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### **Psycho-politics of *Yüzleşme***

In recent years “*yüzleşme*” has become a paramount and increasingly more familiar term used in Turkish political life. A large number of politicians, commentators, writers etc. often emphasizes that Turkey must confront either this or that issue. On the other hand, some others explicitly or implicitly groan, saying “confront what?” What is this “*yüzleşme*” that has almost become a part of mainstream politics in Turkey? What is it like, what does it involve, what are its components, what does it do? Moreover, how is it done and what kind of benefits does it have? Main objective of this article is to answer these questions from a psycho-political perspective.

#### **Meanings of “*Yüzleşme*”**

“*Yüzleşme*” is one of the eloquent words in Turkish language. TDK (Turkish Language Institute Dictionary) lists three different meanings for the term: “1) People who claim the existence of an incident come face to face with the people who deny its existence in order to reiterate their words; 2) Come face to face; 3) To become aware of, to understand thoroughly.”<sup>2</sup> Most common and widely accepted meaning is: Two people who present two different versions about an incident/situation/life experience (generally one claimant and the other denier) come face to face, meet and confront one another. So what if they come face to face before the witnesses or alone, and then what? They will look at one another in the face, and especially into each other’s eyes; if they are in the presence of witnesses, the witnesses will also look at these two faces and the two pairs of eyes. So, what is the objective of this activity? To understand who is telling the truth and who is lying: To search for the truth (to become aware of and thoroughly understand the truth). Because wisdom distilled and handed down from years of human history tells us that even minimal changes in our faces/eyes would reveal emotions.<sup>3</sup> Emotions are our subjective truths. It is particularly difficult to hide our emotions when we’re looking at another’s face or into another’s eyes. Therefore, if we think someone is avoiding reality or lying to us we tell them, “look me in the eye and speak” and carefully examine his/her face and eyes during the conversation.

We should also add that to look one another in the face not only contributes to the unveiling of emotions and therefore the revelation of truth, but also increases the potential of bonding between the two people. For a majority of people in all societies, it is very very hard to hurt someone when looking into his/her eyes. To continue to hurt someone despite seeing the hurt and pain s/he is in is only possible if you suffer from a case of severe anti-social personality and/or if you can see the other person as a threat/enemy that needs to be hated/destroyed and hence as someone that can be perceived as a non-human being. Therefore, many torturers for instance cannot torture the injured party unless the person’s eyes are covered. Their reservation is not only to be not recognized; eye contact also increases the possibility of establishing a bond; a human connection that severely reduces the capacity to torture. When we see pain in the eyes/face of another, our “mirror neurons”<sup>4</sup> come into play and we somehow feel that pain in our own system. Emotions like empathy, affection and mercy which make us human and our conscience step in and prevent us from inflicting pain. Henceforth, if the first product of the act of *yüzleşme* is truth, then we can say that the second product is to create a relational space with

the other through empathy and conscience. Naturally, yüzleşme does not automatically ensure the emergence of these two products; however it significantly increases the possibility of their emergence. If a synthesis of these products is possible, then we can talk about a peaceful reconciliation in a re-established relation based on truth.

*Yüzleşme* does not have a direct equivalent in English, the dominant language of international literature. There are three options that partly correspond: 1) *Coming to terms with (the past)*: Sorting out (the past) or settling old scores; 2) *Facing up to ...*: Handling a disturbing situation with courage, accepting it; 3) *Confrontation*: to challenge, to bring face to face with, to come up against, to face. None of these three options entail the original connotation of yüzleşme wherein two people come face to face with each other in order to uncover the truth. The acts of yüzleşme discussed in this article mostly correspond to *coming to terms with (the past)* in English literature. *Geçmişle hesaplaşma (settling scores with the past)* has been proposed instead of yüzleşme as the Turkish equivalent of this term.<sup>5</sup> For two basic reasons, it can be professed that it is more appropriate to choose the term yüzleşme (with ourselves) rather than hesaplaşma (with the past): 1) Hesaplaşma (coming to terms / settling score with), is a subheading of yüzleşme. Yüzleşme infers a wider range of acts beyond hesaplaşma, a range that cannot be covered by hesaplaşma. 2) It is not only the past that is being confronted (or settled).

### **Layers of Yüzleşme**

In the act of yüzleşme, various layers of truth are confronted as if following a sequence:

1. Here comes the “Other”: The Other as *S/he* versus I, and *Them* versus Us. They have a different story that might be conflicting with ours.
2. The face, eyes and emotions of the Other: It may be shocking to meet a different subjectivity.
3. Our own feelings/emotions: As we allow ourselves and start to trust, emotions that may emerge can manifest themselves in an intense and complex manner; feelings that can surprise us, but also relieve our minds as they are expressed and processed.
4. Past, memories, facts and truth
  - a. Our crimes/misdeeds/offences and/or
  - b. Our traumas/pains/sufferings
5. Ourselves as a whole: Who were we; what have we lived/experienced? What kind of experiences were we exposed to as a victim, what kind of vulnerabilities have we experienced? Or as the culprit, how and whom have we hurt? Why all of this happened, at what cost? Answers to those questions can be quite shocking and transformative for both the victim and the culprit. A sincere and real yüzleşme process is revolutionary for the ones who confront themselves. We look inside ourselves, we sort our darkness, the twists in our psyche, and gain insight and be renewed. Yüzleşme opens doors for the survivors to empower themselves by repairing their sense of vulnerability; and for the culprits to (re)enter the minimum ethical framework.

In short, the yüzleşme process which starts with the “Other” evolves into a process in which we look at ourselves in the mirror, have real and in depth knowledge about and transform ourselves if we can do it in the necessary fashion. After we have confronted ourselves, gone through the yüzleşme process, we can go back as our new changed/recreated (in a sense purified)

selves and create a new relationality with the Other, this time on the basis of truth. In this sense, yüzleşme is an opportunity.

### **From Individual to Socio-political**

Since the history of differences, conflicts and traumas is as old as the history of humanity, the history of yüzleşme should also be as long. In each culture, various degrees of yüzleşme are a part of daily life and interpersonal relations. However, since the beginning of the 20th century, as psychoanalysis and other psychotherapy schools rooted in psychoanalysis become widespread, which emphasize the maturing and healing functions of yüzleşme with one's self (with one's inner conflicts, fears, anxieties, weaknesses, etc.), it can be said that yüzleşme started to occupy a greater and far more important place in cultural codes, particularly of the Western world.

Psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychotherapies offer an apt environment for the person to seek, find and reconstruct his/her subjective truth. In this process, the person goes through a process of yüzleşme, confronting deep levels of his/her inner self, unconscious mental and physical materials (repressed or dissociated desires, feelings, memories, traumas, relationalities, etc.) again and again; learns more about his/herself and his/her life story and makes sense of it; reorganizes his/her memory, transforms his/herself partially, redefines and establishes his/herself and his/her relations in a far more authentic and mature manner.<sup>6</sup> Experiences in psychoanalysis and psychotraumatology teach us that we need to face our past, our past traumas, vulnerabilities, deprivations and the ghosts inside ourselves if we want to establish and live our present day in a free, autonomous, genuine, and mature style.<sup>7</sup> It is a hard and painful process, but ultimately it is a process which matures/grows a person increasing his/her quality of life on so many levels.

“Yüzleşme” practice which entered in the public imagination through the channel of psychoanalysis on the individual level, started to find a place also at the socio-political level speedily after the heavy destruction caused by the World War II. Events like gargantuan war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity had left lots of twists in the public psyche that needed to be confronted by different sides on a number of levels. In Japan and Germany, defeated parties of the WW II, the state officials held responsible for the death of millions of civilians were tried and convicted by the winners in Nurnberg and Tokyo trials not only because they were clearly defeated and had surrendered, but also because they were caught red-handed. This was an effort to achieve justice in a retributive fashion. There are also reparative/restorative justice initiatives developed more recently. This kind of justice initiatives have been tried in societies with no clear winners or losers, where softer transitions are still possible, but the conflict and polarization is also very serious and widespread punishment attempts can create new waves of conflict/vengeance (for example the Republic of South Africa). This style of justice is usually carried out through “Truth and Reconciliation Commissions”. The main objective is to uncover the truth about past crimes, and determine the survivors and culprits. As in the example of South Africa, if the culprits tell everything and apologize looking into the eyes of the survivors, they may be forgiven. In this style of justice, rather than punishing the culprits, the uncovering of truth and its official recognition is deemed more effective for the healing of old wounds. As a matter of fact, in South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission sessions where survivors and culprits were heard out have been broadcasted live to the whole country on TV and the radio for years, by this means the most comprehensive and crowded group therapy/yüzleşme in history has been realized.<sup>8</sup>

No matter what kind of justice style is preferred –there are also different combinations of various styles- what we mean by yüzleşme is the same on both the individual and the socio-political level: Truth will be revealed; survivors and culprits will be identified; deniers/culprits (and by extension those who view/position themselves in affinity/identification with the perpetrators) will understand the issue at hand in depth and will be transformed peacefully. Only after this transformation, the survivors and culprits can, if they want to, reach a new reconciliation within the framework of this truth regime.

During yüzleşme / reconciliation efforts for the peaceful resolution of historical/political conflicts, it is necessary to have not only information/enlightenment venues but also a comprehensive emotional praxis using channels like pleas, forgiveness, repentance, remorse, and empathy as psychoanalytical theory and psychotraumatology teaches.<sup>9</sup>

In countries like Turkey, which has lots of dark pages either closed, forced into oblivion or mistaught in its history and where certain sections of society are systematically victimized, it is not possible to proceed or move forward on the path of societal peace and justice without facing those dark pages. Because 1) Events, issues forced to be forgotten come back as nightmares sometime in the future and remind themselves 2) Only way to reach social maturity in order to be able to say “never again” is confrontation (yüzleşme), 3) If we want traumatized society segments to become a part of the society, it is necessary to recognize the sufferings, maliciousness they had to live through, to apologize to them, to relieve them of their pain as much as possible and to honor the survivors. (...) To face truth requires an intense and multi-layered struggle on memory, emotion, meaning, and relationality levels. Things that are not remembered/forgotten or remembered wrongly/falsey, known/taught should be replaced with true factual information; emotional toll of this gigantic change should be paid; consequently a new world of meaning will be established and new types of relationality will be developed. It is a difficult process both on individual and social levels. This difficulty generally leads to various forms of reaction like avoidance, fear, anger. In cases where yüzleşme takes place however, maturity is achieved.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Elements-Stages of Yüzleşme**

What kind of elements do yüzleşme and reconciliation processes involve? Are there specific stages? Auerbach (2009) talks about seven stages of the reconciliation process: 1) Become familiar with conflicting stories about the issues/events that form the basis of the conflict; 2) Know / understand the story of the Other even though it may not be accepted; 3) Develop empathy about the situation of the Other; 4) Take at least partial responsibility about the situation / issues claimed by the Other; 5) Express readiness about atonement / compensation and reparation of the past crimes / mistakes; 6) Make an explicit and public apology and ask for

forgiveness for the past crimes / mistakes; 7) Work for the expression of a common story that can integrate different and conflicting stories and is acceptable to both parties.<sup>11</sup> According to Wessels and Bretherton there are three basic elements of reconciliation: 1) Make peace with the past (to uncover the truth and apologize); 2) Resolve the conflict in a peaceful manner; 3) Social justice.<sup>12</sup>

Evaluations of the stages and elements of “yüzleşme” in literature do not seem to be very comprehensive. From a psycho-political perspective, the elements that need to be covered and stages that need to be completed by yüzleşme / reconciliation efforts in order to resolve a historical/political disagreement/animosity laden with traumas/conflicts in a peaceful manner instead of war can be listed as follows:

### **1. Trust and Security:**

Since it was conceptualized for post-conflict, transition (to democracy) periods, yüzleşme/reconciliation literature generally takes the need for trust and security as a given. End of active armed struggle and environment of violence ease the process for a comprehensive, high quality and permanent yüzleşme/reconciliation effort. In order for the vast majority of a society to be able to confront itself, basic security needs have to be met and a minimum degree of trust should be felt towards the Other. However, it is also possible that the yüzleşme efforts carried out by a small minority of the society in an unofficial capacity can persuade the parties to enter a permanent reconciliation framework and hence declare cease fire. Therefore, reconciliation efforts brought to a certain level in an unofficial capacity can stimulate the intent of both parties to reconcile and develop this intention with a framework agreement and cease fire, leading to a far more comprehensive and official reconciliation step.

### **2. Equivalence and Respect:**

In order for the yüzleşme / reconciliation process to deepen and advance in a sound manner, it is necessary for the two parties to recognize and respect each other as equivalents. As perpetrators, when confronting the people (and thus ourselves) we have aggrieved in the past and/or continue to aggrieve, in order to understand what we have inflicted on the victims and what they might have gone through, we must recognize them as people of the same level/worth as us, and keep our empathy channels open. The main question of this stage is: “If this was done to me/us what would I feel/do?” It is not quite possible to even feel the need to confront ourselves unless we recognize and respect the Other as our equivalent.

### **3. Knowledge and Memory: Uncovering the Truth:**

Primarily, yüzleşme is an exercise in memory. It is necessary to uncover all factual truths in detail about the contentious dark pages in the near past and/or history of the society. What happened, when, how and why? Who are the victims/survivors and the culprits?

#### **a. Unofficial channels**

All initiatives, efforts carried out by the civil society about the dark pages in history like research, publications, campaigns, etc. contribute to the acquainting of the public with facts as well as forcing official channels for a more comprehensive yüzleşme. Yüzleşme efforts undertaken through unofficial channels have most significant functions such as reflecting the

diversity of the society and impeding the official channels' potential to hegemonize. Therefore, the act of yüzleşme is too serious and complex an endeavor to be left merely in the hands of the official channels of contending parties.

b. Official channels

In order to have a more comprehensive yüzleşme and to produce permanent and tangible outcomes in this process, official channels need to be called out and involved from the information/memory study stage onwards. At this point, there are basically three options:

- i. Retributive justice through courts
- ii. Reparative justice through structures like Truth Commissions
- iii. Mixed models based on the characteristics of the country/society/conflict

Whichever path is chosen, truth about the dark pages in history will be uncovered and will be registered on official records.

c. Socialization of knowledge: A new collective memory

It is not enough to uncover the truth, it is also necessary for this truth to be officially acknowledged and accepted by the highest authorities (like the parliament) and disseminated widely for the socialization of knowledge. By this means, the public can access true information about the dark pages, carry out a thorough and healthy memory cleaning and can bring an end to information deficit or information pollution.

#### 4. Affect

Being informed is necessary but not sufficient. It should not be assumed that every person sufficiently informed about the dark pages would develop a feeling of empathy for victimhood and unjust treatment... As the amount of information and informed people about dark pages increase and denial becomes impossible, it is quite possible for a section of the society to assume the position of "they deserved it". In order to understand and develop empathy with the Other, it is necessary to go beyond the information stage. In this context, direct personal contacts, people from different sections of society working together on common activities/projects and artistic creations form the most important links.<sup>13</sup>

In order to involve the emotional dimension of yüzleşme in the whole process, the biggest task falls to the artists, especially artists who can reach broad masses (due to their popularization and massification potential, cinema and music springs to mind for the first phase).

#### 5. Meaning

Being informed and developing empathy with the victim is necessary, but not sufficient. It is also necessary to make sense of all this information and emotions. What kind of a state/country is this? What does it mean to be a citizen from the perspective of this state? What are the

commonalities/connections between different dark pages? For example, if we are talking about Turkey, what are the sources behind the imposition of Turkishness and what was the cost of it? Why must the Turks be superior? If Turkishness is not/cannot be an adjective that would embrace the whole of the society, what can it be? All the possible answers to these questions are directly the subject of political struggle. Hence, the activity of *yüzleşme* does not take place in a political vacuum, meanings to be extrapolated from *yüzleşme* are shaped by the climate of political struggle.<sup>14</sup>

## **6. Apology and demand for forgiveness**

*After* completing the aforementioned phases and preparing the public in this process, the next stage is a clear and sincere expression of apology by the highest authority to the survivors/victims<sup>15</sup> and their kin for the crimes committed, and demand for forgiveness. Beyond the atrocities committed, it is the denial of victimhood that compounds the sense of unjust treatment. Trauma cycle does not end and the traumatic past continues to be relived in present day unless victimhood is recognized and the survivors/victims are honored.

A sincere and official apology helps differentiate between past and present.<sup>16</sup> By means of apology, the traumatic past can be seen as part of the past in the real sense, finalized in other words. Only after this stage, comradeship for a new and common future can become a possibility.

Apology of the culprit has the potential to transform the hurt of the survivor to forgiveness:<sup>17</sup>

If being hurt is a type of psychological hostage, forgiveness can be seen as a form of psychological liberation. Forgiveness as a form of liberation is built upon our ability to decrease the intensity of past discontents for a less destructive future and increased capacity for uncertainty.<sup>18</sup>

## **7. Restitution**

During the *yüzleşme* process, material and psychological losses of victims should be compensated as much as possible. Restitution demonstrates that responsibility for the damage is assumed, and importance is accorded to reverting the survivor back to his/her state before trauma. By this means, survivors and the section of society they belong to may feel that they are included in the society once again.

## **8. Reparation**

Traumatic cases like mass political violence and oppression can cause severe damages for the victims. Reparation of those damages should also be a part of the *yüzleşme* process.

a. Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation services for medical and psychological damages should be provided to survivors free of charge.

b. Significance of symbols

Most important tools of reparation on the collective level are symbols. For example, the practice of naming various streets or buildings after the people who were previously thought to be heroes but are now recognized to be murderers should be ended. Instead, the names of survivors/victims, people who helped victims and people who resisted against violence should be brought to the fore. Monuments and museums reminding of traumatic events, honoring victims and warning future generations should be referred to as tools of symbolic and collective reparation.

## 9. Redefinition of rights-Legal reforms

- a. Revision of all oppressive/discriminatory laws and legislation on the basis of an egalitarian and peaceful reconciliation
- b. Revision of all text books in the same vein
- c. Adoption of legal regulations and framework criminalizing hate speech and discrimination
- d. Active training of the public about discrimination

## 10. Reconnection - Social Justice

Ultimate objective of *yüzleşme* is to reconnect with ourselves and the people we consider as the Other in a far more mature, ethical and sincere manner and to develop common human platforms based on equality. Generally, peace is defined on two levels. *Absence* of open violence is negative peace. Elimination of open violence is very important and necessary; however it is not sufficient to establish peace. Because, if social injustice persists through discrimination, symbolic violence and structural inequalities laden with the possibility of open violence; then peace has not been attained.<sup>19</sup>

As Galtung said *existence* of social justice is positive peace.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, “we have to take the truth and social justice dimensions of the subject very seriously.”<sup>21</sup>

### Status of *Yüzleşme* in Turkey

There are tens of dark pages in the history of Turkey awaiting *yüzleşme* from the Ottoman Empire’s period of decline to contemporary Turkey. In almost all of those dark pages, the state has used severe and massive methods of violence and oppression against various ethnic, religious or other socio-political groups perceived as a threat. None of these dark pages have been confronted on an official level as necessary. On the contrary, for most of the issues an active and intense denial policy has been continuously pursued and applied.



At the root of most of these issues that have produced gargantuan cases of victimhood throughout the history of the Republic and in present day Turkey lies the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the invincible and mighty superpower of its age, and loss of almost 90 percent of its lands and people in the relatively short span of a century. This loss has determined the dominant political culture of Turkey as an unaccepted loss, a huge trauma that has not been addressed or mourned. This dominant culture, which has all along been inclined to act in a paranoid and aggressive manner with the concern of survival, perceives religious, ethnic and linguistic differences as elements of threat that need to be assimilated or destroyed and acts accordingly.<sup>22</sup>

*Yüzleşme has started in Turkey, but it still has a long way to go.* Turkey is in a yüzleşme process that is unofficial but increasing in pace especially during the last [10-15] years. Ossified/necrotized problems of decades and particularly the Kurdish, Armenian, Cyprus and minority issues, have already entered the public discussion forum in a manner that would shake the routine discourse of official ideology to a degree that is incomparable with the past... Unofficial efforts for yüzleşme will continue in an increasing manner, speeding up the socio-cultural transformation process. Nonetheless, unofficial yüzleşme is not sufficient; there is also a need for a more structural and systematic official confrontation process. This is a matter of political struggle and transformation. On the official yüzleşme front, to date only the Ergenekon court process and developments in its periphery have become an important cornerstone.<sup>23</sup> It is still necessary to force and demand an official yüzleşme process on other issues as well. The recently launched “peaceful solution process” regarding the Turkish-Kurdish issue has created a significant source of hope, however a comprehensive yüzleşme stage should be completed in order to reach a permanent and just resolution in this issue as well. *Yüzleşme is not a miracle solution.* To defend that yüzleşme is a good and necessary process does not mean that we can solve all our problems in such a yüzleşme process. Yüzleşme sometimes contributes significantly to the solution of some bigger issues, however, a yüzleşme process that is not completed successfully does not lead to a rosy picture devoid of political conflicts. Where should we start? There are so many dark pages, in which order are we supposed to confront them? Socio-political context imposes the order of yüzleşme to a great extent; therefore, we may not have too much choice in this respect. However, as a general principle it can be said that the process should start with dark pages that have the highest degree of actuality and bitterness in a society; hence with the greater potential of touching the daily lives of actual people. For

Turkey, these issues are indubitably Ergenekon type (deep) state activities and the Turkish-Kurdish issue.<sup>24</sup>

Hence these are the topics through which serious yüzleşme efforts are being carried out. It will not be quite possible to make headway in other issues to be confronted unless these directly poignant issues are resolved to a certain extent. For instance, it can be stipulated that a Turkey, which has sufficiently resolved the Turkish-Kurdish issue and thus reinterpreted identity categories such as Turkishness and Kurdishness in this process, will be able to move forward with much greater ease and self-confidence in the Turkish-Armenian issue.

Confrontation / reconciliation processes should be carried out with patience, allowing for the society's espousal. The current state of the society, its historical conditionings, perceptual and behavioral reflexes, and its potentials for polarization, conflict and defensive reactivity are factors that should be assessed with care at all times throughout the yüzleşme process. For instance, if broad sections of the society have not been prepared for a reconciliation by way of sufficiently going through the yüzleşme stages conveyed in this article, the suggestion of a seemingly radical change, however justified it may be, holds the considerable risk of being met with an extreme reactivity which may result in an even more violent return to the previous state of conflict. Therefore, social psychology should be monitored closely and the pace and dosage of the yüzleşme process should be well administered. The significance of this issue is amplified in a social texture like Turkey that has been over-poisoned with the nationalist rhetoric for decades.

Yüzleşme as can be easily surmised is a process that is intertwined with the democratization process. We cannot confront without democratization and be democratic without confrontation. Hence, the overall struggle for democratization is an integral part of yüzleşme.<sup>25</sup>

\* A shorter version of this article has been published in Helsinki Citizens Assembly's book titled *Towards Regional Peace - Citizenship in Turkey: Identities, Rights, and Conflicts* (prepared by Esra Güçlüer, Istanbul, 2012, pp. 77-84, [http://www.hyd.org.tr/staticfiles/files/karadeniz2\\_eng.pdf](http://www.hyd.org.tr/staticfiles/files/karadeniz2_eng.pdf)). İdil Eser's translation from Turkish to English has been used.

1 "Yüzleşme" in Turkish does not have a perfect English translation, but can be translated as "coming to terms with," or "facing up to," or "confrontation." It literally means "two persons coming face-to-face to uncover truth." Since the article heavily relies on this face-to-face quality of the term, we prefer to leave it as "yüzleşme" throughout the article.

2 TDK (*Turkish Dictionary*), 11<sup>th</sup> Edition. Ankara: Turkish Language Institute (TDK) Publications, 2011.

3 This wisdom has also been confirmed by quite sophisticated scientific research. For example see, P. Ekman & W. V. Friesen, *Unmasking the Face: A Guide to Recognizing Emotions from Facial Expressions*, Los Altos, CA: Malor Books, 2003.

4 Mirror neurons are recently discovered, special type of neurological cells in our brain. Their basic function is to mirror the emotions or actions of others who are being observed directly. It is thought that feeling of empathy is also related to this mirror neuron system. Through this system of mirror neurons, sections in our brain that cause pain are stimulated when we see a person in pain and we partially experience this pain. For this see, J. Decety & W. Ickes, (eds.) *The Social Neuroscience of Empathy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.

5 Mithat Sancar, *Geçmişle Hesaplaşma: Unutma Kültüründen Hatırlama Kültürüne* (Coming to Terms with the Past: From a Culture of Amnesia to a Culture of Remembrance), Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2007.

6 For more detailed information about psychoanalysis, also see S. A. Mitchell & M. Black, *Freud and Beyond: A History of Modern Psychoanalytic Thought*, New York: Basic Books, 1996; and J. Safran, *Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Therapies*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2012.

7 J. Prager, "Healing from History: Psychoanalytic Considerations on Traumatic Pasts and Social Repair", *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11(3): 405-420, 2008.

8 For more detailed information see, E. Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001; A. Boraine, *A Country Unmasked, Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; M. Sancar, *Geçmişle Hesaplaşma: Unutma Kültüründen Hatırlama Kültürüne* (Coming to Terms with the Past: From a Culture of Amnesia to a Culture of Remembrance), Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2007.

9 See., M. R. Amstutz, *The Healing of Nations: The Promise and Limits of Political Forgiveness*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005; Y. Auerbach, "The Reconciliation Pyramid: A Narrative-Based Framework for Analyzing Identity Conflicts", *Political Psychology*, 30(2): 291-318, 2009; N. Biggar, "Concluding remarks", in N. Biggar (ed.), *Burying the Past: Peace and Doing Justice after Conflict*, pp. 270-285, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2001; P. E. Digeser, *Political Forgiveness*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

10 Murat Paker, "Maskeli Baloyu Bitirmek için Karşı-Psikolojik Harekât" (Counter-Psychological Campaign to End the Masquerade), *Birikim*, 48: 24-31, 2009.

11 Y. Auerbach, *ibid.*

12 M.G. Wessels & D. Bretherton, "Psychological Reconciliation: National and International Perspectives", *Australian Psychologist*, 35(2): 100-108, 2000.

13 Murat Paker, "Maskeli Baloyu Bitirmek için Karşı-Psikolojik Harekât" (Counter-Psychological Campaign to End the Masquerade), *Birikim*, 248: 24-31, 2009.

14 *ibid.*

15 Victim: People who lost their lives due to traumatic events. Survivor: People who were traumatized, but survived.

16 J. Prager, "Healing from History: Psychoanalytic Considerations on Traumatic Pasts and Social Repair", *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11(3): 405-420, 2008.

17 A. Goldberg, "The Place of Apology in Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy", *International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, 14: 409-413, 1987; I. Tylim, "On Psychoanalysis on the Witness Stand in Argentina and South Africa", *Journal of Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society*, March: 161-165, 2000.

18 I. Tylim, "The Power of Apologies in Transforming Resentment into Forgiveness", *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, 2(3): 260-270, 2005.

19 Murat Paker, "Maskeli Baloyu Bitirmek için Karşı-Psikolojik Harekât" (Counter-Psychological Campaign to End the Masquerade), *Birikim*, 248: 24-31, 2009.

20 J. Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, 3: 176-191, 1969.

21 Murat Paker, "Maskeli Baloyu Bitirmek için Karşı-Psikolojik Harekât" (Counter-Psychological Campaign to End the Masquerade), *Birikim*, 248: 24-31, 2009.

22 Murat Paker, “Egemen Politik Kùltürün Dayanılmaz Ağırılıđı” (Unbearable Weight of the Dominant Political Culture). *Birikim*, 184-185: 61-71, 2004. [This article has also been published in: Paker, M. *Psiko-politik Yüzleřmeler* (Psycho-Political Confrontations), Istanbul: Birikim Publications, 2007.]

23 However, it should also be noted that due to serious legal mistakes and manipulation, this gargantuan opportunity of Ergenekon etc. court processes, which could provide a quite productive channel for Turkey to confront its recent and quite messy history, has been almost missed to a large extent.

24 Murat Paker, “Maskeli Baloyu Bitirmek için Karşı-Psikolojik Harekât” (Counter-Psychological Campaign to End the Masquerade), *Birikim*, 248: 24-31, 2009.

25 *ibid.*