemal, the founding father of the Turkish Republic, is included in the memorial area with one of his aphorisms: "No matter how different the thoughts and beliefs that exist in a society, this can be no obstacle to a nation that is aware of how to act in unity and solidarity." Other aphorisms by Islamic and Alevi medieval scholars have also been included in the memorial section of the building. After viewing the memorial, visitors can express their thoughts in a guestbook. The entire design process was conducted by the state, and a great effort was made to insulate the project from criticism by instrumentalizing the cult of Mustafa Kemal.²

This space is the first state attempt to commemorate an Alevi massacre. Despite its discursive emphasis on unity and reconciliation, the memorial corner has been met with heavy criticism and anger by the Alevi community and NGOs which had claimed for the museumification of the site. Overlooking the victims' families and community repeated demands for a victim-centered commemorative space, it did not seek restorative justice, nor it provided any recognition of the perpetrators and state responsibility in the unfolding of the event. On the contrary, the first government representative who visited the site in 2010, Minister of State Faruk Çelik, intentionally blurred the difference between the victims and the perpetrators and imputed responsibilities on unidentified external foci:

"2 July 1993 is one of the painful days in our history... On this day, insidious foci sought to stage their dark scenarios...[This] is the pain of the whole of Turkey. There can be no sides in this incident; to take a side in this incident means to not extinguish the fire... I remember with grace and respect our thirty-seven citizens who lost their lives on 2 July 1993."³

Victims' relatives expressed their anger and pain to see their family members be commemorated side by side with the perpetrators. In the last years, Alevi associations and victims' relatives continued to relentlessly demand that the names of the two perpetrators be

erased. Finally, in May 2022, the Sivas Governor ordered the names of the perpetrators to be removed from the memorial.⁴ However, the victims' relatives and civil society initiatives were unsatisfied by the lack of publicity of the decision and emphasized that the official memorial was still far from meeting their expectations:

"This is not enough for us. Our main objective is the transformation of this space into a Museum of Shame [...] We don't know on which day the names were removed. I think that they wanted to do this quietly, without making noise [...] Had we known the day when the names were removed, we would have gone there, we would have informed the public."⁵

In sum, combined with the impunity granted to the perpetrators, the current state-sponsored memorialization project has thus fuelled the anger of the Alevi community and pro-democracy forces in Turkey, rather than creating an environment in which past wrongdoings can be genuinely confronted.

ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVES

Since 1993, victims and those upholding their legacy have challenged the official narrative on the arson and reclaimed the space as a site for commemoration. An annual commemoration is held by NGOs and Alevi organization in Sivas on July 2th, the day of the arson. The event takes the form of a procession, starting in Alibaba, known as the Alevi neighbourhood of central Sivas, which witnessed scenes of violence against Alevis and leftists in the 1970s. The procession ends in front of the former Madımköy Hotel, where flowers are laid before the participants walk back to Alibaba. Over the years, this commemoration faced different restrictions by security forces. After the opening of the Science and Culture Center, from 2011 onwards, access to the building was prevented by barricades blocking the street where it is located. In the last years, clashes between the police and the participants frequently occurred and police used tear gas to prevent participants from approaching the site.

The theme of martyrdom is particularly important in these commemorations.⁶ The victims of Sivas are celebrated as martyrs and the arson attack is linked to a chain of historical atrocities against Shias and Alevis since the battle of Karbala in 680. In particular, the commemoration associates the fate of the victims with the martyrdom of Pir Sultan Abdal, a minstrel from the 16th century after whom the festival was named, and gives the first place to the martyrs' families, who lead the procession. This approach transforms the massacre into a symbol of multi-secular cycles of violence and oppression, giving to the commemoration a distinctive religious connotation. Very widely accepted by the Alevi community, this narrative is a powerful tool for mobilization as attested by the continuous commemoration of the event to this day. However, it also tends to erase the personal experiences and subjectivities of the victims and their relatives. In addition, by integrating the event into Alevi martyrology, the commemoration does little to contextualize it in the patterns of state and social violence of the 1990s. This community-centered approach, prevalent in many memorialization efforts in Turkey, is an obstacle to the development of a shared memory culture, which would acknowledge the suffering of different victims and survivors' groups and promote reparation, dialogue and reconciliation.

Besides the annual commemorations, NGOs and Alevi organizations from Turkey and the diaspora have been relentlessly advocating for the transformation of the Madımköy Hotel into a site of conscience, a “Museum of Shame” dedicated to the event and the history of violence and discrimination experienced by the Alevi community in Turkey. This demand was first voiced by a group of activists a few days following the arson through a campaign calling the authorities to preserve the Madımköy Hotel’s building as “a witness” to the arson attack and to declare it a “museum of shame”. The TV broadcasting of the event, particularly the traumatizing images of the building set on fire, surrounded by an angry crowd, contributed to shaping the activists’ demands for on-site memorialization.⁷ In 2009, the demand for a state-sponsored “Museum of Shame” was reiterated by the Alevi representatives who attended a meeting held by the government in the context of its “Democratic opening”, but the Science and Culture Center inaugurated one year later was far from meeting their expectations. To this day, annual commemorations continue to include banners demanding a “Museum of Shame”, yet both state authorities and the majority Sunni population in Sivas have remained hostile to this kind of memorialization.⁸ In the words of Ali Kenanoğlu, one of the founders of the Alevi Bektashi Federation, such a museum would raise awareness about the plight of the Alevis among the broader society, and shaming the perpetrators would contribute to avoiding the repetition of such massacres:

“Lessons should be learnt from these events, people should say “what have we done?” And even if people don’t say it now, their children, their grand-children should say in the future “what have our grand-parents, our dads and moms done? How evil that was! We should be ashamed”. This is why we used names such as the “Museum of Shame” ”⁹

This approach to memorialization, which emphasises shame and affect, reflects the need of the survivors, victims’ relatives and their communities to see their suffering be publicly acknowledged, and the perpetrators held accountable. It also conveys the feeling of shame and helplessness felt by a part of the viewers who watched the massacre unfolding on TV in 1993. However, this perspective also carries a risk to deepen divisions and trigger new tensions and violence, particularly in a local context where a significant proportion of fundamentalist and nationalist elements coexist with the Alevi minority who have not migrated to big cities or abroad. In any case, different strategies are required to encourage a broader public engagement with the event and avoid the repetition of such massacres.

Besides the main commemoration in Sivas, the Sivas Massacre holds an important place in the memory and activism of opposition groups, particularly leftist parties and organizations. Commemorations or meetings are thus organized in big cities, such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, but also smaller towns, where Alevi organizations are joined by other activists to remember the victims and call for justice, sometimes with the support of local municipalities. The 2 July Platform (“2 Temmuz Platformu”), which gathers Alevi associations, political parties, trade-unions, CSOs and grassroots organizations in its local branches, is actively involved in these commemorations. In these events, where banners from different political parties can be observed, the commemoration of the Sivas Massacre is integrated in a wider political

struggle on behalf of the oppressed ones. Many of these commemorations are organized in the days preceding the July 2th, and the participants are invited to join the main gathering in Sivas.¹⁰ Social media activism in relation with these commemorations also gives to the involved organizations an opportunity to disseminate political messages. This kind of local and digital commemorations involve a much wider groups of stakeholders and play an important role in the construction of an alternative memory culture. However, the strong political orientation of these commemorations is also an obstacle to reach out to the broader public, particularly in a society where leftist groups are a minority and conservative and nationalist values prevail.

The cultural sphere is another important channel for the memorialization of the Sivas Massacre, reflecting the trace left by the victims in the fields of art and literature. Annual awards ceremonies are organized in the name of some victims, such as Metin Altıok or Behçet Aysan, Alevi poets who were killed in the arson at the age of 53. In 2022, the Metin Altıok Poetry Award was thus attributed to İlhan Sami Çomak, a political prisoner who has spent 28 years in jail.¹¹ These awards offer a distinct form of commemoration, remembering the victims for their skills and creativity, and supporting those artists and writers who share the same values. On the other hand, the Sivas massacre has also inspired several documentary films and movies, authored by well-known journalists and activists, such as Soner Yalçın and Can Dündar, who rely on visual archives and testimonies to depict the horror of the massacre.¹² Finally, the documentary play “Sivas 93”, directed by Genco Erkal in 2008, went on tour in different regions of Turkey, with the premiere attended by victims’ families.¹³

All these examples of commemoration show the exceptional legacy of the Sivas massacre in the collective memory of the Alevi citizens and, more broadly, a wide range of individuals and groups oppressed for their beliefs or thoughts and/or involved in political struggle or civil society activism. The participation of Sivas victims’ families in the Social Memory Platform, created in July 2009 to gather families of victims of political crimes, is emblematic of this connection and the tight articulation between commemoration and the demand for truth and justice.¹⁴

4. Hafiza Merkezi’s Work on Commemorating Sivas Massacre

Dealing with the past and fostering is at the core of Hafiza Merkezi’s aims and mission. Since its creation in 2011, the organization has emphasised the importance of memorialization in a perspective of transitional justice. In this work to confront the past, the struggle for justice and accountability is tightly articulated with the attempts to produce and share knowledge about past human rights violations, and foster inclusive and critical forms of commemoration.

One result of these efforts is Hafiza Merkezi’s Memorialize Turkey website, a digital platform which offers a critical evaluation of each memorialization project under study, including key background information about the events or processes memorialized, the challenges faced by the memorialization efforts and their reception by the public.¹⁵ This website does not claim to cover all the memorialization efforts, nor to include all different components of the memory scene in Turkey. Its aim is rather to present different methods and approaches

of the memorialization efforts and their role in countering official narratives, denial and hate speech in Turkey. Each memorialization effort invites the visitor to reflect on cases of historical atrocities, gross human rights violations or destruction of cultural heritage that have been purposely denied or misinterpreted in official discourse and mainstream academia and media. At the same time, the whole platform functions as a site of conscience in itself, encouraging the visitors to consider more broadly the interrelated dimensions of state violence, nationalism and exclusionary practices in Turkey, as well as the creative ways of countering one-sided, conventional narratives through physical or digital memorials.

The Sivas Science and Culture Center is one of the memorialization attempts presented by the website.¹⁶ While the platform mostly includes community-led initiatives, the inclusion of the Sivas Science and Culture Center is an attempt to critically evaluate official commemorative practices promoted under the rule of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which has been in power since 2002. The entry provides information about the facts and the judicial proceedings which followed, emphasising the passivity of security forces and the impunity of the perpetrators. It contrasts the official narrative on this event with the mobilization of the civil society to turn the Madımak Hotel into a Museum of Shame and get the Sivas Arson be acknowledged as a massacre targeting the Alevi community. As a whole, the evaluation concludes to the failure of this official initiative, which has contributed, on the contrary, to enhancing polarization and side-lining the victims.

Besides the Memorialize Turkey website, Hafıza Merkezi uses its social media accounts to commemorate significant dates, such as the Sivas Massacre on July 2th, and share hashtags on the event.¹⁷ On July 2th, 2020, Hafıza Merkezi also published an interview with Ali Kenanoğlu, a MP and one of the founders of the Alevi Bektashi Federation.¹⁸ The interview focuses on the memory and denial of the Sivas Massacre and the Çorum Massacre, in 1980, during which dozens of Alevis were killed. In this interview, this community leader contextualizes the Sivas Massacre in the long history of social and state violence targeting the Alevi community. He also underlines the importance of testimony and the role of community-led initiatives, criticizing the lack of coordination and methods in the attempts to document and memorialize these massacres. This interview reflects the attempt of Hafıza Merkezi to give a voice to victims, CSOs and activists involved in memorialization efforts, while keeping a critical and analytical approach.

5. Lessons Learned

The official commemoration of Sivas Massacre is emblematic of the important bias and shortcomings which characterize most official commemorative practices in the context of Turkey. Official interventions reflect the polarization of the memorialization field in Turkey and tend to be shaped by political views and objectives, instead of serving accountability, reconciliation, or repair.

This has been particularly the case in the last years, under the rule of the AKP government, which combined an attempt to appropriate past massacres, such as Sivas, with efforts to single out new dates and events to create their memory field, as illustrated by the commemoration of the failed coup of July 15th, 2016, which has become a national holiday.¹⁹ The dichotomies between the good

and the evil, the victor and the vanquished, or the loyal and the enemy are also at the core of other public commemorations, particularly those related to the founding period of the Republic of Turkey. As long as the events considered worth of commemoration continue to be one-sided or misinterpreted to serve a militarist and chauvinist stance, public commemoration will strengthen nationalism and prejudices, rather than inviting to reconciliation. To develop more consensual and effective commemoration practices, the state authorities would need to adopt a more inclusive approach, based on dialogue and exchanges with civil society organizations, academics, and victims/survivors of past atrocities, conflicts, or human rights violations. Both the objectives of memorialization and its methods should be the object of wide consultation with experts and stakeholders, and the governmental authorities should consider theories of memorialization and best practices at the international levels. However, given the ongoing crackdown on democracy in Turkey and the prevalence of nationalist and discriminatory views across political parties, it is unlikely that such a transformation may occur in Turkey in the short term.

On the other hand, the case of the Sivas massacre also reflects the dynamism of community-led initiatives and interventions, which have flourished since the 2000s, despite increasingly difficult conditions. The ongoing repressive turn in Turkey has shown the vulnerability of civil initiatives commemorating human rights violations and events that are denied or misinterpreted in the official narratives. One of the main lessons learned has been the importance to develop broad coalitions between different actors and organizations, including NGOs, victims' networks, professional organizations, and local powers when it is possible. This is well illustrated by the joint mobilisation of political parties, trade-unions and Alevi organizations for the commemoration of the Sivas Massacre. Another example is the memorialization of the Ankara Station terror attack, attributed to ISIS, which killed 103 persons at a rally for peace on October 10th, 2015. In 2019, an "International Ideas and Design Project Competition for Labor, Peace and Democracy Memorial Square and Place" was organized by professional organizations, trade-union and the 10 October Association and the winning project was presented to the Ankara municipality.²⁰ Although the project has not been achieved yet, this integrated approach is important to create meaningful and durable memorials in the public space.

Facing criminal charges and intimidation, the participants in alternative commemorative practices also continue to seek innovative ways of memorialization, beside physical memorials. Digital spaces and innovative formats, such as memory walks, interactive maps, performances or story-telling, are ways of mitigating the repression and accessing younger generations. However, the sustainability of these initiatives depends on the mobilization of the authors and stakeholders, relying on solidarity networks, civil society organizations and, in some cases, diasporic support. In the case of the Madımak massacre, the financial and symbolic support offered by the Alevi diaspora and organizations in Europe have thus played an important role in the mobilization around the event, although the community have been adamant in insisting on the absolute necessity of a state-sponsored museum, rather than a project funded by the victims themselves. As long as community-led practices lack access to key channels, such as public education, mainstream media and public space, they will struggle to raise awareness about past human rights violations and make a significant contribution to reconciliation in the broader society. In this respect, in the absence of democratization, mitigating practices have little chance to resolve the antagonism between official and community-led commemorations.

In addition, the fragmentation of the memory field between different groups of victims and survivors, is an obstacle to the emergence of a shared memory culture.

6. Best Practices

Since the foundation of the Republic, Turkey has been characterized by a hegemonic, state-centered national narrative, which overlooks or denies massacres and gross human rights violations, while silencing or criminalizing alternative memory narratives. However, from the 1980s onwards, a growing number of initiatives have contributed to deeply transform the memory scene and open a space for critical narratives and new forms of commemorations. The following three examples will give an insight into the resilience of this memory scene, from physical commemorations in the public space to digital projects and attempts to engage the broader public in memorialization attempts.

In the area of gross human rights violations, The Saturday Mothers/Peoples, constitute one of the oldest and most influent initiatives for commemoration in Turkey.²¹ In May 27, 1995, families of forcibly disappeared people and human rights advocates gathered in front of the Galatasaray High School on Istiklal Avenue in Istanbul, turning the spot into a dynamic memorial site. Like their Argentinian counterparts The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, their sit-in was both a protest and commemoration that would be repeated every Saturday. Holding photographs of the disappeared, the participants made two main demands: concrete and reliable information on what had happened to their children or comrades; and trials to hold accountable the perpetrators. The Saturday Mothers represented one of the first victims-led commemorations in Turkish political history. Gatherings in Istanbul came to halt in 1999 due to police repression, but they started again in 2009, when trials opened against high-ranking officials. Saturday Mothers continued to gather in Galatasaray Square until the ban of 700th gathering in August 25th, 2018. Since 1995, the Saturday Mothers/Peoples movement has played a major role in the acknowledgement of gross human rights violations perpetrated during the 1990s in the Kurdish region. Although commemorations of the Saturday Mothers/Peoples have been systematically prevented by police interventions in the last years and many participants continue to be prosecuted, the movement remains a unique symbol of civil disobedience and struggle for justice.²²

In order to counter state repression and bans on gatherings and commemorations in the public space, an increasing number of civil society initiatives have developed digital platforms and channels of commemoration. This is the case of the Hrant Dink Foundation, founded in 2007, after the assassination of Hrant Dink by a young Turkish nationalist. Hrant Dink was an Armenian journalist from Turkey, editor-in-chief of the newspaper Agos, who relentlessly advocated Turkish-Armenian reconciliation, human and minority rights in Turkey.²³ Hrant Dink's contribution to public engagement with the contentious Turkish past was invaluable, and the Foundation has managed to continue his struggle in innovative ways. In particular, its Cultural heritage program has developed an original approach, seeking to unveil the neglected legacy of different communities, through the lens of cultural artefacts.²⁴ To reach a broader public, the Foundation launched KarDes, a mobile application which, within one year, reached out to 20,000 people.²⁵ The application invites the users to discover the location and history of nearly

1000 multicultural buildings in Istanbul, to listen to the stories of people who lived there, and to see or imagine the old photos of the districts and places. While nationalism and racism remain widespread in the Turkish society, focusing on cultural heritage is a more consensual way of raising awareness of the wider public about ethno-religious diversity, thus opening a space for questioning the Turkish official narrative and the processes of destruction and assimilation to which different communities have been subjected over the last century.

Finally, in the last years, Hafiza Merkezi has encouraged constructive public dialogue and debate around memory issues, with special emphasis on young citizens. Since 2021, its Memory and Youth project aims to promote critical thinking and awareness of the past among the youth, with a special emphasis on human rights, diversity and historical trauma.²⁶ The project involves young citizens from Turkey, coming from different geographic, educational and socio-cultural backgrounds. They attend workshops and field visits, and have the opportunity to carry out their own projects in the area of collective memory. This project has opened a new space for reaching a younger audience and engaging them in a discussion on state violence, massacres and discrimination of different ethno-religious groups, including the Alevi community. After a one-year pilot project, the second Memory and Youth project started in June 2022. During the first workshop, on July 2-3th, 2022, participants were invited to reflect on politics and practices of commemoration, and a session was devoted to the case of the Sivas massacre and its contentious memorialization. Hafiza Merkezi thus seeks to increase the outreach of its activities and actively involve the youth in confronting the past and working for reconciliation.

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¹ Etienne Copeaux, "Esquisse no 67- Sivas, 2 juillet 1993-La fabrication de l'ennemi", 2017, <https://www.susam-sokak.fr/2017/06/esquisse-n-67-sivas-2-juillet-1993-la-fabrication-de-l-ennemi.html>

² Eray Çaylı, 2019, "Making violence public: spatializing (counter)publicness through the 1993 Sivas Arson attack", Turkey, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/91776/1/Cayli_Making-violence-public.pdf

³ Translated and quoted by Eray Çaylı in Eray Çaylı, 2018, "Conspiracy Theory as Spatial Practice: The case of the Sivas arson attack, Turkey," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 36(2): 255-272.

⁴ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/madimak-anitindan-iki-saldirganin-adlari-kaldirildi-haber-1564247>

⁵ <https://medyascope.tv/2022/05/11/madimak-anitindan-saldirganların-isimleri-kaldırıldı-bilseydiğ-oğun-oraya-gider-kamuoyu-olusturduk/>

⁶ Eray Çaylı, 2020, "The politics of spatial testimony: the role of space in witnessing martyrdom and shame during and after a widely televised and collectively perpetrated arson attack in Turkey", Space and Culture, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1206331220906090>

⁷ Eray Çaylı, 2020.

⁸ <https://www.sivilsayfalar.org/2021/07/05/madimak-the-story-of-retrogression-injustice-and-unmitigated-pain/>

⁹ "Interview with Ali Kenanoğlu: Remembering and Forgetting, from Çorum to Madımak", Hafiza Merkezi, 2 July 2020, <https://hakikatadalehafiza.org/ali-kenanoglu-ile-soylesi-corumdan-madimaka-hatirlamak-ve-unutmak-uzerine>

¹⁰ <https://www.sivilsayfalar.org/2019/07/01/2-temmuz-platformu-sivas-inisligi-sonmeyecek/.1.07.2019>

¹¹ <https://bianet.org/english/human-rights/259591-ilhan-sami-comak-awarded-the-15th-metin-altiok-poetry-prize>

¹² <https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/sivas-massacre-remembered-through-new-documentary-68428>; <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2wdawh>

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zfc3aTQG5Jc>

¹⁴ https://www.ido.org.tr/lib_yayin/45.pdf

¹⁵ <https://memorializeturkey.com/en/>

¹⁶ <https://memorializeturkey.com/en/memorial/sivas-science-and-culture-center/>

¹⁷ <https://mobile.twitter.com/hakikatadalet/status/1410945532390952960>

¹⁸ <https://mobile.twitter.com/hakikatadalet/status/1410945532390952960>

¹⁹ On July 15, 2016, a section of the Turkish military launched a coordinated operation in several major cities to topple the government. However, the coup attempt was defeated in a few hours and the government blamed it on Fetullah Gülen, the head of a widespread transnational religious movement and former ally of the AKP. The coup attempt was followed by two years of state of emergency and massive arrests and purges targeting alleged followers of Gülen and other political opponents.

²⁰ <https://en.10ekimanitmeydan.org/>

²¹ <https://memorializeturkey.com/en/memorial/saturday-mothers/>

²² <https://www.sessizkalma.org/en/defender/saturday-motherspeople>

²³ The Armenian Genocide was a campaign of deportation and mass killing conducted against the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire by the Young Turk government during World War I (1914–18). Despite historical evidence of a deliberate attempt to destroy the Armenian people, the Turkish government has so far resisted calls to recognize the genocide and denied an official policy of extermination implemented against the Armenian people as a group.

²⁴ <https://hrantdink.org/en/bolis/activities/projects/cultural-heritage>

²⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=ZLTuH9hV74s&feature=emb_title

²⁶ <https://hakikatadalehafiza.org/en/calisma/hafiza-ve-genclik/>



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