# ANNUAL REPORT 2002



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# ANNUAL REPORT 2021



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Thank You

# OUR MISSION

To broaden bases for public involvement in promoting peace and democracy.

Our unique model combines expertise and research with practical inclusive platforms for dialogue.

# Introduction



**Kerim Yildiz** Chief Executive Officer Democratic Progress Institute

I am delighted to present the **Democratic Progress Annual Report** for 2021.

Although the effects of the pandemic still imposes difficult conditions globally, throughout 2021 DPI continued to create dialogue opportunities between different political and social segments, and keep peace on the agenda of politicians and civil society, utilising both online and face-to-face meetings throughout 2021.Like everywhere else in the world in 2021, the COVID-19 pandemic played a major role in shaping the political and social agenda in Turkey and deepening the already existing political and economic problems. In 2021 Turkey's agenda was also shaped by the economic crisis and the debates on the political alliances imposed by the transition to the presidential system. The Kurdish issue, which has lost its primary place on the agenda since 2015, has started to come back to the agenda of politics because the system change has brought the Kurdish voters, whose votes ranged between 10 and 14 percent, to a position that will determine the fate of politics in Turkey, as never before in

At the heart of Turkey's problems such as the economy, the judiciary, foreign policy, and human rights, lie the issues of democratisation and normalisation. In this sense, DPI has been suggesting that the Kurdish issue could represent a unique opportunity. A renewed solution process could serve as an exit strategy, addressing both internal and foreign policy problems. The resolving of the Kurdish Issue would not only improve Turkey's political and economic stability but could also help secure better relations with the European Union.

This is why DPI's activities in 2021 were modelled after the potential opportunities and concrete benefits that would be brought by the resolution of the Kurdish Issue through a peace process that include relevant peace workers, policymakers, media figures, businesspeople, women's groups, youth and civic society organisations as well as the public at large.

The purpose of this Annual Report is to showcase some of DPI's activities in the year 2021 during which we hosted virtual and in-person activities which respected COVID-19 guidelines. In 2021, we held both online and face-to-face meetings with a hybrid model. This approach has allowed us to have access to international experts and to develop the diversity of our participants and speakers, in line with our aim to provide an inclusive platform for peace discussions. We held series of meetings with very well-known domestic and international experts on the economy and the constitution, the two issues that most affected Turkey's agenda in 2021. Our meeting series, which we focused on the economic costs of the conflict in Turkey and the dividends of peace, attracted great attention from both the public, civil society, media and business world as it is the first report which focused on the economic cost of war and the dividends of peace in Turkey.

At a time when the government and the opposition were working on alternative constitutions, another research and meeting series we held with the contribution of the country's leading professors of constitution took place with the participation of especially political parties and

policy makers and received extremely positive feedback. Our work with women, youth, civil society and the media was also carried out in the presence of an increasing number of participants and world-renowned conflict resolu-

In 2021, we greatly improved our cooperation with different organizations. We carried out our activities in cooperation with many organizations, from chambers of commerce and industry to universities, women's and youth organizations. This has increased both the impact of our work on the field and the public interest. In addition to all of these, we also focused on Turkey's experience with conflict resolution and the solution process during the year in order to draw lessons and make suggestions for the fu-

Our innovative perspective has contributed to opening the formerly exclusive exchanges amongst peacebuilders to a greater variety of actors such by providing them with an opportunity to connect and to interact through discussion stated topics. This allowed participants to reflect on the lesson learnt and the potential next steps for finding sustainable solutions to promote democracy in the region.

I would like to thank DPI's Staff, Board members, Council of Experts, Speakers and Interns for working relentlessly to help DPI thrive and our projects to flourish. I am very grateful for our donors and funders' support, namely the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

# About DPI

The Democratic Progress Institute (DPI) is an independent non-governmental organisation that was established in consultation with leading experts in conflict resolution and democratic advancement. The organisation's primary objective is to promote peace and support democratic development through encouraging public dialogue and engagement between adversaries. To achieve this, DPI provides a unique programme model which utilises our knowledge and experience of peace building to support practical approaches to harnessing dialogue such as Roundtables, Workshops, Comparative Study Visits (CSVs) and other platforms for exchange.

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# **Our Values**

DPI was founded on the principles that inclusive dialogue and open exchange of knowledge will be conducive to promoting peace, democracy and human rights. With nine years' experience running inclusive programmes in Turkey, the organisation has cultivated the trust and active participation of key stakeholders from both the political and civil society sectors. Our dedication to these relationships and networks on the ground has been instrumental in ensuring the sustainability of the project and is essential to the success of our mission. The work we strive achieve is rooted in values of respect and equality, through which we seek to foster strong relationships and a collaborative environment in which new ideas and expertise can come together to advance democracy. At all levels, DPI is committed to professionalism, integrity and impartiality.

# Our Aims and Objectives

The organisation is focused on providing expertise and practical frameworks to foster public engagement and discourse in support of peace and democracy building on a global scale. To achieve this, DPI aims to continue to promote a structured dialogue between public and private actors, and to create new opportunities for discussions on peace and democracy building. We seek to encourage an environment of inclusive, open, and structured discussion whereby different parties are in the position to share knowledge and concerns across multiple levels. Throughout these efforts, DPI strives to identify common priorities and develop innovative approaches to actively encourage democratic solutions. Additionally, we aim to support and strengthen collaboration between academics, civil society organisations, and policy makers through our initiatives. DPI especially aims to use comparative studies as an essential tool to avoid past mistakes and ensure democratic issues are shared and resolved globally.

# **Our Aims Include**

As a 'neutral' and non-partisan organisation, DPI can extend invitations to senior political figures from across Turkey's political spectrum. We also have access academics, civil society leaders and influential media representatives from across Turkey's professional and political spectrum through networks built over 10 years. Our commitment to inclusivity is reflected by this broad range of backgrounds represented by the participants who attend our events. Feedback from such events has repeatedly held that DPI is currently the 'only organisation which is able to gather different groups of people to talk and think on peace and democracy in Turkey' and that DPI's activities have provided 'the most inclusive platform so far' where: 'people from different political tendencies [in Turkey] can easily come together [...] and talk to each other and negotiate their differences.'

We have a Council of Experts who actively contribute to all our work. Consisting of local and international experts, this council provides advice on areas of human rights, constitutional law, transitional justice and truth commissions, international humanitarian law, mediation and conflict resolution. Our strong working relationships in the region have allowed us to collaborate with experts, scholars and universities.

- Contributing to broadening bases and providing platforms for discussion on establishing a structured public dialogue on peace and democracy building
- Providing opportunities for different parties to draw comparative studies, and compare various mechanisms used to achieve positive results in comparable cases.
- Creating an atmosphere whereby different parties share knowledge, ideas, concerns, suggestions, and challenges facing the development of a resolution in Turkey and the wider region.
- Supporting and strengthening collaboration between academics, civil society, and policymakers.
- Identifying common priorities and developing innovative approaches in order to participate in and influence democracy-building.
- Promoting respect for and protection of human rights regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political persuasion, or other belief or opinion.

# **Our Methods**

DPI focuses on providing expertise and practical frameworks to encourage stronger public debates and in the promotion of peace and democracy building. To achieve this, DPI seeks to foster an environment of inclusive and structured discussions whereby a range of actors can share knowledge, concerns and offer suggestions for resolving conflict, which allows for the strengthening of democracy across multiple levels of society. DPI programming is underpinned by a commitment to learn lessons from regional, national, and international examples through the use of comparative studies as a tool for understanding and equipping stakeholders and stakeholder institutions. This informs our activities across all focus areas and helps to ensure that there preparations in place for a resolution to the conflict in Turkey. DPI activities include participants who are selected to represent their constituencies in consultation with our DPI expert advisers on the ground, to address the need for equal representation and participation across all groups and perspectives. Events (Roundtables and Comparative Study Visits) engage diverse viewpoints and are structured to facilitate interaction both between participants and leading international experts. A balance of attendees of past events as well as new participants ensure continuation of memory and knowledge transmitted from previous DPI activities, whilst also broadening bases for wider involvement in promoting peace and democratisation.

# **Our Key Themes**

# Gender, Peace and Security

DPI remains committed to addressing gender-related issues, with a focus on the crucial role that women play in conflict resolution and the promotion of peace and security. We facilitate the active participation of women in peace negotiations and provide opportunities for both women and men from various countries and backgrounds to share perspectives and experiences. In 2020, we continued with our commitment to gender equality and women's participation in peacebuilding by hosting meetings that emphasised the importance of women's involvement in conflict resolution.

#### **Governance and Constitutions**

The nuances and complexities in many of contemporary international conflicts pose challenges for countries transitioning from conflict including implementing the right form of governance and solving constitutional problems. DPI aims to research and share insights into the approaches taken by international cases and identify lessons that can be learnt from them.

# Human Rights and Access to Justice

Human rights and access to justice are crucial during, and in the aftermath, of violent conflict, as they enable individuals to resolve disputes under the auspices of the state. At DPI, we recognise that meaningful democratic reform, peace, and stability require a foundation of human rights, equality, and the rule of law. Our work aims to promote these principles and address language and identity issues, which are critical in resolving conflicts and establishing a stable democracy. By focusing on these crucial areas, DPI aims to contribute to a just and equitable society for all.

# **Conflict Mediation**

In order to establish sustainable peace agreements, it is vital to address the underlying grievances fuelling the conflict. By providing a forum for a diverse number of representatives to exchange their views and experiences, we aim to facilitate their future participation and readiness for processes of mediation and negotiation. By engaging in these discussions and conversations, DPI helps to educate individuals on various aspects of the conflict and facilitate the formation of mutually acceptable agreements. Our efforts towards fostering open and inclusive communication serve as a crucial step towards achieving lasting peace.

# Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration and Security Sector Reform

The disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) of armed groups into the community, as well as security sector reform (SSR) are essential for a successful transition from conflict to a peaceful and democratic society where state security serves, rather than oppresses, its citizens.. DPI analyses global examples of DDR and SSR through comparative studies and, where appropriate, incorporates these into our activity programme, to promote knowledge and facilitate informed debate.

# **Civil Society**

DPI recognises the critical role of civil society in resolving conflicts and advancing democracy. In regions where official channels for conflict resolution may be limited, civil society can and play a vital role in supplementing peace processes. As such, DPI places emphasis on strengthening the capacity of civil society organisations to contribute to conflict resolution and democracy building.

# The Media

The role of the media is imperative for reporting, reflecting, and influencing processes of conflict resolution. The organisation places a strong emphasis on the role of the media, both traditional and social, in rapidly spreading information surrounding conflicts. DPI understands the power of social media and uses it as a channel with which to disseminate our work and expand our reach and breadth.

# **Transitional Justice**

DPI focuses on transitional justice as a means to address human rights violations, promote accountability, and encourage reconciliation in post-conflict societies. Our research and events aim to highlight the potential benefits of transitional justice measures, including the recognition of victims' rights, the improvement of civic trust, and the strengthening of the rule of law, all with the hope of aiding democratic advancements.

# Democracy

DPI is committed to ensuring effective democracy building, which involves the consolidation of democratic institutions, ranging from the justice system and security services to the development of civil society. DPI is committed to processes of creating, strengthening and sustaining democracy. For democracy building to be effective, it must ensure the participation of the entire spectrum of stakeholders within a society and requires the education and engagement of disparate groups. Through all of DPI's activities, we strive to broaden bases for public engagement and support of peace processes, at all levels of society, and endeavour to make our events as inclusive and diverse as possible.

# **Impact Statement**

During 2021, we are proud to have continued to facilitate inclusive dialogue processes through such extraordinary times. Individuals from a diverse set of political backgrounds came together to share their perspectives and experiences. In 2021, DPI provided policy makers, academics, researchers, journalists, civil society actors, officials and business actors with a platform to engage in discussions about peace processes from around the world, and lessons learnt on behalf of the Turkish Peace Process, its trajectory, and future developments within Turkey. We achieved this through our programme of activities, including Roundtables, Comparative Study Visits, and Assessment Meetings, as well as through the production of materials such as Assessment Papers and Research Reports. As restrictions started to ease in 2021, DPI implemented a hybrid approach, in order to combine the benefits of both in-person as well as online events when possible. DPI was able to hold some in-person events in London and Istanbul where participants were able to draw upon international experiences of conflict resolution through in-person sessions.

Our impact has been recognized by our participants, who shared positive feedback after our events, expressing their gratitude for the opportunity to interact with a wide range of actors and to partake in discussions regarding the political processes in the region.

# **DPI Online Mapping Policy for Peace**

Alpaslan Oguz (British Embassy): "These activities definitely play a role in raising awareness and a platform for intellectual discussion".

# DPI's Online CSE 'Celebrating Women's Participation in Peace and Conflict Resolution / Participant Feedback

Kezban Hatemi: "I believe that, holding the awareness of the importance of dialogue in difficult times and being ready and equipped for peace, will greatly contribute to the democratisation process. I think we should engage in dialogue with opponents on this issue."

Dilara Gök: "Learning and understanding the work done in the field of peace and conflict resolution through the experiences of the people involved in these processes is always unique. I can feel the difference after each meeting. In my current work in the context of women and youth studies, I have the chance to learn from your meetings as they contribute to my work both in terms of substance and methodology."

#### **Feedback Reports Reverse** Media CSV Meeting October 2021

Isin Elicin: "It was a very useful and repairing meeting as it was the first in person meeting after a long break. I enjoyed a lot meet with my colleagues and have a meaningful discussion."

#### **Feedback Reports DPI's November 2021 Economy Reverse CSV**

Muslim Erbay: "This meeting made me to do a self-assessment. I will share it with my organisation and with its branches."

#### **DPI Online Assessment** meeting: "Turkey and the Kurdish Issue"

Derek Mooney: "[The knowledge I gained through DPI] will be useful in future meetings and encounters both in Ireland and the EU."

# ROUNDTABLE

# **Roundtable Meeting: DPI Brainstorming**

Online, 16 February 2021



On 16 February 2021, DPI held an online brainstorming roundtable meeting to evaluate and discuss DPI's potential steps forward, relevant methods and topics available in the context of conflict resolution and the Kurdish Issue. The meeting was virtually attended by DPI's Council of Experts which includes leading actors from Turkey's political and policy-making circles, academia, civil society organisations, businesses and journalism, as well as leading international experts with experience in conflict resolution across the globe. The meeting discussed the current political situation in Turkey, the implications for our 2021 plans and priorities, in particular the opportunities and obstacles for conflict resolution.

Vahap Coşkun, Member of the Wise Persons Committee and Professor of Law at Dicle University, gave a brief presentation on the current political situation in Turkey, which touched upon the constitution, the electoral agenda, and the Kurdish Issue. Participants also discussed the issue of democratisation, the role of the opposition in conflict resolution, as well as the impact of regional and international developments to the Kurdish Issue.

Overall, the meeting provided a useful discussion where the priorities of DPI's 2021 program were addressed by Turkey-based and international experts. Entering 2021, where uncertainty still resides due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it remains vital for DPI to continue to innovate and provide yet more inclusive ways to engage diverse, and sometimes opposed, actors in conflict resolution dialogue in Turkey. The expert insight of CoE members from around the world contributed to overall discussions on how to meet the multi-faceted challenges Turkey faces at this time: increasing polarisation, the deep economic crisis and the uncertainty surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic. In these challenging times, it is crucial to keep dialogue alive and, even more so, to find innovative ways to use technology to understand the implications that COVID-19 can have on conflict resolution and peace building. The online event forms part of a larger series of activities planned in the context of

"Forging Pathways to Peace and Democracy in Turkey", supported by the Norwegian and Irish government.

# **Mapping Dividends of Peace in Turkey:** 'The Dividends of Peace and the Cost of the Conflict in Turkey: A Regional Perspective'

Online, 29 April 2021

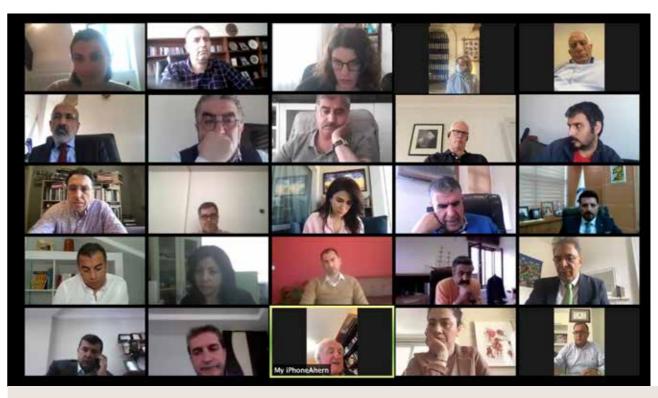
This meeting was the first of the series 'Mapping Dividends of Peace in Turkey' in 2021, which was designed to focus on the economic benefits of peace, as well as the direct and indirect effects of peacebuilding on economic growth and stability. The aim of this meeting was to discuss the role and contribution of business groups in the possible future Peace Process and keep dialogue going for finding democratic solutions in Turkey.



Bertie Ahern discussing the economic impact of conflict.

In addition to the human and political cost, unresolved conflicts also create a pervasive economic cost affecting all segments of society. The lower levels of output, investment and growth are among the well-known economic consequences of continuing conflict in a given country. Similarly, the economy of Turkey has been considerably affected by its 40-year-old conflict. However, the global pandemic has exacerbated this situation, leading Turkey to experience one of the most challenging economic crises in its history. Despite the worsening effect of the global pandemic, the economic crisis is seen as grounded mainly in the decline of institutions and experts say that this multi-cause economic crisis in Turkey can only be overcome with steps towards normalization and democratisation. This is seen as a precondition especially for foreign capital to invest back to the country.

The event's keynote speakers were Bertie Ahern, former Prime Minister of Ireland and Mehmet Kaya, Diyarbakir Chamber of Commerce and Industry Chairman of the Board. The speakers discussed both the international and regional perspective of the dividends of peace as well as possible pathways for the business sector to get involved in peacebuilding efforts. The activity brought together a mixed group of participants with diverse political affiliations and backgrounds, including prominent businesspeople from south and south-eastern Turkey, academics, civil society actors, journalists, and various representatives from political parties. The roundtable meeting provided a valuable platform for leading business figures to discuss the economic effect on peace and democratisation processes during these chal-



Participants listen to Mehmet Kaya discuss the need for the business sector to get involved in peacebuilding.

lenging times and will contribute to the debate on the economic rationale for peace in Turkey. With particular focus on the roles of peace and economy, Ahern shared insightful key requirements for peace and supplied central lessons of peacebuilding from his own experience. Ahern further discussed the economic impact of conflict and benefits of peace, on both sides of the island of Ireland, and the significance of the Good Friday Agreement, which he had greatly contributed to. During the conflict, unemployment was high and investment low, signifying little economic growth; however, Northern Ireland has significantly progressed since, becoming a strong economy with high foreign investment.

Mehmet Kaya, Chairman of Diyarbakir Chamber of Commerce, commenced his presentation by emphasising the importance of DPI's work in Turkey and the necessity for increased transparency on the connection between the economy and the Kurdish Issue. Kaya spoke about the economic gain as well as the sacrifices in establishing peace by providing detailed insight into the numbers and figures of the labour market and employment in the Kurdish region. He iterated that the business sector should assist in creating awareness on peacebuilding, not least for their own prosperity as shown by the Northern Ireland example..

# **Mapping Policy for Peace "An Evaluation** of the Peace Process in Turkey: Lessons Learnt and Pathways Ahead"

Online, 27 May 2021

On 27 May, DPI held an online roundtable entitled 'An Evaluation of the Peace Process in Turkey: Lessons Learnt and Pathways Ahead'. The meeting was the first of its series called 'Mapping Policy for Peace', which aims to outline the benefits of peace for the country and boost public debate by discussing a concrete peace agenda and action plan for the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey. Through this series, DPI brought together actors from all sides of the political spectrum, leaders of political parties and local municipalities as well as policy makers in Turkey, to discuss the country's Peace Process, the lessons learnt and the potential openings for future discussions. By doing so, DPI seeks to bring into sharp focus the possible paths to peace according to each party as well as their relation to each other.

The first roundtable of the series was a closed meeting which provided a platform to discuss Turkey's Peace Process with two key speakers from opposing sides of the process, Sırrı Süreyya Önder, former HDP MP and Adnan Boynukara, former AK Party MP. The two key speakers shared lessons they had drawn from their first-hand involvement during the Solution process that took place between 2011-2015. Önder stated that the Kurdish Issue was multifaceted, with historical, cultural, and economic aspects. He discussed that the "Dolmabahçe Declaration" was being unfairly criminalised and there has been backlash from the opposition and the Kurdish community as well. He argued that in fact it was a very important culmination of the two-anda-half-year process with a focus on democratisation. Based on his personal experience,





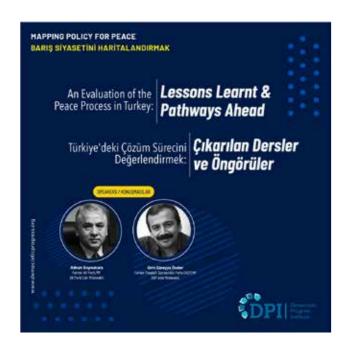
Önder argued that one of the failures of the previous process is the lack of trust and mutual resistance from both parties. He also stated that people have been criminalised for their involvement in the Peace Process.

During his presentation, the former AK Party MP Adnan Boynukara, , argued that the Kurdish Issue should be addressed as a human rights issue instead of being portrayed as countering terrorist activity. Without making this distinction, it will be difficult to solve this problem. Furthermore, Boynukara highlighted that there have been efforts by the State to address the issue through alternative political solutions, which was in fact bold at the time. He explained that there was backlash and impasse from security bureaucrats, who maintained the Kurdish Issue should be treated as a terrorist issue. Although the Peace Process did not succeed, Boynukara still regards it as an accomplishment and as something that can be built upon in the future.

As the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey and the scheduled general elections of 2023 draw near, it was ideal and timely to look forward and draw out the visions for a peace that exist amongst Turkey's political parties. As such, it can be argued that facts at hand provide a significant opportunity for a return to (publicly) debating peace in a political framework, as the resolution of the Kurdish Issue in Turkey offers a solution model for the other growing problems of the country. Discussing existing opportunities for a resolution and focusing on the benefits of peace in Turkey has the potential to draft an exit strategy for the political actors to normalise the country, stabilise the economy and repair the damaged relations both inside and outside

# Mapping Policy for Peace "An Evaluation of the Peace Process in Turkey: Lessons Learnt and Pathways Ahead II"

Online, 30 June 2021



This meeting was the second of the 'Mapping Policy for Peace' series, which aims to outline the benefits of peace for the country and boost public debate by discussing a concrete peace agenda and action plans for the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey. The second meeting of the series which was a closed meeting once again hosted by Sırrı Süreyya Önder, and comprised of former HDP MP and Adnan Boynukara, former AK Party MP as speakers, two figures who were directly involved in Turkey's Solution Process that took place between 2011 - 2015. Drawing from their first-hand experiences, in the second meeting of the series, they focused on the shortcomings of the Solution Process and lessons that can be drawn from them. The discussion created a platform for further reflection, deepening the conversation on the Peace Process in Turkey.

The role of the opposition parties at the time as well as the role of various state actors such

as the army, the influence of public support and the lack of the current persecution of actors who were involved in the Peace Process and the lack of legal protections from them, the role of the media and civil society in creating support for the process, Turkey's policies with regards to Syria and the role of personal characteristics were amongst many of the topics discussed. Overall, the second meeting of DPI's series was highly engaging and highlighted once again the importance of listening to the first-hand experiences of Turkey's Solution Process and discussing its implications on a possible future process. The high participation of such a diverse group of actors also demonstrates the demand for discussion about the resolution process and the need to keep dialogue going despite challenging

By generating dialogue on the themes of peace and conflict resolution in Turkey with political parties from each side of the political spectrum, local government leaders and policy makers, DPI seeks to bring into sharp

focus the possible paths to peace according to each party as well as their relation to each other. Indeed, feedback from participants indicated an interest in maintaining a more structured and in-depth analysis of the previous resolution process as the basis for dialogue and normalisation in Turkey.

# Mapping Policy for Peace "An Evaluation of the Peace Process in Turkey: Lessons Learnt and Pathways Ahead III"

Online, 30 July 2021

On 30th July, DPI held an online roundtable entitled 'An Evaluation of the Peace Process in Turkey: Lessons Learnt and Pathways Ahead III', which was the third of its series called 'Mapping Policy for Peace', aiming to outline the benefits of peace for the country and boost public debate by discussing concrete steps that need to be taken in order to create a peace agenda in Turkey. The meeting continued with two key speakers, Sırrı Sureyya Önder, former HDP MP and a member of the Imrali Delegation, and Adnan Boynukara, former High Counsellor at the Ministry of Justice and AK Party MP.

The aim of the third meeting was to focus on concrete recommendations and preparations for the possible resumption of a resolution process in Turkey, including priorities, needs and expectations for peace. As in the previous two meetings, participants comprised a diverse group of actors including academics, artists, journalists, civil society actors from different regions, representing different political affiliations in Turkey. The meeting was joined by various political party representatives, including from AK Party, CHP, Good Party, Future Party, HDP and DEVA Party. The meeting started off with a presentation by Sırrı Sureyya Önder, explaining that the Kurdish Issue has become more complex since 2013. There are now more obstacles and challenges, including an increase in mutual distrust and a further criminalisation of Kurdish people.

Adnan Boynukara argued that the last Peace Process demonstrated that a peace process in Turkey is not impossible. Similar to Önder, he noted that finding common ground and continuing dialogue is essential in order for there to be a successful process. The speakers recommended that for the next peace process to be successful, the preparation should be lengthy, but the implementation process should be quick. In the concluding remarks, DPI's CEO, Kerim Yildiz, highlighted that this series was the first time that the lessons learnt from Turkey's Peace Process have been discussed with people from opposing sides, stating that it had been crucial to hear from two key speakers involved in the Peace Process and despite all the shortcomings and the challenges, they both still believe that peace is achievable in Turkey. These speakers have created further space for the possible public discussion on the necessity of the Kurdish resolution and democratisation. By engaging the wide spectrum of political parties in Turkey and generating dialogue on the themes of peace and conflict resolution, DPI attempted to shed light onto the possible pathways to peace according to each party as well as their relation to each other. Overall, the meeting will feed into concrete recommendations for action in the field of conflict resolution and democratisation.



# The Legal Basis for Peace: Constitution Making in Polarized Societies

10 August 2021

DPI held an online roundtable on 10 August, as part of a series of meetings that aim to explore the debates on constitution making processes in polarised societies and the contribution such processes can have in conflict resolution. The online roundtable meeting was part of DPI's series titled 'Legal Basis for Peace' that focuses on the legal foundations of peace in order to promote the role of legal foundations as part of conflict resolution efforts.

The event's keynote speaker, Albie Sachs, a former Judge of the Constitutional Court of South Africa, has played an instrumental role in the creation of South Africa's Constitution following the end of the Apartheid regime and the creation of a constitutional democracy in the country. In his presentation, Sachs shared his experiences surrounding the drafting of the South African Bill of Rights and explained how the creation of a new constitution fit into the larger peacebuilding process. He offered valuable insights as to how constitution making can be successful in a divided society, and how this process can contribute to the peacebuilding process in Turkey. Sachs provided his first-hand account in the creation of the Bill of Rights, which would protect people on the basis of humanity, not on the grounds of race.

During the course of the event, participants were given the opportunity to discuss the role of the constitution-making process in South Africa in promoting peace and equality, and explore the legal preparations needed for the possible resumption of a resolution process in Turkey. The discussion session touched upon many aspects of the constitution in South Africa, both past and present, highlighting topics such as the role of women in the constitution making process, the importance of an independent judiciary and the



resilience of the democratic institutions in South Africa today. The speaker highlighted the importance of having a clear vision, continuous consultation and involvement of various sectors of society, diversity within the Constitutional Court and an open and transparent process. The discussion over what comprises a successful constitutional making process in a segregated society serves as a source of inspiration for future constitution making efforts in Turkey, showing that although the process is highly difficult, it is attainable.

Though constitutional reform and peace processes are fundamentally different, it is possible to have constitutional reform in states without conflict and also possible to have peace agreements without a guarantee of constitutional reform. Many peace processes have struggled to make or include agreements on constitutional change. Constitutional reform, when integrated with ongoing peace processes, usually provides for a better, more sustainable peace. In some cases, peace agreements may overturn constitutions and create new ones, as occurred in South Africa at the end of Apartheid.

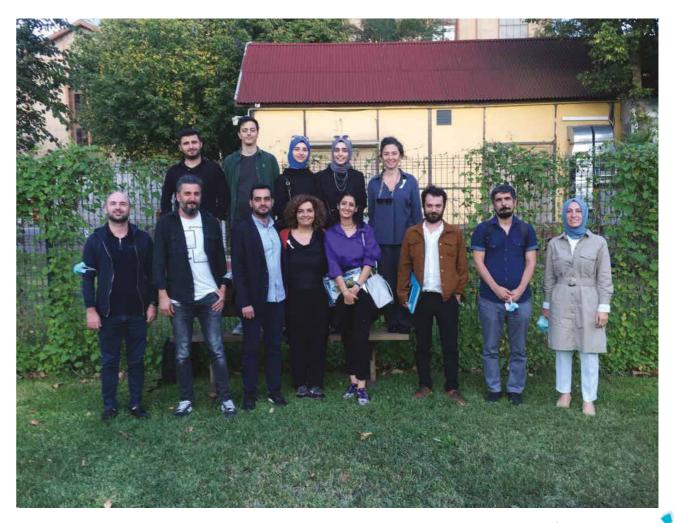
# Youth's Peace Memory and Vision in Turkey II

Istanbul, 11 September 2021

DPI held its first in-person event since the start of the pandemic in Istanbul. The roundtable entitled 'Youth's Peace Money and Vision in Turkey II' was organised in cooperation with the Istanbul Bilgi University Centre for Conflict Resolution Studies and Research (CCR). The meeting brought together a diverse group of youth participants with professional and political backgrounds from across Turkey, including the representatives from the youth branches of different political parties, social workers, young academics, journalists, students, representatives of civil society and artists. The group included both reoccurring and

new participants to ensure continuity while increasing diversity.

Both institutions believe that young people's experience, perception, and vision of peace is an often overlooked but crucial topic. In a shift away from a discourse that tends to characterise youth as contributing to conflict, the value of youth as resources and agents for peace and development is increasingly appreciated. The active and meaningful participation of youth in conflict resolution is important for both principled and pragmatic reasons. Not only do youth, like other sectors of the population, enjoy participatory rights, including



the right to have a say in matters affecting them, they can also bring valuable and often unique insights and perspectives to a conflict situation and contribute to the development of effective solutions. Raising awareness and understanding amongst youth of conflict resolution norms, approaches and practice is therefore fundamental to any inclusive resolution process.

Turkey is one of the countries with the highest percentage of young people in the world and Europe, as the population in the 15-29 age group amounts to 23.2 percent of Turkey's population. Therefore, 16 percent of the votes in the next elections will be the younger demographic. Therefore, any political attempts to address the Kurdish Issue needs to take the youth into account.

The initial feedback from the roundtable indicates that participants appreciate the opportunity to have face-to-face meetings, expressing that the side meetings and in person contact has allowed them to form much more meaningful connections and have deeper conversations with other participants. Recurring participants who have had a chance to participate in DPI's pre-pandemic Comparative Study Visits (CSVs) to Scotland, Ireland and Wales also expressed that while discussing their vision and strategies for peace in Turkey, they were referencing the knowledge that they had gained through the CSVs.



# "Digital Citizenship in Turkey: Opportunities and Challenges for Peace and Democratisation"

Online, 27 October 2021





On 27 October, an online roundtable took place and constituted the third meeting in DPI's series of activities focused on the role of new technologies in the Peace Process, in collaboration with Oxford University. The aim of this series was to engage participants in the theory and practice behind the growing role that technology can play to support, enhance and sustain peace and democratisation in Turkey and in the world. The meeting brought together diverse professional and political backgrounds from across Turkey, including political party's representatives, civil society workers, journalists and academics. This third online roundtable discussed the main findings of the 'Digital Citizenship in Turkey' report, a joint effort of the University of Oxford, Oxford Centre for Technology and Development LTD (OCTD), Facebook and INGEV (Human Development Foundation). The roundtable explored the relationship between digital citizenship and peacebuilding by analysing the impact of issues such as fake news, hate speech, cyberwarfare and conspiracy theories. In order for society to move forward towards peace and democracy, people need to talk and engage with each other. Technology and social

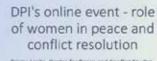
media can be used as an effective tool to bring people together, but it can also exacerbate tensions within society and widen polarisation. Importantly, the concept of citizenship itself must adapt to reflect the increasing relevance of digital technologies to daily life in the modern era. The aim of efforts to apply citizenship principles and standards to the digital sphere - or a practice of 'Digital Citizenship' – is to promote a fairer and more beneficial internet for all. Digital citizenship can be understood as an awareness and internalisation of the standards and norms, rights and responsibilities associated with the use of digital technologies and the internet.

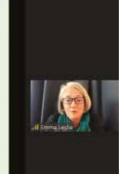
During the roundtable, the speakers stressed the importance of supporting literacy among the general population and argued for an increased awareness of digital technologies among policymakers, politicians, lawyers and civil society actors. Ultimately, participants and speakers agreed that in relation to the prospects of peace, social media poses more risks than opportunities. Yet, social media and digital technologies are expanding, so we need to consider which role digital technologies can play in each step of peace processes.

# COMPARATIVE STUDY VISITS

"Celebrating Women's Participation in Peace and Conflict Resolution: Overcoming Challenges and Putting Peace Back on the Agenda"

Online, 5 March 2021







On 5 March, DPI ran an online comparative study event entitled 'Celebrating Women's Participation in Peace and Conflict Resolution: Overcoming Challenges and Putting Peace Back on the Agenda'. The event was held ahead of International Women's Day to celebrate the participation of women in peace and conflict resolution and look at the different approaches and models used to further the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. The event had Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, former chairperson of the peace panel of the Government of the Philippines & Dr Emma Leslie, Executive Director, Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, as keynote speakers.

By engaging with and hearing the first-hand experiences of female leaders in conflict resolution, participants were given the opportunity to discuss the role of women in contributing to dialogue and peace, particularly on what can be done in challenging times where a process is facing obstacles or stalled. DPI recognises that each conflict is different

and the 'one-size-fits-all' approach cannot be imposed in conflict resolution. Looking at other case studies allows participants to understand that despite the different setting, country, and context; many groups, in this case women, face similar grievances and issues due to conflict, and a reminder that the inclusion of women in conflict resolution processes is key to peace.

The event brought together a diverse group of political and civil society actors from different regions, representing the broad spectrum of different political affiliations in Turkey. They included elected representatives and members of political parties, heads and representatives of human rights organisations and think tanks, lawyers, businesswomen, media professionals, youth representatives and academics. The online CSV forms part of a larger series of activities planned in the context of the project: "Forging Pathways to Peace and Democracy in Turkey", supported by the Norwegian and Irish government.

# "Communicating Peace and Enhancing Dialogue: Reconsidering the Role of Media in Conflict Resolution"

Istanbul, 23 October 2021

DPI held an in-person Reverse CSV entitled 'Peace Dividends: Beyond National Borders' on 6 November in Istanbul, in collaboration with the Diyarbakir Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The event was the second meeting organised in collaboration under the series title 'Mapping Dividends for Peace in Turkey'. The event also aimed to contribute to the debate on the economic rationale for peace in Turkey by exploring the costs of the conflict and potential dividends for peace. The meeting brought together a diverse group of businesspeople, including heads of Chambers of Commerce and Industry and various business associations, based in Eastern and South-Eastern regions, as well as civil society actors and political party representatives responsible for economy. The group included both reoccurring and new participants to ensure continuity while increasing diversity.

Our keynote speaker Owen Bowcott, former Ireland correspondent for The Guardian, discussed his first-hand experience as a journalist reporting the Troubles in Northern Ireland and shared with the group the role that the media can play in promoting peace, in terms





of both opportunities and challenges. In his presentation, Bowcott touched upon issues such as desensitisation towards and normalisation of violence; problems regarding stimulating interest among new editors and readers in England, who had grown disinterested after decades of violence; journalists being tapped as well mes to navigate speculation about secrets talks as a journalist.

Bowcott also talked in detail about the choice of language as a journalist. Overall, the reverse CSV proved to be timely, given recent developments and the growing momentum for the Kurdish Issue, and provided the media group with a platform to hear from a journalist's first-hand experiences from the Northern Ireland case and an opportunity to discuss their own experiences. To date, the media in Turkey has played a more reactive role, focusing on the Kurdish Issue only when politicians made statements on the matter. In this roundtable, we would like to focus on how the media can make use of this momentum and play a meaningful role in starting and sustaining a well-rounded public debate that goes beyond reporting on statements made by politicians.

# **Reverse Comparative Study Visit on Peace** Dividends: Beyond National Borders', in Collaboration with Diyarbakır Chamber of Commerce and Industry Istanbul, 6 November 2021

DPI held an in-person Reverse Comparative Study Visit (CSV) entitled 'Peace Dividends: Beyond National Borders' on 6 November in Istanbul, in collaboration with Diyarkabır Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DTSO). The event was the second meeting organised under the series titled 'Mapping dividends of peace in Turkey', a series that aims to explore the interconnected relationship between conflict, peace and the economy through the lessons learned from relevant international experiences - in this case the Northern Irish experience. The event also aimed to contribute to the debate on the economic rationale for peace in Turkey by exploring the costs of the conflict and potential dividends

The meeting brought together a diverse group of businesspeople, including heads of chambers of commerce and industry and various business associations, based in Eastern and South-eastern regions, as well as civil society actors and political party representatives responsible for economy. The group included both reoccurring and new participants to ensure continuity while increasing diversity.



Our keynote speaker Dermot Ahern, former Minister of Foreign Affairs from the Republic of Ireland, discussed his reflections as a prominent politician in the Northern Ireland peace process experience living near the border. He shared with the group the role that business communities and economic incentives could play to generate public support for peace. Ahern also talked about the effect peace has had on the social and economic conditions of the island of Ireland.



# Comparative Study Visit on Civil Society's **Priorities for Peace: A Lesson Sharing Visit**

3-6 December 2021



From 3 to 6 December, DPI held a comparative study visit entitled 'Civil Society's Priorities for Peace: A Lesson Sharing Visit' in Dublin, Ireland. The planned visit, which was supported by the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, was the first in-person event in Ireland since the start of the pandemic. The visit brought together a multi-faceted group from diverse range of backgrounds including members of civil society organisations, academics, journalists, lawyers and political party representatives from Turkey to discuss the priorities of civil society for peace, through exposure to the Northern Ireland experience. Due to travel limitations from COVID-19, this visit was held in the Republic of Ireland, where the CSV and RT format was used as it allows participation, comparison, mutual learning and dialogue on an equal basis. The event, as well as providing an overview of the process in Northern Ireland, examined civil society's engagement and priorities for peace during



challenging times. The recurring themes are those of inclusivity, perseverance, and dia-

Participants engaged in a wide range of sessions which saw them interact with speakers involved in the Northern Ireland peace process. Former Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition Founder Amilla Kilmurray, Director of Changing Perspectives and founding member of Glencree Centre Ian White, and Pat Hynes again from

Glencree Centre were among the speakers. In the second part of the event, the participants discussed Turkey's previous peace process and explored how civil society can play a meaningful role on issues pertaining peace and conflict resolution. Participants discussed the lessons learned from the latest peace process in Turkey, which they were involved either as politicians or member of wise people committee.

# **ASSESSMENT MEETING**

# **Constitutional Making Process** in Polarized Societies

16 July 2021

On 16 July, DPI held an online assessment meeting with Fazil Hüsnü Erdem, professor of constitutional law at Dicle University, and a member of the Wise People's Committee during the Peace Process in Turkey. A productive discussion took place, during which participants engaged with the speaker on the possible positive and negative implications of the constitution-making process on conflict resolution in detail, specifically in relation to Turkey. Erdem reminded the participants of the inclusive constitutional making process attempt in Turkey between 2011-2013 during the Peace

Process, highlighting that there was a parliamentary committee where representatives of all political parties had equal representation. He believes, even in the current polarised climate of today, if the government takes steps towards reconciliation, the political tensions in the country might significantly soften. This could lead to another similar attempt, suggesting that a change in attitude by the ruling party is a key issue. DPI will continue to discuss these issues in detail as part of DPI's upcoming series on the legal foundations of peace.

# **Dividends of Peace in Turkey What would** change in Turkey's economy if the Kurdish conflict was resolved?

23 August 2021

On 23 August, DPI held an online assessment meeting with Izzet Akyol, a writer and researcher. The meeting was held as part of DPI's regular assessment meetings, inviting speakers representing different political backgrounds to convey the ideas of various circles on contemporary issues and ongoing discussions in Turkey, specifically on matters related to conflict resolution. The meeting assessed the economic situation in Turkey and its implications for the Peace Process in Turkey. In these challenging times in Turkey, the analysis of the direct and indirect costs of conflict is important for the economy-peace nexus. Izzet Akyol discussed the reason for why the Kurdish Issue is at its core a political issue with economic implications that can be traced back to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. He explained that Kurdish people feel betrayed due to the attempts of homogenisation in Turkey's social structure through state policies.

Akyol talked about the conditions of having a strong economy based on political and economic predictability and the necessity of predictability as a significant factor in achieving stability. In order to attract foreign investment and to have a stable economy, a strong government is an undeniable factor. Akyol argued that calculating the real cost of the conflict is a difficult topic, a matter that is arguably even unknown to the state. Public spending could be calculated, but the multiplier effect of the public expenditure is difficult to calculate. In his research, he proposed four different areas to explain the cost of conflict in Turkey: the evaporated security expenses of Turkey has caused economic deterioration; the tourism sector is essential for Turkey's economy because of the its multiplier effect, but has been heavily hindered by the conflict; the Turkish model that tends to grow with international loans is causing challenges that are difficult to deal with within the institutional capacity of Turkey; the normalisation of security practices such as extra security checks and additional security personnel at airports and malls cause a decrease in economic efficiency and an increase in wasted 'human capital'. Therefore, solving the Kurdish Issue would have a direct effect on Turkey's GDP. The session provided an opportunity for further discussion on the economic impacts of the conflict.

# "The Military-Government Relationship in Turkey" Online, 29 September 2021

On 29 September, DPI held an online assessment meeting entitled 'The Military - Government Relationship in Turkey' with Ali Bayramoğlu, senior journalist and political commentator. The meeting was held as part of DPI's regular assessment meetings, inviting speakers representing different political backgrounds to convey the ideas of various circles on contemporary issues and ongoing discussions in Turkey, specifically on matters related to conflict resolution. This meeting assessed the relationship between the government and the military, and its implications for a possible peace process in Turkey. Bayramoğlu discussed the influential role that the military has played in Turkish politics as the representative and protector of the Kemalist state ideology. He explained that, for many decades, the military – Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) – have imposed its policy preferences, interfering in politics when it deemed necessary, namely by organising military coups or publishing memorandums that were perceived as ultimatums. The military's involvement in politics as the protector of the Kemalist state also resulted in the securitisation of the Kurdish Issue, making the issue an untouchable topic for political

Bayramoğlu explored the history of the military-government relationship, categorising his analysis into three historical periods: the traditional period and the start of "Military Tutelage"; the fractures in the tutelage system between 2003-2016; and thirdly, the period after the 15 July 2016 Coup attempt in which Bayramoğlu argues there was a period of demilitarisation. The assessment meeting provided participants with an opportunity to discuss the new ideology of the TSK, the transformation into a security state and the increased levels of securitisation, as well as the likelihood of democratisation in Turkey considering the changes in the system. There were also discussions about the government's expenditure on the military, and what the effects of this might be. DPI will continue to discuss these issues and debates on the military's relationship with the Turkish government, and the effect of this on the Turkish political landscape.

# Briefing and Mentoring

The aim of DPI's Briefing and Mentoring meetings

is to support high-level dialogue through private diplomacy and targeted advice by creating space in which key actors, experts and institutions within Turkey may come together to discuss a wide range of issues pertaining to the resolution process. These sessions specifically allow participants (such as parliamentary chairs, government advisers, policymakers, civil society and media figures) access to experts, such as mediators and advisers from international peace processes and parties to international peace agreements, with whom they can exchange experiences and lessons learnt on the practical aspects of conflict resolution. The sessions are directed towards policy makers, officials, parties and conditions conducive to resuming and establishing a robust and comprehensive peace process. This effective work has been impactful in keeping open channels and dialogue concerning the resolution process in Turkey. Furthermore, the information discussed in these sessions can contribute to the production of private briefings which are disseminated to a limited audience including the Ministry. Due to the private nature of some of these sessions, it is not deemed appropriate to record sessions or to ask stakeholders to complete monitoring and evaluation forms post sessions. Therefore, evidence of the success of the indicators for this outcome was gathered by direct inquiries by the DPI staff conducting the meetings as to whether the stakeholders wanted to continue to participate in DPI's briefing and mentoring sessions. Throughout the project, a record has been kept of the topics discussed in sessions and the type of stakeholders involved. The record displays a wide variety of meetings and sessions held during the reporting period in locations in different parts of Europe, Turkey, via telecom and through online platforms.

# **ASSESSMENT AND RESEARCH REPORTS IN 2021**

# **Assessment on Turkey** and the Kurdish Issue: **Geopolitics and the** possibility of a new initiative by Dr. Osman Sert

This assessment provides an analysis of the challenges faced by Turkey regarding solutions in the Kurdish Issue and provides new insight to potential solutions.

The author provides an overview of Turkey's previous attempts at a resolution process, namely the lack of political clarity, unity and structure, and highlights the importance of avoiding similar problems in the future. These issues, as well as the ruling power's refusal to recognise the Kurdish Issue, must be addressed to allow for a new and permanent resolution process to take place.

The role of past geopolitical developments such as the Arab Spring and the Syrian conflict are also discussed, alongside the current prospects offered by the new Biden administration in the US. Moreover, the report addresses Turkey's current political climate as a contributor to the issue, providing an assessment of the strengths and limitations of the ruling power and other opposition parties. It is indicated that the opposition is structurally and politically weak, and the various interviews quoted in the report discuss a popular belief that only President Erdoğan can instigate change.

# **Assessment report: The** Legal Basis of a New Peace in Turkey by Zeynep Ardic

This assessment explores the Turkish legal system's ability to support a peace process and provides an overview of the current laws in Turkey. This engaging report assesses the compatibility of legal texts with a potential solution to the Kurdish Issue.

DPI's panel of experts write leading briefings and assessments of the conflict resolution process in Turkey and the wider region. You will find below a selection of assessments and research reports which have been published by DPI in 2021.

Please note that these assessments do not necessarily reflect DPI's official position and opinions nor those of DPI's funders.

# **Assessment report: The** resolution of the Kurdish Issue in Turkey - Choice or **Necessity**

This research examines the Kurdish Peace Process within Turkey, considering the historical origins of the Kurdish Issue, highlighting key events that led to the 2008-2011 Oslo Process and the 2013-2015 Peace Process. The study assesses both Peace Processes and explores why both processes failed to resolve the Kurdish Issue, considering the roles of major players and groups that had the greatest effects on the process. The report then turns towards examining the future of the Kurdish Peace Process in Turkey, considering the ongoing issues within Turkish politics and what effects any peace process may have upon them.

# The Influence of the AK-Party-MHP Relationship on the Kurdish Issue and the **Resolution Process by Ferda** Balancar

This research is concerned with the evolution and the internal dynamics of the People's Alliance between the AK Party and the MHP, an alliance which played a decisive role in Turkish politics in the last few years. In the context of a potential new resolution process regarding the Kurdish Issue, this report looks at the possible outcomes of MHP's relationship with both President Erdoğan and the AK Party. The report analyses the attitudes of MHP, known to be a doctrinaire nationalist party, with regard to a number of political developments that took place since 2002, when AK Party came into power, and the policies it formulated. DPI would like to express its thanks to the author for producing this engaging research paper.

# The Military – Government Relationship in Turkey- by

Ali Bayramoğlu

Ali Bayramoğlu explores the relationship between the government and the military in Turkey, considering its history and how it has shaped Turkish affairs in recent years, including the Kurdish Issue. This report examines the hierarchy of the Turkish military, as well as levels of civilian oversight and how it compares to other nations in the West. Bayramoğlu also analyses the role of the Gülenist movement leading to the 2016 coup attempt, which marked a defining moment in the military-civilian relationship. In the report, Bayramoğlu provides a detailed analysis of the 'Military Tutelage' system that has led to the unique relationship between the Turkish Government and Military and considers what reforms have occurred that have changed the nature of this relationship. The report also explains the current recruitment and composition of the Turkish military and considers how this may affect any future relationship changes between the Government and Armed Forces, such as potential politicisation and polarisation.

# The Impact of Four Decades of Conflict on the Economy of Turkey - by Izzet Akyol

This paper explores dividends of peace in Turkey as well as analysing the effect of conflict on the economy growth of the country. Akyol provides a socio-political overview about the political and economic rationalization in Turkey and examines literature from various other scholars in the field and presents the argument that if the Kurdish Issue is resolved and sustainable peace is brought to Turkey, Turkey will experience economic growth in various sectors, and bring political stability to the country. The report offers examples of how the Kurdish conflict has negatively influenced the economy, for example in Foreign Direct Investment, infrastructure, tourism and has a significant human cost, not only in loss of life but also in trauma that is carried for generations. Akyol presents figures to show how resolving the Kurdish Issue in Turkey will benefit the state, economically, sociologically, and politically.

# The Idea of Peace and the Opposition in Turkish Politics at the Beginning of 2022 by Ali Bayramoğlu

In the report, Bayramoğlu looks ahead to the upcoming general election in Turkey and its possible effects on the Kurdish Issue. While the authoritarian and sectarian approach of the current ruling power continues, the economic crisis in Turkey has taken a significant downturn. The economic woes in the country have cost the ruling power political prestige and could result in a loss of votes in the upcoming election. The response pursued by the country's current President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has been to promote a discourse centred around a new future, nationalism and a strong, independent Turkey. In addition to his discussion on the current ruling power, Mr Bayramoğlu also discusses the opportunities for the opposition in the upcoming elections, and what this could mean for the future of the Kurdish Issue. Given the economic crisis, popular support for the opposition is naturally on the rise, and opposition parties have become more politically active. However, the opposition is not unified on the Kurdish Issue, as differences of opinion between the CHP

and the Good Party limit the potential of the opposition on this topic. In the meantime, Kılıçdaroğlu, who is a strong contender for presidential nomination, has been formulating a new political narrative in which the Kurdish Issue and cooperation with the HDP play a crucial role. As such, it is becoming increasingly likely that the CHP will lead the resolution process, both before and after the elections.

# **BOARD MEMBERS**

# Kerim Yildiz - Chief Executive Officer

Kerim is an expert in conflict resolution, peacebuilding, international human rights law and minority rights, having worked on numerous projects in these areas over his career. Kerim has received a number of awards, including from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights for his services to protect human rights and promote the rule of law in 1996, and the Sigrid Rausing Trust's Human Rights award for Leadership in Indigenous and Minority Rights in 2005. Kerim is also a recipient of the 2011 Gruber Prize for Justice. He has extensive experience in human rights and actively works to raise awareness on human rights violations worldwide assisting with many cases to the European Court of Human Rights, conducting training seminars in Europe and the Middle East, and regularly contributing to seminars and conferences.

#### Nicholas Stewart - QC Chair

Nicholas Stewart, QC, is a barrister and Deputy High Court Judge (Chancery and Queen's Bench Divisions) in the United Kingdom. He is the former Chair of the Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales and former President of the Union Internationale des Avocats. He has appeared at all court levels in England and Wales, before the Privy Council on appeals from Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and the Bahamas, and in the High Court of the Republic of Singapore and the European Court of Human Rights. Stewart has also been the chair of the Dialogue Advisory Group since its founding in 2008.

# **Priscilla Hayner**

Priscilla Hayner is co-founder of the International Center for Transitional

Justice and is currently on the UN Department of Political Affairs Standby Team of Mediation Experts. She is a global expert on truth commissions and transitional justice initiatives and has authored several books on these topics, including Unspeakable Truths, which analyses truth commissions globally. Hayner has recently engaged in the recent Colombia talks as transitional justice advisor to Norway, and in the 2008 Kenya negotiations as human rights advisor to former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the United Nations-African Union mediation team. Hayner has also worked significantly in the implementation stages following a peace agreement or transition, including Sierra Leone in 1999 and South Sudan in 2015.

#### **Arild Humlen**

Arild Humlen is a lawyer and Director of the Norwegian Bar Association's Legal Committee. He is widely published within a number of jurisdictions, with emphasis on international civil law and human rights, and he has lectured at the law faculty of several universities in Norway. Humlen is the recipient of the Honor Prize of the Bar Association of Oslo for his work on the rule of law and in 2015 he was awarded the Honor Prize from the international organisation Save the Children for his efforts to strengthen the legal rights of children. He has also been presented with the Honor Prize from the Student Foundation at the University Of Oslo, Legal Academy, for his work within the field of protection of Human Rights standards. He is also a former leader of the disciplinary Board in Oslo branch of the National Bar Association and also the former chair of the National Bar Association Legal Committee.

#### **Catherine Woollard**

Catherine Woollard is the Director of ECRE, the European Council for Refugees and Exiles, a pan-European alliance of 104 NGOs which defend the rights of displaced persons in Europe and in European foreign policies. She previously worked as Executive Director of the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) – a Brussels-based network of not-for-profit organisations working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. She also held the positions of Director of Policy, Communications and Comparative Learning at Conciliation Resources, Senior Programme Coordinator (Southeast Europe/CIS/Turkey) at Transparency International and Europe/Central Asia Programme Coordinator at Minority Rights Group International. Woollard has additionally worked as a consultant advising governments on anti-corruption and governance reform, as a lecturer in political science, and for the UK civil service.

#### **Antonia Potter Prentice**

Antonia Potter Prentice is the director of Alliance 15, a strategic alliance of globally active European based humanitarian and development organisations in Brussels.

She also provided her expertise as a Senior Advisor to the Dialogue Advisory Group, an organisation which aims to reduce violence between governments, armed groups and organisations through political dialogue.

Her extensive experience in conflict resolution allowed her to become Senior Associate to the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office as well as the Project Manager and Senior Adviser for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) project. Antonia Potter Prentice has supported gender equality in peacebuilding during the 'Women at the Peace Table - Asia Pacific' (2010-2013) and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders and Terre des Hommes. Her career has led her to travel extensively in Asia (including Indonesia, India, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Timor-Leste).

# COUNCIL **OF EXPERTS**

#### **Bertie Ahern**

Bertie Ahern is the former Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland, a position to which he was elected following numerous Ministerial appointments as well as that of Deputy Prime Minister. A defining moment of Mr Ahern's three terms in office as Taoiseach was the successful negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement in April 1998. Mr Ahern held the Presidency of the European Council in 2004, presiding over the historic enlargement of the EU to 27 member states. Since leaving Government in 2008 Mr Ahern has dedicated his time to conflict resolution and is actively involved with many groups around the world. Current roles include Co-Chair of The Inter Action Council; Member of the Clinton Global Initiative; Member of the International Group dealing with the conflict in the Basque Country; Honorary Adjunct Professor of Mediation and Conflict Intervention in NUI Maynooth; Member of the Kennedy Institute of NUI Maynooth; Member of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin; Member of the Varkey Gems Foundation Advisory Board; Member of Crisis Management Initiative; Member of the World Economic Forum Agenda Council on Negotiation and Conflict Resolution; Member of the IMAN Foundation; Advisor to the Legislative Leadership Institute Academy of Foreign Affairs; Senior Advisor to the International Advisory Council to the Harvard International Negotiation Programme; and Director of Co-operation Ireland.

#### **Dermot Ahern**

Dermot Ahern is a former Irish Member of Parliament and Government Minister and was a key figure for more than 20 years in the Irish peace process, including in negotiations for the Good Friday Agreement and the St Andrews Agreement. He also has extensive experience at the EU Council level, including as a key negotiator and signatory to the Constitutional and Lisbon Treaties. In 2005, he was appointed by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to be a Special Envoy on the issue of UN Reform.

# Professor Dr. Aşkın Asan

Prof. Dr. Aşkın Asan is an executive board member of the Maarif Foundation, a member of Turkey's Democracy Platform, and a faculty member at Istanbul Ticaret University. Elected as a Member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from Ankara, Prof. Dr. Asan served as a vice president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean and was a member of the Turkish Delegation of the Parliamentary Union of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference during her time in parliamentary office. She is a former Deputy Minister of Family and Social Policies (2011-2014) and was Rector of Avrasya University in Trabzon between 2014-2017. In April 2019 she was elected as a member of the Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO).

# **Professor Dr. Mehmet Asutay**

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Asutay is a Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Political Economy & Finance at the Durham University Business School, UK. He researches, teaches and supervises research on Islamic political economy and finance, Middle Eastern economic development and finance, the political economy of Middle East, including Turkish and Kurdish political economies. He is the Director of Durham Centre for Islamic Economics and Finance and the Managing Editor of the Review of Islamic Economics, as well as Associate Editor of the American Journal of Islamic Social Science. He is the Honorary Treasurer of the BRISMES (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies); and of the IAIE (International Association for Islamic Economics).

# Ali Bayramoğlu

Ali Bayramoğlu is a writer and political commentator. Since 1994, he has contributed as a columnist for a variety of newspapers. He is currently a columnist for daily Karar. He is a member of the Wise Persons Committee in Turkey, established during the peace process between 2013-2015.

#### **Professor Christine Bell**

Professor Christine Bell is a legal expert based in Edinburgh, Scotland. She is Professor of Constitutional Law and Assistant Principal (Global Justice) at the University of Edinburgh, Co-director of the Global Justice Academy, and a member of the British Academy. She was chairperson of the Belfast-based Human Rights organization, the Committee on the Administration of Justice from 1995-7, and a founder member of the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission established under the terms of the Belfast Agreement. In 1999 she was a member of the European Commission's Committee of Experts on Fundamental Rights. She is an expert on transitional justice, peace negotiations, constitutional law and human rights law. She regularly conducts training on these topics for diplomats, mediators and lawyers, has been involved as a legal advisor in a number of peace negotiations, and acted as an expert in transitional justice for the UN Secretary-General, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and UNIFEM.

### **Oral Çalışlar**

Oral Çalışlar completed his studies at the Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences. Was President of the Club of Socialist Thought at the university, as well as Secretary-General of the Ankara University Student Union. Wrote for Türk Solu journal which was launched in 1967 and for the Aydınlık journal which was launched in 1968. Was member of the editorial board of Aydınlık journal. Was arrested after the 12th of March 1971 military coup. Remained imprisoned for three years until the Amnesty law adopted in 1974. Was Editor in Chief for the Aydınlık daily newspaper launched in 1978. Was arrested again after the 12th of September 1980 military coup and released in August 1988 after four years in prison. Lived in Hamburg between 1990 and 1992 upon the invitation of the Senate of Hamburg. Worked for Cumhuriyet daily between 1992 and 2008. Broadcast television

programmes on different channels, including TRT, 24TV, 360, and SKYTÜRK. Transferred from Cumhuriyet daily to Radikal daily in 2008. Between 2004-2007, he was in board of Turkish Journalists Association. He has a permanent press card. Became Editor in Chief for Taraf daily in 2013. Was part of the Wise People Committee in the same year. Later had to leave Taraf daily alongside Halil Berktay, Alper Görmüş, Vahap Coşkun, Erol Katırcıoğlu, Mithat Sancar, and Yıldıray Oğur, among others, after the intervention of the Gülen Congregation. Returned to Radikal daily. Started writing for Posta daily after 2016, when Radikal was discontinued. Continues work as a commentator on TV news channels. Has 20 published books, including The Leaders' Prison, Hz. Ali, Mamak Prison from the 12th of March to 12th of September, The Kurdish Issue with Öcalan and Burkay, My 68 Memoirs, The Alevis, When Deniz and Friends Were Executed, My Childhood in Tarsus, The History of Gulenism. Recipient of a large number of journalism and research awards. Married (1976) to author and journalist lpek Çalışlar. Father of author Reşat Çalışlar.

# Cengiz Çandar

Cengiz Candar is currently a columnist for Al-Monitor, a widely respected online magazine that provides analysis on Turkey and the Middle East. He is an expert on the Middle East and former war correspondent. He served as special adviser to former Turkish president Turgut Ozal. Cengiz Candar is a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies (SUITS).

### **Andy Carl**

Andy Carl is an independent expert on conflict resolution and public participation in peace processes. He believes that building peace is not an act of charity but an act of justice. He co-founded and was Executive Director of Conciliation Resources. Previously, he was the first Programme Director with International Alert. He is currently

an Honorary Fellow of Practice at the School of Law, University of Edinburgh. He serves as an adviser to a number of peacebuilding initiatives including the Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative at the Graduate Institute in Geneva, the Legal Tools for Peace-Making Project in Cambridge, and the Oxford Research Group in London.

### Dr. Vahap Coşkun

Dr. Vahap Coşkun is a Professor of Law at University of Dicle in Diyarbakır where he also completed his bachelor's and master's degrees in law. Coşkun received his PhD from Ankara University Faculty of Law. He has written for Serbestiyet and Kurdistan24 online newspaper. He has published books on human rights, constitutional law, political theory and social peace. Coşkun was a member of the Wise Persons Committee in Turkey in the team that was responsible for the Central Anatolian Region.

# Ayşegül Doğan

Ayşegül Doğan is a journalist who has conducted interviews, created news files and programmes for independent news platforms. She studied at the Faculty of Cultural Mediation and Communications at Metz University, and Paris School of Journalism. As a student, she worked at the Ankara bureau of Agence-France Presse (AFP), the Paris bureau of Courier International and at the Kurdish service of The Voice of America. She worked as a programme creator at Radyo Ekin, and as a translator-journalist for the Turkish edition of Le Monde Diplomatique. She was a lecturer at the Kurdology department of National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations in Paris. She worked on political communications for a long time. From its establishment in 2011 to its closure in 2016, she worked as a programmes coordinator at IMC TV. She prepared and presented the programme "Gündem Müzakere" on the same channel. Currently Doğan is a TV Programmer at Yeniden TV.

# **Vegard Ellefsen**

Vegard Ellefsen is a Norwegian diplomat who retired 31 August 2019 from the foreign service when he left his last posting as ambassador to Ankara. He has been twice posted to NATO both as Permanent representative on the North Atlantic Council and deputy to the same position. He has earlier been posted to the Norwegian mission to the U.N. in New York and to the Embassy in Ottawa. In the Norwegian Ministry of foreign affairs he has been Political Director, Director General for the Regional division, Director of the Minister's secretariat and special envoy to the Sudan peace talks and special envoy to Syria and Iraq. Mr. Ellefsen has a Master in Political Science from the University of Oslo.

#### Professor Dr. Fazil Hüsnü Erdem

Professor Dr. Fazıl Hüsnü Erdem is Professor of Constitutional Law and Head of the Department of Constitutional Law at Dicle University, Diyarbakır. In 2007, Erdem was a member of the commission which was established to draft a new constitution to replace the Constitution of 1982 which was introduced following the coup d'etat of 1980. Erdem was a member of the Wise Persons Committee in Turkey, established by then Prime Minister Erdoğan, in the team that was responsible for the South-eastern Anatolia Region.

#### Professor Dr. Salomón Lerner Febres

Salomon Lerner Febres is Docteur en philosophie by the Université Catholique de Louvain and BA in Law by the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP) School of Law. He has been the Rector (President) of the PUCP since 1994 to 2004. Currently, he is Rector Emeritus and President emeritus of the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (IDEH-PUCP); and Professor of Philosophy, Education, Ethics and Methodology of the same university. Furthermore, he is the Chairman of the Board of the Peruvian Film Institute and the President of the Lima Philharmonic Society. Also, doctor Lerner has been the President of the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission of Peru (2001-2003) and he is the author of several publications linked to human rights issues and some articles and essays on philosophy, high education, globalization and government.

# **Professor Mervyn Frost**

Mervyn Frost is Professor of International Relations in the Department of War Studies at King's College, London and is an Associate Professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg in South Africa. In 2019 he spent three months as the Distinguished Visiting Professor of International Ethics at the University of New South Wales in Canberra, Australia and at the Australian Defence Force Academy. He has written extensively on ethics and international relations. His recent work, with Dr Silviya Lechner, is focused on the "practice turn" in International Relations resulting in two publications: "Two Conceptions of International Practice: Aristotelian praxis or Wittgensteinian language-games?" Review of International Studies Volume 42 / Issue 02 / April 2016, pp 334 – 350. "Understanding international relations from the internal point of view" July 2015, Journal of International Political Theory. p. 1-21. Their co-authored book Practice Theory and International Relations, was published by CUP in September 2018. His earlier books include Ethics and International Relations (CUP, 1996), Human Rights in a World of States (Routledge, 2002); Global Ethics (Routledge, 2009); and an edited 4 volume reference work International Ethics (Sage 2012).

### **David Gorman**

David Gorman, Director, Eurasia, David has more than 25 years of experience in the field of peacemaking. He started his career in the Middle East and he went on to work for international organisations on a wide range of conflicts around the world. David has been based in the Philippines, Indonesia, Liberia, Bosnia as well as the West Bank and Gaza and has been working in Eurasia for the last several years. He graduated from the London School of Economics, was featured in the award winning film 'Miles and War' as well as several publications and has published several articles on mediation.

# **Dr. Edel Hughes**

Dr. Edel Hughes is a Lecturer in Law at the School of Law, National University of Ireland, Galway. Prior to joining NUI Galway, Dr. Hughes was a Senior Lecturer in Law at Middlesex University and previously worked at the University of East London and the University of Limerick. She was awarded an LL.M. and a PhD in International Human Rights Law from the National University of Ireland, Galway, in 2003 and 2009, respectively. Her research interests are in the areas of international human rights law, public international law, and conflict transformation, with a regional interest in Turkey and the Middle East. She has published widely on these areas.

#### **Martin Griffiths**

Martin Griffiths is a senior international mediator and currently the UN's Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) after previously serving as the UN's Envoy to Yemen. From 1999 to 2010 he was the founding Director of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva where he specialised in developing political dialogue between governments and insurgents in a range of countries across Asia, Africa and Europe. He is a co-founder of Inter Mediate, a London based NGO devoted to conflict resolution, and has worked for international organisations including UNICEF, Save the Children, Action Aid, and the European Institute of Peace. Griffiths has also worked in the British Diplomatic Service and for the UN, including as Director of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (Geneva), Deputy to the Emergency Relief Coordinator (New York), Regional Humanitarian Coordinator for the Great Lakes, Regional Coordinator in the Balkans and Deputy Head of the Supervisory Mission in Syria (UNSMIS).

#### Kezban Hatemi

Kezban Hatemi received her bachelor's degree in Law from Istanbul University Faculty of Law. She, as a registered lawyer to the Istanbul Bar Association, started to work as a self-employed lawyer. She has published several articles in the field of law. Her areas of interests are human rights, women's rights, minority rights, children's rights, animal rights and the fight against drugs. She participated in various conferences and symposiums on these subjects. Moreover, she has been participating in various national and international conferences and symposiums as a speaker regarding Turkey's democratization, women's rights, and the Turkey's main problem Kurdish issue. She was involved in drafting the Turkish Civil Code and Law of Foundations. She was particularly involved in preparing the legal groundwork for the Christian and Jewish Community problems, Community Foundations and its problems. She submitted individual reports. She was involved in drafting Religious Freedoms and Minorities and Community Foundations within the Framework Law of Harmonization prepared by Turkey alongside with Secretariat General for European Union Affairs and European Union Commission Turkey Desk. She sits on the Board of Trustees of the Technical University and the Darulacaze Foundation. In 1995, she joined "Humanity Initiative for Bosnia" and after her return from Bosnia she participated in various conferences and symposiums as a speaker in order to keep the problem on the agenda and speed up the aid process. She took an active role in aid campaigns for Bosnia. In Turkey National Commission for UNESCO's XXIII term, she worked as the vice president in the Specialized Dialogue Committee on Dialogue of Civilizations studies. She was appointed as the deputy president of the former Turkey Wise Persons Committee Southeast Group, which was one of the important mechanisms established in order to achieve a lasting peace in the democratization and solution process. She is a member of Democratic Progress Institute's Council of Experts and she is the president of the Democracy Platform.

#### Kadir İnanır

Kadir İnanır was born in 1949 Fatsa, Ordu. He is an acclaimed actor and director, and has starred in well over a hundred films. He has won several awards for his work in Turkish cinema. He graduated from Marmara University Faculty of Communication. In 2013 he became a member of the Wise Persons Committee for the Mediterranean region.

#### **Professor Dr. Ahmet İnsel**

Professor Ahmet insel is a former faculty member of Galatasaray University in Istanbul, Turkey and Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne University, France. He is Managing Editor of the Turkish editing house, Iletisim, and member of the editorial board of monthly review, Birikim. He is a regular columnist at Cumhuriyet newspaper and an author who published several books and articles in both Turkish and French.

#### **Aleka Kessler**

Aleka Kessler works as Project Officer at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD). Having joined HD in 2017 to work on Syria, Aleka has been coordinating mediation project in complex conflict settings. Previously, Aleka also worked with Médecins Sans Frontières and the United Nations Association Mexico. She holds a degree in International Relations from the University of Geneva and a Master's degree in Development Studies from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, where she specialized in humanitarian affairs, negotiation and conflict resolution.

# **Avila Kilmurray**

Avila Kilmurray is currently managing the Migration Learning Exchange programme with The Social Change Initiative (www.thesocialchangeinitiative.org) and working on philanthropy and peacebuilding. Avila was previously Director of Policy & Strategy with the Global Fund for Community Foundations (2014-2016), having held the position of Director of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland (1994-2014). Avila was born and educated in Dublin, completing BA (History & Politics) University College Dublin. She received a MA (International Relations) from Australian National University and completed a PhD (Department of Law) in Queens University Belfast, where she was later awarded a Hon. Doctorate in Social Science. Avila has involvement in community development, the Women's Movement and philanthropy in Northern Ireland since 1975. Prior to her position with CFNI, Avila was the first Women's Officer with the Amalgamated Transport & General Workers' Union (Ireland), serving on the Board of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council (1994-1997), the Industrial Development Board (NI) and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU). She has long been involved with a range of peacebuilding initiatives, as well as work on poverty, women's issues and social need. A founder member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition in 1996, Avila served on the Coalition's Negotiating Team for the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement. She was a founder member of the Foundations for Peace Network, and currently serves as Director of the St. Stephen's Green Trust as well as being a co-optee on the Ireland Committee of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and a Board Member of the International Fund for Ireland. Avila has written extensively on community action, peacebuilding and women's rights. She has published a book – 'Community Action in a Contested Society: The Story of Northern Ireland' (Peter Lang, 2016) and 'Conflict-Affected Environments: Notes for Grantmakers' -(www.thesocialchangeinitiative.org). Avila lives in Belfast and is married with three children and two grandchildren.

# **Professor Ram Manikkalingam**

Ram Manikkalingam is founder and director of the Dialogue Advisory Group, based in Amsterdam. He also teaches politics at the University of Amsterdam. He has been involved in efforts to reduce violence and promote reconciliation in Northern Iraq, Libya, the Basque Country and Northern Ireland, among other situations. Following the Easter bombings in Sri Lanka, he served as an independent expert to the National Security Advisory Board by the then President. He was also assisting the government in Sri Lanka on reconciliation. Previously, he was Senior Advisor on the peace process to then President Kumaratunga of Sri Lanka. He has served as an Advisor with Ambassador rank at the Sri Lanka Mission to the United Nations in New York. Prior to that he led the Rockefeller Foundation's program on international security

# **Bejan Matur**

Bejan Matur is a renowned Turkey-based author and poet. She has published ten works of poetry and prose. In her writing she focuses mainly on Kurdish politics, the Armenian issue, minority issues, prison literature and women's rights. She has won several literary prizes and her work has been translated into over 28 languages. She was formerly Director of the Diyarbakır Cultural Art Foundation (DKSV).

#### **Professor Monica McWilliams**

Professor Monica McWilliams teaches in the Transitional Justice Institute at Ulster University in Northern Ireland. She currently serves on a three-person panel established by the Northern Ireland government to make recommendations on the disbandment of paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland. During the Northern Ireland peace process, Prof. McWilliams co-founded the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition political party and was elected as a delegate to the Multi-Party Peace Negotiations, which took place in 1996 to 1998. She was also elected to serve as a member of the Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly from 1998 to 2003. Prof. McWilliams is a signatory of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement and has chaired the Implementation Committee on Human Rights on behalf of the British and Irish governments. For her role in delivering the peace agreement in Northern Ireland, Prof. McWilliams was one recipient of the John F. Kennedy Leadership and Courage Award

#### **Hanne Melfald**

Hanne Melfald worked with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for eight years including as the Senior Adviser to the Secretariat of the Foreign Minister of Norway before she became a Project Manager in HD's Eurasia office in 2015. She previously worked for the United Nations for six years including two years with the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan as Special Assistant to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. She has also worked for the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in Nepal and Geneva, as well as for the Norwegian Refugee Council and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. Melfald has a degree in International Relations from the University of Bergen and the University of California, Santa Barbara, as well as a Master's degree in Political Science from the University of Oslo.

# **Roelf Meyer**

Meyer is currently a consultant on international peace processes having advised parties in Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, Burundi, Iraq, Kosovo, the Basque Region, Guyana, Bolivia, Kenya, Madagascar, and South Sudan. Meyer's experience in international peace processes stems from his involvement in the settlement of the South African conflict in which he was the government's chief negotiator in constitutional negotiations with the ANC's chief negotiator and current South African President, Cyril Ramaphosa. Negotiating the end of apartheid and paving the way for South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, Meyer continued his post as Minister of Constitutional Affairs in the Cabinet of the new President, Nelson Mandela. Meyer retired as a Member of Parliament and as the Gauteng leader of the National Party in 1996 and co-founded the United Democratic Movement (UDM) political party the following year. Retiring from politics in 2000, Meyer has since held a number of international positions, including membership of the Strategy Committee of the Project on Justice in Times of Transition at Harvard University.

#### **Mark Muller QC**

Mark Muller, QC, is a senior advocate at Doughty Street Chambers (London) and the Scottish Faculty of Advocates (Edinburgh) where he specialises in public international law and human rights. Muller is also currently on the UN Department of Political Affairs Standby Team of Mediation Experts and is the UN Special Envoy to Syria in the Syrian peace talks. He has many years' experience of advising numerous international bodies, such as Humanitarian Dialogue (Geneva) and Inter-Mediate (London) on conflict resolution, mediation, confidence-building, ceasefires, power-sharing, humanitarian law, constitution-making and dialogue processes. Muller also co-founded Beyond Borders and the Delfina Foundation.

# **Avni Özgürel**

Mehmet Avni Özgürel is a Turkish journalist, author and screenwriter. Having worked in several newspapers such as Daily Sabah and Radikal, Özgürel is currently the editor in chief of Yeni Birlik and a TV programmer at TRT Haber. He is the screenwriter of the 2007 Turkish film, Zincirbozan, on the 1980 Turkish coup d'état, Sultan Avrupa'da (2009), on Sultan Abdülaziz's 1867 trip to Europe; and Mahpeyker (2010): Kösem Sultan, on Kösem Sultan. He is also the screenwriter and producer of 2014 Turkish film, Darbe (Coup), on the February 07, 2012 Turkish intelligence crisis. In 2013 he was appointed a member of the Wise Persons Committee in Turkey established by then Prime Minister Erdoğan.

#### **Professor John Packer**

Professor John Packer is Associate Professor of Law and Director of the Human Rights Research and Education Centre (HRREC) at the University of Ottawa in Canada. Prof. Packer has worked for inter-governmental organisations for over 20 years, including in Geneva for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Labour Organisation, and for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. From 1995 to 2004, Prof. Packer served as

Senior Legal Adviser and then the first Director of the Office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities in The Hague. In 2012 – 2014, Prof. Packer was a Constitutions and Process Design Expert on the United Nation's Standby Team of Mediation Experts attached to the Department of Political Affairs, advising in numerous peace processes and political transitions around the world focusing on conflict prevention and resolution, diversity management, constitutional and legal reform, and the protection of human rights.

#### **Jonathan Powell**

Jonathan Powell is the founder and CEO of Inter Mediate, an NGO devoted to conflict resolution around the world. In 2014, Powell was appointed by former Prime Minister David Cameron to be the UK's Special Envoy to Libya. He also served as Tony Blair's Chief of Staff in opposition from 1995 to 1997 and again as his Chief of Staff in Downing Street from 1997 to 2007. Prior to his involvement in British politics, Powell was the British Government's chief negotiator on Northern Ireland from 1997 to 2007 and played a key part in leading the peace negotiations and its implementation. His books include: 'Great Hatred, Little Room: Making Peace In Northern Ireland', 'The New Machiavelli, How to Wield Power in the Modern World' and 'Talking To Terrorists, How To End Armed Conflict'.

# Sir Kieran Prendergast

Sir Kieran Prendergast is a former British diplomat who served as the Under-Secretary General for Political Affairs at the United Nations from 1997 to 2005, as High Commissioner to Kenya from 1992 to 1995 and to Zimbabwe from 1989 to 1992. Sir Kieran was also British Ambassador to Turkey from 1995 to 1997. He speaks Turkish. Since his retirement from the UN, he has conducted research at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (Harvard) and is a member of the Advisory Council of Independent Diplomat (United States). Prendergast also

holds a number of positions, including President of the British Association of Former UN Civil Servants, Trustee of the Beit Trust, and Senior Adviser at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

# Rajesh Rai

Rajesh Rai is a barrister called in 1993 to Lincolns Inn and practices at the Chambers of John Benson Q. C. where he is joint deputy head of chambers (www.lmcb.com). In this time; he has been Director of Joint Council for Welfare of Immigrants (www.jcwi.org.uk), Director and treasurer of the Kurdish Human Rights Project (www.khrp.org), founded and acted as a director of Global Legal Technologies Ltd ("GLT") pioneering LPO, which he exited in 2006. As a social entrepreneur, Rajesh founded and acted as a director to Human Energy (Uganda) Ltd ("HEU").He is a founder director of HIC (www.hicameroon.org), an NGO based in NW Cameroon. He was an exec director of an AIM listed Company, where he managed the company's renewable energy portfolio. He helped found "BEEBE", a Mexican renewable energy company, devising its strategy and acted as director. Rajesh has taught meditation since 2012 and is the Executive Director of Poulstone Court Retreat Centre (www.poulstone.com). In 2016, he founded and is promoting his annual initiative; a global non stop 7 day meditation for Unity (www.meditateforunity.com).

# Sir David Reddaway

Sir David Reddaway is a retired British diplomat currently serving as Chief Executive and Clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company in London. During his previous career in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, he served as Ambassador to Turkey (2009–2014), Ambassador to Ireland (2006–2009), High Commissioner to Canada (2003–2006), UK Special Representative for Afghanistan (2002), and Charge d'Affaires in Iran (1990–1993). His other assignments were to Argentina, India, Spain, and Iran, where he was first posted during the Iranian Revolution.

#### **Mehmet Ufuk Uras**

Dr Mehmet Ufuk Uras is a co-founder and member of social liberal Greens and the Left Party of the Future, founded as a merger of the Greens and the Equality and Democracy Party. He was previously a former leader of the now-defunct University Lecturers' Union (Öğretim Elemanları Sendikası) and was elected the chairman of Freedom and Solidarity Party in 1996. Ufuk resigned from the leadership after the 2002 general election. Ufuk ran a successful campaign as a "common candidate of the Left", standing on the independents' ticket, backed by Kurdish-based Democratic Society Party and several left-wing, environmentalist and pro-peace groups in the 2007 general election. He resigned from the Freedom and Solidarity Party on 19 June 2009. After the Democratic Society Party was dissolved in December 2009, he joined forces with the remaining Kurdish MPs in the Peace and Democracy Party group. On 25 November 2012, he became a co-founder and member of social liberal Greens and the Left Party of the Future, founded as a merger of the Greens and the Equality and Democracy Party. Ufuk is a member of the Dialogue Group and is the writer of several books on Turkish politics.

# Professor Dr. Sevtap Yokuş

Professor Dr Sevtap Yokuş is a Law Faculty Member at İstanbul Altinbas University in the Department of Constitutional Law. She holds a PhD in Public Law from the Faculty of Law, Istanbul University, awarded in 1995 for her thesis which assessed the state of emergency regime in Turkey with reference to the European Convention on Human Rights. She is a widely published expert in the areas of Constitutional Law and Human Rights and has multiple years' experience of working as a university lecturer at undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral level. She also has experience of working as a lawyer in the European Court of Human Rights.

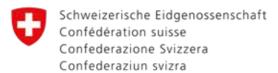
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