

Freedom of Expression Cases in Turkey

## TRIAL MONITORING

PROGRAM

# REPORT 2023

1 September 2022 - 1 September 2023











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2023

Sokağa çıkmak yasak, haber yapmak 'terörizm'







This report has been prepared with the contributions of The Embassy of the Kingdom of Norway in Ankara and The Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany in Istanbul and The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom Turkey Office.

#### ABOUT THE MEDIA AND LAW STUDIES ASSOCIATION (MLSA)

Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA) is a civil society organization active in the field of freedom of expression since 2018. MLSA provides pro-bono legal assistance to those whose freedom of expression is violated, especially journalists, media members and human rights defenders, and represents them in national and international legal processes. MLSA carries out advocacy activities through regular submissions to international organizations, especially the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, and aims to build the capacity of journalists, lawyers and civil society organizations by organizing trainings and workshops on freedom of expression. MLSA also monitors internet freedom and censorship in Turkey through the Free Web Turkey project. It also provides legal and institutional support to associations and foundations through its civil society capacity building program. In addition, the MLSA website creates a space for journalists to publicize their work by publishing articles by independent journalists.

MLSA has also been running the largest trial monitoring program in Turkey since 2018 and publishes regular reports. The MLSA Trial Monitoring Program, which has monitored over 1,500 hearings to date, is a resource for many media outlets and rights organizations.

Veysel Ok Co-Director

Batıkan Erkoç
Projects and Grants Manager

Eylem Sonbahar İstanbul Correspondent

**Av. Emine Özhasar** Legal Unit Coordinator

**Gülhan Çorlu** Finance Coordinator

Ali Safa Korkut
Free Web Turkey Project Coordinator

Evin Barış Altıntaş Co-Director

Semra Pelek
Trial Monitoring Project Coordinator

**Deniz Tekin**Diyarbakır Correspondent

Sena Özcanlı
Communication and Events Coordinator

**Metin Yener** Office Manager

**Fatih Aydın** Attorney at Law, Legal Unit

**Av. Muhammed Ünsal** Attorney at Law, Legal Unit

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#### Introduction

This report presents the findings of the Media and Law Studies Association's (MLSA) trial monitoring program on freedom of expression cases, which has been running since 2018, during the judicial year of September 2022 - September 2023.

Freedom of expression, which is one of the cornerstones of a democratic society, has always been a target of governments and has required constant efforts to protect it. In addition to creating an archive and database, case monitoring consists of identifying, recording and monitoring the actions of public authorities that violate freedom of expression in order to protect freedom of expression, raise public awareness through civil society, promote legal reforms and instill confidence and courage in both those on trial and the public.

The data used in the report was collected through a "Trial Monitoring Form" filled out by court monitors, mostly journalists with training and experience in trial monitoring. The form, which the observers completed after each hearing, was developed with the guidance and recommendations of organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Amnesty International, the International Committee for Jurists and the Solicitors International Human Rights Group (SIHRG).

The aim of this program is to record compliance with national and international standards and possible violations in the context of the right to a fair trial, which is recognized as an inalienable human right by many international conventions and treaties to which Turkey is a party, particularly the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the 1966 United Nations Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, and to reveal the current situation in cases involving the freedoms of the press, assembly and expression.

The trial monitoring program at the Media and Law Studies Association is the most comprehensive case monitoring program in Turkey to analyze trial procedures and standards of proceedings.

#### **Method**

Monitors attending the hearings fill out a form based on the trial monitoring guidelines published by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and adapted to Turkish conditions. The data obtained from the forms were analyzed to arrive at the findings presented in this report.

The report is based on the collection of data from 464 hearings in 233 freedom of expression cases monitored between 1 September 2022 and 1 September 2023.

#### **Abbreviations**

ABBREVIATION	EXPLANATION
OSCE	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECHR	European Convention of Human Rights
AYM	Turkish Constitutional Court
f.	Paragraph
HAGB	Judicial deferment
m.	Article of the law
MLSA	Media and Law Studies Association
TCK	Turkish Penal Code
TMK	Counterterrorism Act

#### **Highlights of the Report**

The top three groups targeted by freedom of expression cases monitored during the monitoring period were **students**, **journalists** and **peaceful activists and human rights defenders**. Students and activists were prosecuted en masse, particularly in multi-defendant cases initiated in response to protest actions.

In **233 freedom of expression cases** tracked between September 1, 2022 and September 1, 2023, **a total of 1646** people were prosecuted.

In 32 trials in this period, **116 defendants were sentenced to 217 years, 8 months 20 days** imprisonment. Among them, 23 journalists **were sentenced to 67 years, 8 months, 12 days and** months in 17 journalism cases.

## Violation of the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations and Propaganda of an Organization

During the monitoring period, "opposition to Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations", which was charged in 47 cases (20% of the total number of monitored cases), and "making propaganda for a terrorist organization", which is regulated in Article 7, paragraph 2 of the Counterterrorism Act, which was used in 46 cases (19% of the total number of monitored cases), were the two most common charges against the defendants.

A total of **964 people**, including students, representing 59% of all defendants, were prosecuted for **peaceful demonstrations and protests** in **50 cases**, representing 21% of the total number of cases.

Students, women and LGBTI+ persons were the most prosecuted for their protests. Students were tried in a total of 24 cases, 15 of which were filed for their peaceful protests. The other most prosecuted groups for their peaceful protests were women, who were prosecuted in five cases, and LGBTI+ persons, who were prosecuted in four different cases.

#### Journalists on Trial the Most in All Cases

Journalism and journalistic activities were the most common reason for prosecution during this monitoring period. During the monitoring period, **314 journalists were put on trial.** Journalists, who constitute 19% of the total number of defendants, **were tried in 154 out of 233 cases** (66 percent). Of these cases, **133** were filed solely on the grounds of journalism. In **21** other cases, journalists **were tried together** with the subjects of the **news or actions they followed**.

Journalists were again charged with terrorism offenses in this period. In 57 of the 133 cases (43 percent) in which journalists were put on trial, terrorism-related offenses were charged. The most common charges were "making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK art.7/f.2)" in 29 cases and "membership of an armed terrorist organization (TMK art.7/f.1)" in 15 cases.

#### **Comparison of Case Monitoring Program Data by Year**

Indicators	June - December 2018	February 2019 - March 2020	June - December 2020	January - July 2021	September 2021 - July 2022	September 2022 - September 2023
Number of journalists and media workers in prison	148	95	66	60	59	39*
Number of cases monitored	71	169	132	98	210	233
Number of hearings monitored	82	319	195	147	446	464
Number of defendants in pre-trial detention in cases monitored under the program		53	6	3	12	30
Number of journalists on trial in cases monitored under the program	70	98	277	225	318	314
Rate of terrorism charges	72%	61%	46%	58%	38%	28%
Ratio of insult (TCK 125) charges to total charges	-	7%	5%	17%	7%	13%
Rate of charges of insulting the President (TCK 299)	7%	10%	10%	25%	10%	8%
Rate of charges of insulting the organs of the state (TCK 301)	-	-	0,50%	1%	4%	4%
Rate of charges of inciting people to hatred and hostility (TCK 216)	-	-	5%	3%	3%	4%
Total prison sentences (years)	-	18	52	21	299	217
Number of cases resulting in acquittal	12	6	17	16	51	59

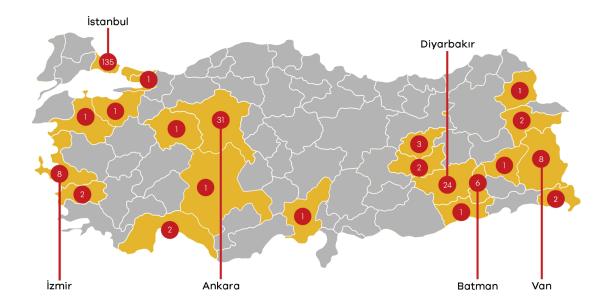
<sup>\*</sup>The number of journalists and media workers in prison does not represent the average of the report period, but the number of those in prison as of the printing date of the report.

#### **Overview of Cases**

This report is based on data from 464 hearings **held** within the scope of **233 freedom of expression cases** involving **1646** people, monitored by the Media and Law Studies Association (MLSA) in **20 provinces** between **1 September 2022 and 1 September 2023**.

More than half of the cases (58%) were filed in **Istanbul** (135 cases). This was followed by Ankara with 13% (31 cases) and **Diyarbakır with 10% (24 cases)**. Other provinces where cases were followed were Van (8 cases) and Izmir (8 cases), Batman (6 cases), Tunceli (3 cases), Hakkari (2 cases), Elazığ (2 cases), Aydın (2 cases), Antalya (2 cases), Ağrı (2 cases). Mardin, Konya, Kocaeli, Eskişehir, Eskişehir, Bursa, Bitlis, Balıkesir, Adana (1 case each).

#### **Distribution of Cases by Province**



Province	Case Number
İstanbul	135
Ankara	31
Diyarbakır	24
İzmir	8
Van	8
Batman	6
Tunceli	3
Ağrı	2
Antalya	2
Aydın	2

Province	Case Numberi
Elazığ	2
Hakkari	2
Adana	1
Balıkesir	1
Bitlis	1
Bursa	1
Eskişehir	1
Kocaeli	1
Konya	1
Mardin	1

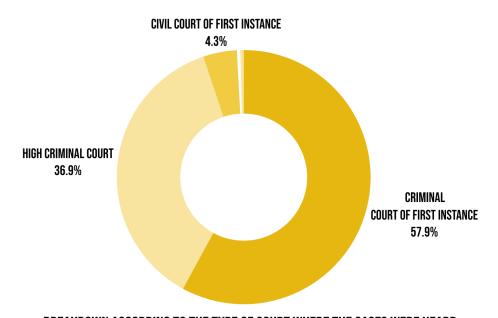
## Breakdown According to the Type of Court Where the Cases Were Heard

More than half of the cases in this period (135 cases), equivalent to 58%, were filed in **criminal courts of first instance**, which are tasked with handling cases related to charges such as "insult", "slander" or "opposition to Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations", which carry a prison sentence of 10 years or less.

37% of the cases (86 cases) were heard in **high criminal courts**, which are tasked with handling cases involving charges that carry a prison sentence of more than 10 years, mainly "terrorism" offenses.

During the monitoring period, 4% of the cases (10 cases) were heard in the **civil courts of first instance** in charge of handling cases related to assets and personal assets, and one case was heard in the **commercial court of first instance**. Within the scope of the program, one case was heard at the **regional court of justice** (court of appeal).

Type of the Court	Case Number
Criminal Court of First Instance	135
High Criminal Courts	86
Civil Court of First Instance	10
Regional Court of Appeal (Court of Appeal)	1
Commercial Court of First Instance	1
Grand Total	233



BREAKDOWN ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF COURT WHERE THE CASES WERE HEARD

#### Who was on Trial?

<b>Defendant Group</b>	Defendants	Percentage
Student	655	39.79%
Activist	329	19.99%
Journalist	314	19.08%
Politician	241	14.64%
Lawyer	49	2.98%
Worker	37	2.25%
Artist	9	0.55%
Architect	5	0.30%
Documentarian	3	0.18%
Writer/Poet	2	0.12%
Academician	2	0.12%

In the 233 freedom of expression cases involving 1646 defendants monitored during the judicial year covered by the report, students, journalists and activists/right defenders were the three most frequently prosecuted groups.

Students and activists were tried collectively in multi-defendant trials, especially in cases related to demonstrations.

During this period, **655** students were prosecuted, representing 40% of the **total number** of defendants. However, all these defendants were tried in **24 cases**, accounting for only **10%** of the total.

In the category of activists, including women,

LGBTI+, environmentalists and other rights-seeking groups, **329 defendants** (20% of the total number of defendants) were tried. However, all these defendants were also tried in **36 cases**, representing **15%** of the total.

#### **Increase in Cases Against Politicians**

Politicians, who were tried in 23 different cases (10% of the total number of cases) for different actions or statements, constituted 15% of the total number of defendants with 241 defendants. In terms of profession, 49 lawyers were tried in 8 different cases. Other groups on trial were identified as follows: workers (37 defendants in 1 case), artists (9 defendants in 9 cases), architects (5 defendants in 1 case), documentary makers (3 defendants in 2 cases), poets/writers (2 defendants in 2 cases), academics (2 defendants in 2 cases).

#### Selahattin Demirtaş Acquitted of "Opposition to 2911"

In the hearing held on June 6, 2023, the court acquitted former HDP Co-Chair **Selahattin Demirtaş** on charges of "violating Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations" based on a rally held in Batman in 2016.



## "Police Attack on Women on March 8 is News Not Only in Turkey, but Everywhere in the World"

"We journalists are already facing a huge clamp of intimidation, and now we are being prosecuted on 2911 grounds while covering these protests. Police brutally attacking women who take to the streets against violence against women is news not only in Turkey but all over the world."

#### Journalist Buse Söğütlü

For participating in the March 8 Feminist Night March, she was charged with violating the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations.

Journalists accounted for **314 defendants**, **19%** of the total number of defendants. The **154** different cases involving journalists correspond to **66%** of the total number of cases monitored during the monitoring period. Of these cases, **55%** (**133 cases**) were filed solely for journalism. In this period, journalists were, for example, detained during protests they were covering for news reporting and later tried together with activists; in the remaining 21 cases, journalists were also charged with such offenses. It can be said that journalists are also among the most frequently prosecuted groups in the trials of other groups for the news they cover.

#### **Distribution of Cases by Defendant Groups**

Defendant Group	Number of Cases	% <sup>1</sup>
Journalist	154	58.78%
Activist	36	13.74%
Student	24	9.16%
Politician	23	8.78%
Artist	9	3.44%
Lawyer	8	3.05%
Documentarian	2	0.76%
Writer/Poet	2	0.76%
Academician	2	0.76%
Worker	1	0.38%
Architect	1	0.38%

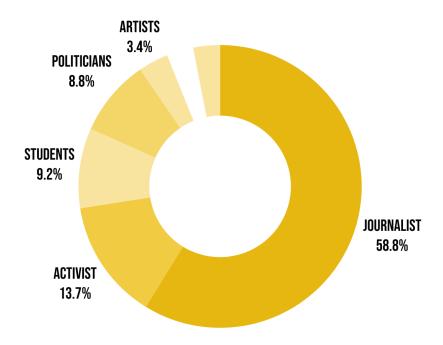
The majority of the cases monitored under the program are those in which journalists are on trial. Journalists are on trial in more than 60% of the total cases. This is followed by activist cases with 36% and student cases with 10%.

Considering the number of cases and the number of defendants, 655 students were tried in 24 cases. 329 activists, constituting 20% of the defendants, were tried in 36 cases ('15%'). A total of 241 politicians were tried in only 23 cases. This shows that students, activists and politicians are mainly tried in multi-defendant cases. Especially in cases involving social protests and demonstrations, it is observed that many defendants are tried together.

**Multi-defendant trials** create serious problems, particularly in terms of the right to a trial within a reasonable time and the principles of the individuality of the offense. Multi-defendant trials, in addition to the workload of the courts, cause significant violations of the right to a fair trial.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Among the 233 cases monitored under the program are mixed cases. In these cases, more than one group of defendants are tried together. When evaluating the figures, it should be taken into account that more than one social group is involved in the same case.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE CASES ACCORDING TO DEFENDANT GROUPS

#### 'According to the Indictment, I'm a So-Called Journalist, So I Deceived Everyone'

"The indictment refers to us as 'so-called reporter' and 'so-called journalist'. Since there is no evidence for the charges, our journalism has been criminalized. Look, there are many professional organizations here, they all support us. But according to the indictment, I am a 'so-called' journalist. So I fooled my family, my professors, my relatives, my colleagues, associations, but not the investigators? This is an illogical analogy. I also followed the October 10 trial in your court. It was a very heavy trial, it lasted for days and nights. According to the summary, both working for royalties and working for a salary were criminalized."

#### **Deniz Nazlım**

From his defense at Ankara 4th High Criminal Court on May 16, 2023.

Deniz Nazlım is one of the 11 journalists arrested on October 29 as part of the investigation launched by the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office on October 20, 2022. Eleven journalists working for the Mesopotamia News Agency (MA) and JinNews in Ankara are on trial for "membership in an illegal organization".

## Imamoğlu Sentenced to 2 Years and 7 Months in Prison for "Insulting a Public Official"

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB) Mayor **Ekrem İmamoğlu** was put on trial for "insulting" members of the Supreme Election Board (YSK). The court sentenced İmamoğlu to 2 years, 7 months and 15 days in prison and ruled that he be deprived of certain rights, including the right to engage in politics, in accordance with Article 53/1 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The eighth hearing of the lawsuit filed against İmamoğlu due to "insulting a public official" was held at Istanbul Anatolian 7th Criminal Court of First Instance. While Imamoğlu did not attend the hearing, his lawyers were present at the hearing where police officers with shields were waiting in front of the courtroom. A limited number of journalists were admitted to the hearing, which was also attended by many MPs, mayors and Erinç Sağkan, President of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations. İmamoğlu's case is currently on appeal.

#### 'They Use the Judiciary to Show the Stick'

"It was the Izmir Bar Association that said the opening of the judiciary cannot take place in the külliye, defended peace against war, and opposed hate speech against LGBTI+ individuals. They are wagging their fingers at society with your decision. We are facing a government that says 'Take this, take this, take this' to anyone who speaks on the streets. What makes me sad is that they used the judiciary to show us the stick every time. I really miss an understanding of the judiciary that would say to the administration, to the power, 'get out of here'. I would like to end with these lines: 'It's not over yet, that fight continues and will continue."

#### Former President of Izmir Bar Association Özkan Yücel

April 24, 2023, from his defense in the trial held at Izmir 1st High Criminal Court

A lawsuit was filed against Özkan Yücel, **former President of Izmir Bar Association**, **and 10 board members** for the statement titled **"In spite of hate, long live life"** shared by Izmir Bar Association on its official website on April 25, 2020, against the sermon of Ali Erbaş, President of Religious Affairs, on April 24, 2020, which contains hate speech against LGBTI+'s, on the grounds of "publicly insulting religious values adopted by a section of the public". At the first hearing of the case held at Izmir 1st High Criminal Court on **April 24, 2023**, the court acquitted all defendants on the grounds that the elements of the imputed crime did not occur.

#### From Gezi Trial to Constitutional Crisis



Photo: Hayri Demir

In addition to journalists, 241 politicians were put on trial during this period. It is noteworthy that the trial of lawyer Can Atalay, who was arrested in the 'Gezi Park Case', was not suspended even though he was elected as an MP from the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) in the May 14, 2023 general elections. Can Atalay's 18-year prison sentence, handed down by the Istanbul 13th High Criminal Court on April 25, 2022, was upheld by the 3rd Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation on September 28, 2023; Atalay was an elected MP at the time.

#### "I wish we could reach the day when there are no prisons"

"I can say that I learned very little in prison that I didn't already know. Directly observing the length of detention in political cases and the 'problem of prisoners whose execution is burned' will never leave my mind. Also, since there are prisons, I wish we could reach the days when there are no prisons. Can't it be in a certain period of time, in a way that won't cause people to lose their health? I won't stop pursuing the answer to this."

TİP MP Can Atalay, convicted in Gezi Trial Cumhuriyet newspaper, June 26, 2023 The Constitutional Court discussed Atalay's individual application after the Court of Cassation's upholding decision. On October 25, 2023, the Constitutional Court ruled with a majority of votes that Atalay's 'right to be elected and to engage in political activity' and 'right to personal liberty and security' had been violated and ordered the local court to "suspend the execution of the conviction and release him from prison". The Istanbul 13th High Criminal Court's failure to comply with this decision and the 3rd Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation's filing of a criminal complaint against the members of the court that ruled in violation of the Constitutional Court's decision in Atalay triggered an unprecedented constitutional crisis in Turkey's history.

The Constitutional Court did not issue a statement on the issue. The new individual application filed due the to non-implementation of the Constitutional Court's decision was discussed by the relevant section of the Constitutional Court on December 13, 2023. The application was sent to the General Assembly of the Constitutional Court for deliberation.



Photo: Hayri Demir

## MLSA Legal Unit: Article 153 of the Constitution is Violated

"The reason why the decision is considered a constitutional crisis is that for the first time in Turkey, there is such a conflict between the high courts. The Court of Cassation is clearly questioning the position of the Constitutional Court, aiming to truncate its authority. The decision is undoubtedly a clear violation of Article 153 of the Constitution. Article 153 of the Constitution stipulates that 'the decisions of the Constitutional Court [...] are binding on the legislative, executive and judicial organs, administrative authorities, real and legal persons'. However, the Court of Cassation ruled that the Constitutional Court's decision should not be followed, rendering this provision of the Constitution ineffective."

#### **Grounds for Prosecutions and Lawsuits**

In terms of the grounds for the initiation of the cases **journalism and reporting activities** were the most common grounds for prosecution **with 133 cases**, constituting **57%** of the total cases.



Photo: BirGün

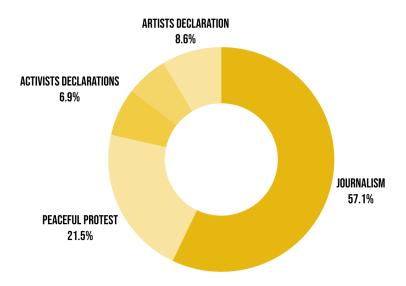
#### **Prosecutor Pride is a Constitutional Right!**

Eskişehir Onur Yürüyüşü'nde gözaltına alınan 8 kişinin, "2911 sayılı Toplantı ve Gösteri Yürüyüşleri Kanunu'na muhalefet etmek" iddiasıyla yargılandığı davanın, 8 Haziran 2023'te görülen duruşmasında, "polisin duyulacak şekilde ihtar yaptığına dair yeterli delil bulunmadığını" belirten savcı, "anayasal hak" vurgusu yaparak, tüm sanıkların beraatını talep etti. 15 Haziran tarihindeki duruşmada sanıkların beraatine karar verildi.

Journalistic activities were followed by **peaceful demonstrations**, which were the subject of 50 different cases. Peaceful protests and demonstrations accounted for 21% of the total number of cases filed.

Especially in cases filed for journalism, journalistic activities were subject to various accusations. Terrorism offenses were the most common category of crimes against journalists.

Grounds/Reasons	Cases	%
Journalism / Reporting	133	57.08%
Peaceful Demonstration	50	21.46%
Activist (Rights Defender) Explanation	16	6.87%
Politician / Party Statement or Activity	14	6.01%
Artist / Writer / Poet Description	9	3.86%
Professional Organization Statement	6	2.58%
Other	2	0.86%
Documentary Work	2	0.86%
Student Statement	1	0.43%



DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAWSUITS FILED ACCORDING TO THEIR SUBJECT MATTER

The breakdown of those who were prosecuted for seeking rights during the period was as follows: 18 cases (8%) for protests with different themes, 15 cases (6%) for student protests, 5 cases (2%) for women's protests, 4 cases (2%) for LGBTI+/Pride Week protests, 3 cases (1%) for trustee<sup>2</sup> protests, 2 cases (1%) for Saturday Mothers, 1 case (1%) for a press statement made by a professional organization in Van.

Distribution of Prosecuted Peaceful Demonstrations by Subject			
Different Rights Seekers	18		
Student Action	15		
Women's Rights	5		
LGBTI+ people	4		
Organizers of Trustee Protests	3		
Saturday Mothers	2		
Professional Organization	1		
Workers	1		
Environmentalists	1		

The 16 lawsuits filed for the statements of activists and rights defenders accounted for 7% of the total number of lawsuits. The statements or activities of politicians or political parties were the subject of 14 lawsuits (6%). This was followed by 9 cases (4%) for statements made by artists, writers and poets and 6 cases (3%) for statements made by professional organizations. The 2 lawsuits filed against documentary filmmakers (1%) and 1 lawsuit filed against student statements were at the bottom.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Referring to the trustee appointment to Boğaziçi University.

#### **Documentary Filming Becomes 'Reconnaissance'**



Documentary filmmaker Sibel Tekin was first detained in a raid on her home on **16 December 2022**. She was then arrested on charges of "membership in a terrorist organization". It is learned that Tekin learned about the charges against her while she was being taken to a doctor's examination and an investigation was launched against her on the grounds that her filming for the documentary "**Life Beginning in Darkness**" about the permanent daylight saving time was "reconnaissance for the organization". Arrested on December 17, Sibel Tekin was released on January 30, 2023.

Throughout the trial, the evidence in the indictment and the dialogues during the hearings were covered by the media. In the prosecution's closing statement, it was stated that the camera was a handheld camera and that it could have been shot better with a phone, that the camera was quite old and had a low shooting quality, and that this was evidence that reconnaissance was carried out on behalf of the organization.

In the prosecution's indictment, making a video in the dark hours was described as unusual. The prosecutor questioned Tekin during the hearing: "Before shooting a documentary, a script is written, did you write it?" Tekin's trial continues.

## Sibel Tekin's Indictment: Prosecuted for membership in an illegal organization, no organization specified

The indictment claims that Tekin is affiliated with various organizations, but does not specify which organization he is a member of, and demands that he be sentenced for "membership in an armed organization". The indictment also requested that the sentence be increased by half in accordance with Article 5 of the Anti-Terror Law (TMK). The case against Tekin continues at Ankara 26th High Criminal Court.

#### What were they accused of?

In 233 cases monitored during this period, defendants were charged with a total of **329** different allegations under different provisions of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) and the Anti-Terror Law (TMK). Eleven of these allegations consisted of "attack on personal rights or damage to commercial reputation", which were filed in the civil or commercial courts of first instance. The remaining allegations involved criminal provisions in various laws.

The most common charges were "opposition to Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations" with 14% (47 times), "making propaganda for a terrorist organization" under Article 7/f.2 of the Anti-Terror Law with 13.9% (46 times), "insulting a public official" under Article 125/f.3 of the TCC with 9% (30 times), and "membership of an armed terrorist organization" under Article 7/f.2 of the Anti-Terror Law with 9% (30 times).

#### Whoever Wanted to Claim Rights Faced Lawsuits

"Workers, women, students, LGBTI+'s, lawyers... Whoever wanted to assert their rights and demonstrate faced bans, interventions and even lawsuits. Predominantly under 2911... This case is a threat not only to the struggle against the disappeared, but also to the freedom of assembly and demonstration of the whole society."

Human Rights Association (IHD) Istanbul Branch Chair Lawyer Gülseren Yoleri

In 28 cases (9%), the accusation of "insulting the president" under Article 299 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK), which is one of the charges that the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has found to have a foreseeability problem, was brought against the defendants. In one of the noteworthy judgments of the ECtHR, *Vedat Şorli v. Turkey* with application number 42048/19, it was stated that this offense regulated under Article 299 of the TPC clearly violates Article 10 of the ECHR and, in line with the opinion of the Venice Commission, the repeal of this article would be a solution.

In 15 cases (5%) during this period, the offense of "denigrating the nation, the state and its organs" under Article 301 of the TPC, which the ECtHR ruled to have a foreseeability problem, stating that it "contains overly broad and vague expressions".

During the monitoring period, 17 cases (5%) were charged with "resisting to prevent the execution of duty" under Article 265 of the TPC; 15 cases (5%) with "simple insult<sup>4</sup>" under Article 125/1 of the TPC; 14 cases (4%) with "inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility" under Article 216 of the TPC; 12 cases (4%) with "revealing/disseminating or targeting the identity of persons who took part in the fight against terrorism" under Article 6/f.1 of the Anti-Terror Law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Denigrating the Turkish Nation, the State of the Republic of Turkey, the institutions and organs of the State

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> While the first paragraph of Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code, which regulates the crime of insult, regulates the simple form of the crime, the third paragraph considers the commission of the crime against a public official as an aggravating factor. The report analyzed the two provisions separately.



Photo: Anadolu Ajansı (AA)

## Firat Can Arslan Becomes First Journalist Arrested for Targeting Public Officials in the Fight Against Terrorism for Sharing Official Gazette

Mezopotamya Agency Reporter Fırat Can Arslan, who shared on Twitter the Official Gazette page on the transfer of M. K., the prosecutor who prepared the indictment against 18 journalists, 15 of whom were arrested in Diyarbakır, and his wife S.K., who was part of the panel of the court where the journalists were tried, to another city with the decree of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK), became the first journalist to be arrested on charges of targeting under the Anti-Terror Law.

In 11 civil lawsuits (3%) filed in civil courts of first instance and commercial courts of first instance, "attack on personal rights or damage to commercial reputation" was alleged.

In 9 cases (3%), the accusation of "wittingly and willingly aiding an organization" as regulated under Article 220/f.7 of the TCC; in 10 cases (3%), the accusation of "slander" as regulated under Article 267 of the TCC; in 6 cases (2%), the accusation of "unlawfully giving or obtaining personal data" as regulated under Article 136 of the TCC; and in 5 cases (2%), the accusation of "praising crime and criminals" as regulated under Article 215 of the TCC.

In 4 cases, defendants were charged with "damaging public property" under Article 152 of the TPC.

During the monitoring period, "favoring the guilty (Article 283 of the Turkish Penal Code)", "printing or publishing the publications of terrorist organizations" under Article 6/f.2 of the Anti-Terror Law and "deprivation of liberty" under Article 109 of the Turkish Penal Code were charged in three cases each.

In this period, the charges of "violating the Law No. 2565 on Military Prohibited Zones and Security Zones", "kidnapping or detaining transportation vehicles" under Article 223 of the TPC, "incitement to commit crime" under Article 214 of the TPC, "establishing and/or leading an armed organization" under Article 7/f.1 of the Anti-Terror Law, "obtaining information related to the security of the state" under Article 327 of the TPC and "insulting the signs of sovereignty of the state" under Article 300 of the TPC were brought in two cases each.

The least common charges were "committing a crime on behalf of an organization without being a member of the organization (Article 220/f.6 of the TPC)", "disclosing information that should remain confidential (Article 330 of the TPC)", "not publishing corrections and replies (Article 18 of the Press Law)", "disclosing information on the security and political interests of the state (Article 329 of the TPC)" and "disrupting the unity and territorial integrity of the state (Article 302 of the TPC)".

The accusation of "publicly disseminating misleading information" (TCK 217/A), which was adopted in October 2022 and has been described as a "censorship law", appeared for the first time in two cases during this monitoring period.

## Why are There Charges such as 'Simple Injury' or 'Deprivation of Liberty'?

In the table of charges against the defendants, some charges that do not fit the definition of a "peaceful demonstration" stand out. Could these really mean that the protesters acted aggressively or kidnapped someone? The context of such accusations suggests that this is not the case.

In one case, six women and LGBTI+ protesters were charged with "damaging public property" for breaking the vase of the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Family and Labor Social Services on July 7, 2020, during a demonstration in defense of the Istanbul Convention.

In a case where "**simple injury**" was charged, a police officer filed a claim for "simple injury" in a case against 15 women protesting against femicides in 2021, as a result of a police officer's claim that one of the protesters pushed him. However, the protesters were beaten and detained.

#### **Table of Charges Filed**

Accusations		
Violation of Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations	47	14.29%
Making terrorist organization propaganda (TMK 7/2)	46	13.98%
Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	30	9.12%
Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TMK art.7/f.1)	30	9.12%
Insulting the President (TCK 299)	28	8.51%
Resisting to prevent the execution of a duty (TCK 265)	17	5.17%
Insult (TCK 125/1)	15	4.56%
Denigrating the state and its organs (TCK 301)	15	4.56%
Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility (TCK 216)	14	4.26%
Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of persons who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK 6/1)	12	3.65%
Attack on personal rights and damage to commercial reputation	11	3.34%
Slander (TPC 267)	10	3.04%
Knowingly and willingly aiding an organization (TCK 220/7)	9	2.74%
Unlawfully giving or obtaining data (TCK 136)	6	1.82%
Praising crime and criminals (TCK 215)	5	1.52%
Damage to public property (TCK 152)	4	1.22%
Printing or publishing publications of terrorist organizations (TMK 6/2)	3	0.91%
Favoring the guilty (TCK 283)	3	0.91%
Deprivation of liberty (TCK 109)	3	0.91%
Injury (TCK 86)	2	0.61%
Hijacking or detention of means of transportation (TCK 223)	2	0.61%
Incitement to commit a crime (TCK 214)	2	0.61%
Establishing and/or leading an armed organization (TMK 7/1)	2	0.61%
Publicly disseminating misleading information (TCK 217/A)	2	0.61%
Obtaining information related to the security of the state (TCK 327)	2	0.61%
Denigrating the signs of state sovereignty (TCK 300)	2	0.61%
Violation of Law No. 2565 on Military Prohibited Zones and Security Zones	2	0.61%
Committing a crime on behalf of a terrorist organization without being a member (220/6)	1	0.30%
Disclosing confidential information (TCK 330)	1	0.30%
Failure to publish the correction and reply (Article 18 of the Press Law)	1	0.30%
Disclosing information on the security and political interests of the state (TCK 329)	1	0.30%
Disrupting the unity and territorial integrity of the state (TCK 302)	1	0.30%

#### A New Tool of Pressure on Freedom of Expression: Censorship Law



"We are journalists" - Photo: Bilal Seçkin

The regulation prepared by the AKP and MHP with the claim of "combating disinformation", but described as a "censorship law" by the opposition and press professional organizations, became the most important item on the agenda in the field of freedom of expression and press freedom during this monitoring period. With this regulation, the crime of "publicly disseminating misleading information" was added to the Turkish Penal Code, resulting in information and news that the government does not like or finds objectionable to be considered disinformation. Internet news websites were brought under the regulation of the Press Law, and regulations on social media companies were also included in this law.

The Bill on the Amendment of the Press Law and Certain Laws was submitted to the Presidency of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on May 26, 2022, with the signatures of AKP and MHP MPs. On October 13, 2022, the bill was approved by the General Assembly of the Parliament with AKP and MHP votes, and entered into force on October 18 after being published in the Official Gazette. Journalists, professional organizations and civil society organizations pointed out that the law would be used as an element of pressure on the media. The bill, which became law despite all objections, brought about important debates and developments during the period covered by this monitoring period.

#### **Press Law Now Covers Internet News Websites**

With the amendment, online news websites were also included in the scope of the Press Law. Thus, many of the obligations that newspapers and press organizations are subject to have been extended to online news websites. In order to be recognized as an internet news website, these websites must notify the chief public prosecutor's office. The regulation also paves the way for journalists working for online news websites to obtain press cards. In return, online news websites will be obliged to protect all content they publish for two years to be submitted to the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office when necessary.

The four-month period granted to print media by the law to file a lawsuit will start from the date of the complaint, not from the date of publication. In other words, a news website may be subject to lawsuits for the current news it publishes on a daily basis, as well as for the news it published in previous years.

#### Social Media Affected by the Law

With the law, the Information Technologies Authority (BTK) and the Press Advertisement Agency (BİK) will be able to access any user's data from instant messaging applications. Companies that do not share information will face fines of up to 30 million TL and bandwidth throttling of up to 95%.

#### **Press Cards Now in the Directorate of Communications**

The law also regulates to whom and by whom press cards will be issued. Ten of the 19 members of the Press Card Commission are appointed by the Presidential Communications Directorate. The commission's mission is to "evaluate the applicant's qualifications, professional work, works and awards and decide whether he/she can carry a press card or not", which has led to increased criticism of the state's issuance of press cards.

#### **Sword of Damocles: Public Dissemination of Misleading Information**

The most important change brought by the law is the offense of "publicly disseminating misleading information" regulated under Article 217/A of the Turkish Penal Code.

#### **Publicly Disseminating Misleading Information**

**Article 217/A-** (Amendment: 13/10/2022-7418/29 Art.) (1) Anyone who publicly disseminates untrue information concerning the internal and external security, public order and public health of the country with the sole intention of creating anxiety, fear or panic among the public, in a way that is capable of disrupting public peace, shall be punished with imprisonment from one year to three years.

(2) If the perpetrator commits the offense by concealing his real identity or within the framework of the activities of an organization, the penalty imposed according to the first paragraph shall be increased by half.

The most criticized aspect of the law is the definition of "false information". This is because it remains vague as to how and by whom false information will be determined. The vagueness of the provision raises serious concerns among the public that it will lead to arbitrary practices.

#### First Lawsuit Filed Against Sinan Aygül

Following the regulation, the first investigation was opened against journalist Sinan Aygül in December 2022. The grounds for the investigation were the news on the sexual abuse of a child in Tatvan. Aygül's defense was undertaken by the MLSA Legal Unit. On February 28, 2023, the Tatvan Criminal Court of First Instance sentenced the journalist to 10 months in prison for this crime, making Aygül the first journalist to be sentenced for "disinformation". Sinan Aygül's appeal to the regional court of appeal was rejected and his case is currently under appeal.

To date, at least 33 journalists have been investigated, six have been detained and four have been arrested.

"Most recently, T24 writer Tolga Şardan was arrested on November 1 for his article titled "What's in the 'judicial report' submitted by the National Intelligence Agency to the Presidency?". After five days of detention, journalist Şardan was released on November 6.

#### **Constitutional Court Rejects Annulment Request**

Following the adoption of the law, the Republican People's Party (CHP) applied to the Constitutional Court for a stay of execution and annulment of the law. Legal experts evaluated the law as contrary to the provisions of the Constitution regulating freedom of thought and expression and freedom of the press. Emphasizing that the law is not predictable, they called for its annulment as a direct restriction on freedom of expression.

Defenders of the law argued that four conditions must be met for the crime to be punishable. According to this view, in order to be punishable under the disinformation law, the act must be committed with the sole purpose of creating anxiety, panic and fear among the public; the information must be related to internal or external security, public order or public health; the information must be false; and it must be disseminated in a manner likely to disturb public peace. However, legal experts emphasize that in reality arrests and punishments have been made without these elements and that the law has been used uncontrollably as a tool of repression against independent media.

The MLSA Legal Unit also issued a letter to the members of the Constitutional Court on November 4, demanding the law's annulment.

## Letter from MLSA to the Members of the Constitutional Court: Cancel the Censorship Law!

"...It is the duty of the media literate readership to judge which news is true and which is false. It is not acceptable for judges, prosecutors or the administration to decide whether a news story is true or false, neither in accordance with the principles of journalism nor in a democracy with a free opposition media. If there is a falsehood, the addressee will deny it. It cannot be left to prosecutors to refute or confirm it...."

### Journalists and Professional Organizations: For 85 Million People's Right to Information, This Law Must Be Annulled

Journalists and professional organizations held a vigil in front of the Constitutional Court on the day the Supreme Court was due to hear the annulment of the law. The Media and Law Studies Association also took part in the vigil with journalists and representatives of professional organizations. Journalists' Association, Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGS), DİSK-Basın İş, Contemporary Journalists Association (ÇGD), Press Council of Turkey, as well as representatives of professional organizations such as Union of Turkish Bar Associations (TBB), Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) and many politicians and journalists attended the vigil. In their statements, they emphasized that the law must be annulled to protect the right to information for 85 million people.

The Constitutional Court announced its decision on November 8. The Supreme Court rejected the annulment request by six votes to eight. The decision was met with reaction by professional organizations. The reasoned decision had not yet been published at the time of this report.

## An Overview of Freedom of Expression Cases Based on 'Types' of Crimes

In order to determine the most common category of accusations for which individuals were put on trial in the monitored period, we divided the accusations into general groups according to their types.

The data collected as part of the program showed that during the monitoring period, individuals were most often prosecuted for "terrorism crimes". In 103 (32%) of the 233 freedom of expression cases monitored, individuals were prosecuted for "terrorism" crimes regulated under the Anti-Terror Law.

**Terrorism crimes** are defined under the Anti-Terrorism Law as "explaining or targeting the identity of public officials who have taken part in the fight against terrorism" (TMK art.6/f.1), "printing and publishing the publications of terrorist organizations" (TMK art.6/f.2), "membership to an armed terrorist organization" (TMK art.7/f.1), "publishing propaganda in favor of terrorist organizations" (TMK art.7/f.2) and other terrorist crimes listed in the TMK.

The second most common category of offense in the monitored cases was opposition to Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations; in 47 (15%) cases individuals were charged with this offense.

"Crimes against honor<sup>5""</sup> and "crimes against the signs of the sovereignty of the State and the dignity of its organs<sup>6</sup>" ranked third; in 45 cases (14%) each, charges falling under this category were the

primary charges against the accused. These were followed by "crimes against public peace<sup>7"</sup> (23 cases, 7%); "crimes against the reliability and functioning of public administration" (17 cases, 5%); compensation cases (12 cases, 4%); "crimes against the judiciary" (11 cases, 3%); "crimes against private life and privacy" (6 cases, 2%).

The categories of crimes that accounted for approximately 1% of the data were as follows: "crimes against property" (4 cases), "crimes against state secrets and espionage" (4 cases), "crimes against liberty" (3 cases), "crimes against means of transport or fixed platforms" (2 cases), "crimes against bodily integrity" (2 cases), "crimes against the security of the state" (1 case).

## Students Protesting Trustee Appointment Charged with "Detention of Transportation Vehicles"

In October 2021, Boğaziçi students were charged with "kidnapping or detaining transportation vehicles" (TCK 223) and "deprivation of liberty" for allegedly blocking the passage of the rector's office vehicle during a protest against the appointment of a trustee rector in front of Boğaziçi University rectorate building.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Insult and insult to public officials are regulated under this category.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The offenses of insulting the President of the Republic and denigrating the State, the nation or the institutions and organs of the State are included in this group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The crimes of inciting the public to hatred and hostility and publicly disseminating misleading information are included in this category.

## Head of Bread Producers Union charged with insulting the President

Bread Producers Union President Cihan Kolivar was among those who were prosecuted for "insulting the President". Kolivar, who was investigated for insulting the President for saying "Bread is the staple food of stupid societies" in a program on Habertürk, was arrested on November 9, 2022. The lawsuit filed against Kolivar, who was released eight days later upon the objection of his lawyer, continues at Istanbul 17th Criminal Court of First Instance.

In the second lawsuit filed on February 10, 2023 against journalist **Sedef Kabaş**, who was arrested on January 22, 2022 for "insulting the president" on the grounds of a proverb she uttered in a program broadcast on TELE1 and released after 49 days, upon the complaint of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's lawyers, her social media posts were cited as criminal evidence. In the indictment, 25 separate posts made by Kabaş on her Twitter account were considered as evidence of the crime of "insulting the president". Among these 25

tweets are some that Kabaş retweeted. For example, IYI Party Chairperson Meral Akşener's use of the term "unconscious" in a tweet directed at President Erdoğan is also among the evidence.

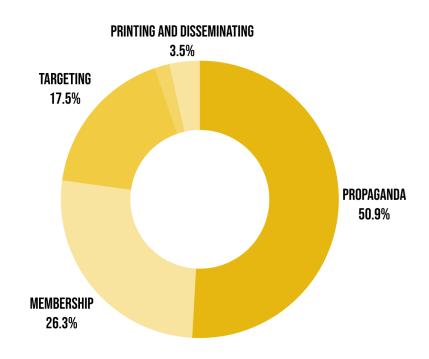
Crime Category	Number of Cases
Terrorism Offenses	103
Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations	47
Crimes Against Honor	45
Crimes against the Signs of Sovereignty of the State and the Dignity of its Organs	45
Offenses against Public Peace	23
Crimes against the Reliability and Functioning of Public Administration	17
Crimes Against Justice	13
Damage to commercial reputation and violation of personal rights	11
Crimes Against Private Life and Privacy	6
Crimes Against Assets	4
Crimes against State Secrets and Espionage	4
Crimes against Liberty	3
Other	3
Offenses against Body Immunity	2
Offenses against Vehicles or Fixed Platforms	2
Crimes against State Security	1

#### Journalistic Activities Continued to Be Considered Both "Crime" and "Terrorism"

In 133 cases filed for journalism, the most common accusations were "terrorism offenses". In 43% of these cases (57 cases) journalists were charged with terror-related offenses. The most common charges were "making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)" (29 cases) and "membership of an armed terrorist organization" (15 cases).

Terrorism Charges Against Journalists	
Making terrorist organization propaganda (TMK 7/2)	29
Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TMK art.7/f.1 - TCK 314/2)	15
Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK art.6/f.1)	10
Knowingly and willingly aiding an organization (TPC 220/7)	1
Printing or publishing publications of terrorist organizations (TMK 6/2)	2
Total	57

In the indictments, journalistic activities, news reports and social media posts were frequently evaluated as **terrorist organization propaganda**. Journalists whose cases were monitored as part of the program were **most often accused of making terrorist organization propaganda** due to their news reports.



DISTRIBUTION OF TERRORISM CHARGES AGAINST JOURNALISTS

#### **Evidence Used Against the Defendants**

In 233 freedom of expression cases monitored during the reporting period, 21 accusations in 453 different types of evidence were based on indictments.

Of this evidence, 119 consisted of the testimonies of individuals.

The defendant's news content/photos/writings were used in 96 cases, social media posts in 68 cases, interviews or statements such as television speeches in 27 cases. In addition, meetings/demonstrations/marches/press releases attended were used in at least 43 cases.

Membership in an association or the institution they work for was used as evidence of illegal organization membership in 7 cases. Secret witness statements were also used as evidence against the defendants in 7 cases.



Photo: Mesopotamia Agency

#### 'I am being avenged for Kemal Kurkut photos'

"After publishing the photographs of Kemal Kurkut, there was no pressure I was not subjected to.
The secret witness they produced became reckless enough to say that Kemal Kurkut was a
'member of an illegal organization' and that I 'took the photos on the instructions of the
organization'. But instead of condemning this recklessness, the court sentenced me. Obviously,
even sentencing was not enough to avenge the photographs that exposed the official lie, and now
I am being tried again in the same court, this time in pre-trial detention. A witness has been
fabricated again, this time called an 'open witness'."

#### Abdurrahman Gök

From an interview he gave to MLSA while being held in Diyarbakır High Security Prison No. 1,

Secret witness statements were used against the defendants in the cases monitored in . In a total of 7 cases, secret witness statements were used as evidence.

Regarding this practice, which is contrary to the principles of the publicity of the trial and the discussability of the evidence, the Constitutional Court stated in its decision on Riza Barut Application dated 28.12.2021 that "......Therefore, it is not possible to accept the abstract secret witness statement, which does not contain information about the place, time, person and action and does not give the judicial authorities the opportunity to control in this sense, as a strong indication." (para: 74)" and stated that these abstract secret witness statements should not be used as a basis for the verdict.

Evidence	#
News content/photo/article	96
Social media posts	68
Law enforcement investigation	56
Accused statements (investigation phase)	49
Attended meeting/demonstration/march/press release	43
Crime scene/detention reports	33
Explanations	27
Statements of the complainant	18
Mobese/Camera footage	12
Denunciation/criminal complaint against the defendant	9
Witness statements	8
Technical-Physical Surveillance reports	7
News notes or interviews with sources	7
Secret witness statement	7
The organization he/she works for/the party or association he/she is a member of	7
Investigation permission from the Ministry of Justice	2
Possession of banned publications	1
Social media posts	1
Travel information	1
Money transactions	1

#### Overview of Evidence of "Membership of a Terrorist Organization"

In 30 of the 233 cases monitored, the defendants were charged with "membership of a terrorist organization" (TMK art.7/f.1- TCK 314/2). In 30 cases, 94 different pieces of evidence were presented. Almost all of this evidence consisted of news reports, speeches, writings, statements and social media posts of the defendants.

Evidence Presented in Cases Charged with	
Membership of an Organization	Cases
News articles/articles/publications/photographs	20
Social media posts	11
Membership of association/political party/ organization,	
institution where he/she works	9
Crime scene/detention reports	9
Attended meeting/demonstration/march/press release	8
Technical-physical surveillance reports	8
Explanations	6
Secret witness statement	5
Telephone interviews with news sources	5
Witness statements	5
Mobese/camera footage	4
Denunciation/criminal complaint against the defendant	3
Financial movements	1

The use of journalists' news articles and social media posts as evidence for membership of a terrorist organization, which is one of the most common accusations against journalists, constitutes a violation of the right to freedom of expression under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.



## JINNEWS' News Language Cited as Criminal Evidence

Safiye Alağaş, News Director of Jin News, was detained along with 15 other journalists as part of an investigation by the Diyarbakır Chief Public Prosecutor's Office and arrested on 16 June 2022 on charges of "being a member of an illegal organization". The investigation file was separated and a lawsuit was filed against Alağaş on the same charge.

The indictment cited news visuals and headlines published in Jin News, news language, editorial policy, and the ban on access to the agency's website as evidence of the crime. At the first hearing of the trial held at Diyarbakır 5th High Criminal Court on June 15, 2023, Alağaş was released with a ban on leaving the country. The case is still ongoing.



Social Media Post Sentenced for "Repeated Propaganda for an Illegal Organization"

An indictment was issued against Jin News reporter **Beritan Canözer** on 31 January 2022 on the allegation of "chained illegal organization propaganda" based on her social media posts in 2014 and 2015. Canözer was sentenced to **3 years**, **1 month and 15 days in prison** at the fourth hearing held at Diyarbakır 4th High Criminal Court on November 17, 2022.

## **Increase in Pretrial Detentions**

In the six trials held during the period covered by the report, 30 people, including 29 journalists, were tried in pre-trial detention. The main reason for the increase in pre-trial detentions was that the trials of journalists arrested in Diyarbakır and Ankara in 2022 were also held during this period.

## **List of Detainees on Trial in Monitored Cases**

File Number	Detainees on Trial	Accusations	Release Date	Number of Detainees	Duration
2022/158	Former Taraf writer Mehmet Baransu	Obtaining information related to the security of the state (TCK 327), Disclosing information related to the security and political interests of the state (TCK 329)		1	9 years
2022/434	TMA <sup>8</sup> President Şebnem Korur Fincancı	Making terrorist organization propaganda (TMK 7/2), Membership of an armed terrorist organization (TCK 314/2)	Jan 11, 2023	1	2.5 months
2023/113	Jin News News Director Safiye Alağaş	Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TCK 314/2)	Jun 15, 2023	1	12 months
2023/24	Ankara 11 journalists	Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TCK 314/2)	May 16, 2023	11	7 months
2023/28	Journalist Sezgin Kartal	Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TMK art.7/f.1 - TCK 314/2)	Jun 22, 2023	1	5 months
2023/69	Diyarbakır 15 journalists	Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TMK art.7/f.1 - TCK 314/2)	12 Jul 2023	15	13 months

2015 yılından beri cezaevinde tutulan Mehmet Baransu haricinde, tutukluluk süresi ortalama 9 ay oldu. Bu rapor döneminde en uzun süre tutulan kişiler Diyarbakır'da 13 ay cezaevinde kalan 15 gazeteci oldu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Turkish Medical Association

## Diyarbakır 15 Journalists Released in Journalist Trial

Social media posts are among the evidence against 18 journalists on trial in Diyarbakır for "illegal organization membership". Dicle Fırat Journalists Association (DFG) Co-Chair Serdar Altan, JINNEWS Director Safiye Alagaş, Xwebûn Newspaper Editor-in-Chief Mehmet Ali Ertaş, Mezopotamia Agency (MA) editor Aziz Oruç, journalists Zeynel Abidin Bulut, Ömer Çelik, Mazlum Doğan Güler, İbrahim Koyuncu, Neşe Toprak, Elif Üngür, Abdurrahman Öncü, Mehmet Şahin, Lezgin Akdeniz, Suat Doğuhan, Ramazan Geciken and press worker Remziye Temel were arrested on 16 June 2022 on charges of "being an illegal organisation member". Journalists Esmer Tunç, Mehmet Yalçın, Gülşen Koçuk, Kadir Bayram and Feynaz Koçuk and İhsan Ergülen, who took part in a street interview, were released on judicial control conditions.

Diyarbakır Chief Public Prosecutor's Office prepared an indictment against 18 journalists and media workers due to "illegal organization membership". The files on journalists **Safiye Alagaş, Gülşen Koçuk, Feynaz Koçuk** and **İhsan Ergülen** were separated. Journalists' news programs, Social Security Institution records, phone calls with colleagues, secret witness testimonies, news archives, books they read, records of their entries and exits abroad, social media posts, press statements they attended, news they wrote, and interviews they gave to the press were included in the indictment as criminal evidence. In the first hearing of the case held at Diyarbakır 4th High Criminal Court on July 11 and 12, 2023, 15 journalists and press workers were released after 13 months in detention. The court issued a travel ban for the released journalists.

These results point to a recent trend and increase in pre-trial detention. In the period June - December 2018, the number of defendants on remand was 44, while this number increased to 53 in the period February 2019 - March 2020. In the period June - December 2020, this number decreased significantly to 6. In January - July 2021, the number of defendants in pre-trial detention decreased to 3, but increased again to 12 in September 2021 - July 2022. In the period covered by this report, 30 people were in pre-trial detention, a 150% increase compared to the previous period.

## 'We Pay the Price for Our Profession, Journalism'

"I was detained unjustly because of my news. I was arrested unjustly and unlawfully, saying 'Why did you make this news, why did you take this video?' We are being labeled as terrorists. We are paying the price for our profession and journalism. They ask us why we don't report tabloid news.

But when there is a truth, it is impossible not to write about it."

#### **Aziz Oruc**

From his defense statement at the first hearing of the trial against 18 journalists in Diyarbakır on July 12, 2023.

It should also be taken into consideration that there are other detainees, such as Selahattin Demirtaş, whose trials were not held during this period.

In addition, during the reporting period, there were detentions and arrests of journalists that turned into trials. Therefore, the trend of pre-trial detention can be expected to continue. For example, Merdan Yanardağ, who was arrested for criticizing the conditions of Abdullah Öcalan's execution in a program broadcast on TELE1 TV, was released after the trial monitoring report; this case will only be included in the statistics of the next report. Similarly, it should not be forgotten that journalists Dicle Müftüoğlu, Sedat Yılmaz, Abdurrahman Gök and Mehmet Şah Oruç, who were arrested before the May elections and whose trials were therefore outside the reporting period, are also in pre-trial detention.

## **Concluded Cases: 37 Sentence, 59 Acquittial**

During this period, 99 of the 233 cases were concluded. In 59 of these cases, a total of 260 defendants were acquitted, while in 32 cases, a total of 217 years, 8 months and 20 days of imprisonment was imposed on 116 defendants. In 6 cases, a total of 75.126 TL judicial fine was imposed on 12 defendants, while in 2 civil cases, three defendants were ordered to pay 35.000 TL non-pecuniary damages.

Total number of prison sentences imposed:

# 217 Years 8 Months 20 Days

Verdict	Case	Defendants	Total
Imprisonment	32	116	217 years, 8 months and 20 days
Beraat	59	260	-
Criminal Fine <sup>9</sup>	6	12	75.126 TL
Compensation	2	3	35.000 TL

## 'They Want to Get Rid of Us'

"They want to get rid of the Turkish Medical Association, they want to get rid of me a lot. If the death penalty is introduced, only then will this happen. You cannot scare us by putting us in four walls. As Nazım said, that wall of yours is too much for us!"

## Şebnem Korur Fincancı

From the December 24, 2022 defense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In a case involving four defendants, 3 defendants were sentenced to 10 months imprisonment each and one defendant was sentenced to a judicial fine.

# **Acquittal Verdicts for the Defendants**

File Number	Cause of Action	Case Subject	Number of Accused	Court Name
2012/335	Professional organization statement	Izmir Bar Association Religious Affairs Case - Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility (TCK 216)	11	Izmir 1st High Criminal Court
2018/122	Journalism	Mikail Tunçdemir, Ferhat Duman - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK $7/2$ )	1	Van 5th Assize Court
2018/269	Journalism	Adil Demirci - Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TCK 314/2)	4	Istanbul 25th High Criminal Court
2018/949	Journalism	Road blockage case - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	5	Diyarbakır 4th High Criminal Court
2019/237	Journalism	Engin Korkmaz - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Antalya 19th Criminal Court of First Instance
2019/716	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Selahattin Demirtaş (Batman Newroz)	1	Batman 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance
2020/240	Journalism	Case on Illegal Building on the Bosphorus - Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK 6/1)	4	Istanbul 26th High Criminal Court
2020/96	Peaceful Demonstration - Trustee Protest	Batman Trustee Protest Trial	28	Batman 1st Criminal Court of First Instance
2021/133	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Mothers for Peace (Leyla Güven support action)	7	Istanbul 23rd High Criminal Court
2021/201	Professional organization statement	Ankara Bar Association Religious Affairs Case - Insult (TCK 125/1), Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	12	Ankara 16th High Criminal Court
2021/212	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Kocaeli Boğaziçi Support Action (Kocaeli Labor and Democracy Forces Platform)	17	Kocaeli 5th Criminal Court of First Instance
2021/298	Journalism	Barış Barıştıran - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	1	Diyarbakır 8th High Criminal Court
2021/380	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Bakırköy Prison Protest Case	13	Istanbul 23rd High Criminal Court
2021/387	Journalism	Journalist Alican Uludağ- Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK 6/1)	1	Ankara Regional Court of Appeals 22nd Criminal Chamber
2021/510	Journalism	Görkem Kınacı - Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility (TCK 216)	1	Bakırköy 21st Criminal Court of First Instance
2021/540-D	Journalism	Velat Öztekin - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Diyarbakır 7th Criminal Court of First Instance
2021/837	Artist/Writer/Poet statement	Ilyas Salman - Denigrating the state and its organs (TCK 301)	1	Istanbul Anadolu 54th Criminal Court of First Instance
2021/885	Peaceful Demonstration - Labor Action	DEV-Tekstil May Day Action	40	Büyükçekmece 10th Criminal Court of First Instance
2021/948	Peaceful Demonstration - LGBTI+ / Pride Action	2021 Pride Week (Cihangir Case)	7	Istanbul 18th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/152	Journalism	Journalist Inci Aydın - Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people involved in the fight against terrorism (TMK $6/1$ )	1	Aydın 2nd Assize Court
2022/1557	Journalism	Levent Gültekin - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Istanbul 23rd Criminal Court of First Instance

File Number	Cause of Action	Case Subject	Number of Accused	Court Name
2022/1620	Politician/Party statement or activity	Eren Erdem - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Istanbul Anatolia 63rd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/163	Journalism	Görkem Kınacı, Uğur Şahin, Uğur Koç - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3), Slander (TCK 267)	3	Beykoz 6th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/180	Politician/Party statement or activity	AABK Founding President Case - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	1	Istanbul 23rd High Criminal Court
2022/1897	Journalism	Mustafa Sönmez - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Istanbul Anatolia 38th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/1919	Peaceful Demonstration - LGBTI+ / Pride Action	Eskisehir Pride March	8	Eskisehir 4th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/193	Journalism	Ferhat Parlak - Membership in an armed terrorist organization (TCK 314/2)	1	Diyarbakır 11th High Criminal Court
2022/197	Activist (rights defender) definition	Rights defender Aslı Saraç - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	1	Ankara 28th High Criminal Court
2022/21	Journalism	Cafer Solgun - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Tunceli 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/215	Professional organization statement	Diyarbakır Bar Association Armenian Genocide Case - Denigrating the state and its organs (TCK 301)	11	Diyarbakır 11th High Criminal Court
2022/23	Activist (rights defender) definition	Fatin Kanat - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	1	Ankara 25th High Criminal Court
2022/249	Journalism	Ceylan Şahinli - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	1	Ankara 20th High Criminal Court
2022/251	Journalism	Akın Gürlek targeting case - Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK $6/1$ )	2	Istanbul 34th High Criminal Court
2022/27	Peaceful Demonstration - LGBTI+ / Pride Action	2021 Istanbul Pride March (Mis Street)	19	Istanbul 60th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/286	Activist (rights defender) definition	Özlem Yılmaz - Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK 6/1)	1	Izmir 21st High Criminal Court
2022/287	Journalism	Journalist Nazlan Ertan - Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people involved in the fight against terrorism (TMK 6/1), Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Izmir 21st High Criminal Court
2022/324	Peaceful Demonstration - Women's Action	Ankara Istanbul Convention Protest	8	Ankara 53rd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/33	Artist/Writer/Poet statement	Rüstem Avcı - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Nazimiye Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/340	Activist (rights defender) definition	Eren Keskin - Disclosing/disseminating/targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism (TMK 6/1)	1	Izmir 18th High Criminal Court
2022/344-AT	Activist (rights defender) definition	Lawyer Aryen Turan - Knowingly and willingly aiding an organization (TCK 220/7)	1	Izmir 18th High Criminal Court

File Number	Car	use of Action		Case Subject	Number of Accused	Court Name
2022/348	Journalism			Hayri Tunç - Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility (TCK 216)	1	Istanbul 42nd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/356	Journalism			Nişmiye Güler - Making propaganda for a terrorist organization (TMK 7/2)	2	Istanbul 27th High Criminal Court
2022/380	Journalism			Nazan Özcan - Insult (TCK 125/1), Slander (TCK 267)	1	Istanbul 34th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/410	Activist definition	(rights defe	ender)	Büyükada case - Membership of an armed terrorist organization (TCK 314/2), Knowingly and willingly aiding an organization (TCK 220/7)	4	Istanbul 35th High Criminal Court
2022/42-Z	Journalism			Zübeyde Sarı - Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility (TCK 216)	1	Bakırköy 24th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/422	Journalism			Ender İmrek - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Bakırköy 44th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/468	Journalism			Mustafa Kömüş - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Istanbul Anatolia 1st Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/514	Journalism			Sezgin Kartal - Insult (TCK 125/1)	1	Istanbul 24th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/525	Journalism			Onur Öncü - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Küçükçekmece 22nd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/529	Activist definition	(rights defe	ender)	Veli Saçılık - Denigrating the state and its organs (TCK 301)	1	Ankara 3rd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/543	Activist definition	(rights defe	ender)	Öztürk Türkdoğan - Denigrating the state and its organs (TCK 301)	1	Ankara 24th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/543-IST	Journalism			Journalist Fırat Fıstık, Ozan Buz - Unlawful provision or seizure of data (TCK 136)	2	Istanbul 46th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/56	Activist definition	(rights defe	ender)	Efkan Bolaç - Insulting the President (TCK 299)	1	Istanbul 52nd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/585	Activist definition	(rights defe	ender)	Hanife Yıldız - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Istanbul 48th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/640	Journalism			Alican Uludağ - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Ankara 67th Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/74	Journalism			Çağrı Sarı, Arif Koşar - Denigrating the state and its organs (TCK 301)	2	Istanbul 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance
2022/840	Peaceful Saturday M	Demonstration others	ı -	Saturday Mothers/People of Saturday Cemetery of the Orphans Trial	14	Küçükçekmece 1st Criminal Court of First Instance
2023/243	Journalism			Ruşen Takva - Publicly disseminating misleading information (TCK 217/A)	1	Hakkari 1st Criminal Court of First Instance
2023/38	Journalism			Doğan Akın - Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	Istanbul 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance

## **Imprisonment Sentences in Cases**

In **32** cases, **116** defendants were sentenced to **217** years, **8** months and **20** days. In 21 cases, deferral of the announcement of the verdict (HAGB) was applied for 40 defendants. The Constitutional Court annulled the deferral of the announcement of the verdict on August 1, 2023.

## **Imprisonment Sentences During the Monitoring Period**

Three defendants were sentenced to a total of 2 years, 7 months and 25 days in two trials over the statements of rights defenders.

In three trials for **peaceful demonstrations** on different issues, 43 defendants were sentenced to a total of 104 years, 7 months and 18 days in prison.

**In one of the cases related to student** actions, 30 defendants were sentenced to a total of 16 years, 8 months.

In 18 cases for journalistic activities, 26 defendants were sentenced to 68 years, 4 months and 27 days in total.

In one case, 1 defendant was sentenced to 2 years, 8 months and 15 days in total.

In two cases, 2 defendants were sentenced to 1 year and 8 months in total for making a statement by an artist, writer or poet.

In three cases, 3 defendants were sentenced to 3 years, 2 months and 15 days in total for their statements/activities as politicians or party members.

# Constitutional Court Cancels the Deferral of the Announcement of the Sentence



"Constitutional Court" - Photo: Bilal Seçkin

As can be seen in the data in this report, in some cases the courts decided to defer the announcement of the verdict (HAGB). The deferral of the announcement of the verdict (HAGB), which is regulated under Article 231 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, is applied when the penalty imposed on the defendant as a result of the trial is imprisonment for two years or less or a judicial fine. The court's deferral of the announcement of the verdict does not prevent the announcement of the conviction; it means that the verdict does not have any legal consequences for the defendant.

However, during this monitoring period, the Constitutional Court annulled the legal regulation on HAGB on August 1, 2023. According to the decision published in the Official Gazette, Trabzon 2nd Criminal Court of First Instance applied to the Supreme Court for the annulment of the deferral of the announcement of the verdict in a criminal case filed on charges of "intentional injury" and "resisting to prevent the execution of duty", claiming that the deferral of the announcement of the verdict was unconstitutional. In the application, it was stated that the decision to defer the announcement of the verdict did not provide adequate redress for the victims, led to the exemption of the perpetrators

from punishment and the state failed to fulfill its obligation to protect and develop the material and moral existence of individuals, and that this was contrary to Article 17 of the Constitution.

In the Constitutional Court's decision, it was stated that in cases involving allegations of ill-treatment, if the LAGB is applied, the defendant does not receive an enforceable sentence and the victim is not provided with adequate and effective compensation.

In order to receive a Leniency, the defendant must first accept this decision. If the defendant agrees to the HAGB, he/she has to give up his/her right to appeal before he/she is even sentenced. Courts usually defer the announcement of the verdict without obtaining the defendant's consent. In the Constitutional Court's decision, it was pointed out that there is no legal regulation on when the defendant's declaration of will regarding the acceptance of the HAGB will be asked, and it was stated that "This situation puts the defendant, who has not yet been convicted, in a vulnerable situation against the existence of the threat of conviction and forces him to waive his right to appeal in advance, which has not yet arisen."

# **Table of Cases Sentenced to Imprisonment**

Dosya No.	Cause of Action	Defendants	Sanık Sayısı	Total duration
2015/294	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Batman Live Shield Action Trial	31	98 years, 8 months and 28 days
2018/185	Other	ETHA Journalists Trial	5	12 years, 6 months and 10 days
2019/292	Journalism	Van Medical Chamber Statement Case	1	2 years, 9 months and 22 days
2020/236	Activist (rights defender) definition	Kemal Isiktas Case	1	7 months and 15 days
2020/294	Journalism	Hatice Sahin Case	1	6 years and 3 days
2020/33	Journalism	Sadiye Eser and Sadık Topaloğlu Case	2	12 years and 6 days
2020/41	Journalism	Journalist Rojda Oğuz news follow-up (This trial of 6 defendants was monitored only from the perspective of the journalist defendant).	1	1 year 6 months 22 days
2021/1170	Politician / Party statement or activity	Sırrı Süreyya Önder Case	1	5 months
2021/12	Journalism	Zaman Newspaper Trial	4	11 years and 3 months
2021/247	Journalism	Çetin Kurşun Case	2	13 years and 3 months
2021/418	Politician/Party statement or activity	Ekrem Imamoglu Case	1	2 years, 7 months and 15 days
2021/431	Activist (rights defender) definition	"Insulting the president" case against three defendants	2	1 year, 11 months and 10 days
2021/443	Journalism	Mehmet Emin Kurnaz Case	2	1 year, 11 months and 10 days
2021/477	Journalism	Doğan Ergün and Izel Sezer Case	2	2 years and 9 months
2021/479	Journalism	Ismail Arı Case	1	1 year and 8 months
2021/695	Peaceful Demonstration - Student Action	Bosphorus Car Case	30	16 years and 8 months
2022/14	Politician/Party statement or activity	Caglar Demirel Case	1	5 months

Dosya No.	Cause of Action	Defendants	Sanık Sayısı	Total duration
2022/158	Journalism	Rabia Önver Trial	1	1 year 6 months 27 days
2022/202	Journalism	Kadri Esen Case	1	1 year 3 months
2022/211	Artist/Writer/Poet statement	Ahmet Telli Trial	1	10 months
2022/236	Journalism	Ismail Coban Case	1	1 year 6 months 22 days
2022/262	Journalism	Van Helicopter Prosecutor Trial	2	2 years and 6 months
2022/292	Journalism	Mehmet Güleş Case	1	1 year 9 months 25 days
2022/316	Artist/Writer/Poet statement	Gülşen Çolakoğlu Case	1	10 months
2022/434	Professional organization statement	Şebnem Korur Fincancı Trial	1	2 years, 8 months and 15 days
2022/51	Journalism	Beritan Canözer Trial	1	3 years 1 month 15 days
2022/564	Journalism	Can Ataklı Trial	1	5 months and 25 days
2022/7	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Van October 10 Protest Trial	1	8 months
2022/76	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Dersim We Can't Make a Living Action Trial	11	6 years, 3 months and 25 days
2022/80	Journalism	Nurcan Yalçın Case	1	2 years and 6 months
2023/89	Journalism	Sinan Aygül Case	1	10 months
2022/60	Activist (rights defender) definition	Van Dedeoğulları Banner Case	3	2 years and 6 months

Total number of prison sentences imposed

# 217 Years 8 Months 20 Days

## **Items with the Most Imprisonment Sentences**

The three crimes with the highest number of prison sentences in terms of duration were "assisting a terrorist organization", "membership in a terrorist organization" and "terrorist propaganda". In the decisions issued in this period:

32 defendants were sentenced to a total of 102 years, 7 months and 28 days for "knowingly and willingly aiding an armed terrorist organization". 5 defendants were sentenced to 31 years 3 months and 9 days in total for "Membership of an armed terrorist organization". 14 defendants were sentenced to 29 years 9 months and 8 days in total for "making propaganda for a terrorist organization". 4 defendants were sentenced to 11 years and 3 months in total for "committing crimes on behalf of a terrorist organization without being a member of the organization".

At this point, it should be noted that the ECtHR, in its judgment dated 14.11.2017 with application number 41226/09 *Işıkırık/Turkey*, found the provision "committing a crime on behalf of a terrorist organization without being a member of a terrorist organization" in paragraph 6 of Article 220 of the TPC problematic in terms of legal foreseeability and fairness and recommended that it be amended or abolished.

Regarding the subsequent charges, 3 defendants were sentenced to a total of 4 years and 5 months imprisonment for "unlawful transfer or seizure of data". 1 defendant was sentenced to a total of 2 years, 7 months and 15 days imprisonment for "insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)".

Although acquittals were issued in six cases, on the basis of the sentences, 2 defendants were sentenced to a total of 2 years and 6 months in prison for "revealing/disseminating or targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism".

Other articles that followed in this period were as follows:

- 2 defendants on the charge of "Demeaning the Turkish nation, the Republic of Turkey, the institutions and organs of the state" were sentenced to a total of 10 months in prison.
- 1 defendant was sentenced to 7 months and 15 days in total on the charge of "praising crime and criminal".
- 1 defendant was sentenced to a total of 10 months for "publicly disseminating misleading information".
- **5 defendants were sentenced to a total of** 3 years, 9 months and 25 days on the charge of "inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility".
- 1 defendant was sentenced to 8 months in total on the charge of "resisting to prevent the execution of duty".
- 4 defendants were sentenced to a total of 3 years 10 months and 20 days for "insulting the President".
- 41 defendants were sentenced to a total of 22 years 11 months and 25 days on the charge of "opposing the Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations".

İzlenen Tüm Davalarda Verilen Hapis Cezalarının Suçlara Göre Dağılımı

Accusation	Number of Cases	No. defendants	Total Penalty
Violation of Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations	2	41	22 years, 11 months and 25 days
Insulting the President	2	4	3 years, 10 months and 20 days
Resisting to prevent the performance of a duty	1	1	8 months
Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility	3	5	3 years, 9 months and 25 days
Publicly disseminating misleading information	1	1	10 months
Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1	1	2 years, 7 months and 15 days
Knowingly and willingly aiding the organization	2	32	102 years, 7 months and 28 days
Membership in an armed terrorist organization	3	5	31 years, 3 months and 9 days
Praising crime and criminals	1	1	7 months and 15 days
Making terrorist organization propaganda	10	14	29 years, 9 months and 8 days
Not being a member of a terrorist organization but committing a crime on behalf of the organization	1	4	11 years and 3 months
Disclosing/disseminating or targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism	1	2	2 years and 6 months
Denigrating the Turkish nation, the Republic of Turkey, institutions and organs of the state	2	2	10 months
Unlawfully giving or obtaining data	2	3	4 years and 5 months
Grand Total	32	116	217 YEARS, 8 MONTHS AND 20 DAYS

During this period, 23 journalists were sentenced to a total of **67 years, 8 months and 12 days** imprisonment in 17 cases. Journalists were mostly convicted for "membership in an armed terrorist organization".

The three charges for which journalists received the highest sentences were "membership of an armed terrorist organization" (28 years and 9 days), "making propaganda for a terrorist organization" (15 years, 6 months and 28 days) and "committing a crime on behalf of a terrorist organization without being a member of a terrorist organization" (11 years and 3 months).

## Distribution of Prison Sentences Given to Journalists According to Crimes

Articles Imposing Prison Sentences on Journalists	Duration
Membership in an armed terrorist organization	28 years and 9 days
Making terrorist organization propaganda	15 years, 6 months and 28 days
Not being a member of a terrorist organization but committing a crime on behalf of the organization	11 years and 3 months
Unlawfully giving or obtaining data	4 years and 5 months
Disclosing/disseminating or targeting the identity of people who took part in the fight against terrorism	2 years and 6 months
Knowingly and willingly aiding the organization	2 years and 6 months
Insulting a public official (TCK 125/3)	1 year and 20 days
Publicly disseminating misleading information	10 months
Inciting or insulting the public to hatred and hostility	5 months and 25 days
Insulting the President	1 year and 20 days

During this period, 23 journalists were sentenced to a total of **67 years, 8 months and 12 days** imprisonment in 17 cases. Journalists were mostly convicted for "*membership in an armed terrorist organization*". Journalists were sentenced to 28 years and 9 days in prison for alleged membership in an armed terrorist organization. This was followed by 15 years 6 months and 28 days for making propaganda for a terrorist organization and 11 years and 3 months for committing crimes on behalf of a terrorist organization without being a member.

In total, journalists were sentenced to **59 years, 9 months and 28 days in prison for terrorism offenses**.

### **Judicial - Criminal Fines**

In this period, 15 people, including six politicians and eight journalists, were sentenced to a total of 75,126 Turkish Liras in judicial fines. While these cases were mostly filed against journalistic activities, the most common charges were "inciting the public to hatred and hostility" or "insulting", "insult" and "violating Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations".

File No.	Case Reason	Case Description	Fine Amount Defendants	
2021/259	Journalism	Bilal Erdoğan complaint	8.720 TL	4
2021/477	Journalism	Dogan Ergun, Izel Sezer	240 TL	2
2022/42	Journalism	Reyhan Çapan	41.666 TL	1
2022/60	Activist (rights defender) definition	Van Dedeoğulları Banner Case	6.000 TL	1
2022/645	Politician/Party statement or activity	Cengiz Çandar	4.500 TL	1
2022/76	Peaceful Demonstration - Other	Dersim We Can't Make a Living Action	14.000 TL	3
Total			75.126 TL	12

## Compensation

File No.	Accused		Criminal offense	Amount
2022/148	Mehmet Kızmaz newspaper	and	Cumhuriyet Attack on personal right	s 15.000 TL
2022/368	Furkan Karabay		Attack on personal right	s 20.000 TL
Total				35.000 TL

A total of 35,000 Turkish Liras in compensation was awarded to journalists on the grounds that they had attacked their personal rights during this period.

In the moral damages lawsuit filed by the Turkish Youth Foundation (TÜGVA) against journalist Mehmet Kızmaz and Cumhuriyet newspaper due to the news article titled "Ensar, TÜRGEV, TÜGVA are like parallel terrorist organizations", the court ruled that Kızmaz and Cumhuriyet pay TÜGVA 15 thousand TL in compensation.

In the non-pecuniary damages lawsuit filed by President Erdoğan's former lawyer Mustafa Doğan İnal against Gerçek Gündem editor Furkan Karabay, the court ordered Karabay to pay a fine of 20 thousand TL. On August 11, 2022, journalist Furkan Karabay had made a post on his social media account criticizing the working style of some lawyers without naming them.

## Other Problems Related to the Right to a Fair Trial

## **Time Problems in Hearings**

Of the **464** hearings monitored in this period, **346** (**75%**) started late and only **10** started earlier than planned. The number of those that started on time was **108** (**23%**).

The most common reason for the late start of hearings was the workload of the courts (58%), with 23% citing the lateness of the presiding judge or panel as the second most common reason (23%).

## **Distribution of Reasons for Late Start of Hearings**

Reason for Late Start	Number of Hearings
Court workload	202
Delay of the presiding judge/tribunal	82
Bringing forward other files	18
SEGBIS problems	17
Lawyer's excuse	6
Change of judge/committee	5
Earthquake	4
Late return of arrested journalists from prison	3
Judge's leave of absence	2
Defendant's lawyer late for the hearing	2
UYAP problem	2
Delay due to other files	1
Late start of the trial due to lack of participants	1
Delay of defendants	1

## **Delayed Trials Violate the Right to a Fair Trial**

"The delayed start of hearings has a significant impact on the right to a fair trial and procedural economy. The principle of procedural economy aims to ensure that the proceedings are conducted within a reasonable time and in an orderly manner and that unnecessary expenses are not incurred. The principle of procedural economy and the right to a fair trial are directly related to the principle of procedural economy and the right to a fair trial when a hearing is canceled or postponed after hours of waiting in front of the court. As a matter of fact, the setting of a new hearing date is a financial burden in every sense.

In addition, the continuous postponement of hearings for arbitrary reasons that are not material to the merits of the case and the late announcement of judgments frustrate individuals and undermine the trust in justice of those who somehow find their way to the courthouse.

The postponement of proceedings without a reasonable reason (such as judges interrupting the hearing to make phone calls or taking a coffee break with a visitor), or postponing proceedings after hours of waiting or without starting them at all, is directly related to the violation of the right to a fair trial under Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights."

#### **MLSA Legal Unit**

## **Physical Problems in Courtrooms**

Observers were not allowed to enter the courtroom in **24 of the hearings monitored**. In addition, **technical problems** occurred in 134 hearings. These physical problems in the courtrooms caused problems for observers, defendants and others present in the courtroom.

In 36 hearings, observers had difficulty hearing what was being said. In 16 hearings, it was difficult to follow the proceedings due to the crowded courtroom. In 53 hearings, the small size of the hall caused problems for the audience. In 6 hearings, SEGBIS connection had problems.

## **Monitors' Trial Notes in the Context of Fair Trial**

It was observed that the presiding judge or the judge changed even in the first hearingsduring which the defendants were to present their defense. Among the cases in which these changes were made at the first hearing were the trials of journalist Şerife Oruç at Batman 2nd Assize Court; Ramazan Akoğul at Diyarbakır 4th Assize Court; Ayşegül Doğan at Diyarbakır 9th Assize Court; Ziya Çiçekçi at Istanbul 33rd Assize Court; and Beritan Canözer at Diyarbakır 4th Assize Court.

The trial of **Şerife Oruç**, a reporter for the Dicle News Agency (DİHA), which was shut down by a state of emergency decree, on charges of "being a member of an illegal organization" since 2016 has been repeatedly postponed pending the outcome of an investigation in Diyarbakır. The Diyarbakır Chief Public Prosecutor's Office sent a letter to the court between the hearings of the case at Batman 2nd High Criminal Court, stating that the investigation file against Oruç on suspicion of "disrupting the unity and territorial integrity of the state" as regulated in Article 302 of the Turkish Penal Code is open and that the execution of the arrest warrant issued for Oruç's testimony within the scope of the investigation is awaited. The court hearing the case has been requesting the investigation file for more than three years. Since the file, which is a "holding" factor for the case, is not sent to the court, the trial is not completed within a reasonable time.

A similar case was recorded in the trial of Ramazan Akoğul, former reporter for the Dicle News Agency (DİHA), which was shut down by a state of emergency decree, on charges of "illegal organization membership" at Diyarbakır 4th Assize Court. Although the court requested the investigation file on Akoğul from the Dicle Chief Public Prosecutor's Office since 2018, the prosecutor's office did not respond to the court's request. Therefore, the right to be tried within a reasonable time was violated.

In the first hearing of the trial of Safiye Alağaş, News Director of Jin News, who is accused of "inciting feelings of violence and blaming the state" through the news published in Jin News, held at Diyarbakır 5th High Criminal Court, **police from the security forces monitored the trial**, despite the fact that there was no court order to take security measures. This was recorded as a violation of the right to a fair trial.

On January 10, Working Journalists' Day, before the first hearing of the trial of Karşı Mahalle reporter **Sezgin Kartal**, whose house was raided and detained in the morning hours, on charges of "membership in a terrorist organization" at Istanbul 22nd High Criminal Court, the press statement that was planned to be held in front of the courthouse was banned by the Kağıthane District Governorate. 23 people who wanted to make a statement were detained. **People who wanted to follow the hearing were prevented from entering the hall and were told that this was a "police order"**.

In the trial of **18 journalists** in Diyarbakır, the rights to a fair trial, freedom of the press and defense were violated. The fact that the prosecutor who prepared the indictment is the wife of a member of the Diyarbakır 4th Assize Court panel, where 18 journalists are on trial, was recorded as a violation of the right to a fair trial. During the first hearing of the trial on July 11, 2023, defendant lawyers requested the recusal of the judge, who is the wife of the prosecutor, but this request was rejected

by the court. The presiding judge banned journalists and observers from taking notes with their phones and computers in the courtroom; freedom of the press was violated. The Presiding Judge frequently interrupted journalists and lawyers during their defense statements, which was reported as a violation of the right to defense.

In the trial of **Kadri Esen**, Concessionaire of Xwebûn Newspaper, at Diyarbakır 10th Assize Court on the charge of "making illegal organization propaganda" due to a post he made on his social media account, the court did not consider the post made by the defendant, who is a journalist, as journalism. Furthermore, despite the Constitutional Court's annulment on February 19, 2020 of the provision authorizing the police to conduct "virtual patrols" as unconstitutional, the court accepted the police's "virtual patrols" as "evidence".

In the lawsuit filed against **15 women and LGBTI+** who participated in a demonstration against femicides in Ankara with the allegations of "violating the Law No. 2911 on Meetings and Demonstrations", "resisting to prevent the execution of duty" and "simple injury", the banner with the **LGBTI+ flag was considered as "criminal evidence"**. In the second hearing of the case, held at Ankara 66th Criminal Court of First Instance, in which three riot police officers filed a complaint on the grounds that "women beat them", **11 riot police officers wearing protection vests were waiting at the door of the courtroom**.

The first hearing of the case against Human Rights Association (IHD) Ankara Branch Co-Chair Fatin Kanat on the charge of "making propaganda for an illegal organization" was held on April 19, 2022 at Ankara 25th Assize Court. Although the evidence related to the press statements and demonstrations in 2018 and 2019 was collected and the defendant completed his defense in the first hearing, the second hearing was postponed to September 6, 2022, extending the trial period. In the meantime, Mehmet Tevfik Gerçek, one of the members of the panel, was appointed as the Presiding Judge of Küçükçekmece High Criminal Court by the summer decree; a temporary panel arrived for the second hearing. The temporary panel said that they could not examine the file and decided to send the case, in which all evidence had been collected and the defense had been heard, to the prosecutor's office to prepare its opinion on the merits, and adjourned the hearing to October 19. On October 19, during the third hearing, the prosecutor changed. The prosecutor expressed his opinion on the merits and demanded a sentence for Kanat. The trial lasted 8 months despite the evidence in the file being completed during the investigation phase. The court ruled for Kanat's acquittal, stating that "Although a public lawsuit was filed against the defendant with the demand of punishment for 'making propaganda for a terrorist organization', it was concluded that the elements of the crime did not occur".

On November 17, 2022, Diyarbakır 4th High Criminal Court sentenced journalist **Beritan Canözer** to 3 years, 1 month and 15 days in prison on the grounds of the posts on her social media account, which she said did not belong to her. Although Canözer insisted in her defense that the social media account she was accused of **did not belong to her, the court panel and the prosecutor asked for an additional defense without taking this into account** and the prosecutor did not take Canözer's defense into consideration in his opinion on the merits.

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