



Republican People's Party



THE AFTERMATH

Turkish Government's Retaliation to Gezi



REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

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CHP Republican People's Party
İzmir Deputy
Rıza Türmen
riza.turmen@gmail.com
0090 312 420 60 70

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*"it is much safer to be feared than loved because ...
love is preserved by the link of obligation which
owing to the baseness of men, is broken at every opportunity for their advantage;
but fear preserves you by a dread of punishment which never fails."*

Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*

Introduction

This summer we have witnessed with hope, grief and frustration the widely covered Gezi Park protests. We have seen people suffering from major injuries, even losing their lives; all in order to protect their rights and freedoms and to take a stand against repression. Unfortunately, the violence and the great sufferings of the summer of 2013 is only one side of the coin. The people involved in the Gezi demonstrations, who have suffered so much and worked so hard to make their voices heard, are lead by an ever more repressive government towards an endless abyss.

Statements by the Prime Minister and the Government officials reported by the press paint a bleak picture. They indicate a total lack of comprehension by the Government of the real nature of the Gezi incident. Consequently, while there has been no improvement for, or reconciliation with, the people, the one-man-government has initiated a ruthless campaign for retaliation against the persons and institutions involved in the Gezi movement.

The findings of this report clearly show that the Gezi protests are still regarded by the Government as criminal activities. This vision by the Government lies at the heart of the problem. Before getting into further discussion about the Gezi protests, we need to firmly establish the fact that the Gezi protests were in fact a peaceful and legal way of enjoying the freedom of assembly and association and the right to live in a healthy environment - which by definition are not criminal activities. Healing and progress concerning this issue shall not be possible without the affirmation of this fact and without a reconciliation between government and citizens.

In this report we present only a part of the examples of grave punishment given to those who have tried to exercise their freedom of expression, assembly and association. We leave for your consideration to evaluate what these examples may imply for the future of Turkey and the regions of Europe, Middle East and North Africa.

Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects

One of the first targets of the Government's retaliation to Gezi has been the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA), which is recognized as an autonomous public institution with a juridical personality. UCTEA is one of the components of the Taksim Solidarity network and a strong opponent of certain projects developed by the Government, projects which they define as attempts at plundering of urban, rural and natural resources.

On July the 10th it was reported that an AKP-sponsored motion had been approved by the Assembly, paying no heed to the intense reaction against the motion by the opposition parties CHP and MHP. This motion transferred the powers and the revenues of the UCTEA to the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, an act which amounts to the de facto closure of the UCTEA¹

The chairpersons of the Boards of Directors of the Chambers that are a part of the UCTEA held a press conference on July 27, 2013 to inform the media about the recent intervention in their fields of occupation by the Government. They stated that the capital accumulation and the system of urban rent distribution of the AKP government are largely created and sustained by renewal projects concerning urban-rural and protected areas; which leads to an ill-advised use of urban, rural and natural resources of the country. In the past, in order to prevent such dangerous and harmful practices by

"The issue of authorisation and/or disallowance of maps, plans, studies and projects cannot be held subject to any institution or organisation including the chambers, except for the administrative authorities identified in the relevant laws..."

government officials, the UCTEA has sued the government on the grounds of public benefit, on the subject of several projects with a worth of approximately 150 billions of Turkish liras in total. These projects included the largely contested construction of the 3rd bridge over the Bosphorus, which would inflict enormous damage on the Istanbul Fatih forest and the construction of the Historic Artillery Barracks and a mosque in Taksim Square, for which the Taksim Gezi Park would have to be demolished.

¹ Vatan news, "Gezi'nin faturası TMMOB'ye!" 10.07.2013
Available at: <http://haber.gazetevatan.com/gezinin-faturasi-tmmoby/553108/2/ekonomi>

After the Gezi protests, the Government's intervention in the workings of the UCTEA attracted a strongly negative reaction from the public. On July 12, 2013, the Government passed the law no: 6495 amending some laws and decrees. Subsequently, some of the paragraphs of the law no: 6495 amended the reconstruction law no: 3194 dated 3/5/1985, which was fiercely objected to by the UCTEA. The following paragraph is an excerpt from the law no: 6495:

"The issue of authorisation and/or disallowance of maps, plans, studies and projects cannot be held subject to any institution or organisation including the chambers, except for the administrative authorities identified in the relevant laws..."

The amendment is described by the UCTEA as an unlawful violation of the reason for existence of professional chambers, and an undermining of the constitutional legal basis of the UCTEA, which gives the UCTEA the authority to audit its members and the services they provide. Therefore, the UCTEA and the chambers that are subject to it will no longer be able to conduct professional auditing, to inspect the activities of the administration on behalf of the public and to inspect the activities of the government, which may at times be in conflict with the principle of social utility.

"Concerning the changes and the revisions that will be performed on maps, parcellations, and plans; permission of the opinion of the author is not required for so long as the arrangements are approved by the administration."

"In accordance with the regulation of the Ministry, the relevant administrations may establish commissions of architectural aesthetics. These commissions shall be authorized to decide whether the structures and approved architectural projects express an original idea. For the revisions of the artistic production that do not express an original idea, the author's view shall not be required. Concerning the artistic productions that do express an original idea; the changes that are permitted in the contract and those that are decided not to be in violation of the integrity of the work nor in interference with the aesthetic appearance, as well as the changes within the scope of technical administrative purposes that are judged to be necessary, can be made without the permission of the author."

In addition, the law no: 6495 appoints the aforementioned Commissions of Architectural Aesthetics to decide whether an architectural project is an artistic production or not. The danger inherent in these provisions is that these Commissions may easily become politicised in the future.

The provisions on the authorship are clearly a violation of the Article 27 (2) of the UDHR, which states, "Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author". With the enactment of these provisions, the government will be able to monopolize control over and manipulate the natural, public and social resources, will be free to enact or amend projects as it wishes, and there shall be no possibility for these actions to be investigated concerning their effect on public utility. Even the construction works that are performed in the context of the aforementioned urban renewal projects will not be audited by an autonomous institution, and there will be no independent body to audit them against risks, such as their resistance to earthquakes or floods, which are recurring problems in Turkey.

Turkish Medical Association

Turkish Medical Association and the volunteering doctors were one of the crucial actors of the Gezi Park protests, due to the need for medical attention that arose as a result of the disproportionate use of force by the police and the arbitrary use of chemicals. The volunteering doctors, working under extraordinary circumstances since the beginning of the Gezi protests, have witnessed from first hand and in detail, the brutal attacks of the police forces. Not only attending the medical needs of wounded protesters, the TMA has also played a vital role in publicising its findings - performing a task that should have been performed by the conventional media, a task that the media failed in.

The retaliation against doctors that followed the Gezi protests has put into question a *doctor's right to treat patients*.

On June 13, 2013, it was reported that the Minister of Health, Dr. Mehmet Müezzinoğlu had stated that providing health services to people injured in Gezi Park demonstrations and setting up temporary infirmaries for this purpose were illegal acts, and that the Ministry would take legal action regarding this issue.²

On June 13, 2013, the Ministry of Health opened an urgent investigation on the TMA, making the following inquiries:

1. Whether they have obtained an authorisation from the Ministry of Health permitting them to coordinate a medical intervention in the Taksim Gezi Park,
2. Why they have felt the need to form teams for additional medical assistance when ambulances and medical teams of the Ministry were already in the field in Taksim,
3. Which individuals were on duty in the temporary infirmaries,
4. What the competencies and the titles of these individuals were,
5. The names of the people treated at these infirmaries.³

On June 15, 2013, in Istanbul; a doctor, Savaş Çömlek, and three nurses, Nazlıhan Özdamar, Şehri Yağcıkara and Esra Fidan who were providing first aid to protesters were taken into police custody.⁴

2 TTB news, "Gezi eylemcilerine gönüllü sağlık hizmeti, insani yardım 'hukuki değil' mi?" 17.06.2013 Available at: <http://www.ttb.org.tr/index.php/Haberler/hukuki-3862.html>

3 Ministry of Health doc dated 13/06/2013 Available at: http://www.ttb.org.tr/images/stories/file/sb_tebliğ.pdf

4 T24 news, "Tabip Odası: Gözaltındaki beyaz önlüklüler hekim değil, 1 gönüllü hekim gözaltında" 16.06.2013 Available at: <http://t24.com.tr/haber/gezi-parki-yaralilarina-mudahale-eden-doktorlar-kelepceleniyor/232096>

The Law Amending the Decree on the Organisation and the Duties of the Ministry of Health and its Affiliates

On June 20, 2013, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan presented to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey a draft "Law Amending the Decree on the Organisation and the Duties of the Ministry of Health and its Affiliates, and some Laws". According to this draft law, those providing healthcare services without a licence would be penalized with a prison term from one to three years. What this law means is that; in the case

"I did not go to Gezi during the working hours. I did not personally serve in those infirmaries. I am a board member of the TMA, and I attended press conferences. Whatever we did were requirements of our conscience and our profession."

where a doctor who holds a diploma from a medical school provides healthcare services without receiving any compensation, he or she will receive a prison sentence. By this amendment, the provision of healthcare services in temporary infirmaries like those that had been put up in Gezi Park may be claimed illegal.

On September 2013, the Head Auditor of the Ministry of Health, Izzet Tasci, opened **an additional investigation** on three doctors who are board members of the TMA: Ali Özyurt, Fethi Bozçalı and Feray Kaya.

In the investigation they were inquired about:

1. Whether they actively served at the infirmaries in the Gezi Park,
2. Why they needed such an organisation, how the health supplies were provided,
3. If they personally used their hospital ID cards in their activities during the period between 28 May – 14 June 2013.⁵

In his defense, Ali Özyurt stated that he did not go to Gezi Park during the working hours. He said;

*"I did not go to Gezi during the working hours. I did not personally serve in those infirmaries. I am a board member of the TMA, and I attended press conferences. Whatever we did were requirements of our conscience and our profession."*⁶

⁵ Gelecek Gazetesi news "Gezi revirinde çalışan doktorlara soruşturma açıldı". 29.09.2013
Available at: http://gelecekgazetesi.org/haber-4222-gezi_revirinde_calisan_doktorlara_dava_acildi.html

⁶ Milliyet news, "Gezi revirlerinde görev yaptınız mı?" 29.09.2013
Available at: <http://gundem.milliyet.com.tr/gezi-revirlerinde-gorev-yaptiniz/gundem/detay/1770043/default.htm>

As a response to the investigations opened against them and the interference with their work, the TMA called upon the Hippocratic Oath that all doctors have taken, and stated that it was both their fundamental right and duty to perform their profession.⁷

⁷ TTB news outlet of June 2013 Available at: <http://www.ttb.org.tr/TD/TD197/index.pdf>

The Report by the Ankara Police Department

"The aim of the protestors was to change the constitutional order by creating a chaotic environment for rioting and turmoil."

- Report by the Ankara Police Department on Gezi

On July 1-3, 2013, newspapers mentioned a report that had been prepared by the Ankara Police Department against the 23 people who had been arrested in relation to Gezi protests. The report drew the attention of the public due to the disproportionate allegations it contained. It was claimed in the report that the aim of the protestors was to change the constitutional order by creating a chaotic environment for rioting and turmoil.

The graveness of such an accusation cannot be overlooked. According to the Turkish Criminal Law, 'changing the constitutional order' may imply an attempt to a coup d'état, and the punishment for such a crime is aggravated imprisonment for life.

Moreover, the report claimed that it was the media institutions that opposed the government, journalists, civil society organizations, the art community, and marginalized groups who had provoked the participants of the Gezi protests. Among the alleged anti-government civil society organisations, the Union Of Chambers Of Turkish Engineers And Architects (UCTEA), Turkish Medical Association (TMA), Ankara Medical Association (AMA), Ankara Bar Association (ABA), Human Rights Association and the Association of Progressive Lawyers were mentioned. The international press was also targeted at the report. It was stated that CNN, BBC, The Economist, El Jazeera and Reuters had exaggerated the incidents going on in Turkey and therefore had caused disinformation on the international arena.

During the Gezi protests the Bar Associations worked actively to provide legal assistance to demonstrators who were taken into police custody. The unfair and unlawful statements against the Ankara Bar Association, which were included in the report prepared by the Ankara Police Department, caused harsh reactions from other bar associations. Bar Associations of Balıkesir, Bursa, Erzincan, Eskisehir, Gaziantep, Giresun, Istanbul, Izmir, Mersin and Muğla published statements condemning the Report.

Regarding the method of protest whereby citizens banged pots and pans in their windows and balconies every night to protest the disproportionate use of force by the police, the report prepared by the Ankara Police Department alleged that these citizens had been forcing others by going to their houses to suggest them to join the protest and by creating 'neighbourhood pressure' over them. The report itself exaggerated the incidents by claiming that the protesters attempted to attack and to occupy the buildings of the Prime Ministry and other Ministries. The report asserted in its outcome that these protests were conducted in compliance with the strategy and objectives of the terrorist organisations.

The Case Of The Muezzin of the Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mosque

"[...] those who have entered the Dolmabahçe, Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mosque with their shoes, and have occupied it for three days, those irreverent people who have consumed alcohol in that mosque; we will certainly find them to give an account for these actions through legal ways."

- Prime Minister Erdoğan at the Kazlıçeşme rally in Istanbul held on June 16, 2013

During the Gezi Park protests, the media was polluted with many false statements and disinformation. During the AKP rally, Prime Minister Erdoğan claimed that the protesters had been drinking alcohol at the Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mosque in Dolmabahçe. The muezzin of the mosque in question, Fuat Yıldırım, was held for an unusually long duration - 6 hours - in the Istanbul Police Department, to give his testimony. Remarking that he was a man of faith, and therefore he could not lie, Mr. Yıldırım gave the following statement:

"I have not see anyone drinking alcohol in the mosque, nor anyone holding a can of alcohol. I cannot bear witness to what I have not seen. Someone might have drank. I do not know about that either. I have only seen something outside the mosque, something that looked like a beer bottle. But I have not seen anything inside."⁸

On June 4, 2013, Radikal Daily Newspaper published an interview with Mr. Yıldırım. The following statement by Fuat Yıldırım can be found in this article:

"No one has behaved inappropriately. I have not seen anyone drinking alcohol. We have found empty beer cans after things had calmed down. I do not know how they have got in."⁹

This behaviour of the Muezzin did not go unpunished. The Imam, the Muezzin and the Muftu of the district of Beyoğlu were removed from their seats and were appointed to posts in other locations. In response to the public outcry concerning the Muezzin's perceived exile, on September 2013, the Directorate of Religious Affairs announced that the temporary relocation of the Muezzin was made for the safety of the investigation that was being conducted inside the mosque. The Directorate added that the investigation that was launched was due to the alleged unrest of the congregation of the mosque.¹⁰

8 Odatv news, "Ben din adamıyım" 26.06.2013 Available at: <http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=ben-din-adamiyim...-2606131200>

9 Radikal news "Cami sığınak imam müzakereci" 04/06/2013 Available at: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/cami_siginak_imam_muzakereci-1136148

10 Radikal news "Diyanet: Müezzinin nakli geçici görevlendirme" 21/09/2013 Available at: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/diyanet_muezzinin_nakli_gecici_gorevlendirme-1151902

Investigations in High Schools

"Now, I'm addressing certain school principals and teachers; the investigations are continuing. I can never accept to see this kind of principals at the head of our schools. Because we have trusted our children to you, we did not trust them to you for them to made into anarchists."

- Prime Minister Erdoğan at the Kazlıçeşme rally in Istanbul on June 16, 2013

"I have participated in these events within the knowledge of my parents. Reclaiming Ataturk and the values of the Republic is the duty of the Turkish youth."

On September 2013, in Bursa, Inspectors of the Ministry of Education have interviewed a total of 32 high school teachers and students in order to discuss the Gezi protests. After the students' ID numbers and parental information were collected, the Inspectors of Education asked them the following questions:

"Has your school headmaster participated in the Gezi events? Has he encouraged you to participate, has he given you a lecture about it?"

What was your the attitude of your teachers regarding the Gezi events? Please give us their names.

Write down the names of your friends who have participated in the events.

Is there a list of the participants?"¹¹

In response to these questions, one of the students has written:

"I have participated in these events within the knowledge of my parents. Reclaiming Ataturk and the values of the Republic is the duty of the Turkish youth."

The inspector's response to this note has been:

"You have informed against yourself and you shall face the consequences."

It was reported that similar investigations were made concerning the following students, principals and schools

- Investigation about the Principal of the Istanbul Sarıyer Vehbi Koç Foundation Hotel and Tourism Vocational Training High School and the chairperson of the Istanbul branch no:4 of the Eğitim-İş Union; Mr. Maksut Balmuk.¹²

¹¹ Radikal, "Lisede 'Gezi sınavı': Katılan arkadaşlarınızın adını yazınız!" 25/09/2013
Available at: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/lisede_gezi_sinavi_katilan_arkadaslarinizin_adini_yaziniz-1152445

¹² Sarıyer Haber news "SARIYER LİSESİ MÜDÜRÜNE GEZİ SORUŞTURMASI" 19.06.2013
Available at: http://www.sariyerhaber.org/news_detail.php?id=5710

- Investigation about the chairperson of the Adana branch of the Eğitim-Sen Union, Ms. Kamuran Karaca, and board members Orhan Alıcı, Ahmet Karagöz, Esra Aslan Kösele, Yalçın Alçıçek, Abdullah Yalçın and Halil Kara; and members Mehmet Akarsubaşı, Kenan Kalkan, Mehmet Rüştü Şatır, Münir Korkmaz, Ayhan Topal and Birol Satar.¹³
- The Ankara Directorate of National Education demonstrated video footages and photographs taken during the protests to the principals of selected high schools in key neighbourhoods in Ankara from which participation to the Gezi protests were high, and asked them to identify the students in the footages.¹⁴
- In Öğretmen Necla Kızılbağ Anadolu High School in Ankara, inspectors interrogated 57 students, asking them for their phone numbers and the passwords of their Twitter accounts.¹⁵
- Investigation in Manisa Soma District High School,

13 Okul Yönetimi news "Adana'da Öğretmenlere Gezi Soruşturması" 17.09.2013

Available at: <http://www.okulyonetimi.com/index.php/2013/09/adanada-ogretmenlere-gezi-sorusturmasi/>

14 Ulusal Kanal news "Ankara'da Gezi Direnişine katılan öğrencilere soruşturma" 16.08.2013

Available at: <http://www.ulusalkanal.com.tr/gundem/ankarada-gezi-direnisine-katilan-ogrencilere-sorusturma-h13640.html>

15 Cumhuriyet news "Liselinin Twitter'ına 'Gezi gözü'" 6.07.2013

Available at: <http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=427064>

Investigation about the KOÇ GROUP

"We are well informed about the identities of those who have ordered meals for 30 thousand people to Taksim Square. We know very well who have aided and abetted, and have colluded with terrorists in the hotels belonging to them. Do they think they will not be held accountable? If we don't hold them accountable, than this nation will hold us accountable."¹⁶

- Prime Minister Erdoğan at the Kazlıçeşme rally in Istanbul on June 16, 2013

While The PKF Hotel Experts awarded the Divan Hotel's Istanbul property with the "hospitality innovation award" in recognition for the refuge it has offered to protesters fleeing tear gas used by the police, Prime Minister Erdoğan has targeted the Hotel's parent company, the Koç Group, and has accused the hotel owners of "colluding with terrorists".

Adjacent to the Taksim Square, the decision by the Divan Hotel, owned by the Koç Group, to open its doors to the protesters fleeing police brutality has played an important role in helping the wounded and in sheltering citizens from police violence. The direct delivery service to Gezi Park, initiated by the Migros chain markets owned by the Koç Group, did not go unnoticed. While The PKF Hotel Experts awarded the Divan Hotel's Istanbul property with the "hospitality innovation award" in recognition for the refuge it has offered to protesters fleeing tear gas used by the police,¹⁷ Prime Minister Erdoğan has targeted the Hotel's parent company, the Koç Group, and has accused the hotel owners of "colluding with terrorists".¹⁸

On July 24, auditors of the Ministry of Finance conducted an unannounced inspection at two Koç Holding subsidiaries; the TUPRAS oil refinery and the gas firm Aygaz, over allegations about refining smuggled petroleum, and for tax avoidance.¹⁹ TUPRAS is currently the largest

16 BBC Türkçe news "Nasıl gelişti?Erdoğan'dan gözdağı, polisten kitlesel gözaltı" 17.06.2013
Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/130616_pazar_eylemler.shtml

17 Quartz news, "This Turkish hotel won a "hospitality innovation award" for protecting protestors from tear gas and police" 8.10.2013 Available at: <http://qz.com/133063/this-turkish-hotel-won-a-hospitality-innovation-award-for-protecting-protestors-from-tear-gas-and-police/>

18 Spiegel article "Investors Nervous: Erdogan's Witch Hunt Endangers Economy" 20.06.2013
Available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/erdogan-endangering-economy-with-financial-sector-witch-hunt-a-917370.html> and The Turkey analyst article "Erdogan VS. Koç Holding: Turkey's New Witch Hunt" Available at: <http://www.turkeyanalyst.org/publications/turkey-analyst-articles/item/64-erdogan-vs-koç-holding-turkeys-new-witch-hunt.html>

19 Daily News, "Tax probe at Koç-owned firms drives shares down" 25.07.2013
Available at: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/tax-probe-at-koc-owned-firms-drives-shares-down-.aspx?PageID=238&NID=51378&NewsCatID=345>

industrial company in Turkey while Aygaz holds the tenth place in the top 500 companies listed by the Istanbul Chamber of Industry.²⁰

During the investigations conducted in late July, tax investigators accompanied by police officers searched 77 offices belonging to the energy companies of the Koç Group, Tüpraş and Aygaz, and seized computers and documents belonging to the firms. The parent company's stock price plunged following the unannounced investigations, and Koç Holding lost more than 1.33 billion dollars within three days.²¹

20 Al – Monitor news “Is Audit of Koc Companies Erdogan’s Revenge for Gezi Park?” 29.07.2013
Available at: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/07/koc-audit-raid-turkey-interest-rate-lobby-gezi.html#ixzz2hgTh98AC>

21 Spiegel news “Investors Nervous: Erdogan’s Witch Hunt Endangers Economy”
Available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/erdogan-endangering-economy-with-financial-sector-witch-hunt-a-917370.html>

The Overturn in the Media

"We will investigate the provocateurs in social media. We will investigate and unravel those provocateurs in the media and those who gave them all kinds of logistical support"²²

- Prime Minister Erdoğan at the Kazlıçeşme rally in Istanbul on June 16, 2013

A member of the ruling AKP and the mayor of Ankara actively participated in a Twitter smear campaign targeting Selin Girit, a Turkish BBC journalist. He urged his followers to denounce Selin Girit by sending tweets to the following hashtag;

#Selin Girit stop working as an agent on behalf of England

The BBC Turkish division reported that following the smear campaign on Twitter; Selin Girit has received numerous messages containing profanity, insults and even death and rape threats.²³

Freedom of the press, which was already severely restricted before the Gezi protests, took another severe blow during and after the Gezi protests. A large number of the members of the press have either been fired, sent on a compulsory leave, or have had to resign. Among those, the independent ombudsman for the daily newspaper Sabah has witnessed the unfortunate and increasing rapprochement of the newspaper's reports to a pro-Erdoğan stance. The last two columns he had written for his newspaper on the Gezi Park were not published and he was fired after these two days.

"The more partisan the paper's editorial line became, the more I, as ombudsman, came to be seen as an enemy. [...] The journalistic performance of the newspaper in the wake of the Gezi Park protests fell well below our readers' expectations, [...] The country's journalists are enslaved in newsrooms run by greedy and ruthless media proprietors, whose economic interests make them submissive to Erdoğan. Direct criticism of government policies on the Kurds, Syria, or corruption has led to many columnists being fired or "boycotted"²⁴

22 AKP website, PM Erdogan's speech at the Kazlıçeşme rally
Available at: <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/biz-yuzde-yuzun-hukumetiyiz/46043>

23 BBC news "BBC reporters 'intimidated' by Turkey" 24.06.2013
Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-23036924> and BBC news "BBC reporters 'intimidated' by Turkey"
Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130628_nisancioglu_blog_selingirit.shtml

24 The guardian article by Yavuz Baydar "My sacking is an attack not just on journalism, but on Turkish democracy"
Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/29/my-sacking-attack-turkish-democracy>

Journalists who have been fired, sent on compulsory leave or forced out:

1. NTV Program editor Özkan Güven, resigned
2. NTVMsNBC editor of the culture and art section Hasan Cömert, resigned
3. Responsible chairperson for the magazines of the Doğuş Publishing Group, Neyyire Özkan, resigned.
4. CEO of the Doğuş Publishing Group, Cem Aydın, resigned.
5. Editor in chief of GQ Turkey, Mirgün Cabas, resigned.
6. Gürsel Göncü, resigned.
7. NTV program director, Murat Toklucu, resigned.
8. NTV program editor, Burcu Doğan, resigned.
9. NTV program editor, Onur Yazıcıoğlu, resigned.
10. Photography artist and program producer in NTV, Mehmet Turgut, resigned.
11. NTV night news producer, Ömer Faruk Aykar, resigned.
12. NTV editor in digital newsroom, Dilara Eldaş, resigned.
13. NTV Ankara representative, Nilgün Balkaç, resigned.
14. NTV program producer, Çiğdem Anad, resigned.
15. *NTV reporter, Ergün Güven, resigned.*
16. *Sabah newspaper columnist, Alper Bahçekapılı, resigned.*
17. *Sabah newspaper night editor-in-chief, Erdal Erkasap, resigned.*
18. *Kanal 24 TV anchorwoman and moderator, Remziye Demirkol resigned.*
19. *Habertürk newspaper interviewer Kutlu Esendemir resigned.*
20. *Yenişafak newspaper columnist Işın Eliçin resigned.*
21. *Artı 1 TV news editor Mustafa Hoş resigned.*
22. *Artı 1 TV program producer Banu Güven resigned.*
23. *Artı 1 TV home news anchor Uğur Dünder resigned.*
24. *Artı 1 TV home news anchor Özlem Gürses resigned.*
25. *Artı 1 TV program director Uğur Tutçuoğlu resigned.*

26. *Artı 1 TV program producer Haluk Şahin resigned.*
27. *Artı 1 TV program producer Ece Temelkuran resigned.*
28. *Akşam newspaper columnist Nihal Kemaloğlu resigned.*
29. *Akşam newspaper chief editor Banu Kurt resigned.*
30. *Akşam newspaper chief editor Süreyya Üstünel resigned.*
31. *Akşam newspaper chief editor Semra Kardeşoğlu resigned.*
32. *Akşam newspaper columnist Deniz Ülke Arıboğan resigned.*
33. *Akşam newspaper reporter Alaz Kuseyri resigned.*
34. *Milliyet newspaper coordinator of economy news and supplements, Necla Unutmaz resigned.*
35. *Milliyet newspaper tabloid editor Birsen Altuntaş resigned.*
36. *Halk TV news anchorman Aydoğan Kılıç resigned.*
37. *Vatan newspaper columnist Can Ataklı resigned.*
38. *IHA digital editor Diren Selimoğlu fired.*
39. *Bursa Olay newspaper responsible for the digital edition Berhan Soner fired.*
40. *Akşam newspaper editor in chief İsmail Küçükkaya, fired.*
41. *Akşam newspaper columnist Tuğçe Tatari fired.*
42. *Akşam newspaper columnist Hüsnü Mahalli fired.*
43. *Akşam newspaper columnist Özlem Akarsu Çelik fired.*
44. *Akşam newspaper columnist Gürkan Hacır fired.*
45. *Akşam newspaper columnist Sevim Gözay fired.*
46. *Akşam newspaper Ankara representative and newspaper columnist Çiğdem Toker, resigned.*
47. *Akşam newspaper publishing coordinator Nergis Bozkurt fired.*
48. *Yenişafak newspaper columnist Kürşat Bumin fired.*
49. *Sabah newspaper interviewer Tuluhan Tekelioğlu fired.*
50. *Sabah newspaper supplements editor Elçin Yahşi fired.*
51. *Sabah newspaper Günaydın supplement editor in chief Şirin Sever fired.*
52. *Sabah newspaper reporter Bilge Eser fired.*
53. *Anatolian Agency Mardin correspondent Serkan Yücel Aydın fired.*
54. *Esquire magazine photography editor Uluç Özcü, fired for greeting the women protesting against Takvim newspaper.*

55. *Kanaltürk TV, manager responsible for morning news Serkut Bozkurt fired.*
56. *Artı 1 TV CEO Tuncay Mollaveisoğlu fired.*
57. *Beyaz TV reporter Çağrı Ulu fired.*
58. *Reporter at the Governorate of Istanbul, Metin Timur Tüfekçiler fired.*
59. *Show TV home news anchor Ali Kırca sent on compulsory leave.*
60. *Show TV head of the news departement Tuba Atav sent on compulsory leave.*
61. *Show TV news coordinator Ayhan Bölükbaşı sent on compulsory leave.*
62. *Show TV news director Ozan Pezek sent on compulsory leave.*
63. *Show TV national news director Nafiz Akyüz sent on compulsory leave.*
64. *Show TV chief cameraman Ediz Aliç sent on compulsory leave.*
65. *Show TV Ankara representative Funda Tuna Görey sent on compulsory leave.*
66. *Show TV parliamentary reporter Özgür Akbaş sent on compulsory leave.*
67. *Show TV cameraman Bülent Kördemirci sent on compulsory leave.*
68. *Show TV cameraman Mesut Gengeç sent on compulsory leave.*
69. *Show TV staff Haydaran Çelik sent on compulsory leave.*
70. *Show TV deputy director of domestic productions Özgür Uzun sent on compulsory leave.*
71. *Show TV technical director of the domestic productions Metin Karaaslan sent on compulsory leave.*
72. *Show TV domestic productions cameraman Hakan Kırboğa sent on compulsory leave.*
73. *Akşam newspaper supplements director Nilay Örnek fired.*
74. *Akşam newspaper supplements reporter Mehmet Özdoğan resigned.*
75. *Sabah newspaper columnist Yavuz Baydar fired.*
76. *The editor in chief of the Milliyet newspaper Derya Sazak resigned.*
77. *Milliyet newspaper columnist Can Dünder fired.²⁵*

²⁵ Odatv news "İşte hükümetin hedefindeki gazetecilerin listesi" 22.07.2013
Available at: <http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=iste-hukümetin-hedefindeki-gazetecilerin-listesi-2207131200>

The Justice System

Apart from the great number of detentions in relation to the Gezi Park protests, reported by the Ministry of Interior Affairs to be as high as 4,900 by June 24, 2013, as well as the poor quality of indictments that were published after a time are also developments that cause worry.

Prepared in a day by the Public Prosecutor Ahmet Cemal Gürgen, four bills of indictments about detained suspects described the day of the events in which the suspects were detained, but did not specify whether the individuals who had been detained were the ones who participated in the events. For these suspects, the public prosecutor demanded imprisonment terms ranging from 6 months to 3 years.²⁶

Another bill of indictment prepared in Mersin presented playing the guitar and the tambourine as a criminal activity. It is stated in the indictment that playing the guitar was in order to keep the protestors energetic, and that playing the tambourine was done in order to motivate the protestors.²⁷

Regarding the functioning of the tribunals and the impartiality of the judges, on September 13, 2013 a rather unusual practice was reported during a court meeting about which a decision was expected concerning the detention review of two of the 35 people that were taken into custody in Ankara. These individuals were investigated about the accusation of membership to a terrorist organisation and spreading propaganda for a terrorist organisation. While a decision of the court was expected on detention review, the judge refused to listen to the defences of the detainees and submitted to the clerk a previously prepared flash-disk containing the decision "of the court".²⁸

26 Vatan news, "Gezi'ye bir günde dört iddianame!" 08.10.2013
Available at: <http://haber.gazetevatan.com/geziye-bir-gunde-dort-iddianame/575046/1/gundem>

27 Radikal news "Gezi davalarında son suç: Polisle konuşmak!" 11/10/2013
Available at: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi_davalarinda_son_suc_polisle_konusmak-1155292

28 Hürriyet news "Gezi'de 'flash' tutuklama" 13.07.2013 Available at: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/24700537.asp>

Pre-emptive Detention

"Some countries carry out a practice called pre-emptive detention. Those who have the potential to protest are taken into custody for 12 hours and /or a day. We intend to introduce this practice in Turkey through the necessary regulations."

Muammer Güler, Minister of Interior Affairs

After the Gezi protests, a new item was added to the Government's agenda: the practice of pre-emptive detention. While the critiques point out that such a practice would necessarily violate the European Convention on Human Rights, the government authorities seem to be determined to prevent a repetition of such large scale peaceful protests in the future through such practices.

The new regulation, upon going into effect, will give the police the authorization to detain any individual who is assessed to have the likelihood to stir up an event and/or protest for 12 to 24 hours, without need to additional authorization by a judge or a public prosecutor.²⁹

²⁹ CNNTurk news "Polise "önleme hapsi" yetkisi verilecek"
Available at: <http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/turkiye/10/06/polise.onleme.hapsi.yetkisi.verilecek/726106.0/>

House Raids

On July 16, 2013 in Istanbul it was reported that 30 people suspected of participating in Gezi protests were taken from their houses by the police and detained. These house raids were performed in approximately 100 addresses belonging to 56 people, including university dormitories. A more troubling aspect regarding this issue is that, it was reported that the anti-terror police units prepared this list of 56 people by going through the photographs, video footages and footages from MOBESE (Mobile Electronic System Integration) cameras spread around in the city.³⁰

In Hatay, 28 people suspected of participating in the Gezi protests were detained in house raids. The police seized magazines, books, cell phones and hard drives belonging to the detainees. Among the detainees there were also members of several civil society organisations.³¹

Members of civil society organisations who participated in the Gezi protests were detained in house raids in the cities listed below:

Ankara: the ESP (The Socialist Party of the Oppressed) chairperson Fadime Çelebi and members of the Ankara branch of the party, Orhan Çelebi, Cenan Altunç and Ezgi İslam. The SGD (Socialist Youth Association) member Eda Apaydın, and the Eğitim-Sen Union director Bülent Salmanoğlu.

Izmir: ESP member Seda Baykan

Samsun: ESP member Burcu Aslan

Antakya: SGD member Hüseyin Ali Kudret

The detainees were taken to Ankara³²

30 BBC Türkçe news "İstanbul'da evlere yeni 'Gezi' baskını"
Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/07/130716_gezipark_update2.shtml

31 OdaTv "Hatay'da Gezi operasyonu"
Available at: <http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=hatayda-gezi-operasyonu-2207131200>

32 Yurt News "5 ilde Gezi baskını"
Available at: <http://www.yurtgazetesi.com.tr/gundem/5-ilde-gezi-baskini-h39400.html>



Republican People's Party

THE AFTERMATH

Turkish Government's Retaliation to Gezi