THE CHANGE OF LEGAL SYSTEM AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TURKEY AFTER THE COUP ATTEMPT ON JULY 15, 2016

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Annotation: This article examines the legal system in Turkey, from the formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 to the present day. The amendments to the Turkish Constitution, from a democratic point of view, are presented, and the aim of Turkey to join the European Union – how close it was and how human rights violations, turning to authoritarian presidential regime, led to the withdrawal of Turkey from the list of candidates to the European Union – is assessed. This article focuses on different transitions of the Turkish legal system over the past century and how the system was used in the political ambitions of the most recent leader of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The failed coup of July 15, 2016, is analyzed, and the subsequent repressions, arrests, and human rights violations are presented in this article. Possible remedies – such as raising awareness, human rights campaigns, and social and psychological help to rehabilitate the victims of repressions in post-coup Turkey – are also introduced. Several cases, including those of a pregnant woman, a law student, and a child, are presented in this paper. The Gulen movement, which is accused of and denies plotting the coup, is also introduced and analyzed. Turkey's place in the global Rule of Law Index is looked at, and the factors leading to the decline of its rating are presented and analyzed.

Key words: Fethullah Gulen, human rights violations, post-coup Turkey, Gulen Movement, imprisonment, Turkish constitution, repressions, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Introduction

In the following paper, the legal system of the Republic of Turkey, starting from the establishment of Turkey as a state in the beginning of the 20th century until the present day, will be examined. This will include analysis of the history of the Turkish Constitution and its numerous amendments and expansions. The political situation in Turkey will then be explained, including how it led to the regress of Turkish democracy and what outcomes it brought to modern Turkish society. Human rights violations, restrictions, and repressions will be examined, and the remedies that can be taken in order to improve the present-day situation in Turkey will be presented.

This paper is based on a review of articles about the Turkish legal system and an analysis of the most recent statistics on Turkey and its ranking in the Rule of Law index in the world. However, the topic of repression in Turkey starting from 2016 is relatively new in the academic environment, and more scientific research needs to be conducted in this field. In addition, it is not possible to conduct academic research on this topic in Turkey, as any mention of the suppressive politics of Erdogan may lead to arrest and imprisonment. In this article, a literature review of the Gulen movement, which was accused of and strongly denies plotting the coup, will be presented, alongside a discussion of arrest cases and potential solutions that might serve as remedies for the present-day situation.

1.1. The Turkish legal system and its history according to legal documents

The Turkish legal system consists of the following branches: first instance courts, judicial courts, regional courts of appeal, administrative courts, military judiciary high courts, the constitutional court, the ministry of Justice, the court of jurisdictional disputes, the court of cassation, the council of state, high military courts, the court of accounts, the high council of judges and prosecutors, and the Justice academy of Turkey. According to Article 9 of the Turkish Constitution, the principle of power separation is applied in the Turkish legal system. Judicial power is also exercised by independent courts. In 2010, the Constitution was amended and every citizen received the right to apply to the Constitutional Court

on an individual basis[1]:

Everyone may apply to the Constitutional Court on grounds that one of the fundamental rights and freedoms within the scope of the European Convention on Human Rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution have been violated by public authorities. In order to make an application, ordinary legal remedies must be exhausted.[2]

The history of the first constitutional laws in Turkey dates back to the 19th century, to the time of the Ottoman Empire. Although the legal system in the Ottoman Empire was based on theocracy and monarchy, some constitutional principles were adopted in 1876 under the influence of Western liberalism which led to the creation of a parliamentary system. The Ottoman Empire and its allies were defeated during the First World War, and the Turkish state as we know it was established by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923. There is an emphasis on secularism in the Constitution of Turkey and the notion that religion should be separated from the state. Human rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, freedom of work, and freedom of association, are also guaranteed by the Constitution. Since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, there have been various amendments to the Constitution – in 1928, 1937, 1946, 1960 and so on. In 1971 and 1973, however, the Constitution was amended again due to a military coup, and the aim of these amendments was to make executive power stronger, restrict some rights and liberties, and make the role of the judiciary weaker. The power of authority was also supposed to be stronger; however, this led to the extreme polarization of society. In 1980, there was another intervention by the Turkish Armed Forces – in this case, a military government came to power, which was also authoritarian. Due to political and social unrest in society, amendments to the Turkish Constitution continued to take place. For example, the original Constitution established the monopoly of the state on radio and television, but the amendments of 1993 allowed private radio and TV channels to be established, although students and university staff could not be engaged in any political activity. Constitutional

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1 "The judicial system of Turkey and organization of the Ministry of Justice," International Law Research Center, 18, accessed 7 April 2022, https://diabgm.adalet.gov.tr/Resimler/SayfaDokuman/2492019170148THE_JUDICIAL_SYSTEM_OF_TURKEY_AND_ORGANISATION_OF_THE_MINISTRY_OF_JUSTICE.pdf accessed on 28/01/2022.

2 *Ibid*.

amendments in 2001 eliminated restrictions on certain rights. Freedom of association, freedom of the press, and freedom of thought and expression were introduced into the Constitution in Article 26, and made it almost identical to Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights. In 2004, due to further amendments, the legal and constitutional order in Turkey mostly conformed to the basic requirements of a consolidated democracy.[3]

In 2010, further amendments took place to strengthen the rule of law, further implement democratic principles, and eliminate all forms of discrimination based on nationality, religion, gender, and culture. Turkey also continued its quest towards membership of the European Union, thus amending its Constitution to further comply with human rights and democracy.[4] These changes to the Turkish Constitution were based on the European Convention on Human Rights, and led to the legal separation of power in the Turkish legal system. In 2010, the development of Turkish society was at its highest in terms of democratic principles and the rule of law. However, after most democratic amendments took place, an internal political crisis arose which, after going unresolved, led to deepening legal problems. As a result of this, human rights violations, economic distress, and social unrest took place in Turkey and continue to the present day. In the following section, the exact causes of this political unrest, radical changes in the amendments to the Turkish Constitution in 2017, and the establishment of the authoritarian rule of the President in Turkey will be discussed.

1.2. The Rule of Law Index in Turkey

The early years of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's governance in the 2000s and amendments to the Turkish Constitution led to a certain democratization in Turkey and the increased potential for the country to join the European Union. However, a corruption scandal erupted in 2013, which revealed the involvement of government elites, including the son of then-prime-minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in bribery, money laundering, fraud, corruption, and gold smuggling. An audio file was uploaded

[3] Serap Yazici, "UPDATE: A Guide to Turkish Public Law and Legal Research," GlobaLex (2017): part. 2, accessed 29 January 2022, https://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Turkey1.html#_1._Introduction_to.

[4] *Ibid*, part. 10.6.

to Youtube,[5] where Erdogan ordered his son to hide tens of millions of dollars (the script is in Turkish).[6]

Due to this corruption scandal, Turkeys place in the corruption rating fell, where 175 countries are ranked of on a scale from 0 to 100, with zero meaning "very corrupt" and 100 "very clean." In the 2021 survey, Turkey experienced the sharpest drop of any of the 175 countries, falling five points to a CPI score of 45,[7] and the overall situation in the country deteriorated. Turkey's overall score in the law index has also fallen significantly.

Figure 1. Diagrams of Turkey's overall score in the Rule of Law Index.

5 "Tayyip Erdogan and Bilal Erdogan Telefon Konusmasi," Youtube, accessed 29 January 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aeytLBm62eo.

6 Berivan Orucoglu, "Why Turkish mother of all corruption scandals refuses to go away," FP, paragraph 2, accessed 30 January 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/06/why-turkeys-mother-of-all-corruption-scandals-refuses-to-go-way/.

7 *Ibid*, paragraph 10.

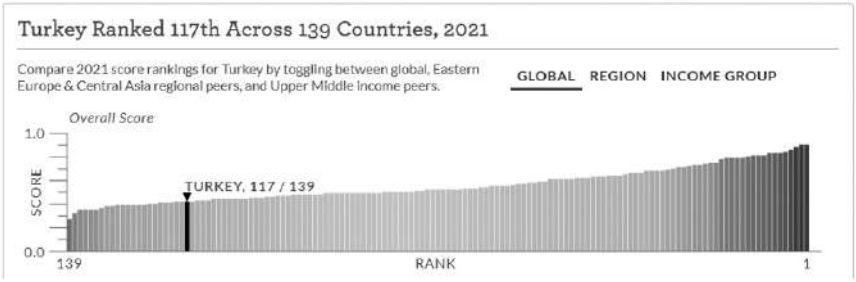


Figure 2. The ranking of Turkey's Rule of Law score globally.[8]

As can be seen, Turkey is ranked 117 out of 139 countries in the Rule of Law Index. The criteria which are taken into consideration are: constraints on government powers, absence of corruption, openness of government, fundamental rights, order and security, regulatory enforcement, and civil and criminal justice. Figure 3, below, represents the score of Turkey in relation to global averages, with its total score being below average in almost all categories. This situation is especially worrying with respect to fundamental rights, where it is ranked 133 out of 139. The regulatory enforcement and civil justice indexes are also low – 119 and 113, respectively, out of 139.

One of the reasons for the significant decline of Turkey in these world rankings, especially regarding the index of law, is that Turkey has undertaken wide-reaching repression not only against those who revealed and criticized Erdogan's corruption, but also against the civil population – especially the followers of Fethullah Gulen's movement.[9]

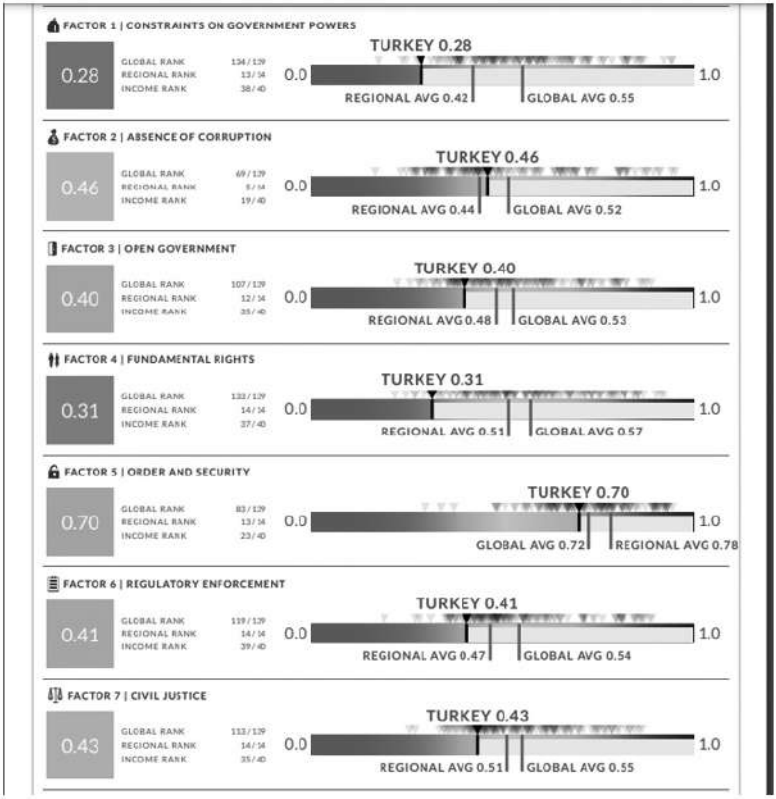
Erdogan has also widely used people's religious beliefs to gain power. However, the interpretation of Islam which he uses is a rather political Islam, and is based on using people's feelings to receive support. Erdogan's view of Islam comes from a territorial and cultural perspective, dividing people as "us" (Muslims) and "them" (non-Muslims),[10] whereas Fethul-

8 "Turkey," WJP Rule of Law Index, accessed 2 February 2022, https://www.worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index/country/2021/Turkey/.

9 "Turkey's Transnational Repression: Abduction, Rendition and Forcible Return of Erdogan Critics," Stockholm Center for Freedom, p. 5, accessed 2 February 2022, https://usercontent.one/wp/stockholmcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Turkeys-TransnationalRepression.pdf?media=1647703225.

10 Ihsan Yilmaz, "The Emergence of Islamist Official and Unofficial Laws in the Erdo-

lah Gulen is a religious scholar who studies religion and publishes books based on thorough analyses of Muslim faith, and calls for unification regardless of religion, culture, nationality, or political views. To summarize, the law and the legal system in Turkish society as whole have been undergoing social and political changes in the direction of authoritarianism, de-democratization, and right-wing populism.[11] There have been many concerns over human rights violations in Turkey, especially during Erdogan's call for elections, because of which the country was transformed from a parliamentary system into a presidential one.[12]



ganist Turkey: The Case of Child Marriages," *Religions* 12, 7 (2021): 513.

11 Saygun Gökarıksel and Umut Türem, "The Banality of Exception? Law and Politics in 'Post-Coup' Turkey," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 118, 1 (2019): 176.

12 Sharmila Devi, "Concern for Human Rights in Turkey as Erdogan Plans Election," *Lancet* 391, 10131 (2018): 1657.

Figure 3. Turkey's Rule of Law Index ranking across various factors.[13]

2.1. What is the Gulen movement?

The Gulen movement originated in Turkey in the 1970s. It spread to many other countries and is successfully represented in the social field, especially in "education, health, interfaith dialogue, relief work and peace building."[14] Before the coup attempt in Turkey in July, 2016, and before Erdogan started to repress and imprison the followers of the Gulen movement, it ran thousands of socio-cultural institutions such as schools, dormitories, hospitals, mass media associations, dialogue centers, exam preparation centers, and courses. It is mostly known for its educational activities around the world. The special feature of the Gulen movement is that it is not involved in political activity, but has inspired lawyers, teachers, doctors, journalists, and soldiers as a result of Fethullah Gulen's teachings via seminars and books. In his books, Fethullah Gulen covers different aspects of life based on Muslim and democratic principles. He emphasizes that it is important to be useful to society and to build an innovative, democratic society, which at the same time does not forget its religion and culture. The society itself should also be open to all views, cultures, religions, and practices of other people, and should not oppress anybody. Human rights should not be violated, and people should help each other as much as possible. The Gulen movement does not have an official name, preferring to call itself "Hizmet," which in the Turkish language means "service," but this name has also come to mean such things as "the Movement for Volunteers," "souls dedicated to humanity," "a movement that sets its own examples," and "a movement of people who are gathered around high human values."[15] One of the main teachings of Fethullah Gulen is that an individual doing a job or conducting any other activity is honest and sincere. Stealing, the violation of law, and the violation of another individual's rights should not take place. As Fethullah Gulen himself says: "Every time, whenever I see that the leaf is falling down, I feel as much pain as if my hand is taken away," expressing the sensitivity of this movement towards every human being experiencing suffering and

13 "Turkey," *supra note*, 8.

14 Anwar Alam, *For the Sake of Allah. The Origin, Development and Discourse of the Gulen Movement* (Blue Dome Press, 2019), 2.

15 *Ibid*, 3.

adversity.[16] Any violation of law or corruption leads to unrest in society – as Margaret Thatcher observed: "There is no such thing as public money, there is only taxpayers' money"[17]; therefore, stealing by the government leads to the violation of every individual's rights.

As many people became inspired by Fethullah Gulen's teachings, they could not conform to Erdogan's internal actions such as the performance and denial of corruption. As freedom of expression and freedom of speech existed in the mass-media at this time, journalists wrote about the corruption scandal and people shared their opinions on social media – especially on Twitter.

On July 15, 2016, an unsuccessful coup attempt took place in Turkey. Without conducting an investigation, the same evening – literally twenty minutes after the coup – Erdogan accused Fethullah Gulen's followers and Fethullah Gulen himself of plotting it. Gulen strongly condemned the coup attempt and denied any involvement in it, calling for an international investigation in order to identify the real plotters and punish them according to the law[18]:

If there are any officers among the coup plotters who consider themselves as a sympathizer of the Hizmet movement, in my opinion those people committed treason against the unity of their country by taking part in an event where their own citizens lost their lives. They also violated the values that I have cherished throughout my life; and caused hundreds of thousands of innocent people to suffer under the government's oppressive treatment.

No one is above the rule of law; myself included. I would like for those who are responsible for this coup attempt, regardless of their identities, to receive the punishment they deserve if found guilty in a fair trial. The Turkish judiciary has been politicized and controlled by the government since 2014 and, consequently, the possibility of a fair trial is very small. For this reason, I have advocated several times for the establishment of an

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16 Muhammed Fethullah Gulen, *Пророк Мухаммад: венец рода человеческого* (ООО «Издательство Новый Свет, 2011), 16.

17 Mark J. Perry, "Tribute to Margaret Thatcher", *AEI*, 4 May 2022, paragraph 3, https://www.aei.org/carpe-diem/tribute-to-margaret-thatcher/.

18 Fethullah Gulen, "I call for an international investigation into the failed putsch in Turkey," Australian Intercultural Society, paragraph 25, accessed 5 February 2022, http://www.intercultural.org.au/fethullah-guelen-i-call-for-an-international-investigation-into-the-failed-putsch-in-turkey/.

international commission to investigate the coup attempt and I have expressed my commitment to abide by the findings of such a commission.[19]

Even before the coup attempt, the followers of Fethullah Gulen experienced a witch hunt by Erdogan as they did not condone the government's corruption. Repressions became more severe after the uninvestigated coup attempt, despite the fact that throughout the 50-year history of the Hizmet movement its participants have not been involved in a single violent incident.[20]

Erdogan, on the contrary, viewed the coup as a gift from God, and used it to re-structure both society and state. On July 20, 2016, he announced a state of emergency which allowed him to purge society of opposition and led to a vast number of prosecutions. Within a year, more than 150,000 people were subject to legal proceedings under terror charges, and more than 50,000 were arrested in the years of 2016 and 2017 alone.[21] Erdogan's persecutions significantly harmed the institution of democracy in Turkey. Students, intellectuals, civic institutions of political opponents, and critics were sharply affected in the aftermath of the coup, as Turkish citizens were dismissed, tortured, abused, and victimized during the state of emergency.[22] These prosecutions and arrests did not stop, and continue to the present day.

2.2. Human rights violations in Turkey

After the 15th of July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, a large number of arrests and repressions took place. Followers of the Gulen Movement were especially affected, but these measures also targeted Kurdish peo-

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19 Fethullah Gulen English translation of the op-ed by Mr. Gulen originally published in Le Monde on 10 August 2016, paragraph 5, 7. Original Le Monde article: "Fethullah Gülen: Je demande une enquête internationale sur le putsch raté en Turquie," Le Monde, accessed 6 February 2022, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2016/08/12/fethullah-gulen-je-demande-une-enquete-internationale-sur-le-putsch-rate-en-turquie_4981883_3210.html.

20 Gulen, *supra note*, 19.

21 Taş, Hakkı, "The 15 July Abortive Coup and Post-Truth Politics in Turkey," *Journal of Southeast European & Black Sea Studies* 18, 1 (2018): 2.

22 Hasan Aydin and Köksal Avıncan, "Am I a Terrorist or an Educator?' Turkish Asylum Seekers Narratives on Education Rights Violations after a Crackdown Following the 2016 Failed Coup Attempt in Turkey," *Globalisation, Societies & Education,* December 2018, 3.

ple and members of other parties. In addition, people posting differing opinions on social media (Twitter, Facebook) criticizing Erdogan and the ruling party were also arrested or fired from their jobs. The media was no longer free – private TV channels, newspapers, and journals were closed, and journalists from non-governmental media sources faced charges. Freedom of media, thought, and expression began to come under threat. People who were only briefly involved in the activities of the Gulen Movement, such as reading Fethullah Gulen's books, denying his involvement in the coup, or defending him and his followers, were also arrested and imprisoned.[23]

Victims of Erdogan's witch hunt included (and continue to include) teachers, doctors, lawyers, housewives, and even pregnant women. Esra Uymaz Saral, a 27-year-old woman, was arrested when she was four-and-a-half months pregnant, and suffered from anxiety attacks as she was denied her prescribed medication while under arrest. "She is on a specific medication that is relatively expensive. The government does not cover it. Prison officials said they would give her some other medication instead, but it has not yet arrived," reported Saral's lawyer.[24] Saral also has myoma, which made the pregnancy particularly difficult, and she required the observation of doctors. She was denied release from prison because it was said that there was no impending condition preventing her stay. Saral's only accusation was that she studied at Gediz University, which was shut down over alleged links to Fethullah Gulen's movement. She studied law and wanted to be a lawyer.[25]

Another outrage-inducing case of arrest was the imprisonment of Aysenur Parildak, a 26-year-old journalist. She also studied law and worked as a journalist at the *Zaman* and *Taraf* national newspapers, which were closed in the aftermath of the coup. Working at these newspapers was cited as a criminal activity, and Aysenur Parildak was arrested on August 11, 2016, during her exams at law school for messages that she had

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23 "Human Rights in Turkey: 2021 in Review," Stockholm Center for Freedom, accessed 7 February 2022, 5–8, https://usercontent.one/wp/stockholmcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Human-Rights-in-Turkey-2021-.pdf?media=1647703225.

24 Stockholm Center for Freedom, "Pregnant Turkish inmate suffers from anxiety attack after being denied medication", Stockholm Center for Freedom, paragraph 3, accessed 8 February 2022, https://stockholmcf.org/pregnant-turkish-inmate-suffers-anxiety-attack-after-being-denied-medication/.

25 *Ibid*, paragraph 4.

written on Twitter. She wrote a letter to another newspaper, *Cumhuriyet daily*, about the mistreatment and sexual harassment that she had experienced during detention. She also delivered a powerful message: "I'm afraid of being forgotten in jail." Aysenur was accused of being a member of a terror group, although not a single piece of evidence was found relating to that accusation. However, her tweets that criticized judicial cases – in what many believe is a government witch hunt persecuting critics, opponents, and dissidents – were included as evidence. Even her tweet about not supporting the coup was included in her case as evidence for having committed a crime. Bank transfers for buying her car and for attending school in New York were also presented as evidence of criminal activity.[26]

Due to multiple arrests in Turkey and the ongoing rule of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who initiated these prosecutions, the solutions for ongoing repression seem to be difficult to find and may struggle to solve these issues at once, such as by immediately stopping arrests and torture. However, there are remedies which are effective in the long-term and which will contribute towards a better future. A virtual protest for women's rights took place on Youtube[27] in April 2021 in order to raise awareness about human rights violations in Turkey. The Turkey Tribunal program was also streamed, where human rights violations were highlighted and explained.[28] Reports were also written and published by the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner in 2018.[29]

With respect to the victims of Erdogan's arrests, especially women and children, empowerment strategies in the community can be used. Psychological help and social circles can be formed, where people can

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26 Stockholm Center for Freedom, "26-year old-journalist to face trial on trumped-up terror charges," Stockholm Center for Freedom, paragraphs 1–7, accessed 9 February 2022, https://stockholmcf.org/26-year-old-journalist-to-face-trial-on-trumped-up-error-charges/.

27 "Virtual Protest for Women's Rights," Youtube, accessed 11 February 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=rE8xdA_0rWU&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR0SJ2ctbHTTcugCmOYjmXvYSZ50arxV0RyfOgcEEdHBirsj4qGSafuD340.

28 "Turkey Tribunal – Tuesday 21/9 Afternoon Session," Youtube, accessed 11 February 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pVx0X3lJK38.

29 "UN report details extensive human rights violations during protracted state of emergency," United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, accessed 11 February 2022, https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22853&LangID=E.

share and speak about their experiences and receive support. It should also be part of the state's social policy to pay compensation to those who have suffered from repressions. However, there seems to be no possibility of doing so during Erdogan's regime.

In Frankfurt, at the Tenkil Museum, a museum of genocide was opened in order to remember the victims of repressions in Turkey. Various objects are displayed in this museum, and the exhibition is open to everybody and contributes to the awareness of repression and torture that remain ongoing in Turkey.

Tiny Hearts

EY has three children, she was dismissed from her profession and was arrested. She was transferred to a prison far away from her family. She knits her longing for her children into tiny hearts, whom she can see only once a month.

Torture

The broken eye glasses of the arrested teacher who was tortured under custody is a reflection of the violence that he was subjected to.

Figure 4. Objects at the Museum of Genocide (Tenkil Museum, 2019)[30] devoted to victims of repressions in Turkey: knitted hearts and the broken glasses of a teacher who was arrested and tortured.

[30] Tenkil Museum (2019) Objects from the Collection, accessed on 12 February 2022, https://tenkilmuseum.com/objects-from-the-collection/.

Torn

GY was arrested along with his wife and their 4 ve 2 year old children. He was tortured while his children were in the adjacent ward. His body was electrified and he was beaten periodically. His clothing was torn as he was tortured with his clothes on.

ıseum of Genocide in Tenkil, devoted a shirt worn by a victim of torture and baby shoes, discussed below.

The shoes in Figure 5 belong to baby Cemal, who entered prison when he was only 11 months old:

He tried to take his first baby steps on the concrete floor, and as a result, hurt himself badly every time he fell. One day he fell again and his lip split open. His mother prayed: "My Lord, you know I have sins, but this little baby is sinless as you know." The next day, while they were reading the Quran in the ward, a little bird entered Cemal's shoe. The bird listened to the recitation, motionless. Later, when the recitation ended, the bird soiled in the shoe and flew away. Those in the ward called the bird "the harbinger of Cemal's being released." The mother had no hope. But the same evening, the news of his release reached them.[31]

In addition to the above remedies, awareness campaigns can take place around the world so that as many people as possible can hear and

[31] Tenkil Museum, "A bird with Glad tidings" (2019), accessed on 12 February 2022, https://tenkilmuseum.com/a-bird-with-glad-tidings/.

see what is happening in Turkey. Social media pages can be created reflecting on arrests and repressions, and human rights organizations, activists, advocates, and volunteers can raise their voices in support of those who are oppressed in Turkey.

Conclusion

As can be seen, Turkey has a gradual history of developing its Constitution, and there were various amendments made to it over the past century. The most profound development took place in 1923, when the present-day Turkish Republic was formed by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Amendments then took place according to various events, such as military coups. Later, a Parliamentary system was formed, before being changed to a Presidential system in the last five years. Although there were many amendments which led to democratization and the formation of a democratic society which observed human rights, especially in years 2000–2010, the autocracy and corruption of current leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan led to a dramatic decline in the democratization of the country. Unfortunately, human rights have been violated on a vast scale, especially affecting people of high-profile professions including: lawyers, doctors, writers, journalists, teachers, and others. Changes to the legal system and the Constitution led to the increased autocracy of the current President, thus making it difficult to defend human rights and rely on the impartiality of judicial system.

In the proposed remedies for the current situation, high importance is given to awareness campaigns. Since it is not possible to speak up openly for oppressed people and defend their rights in Turkey, voices should be raised in foreign countries on their behalf. Various social programs can be planned for people in Turkey who have been repressed and imprisoned and whose detention periods are coming to an end. Post-trauma treatments, psychological help and support, and adaptation programs can be developed to help these people rebuild their lives in society – although, unfortunately, it is of course not possible to do this via state or government-supported projects. Programs and internships may also be developed for Turkish lawyers, members of Parliament, and politicians to develop their knowledge of democracy in democratic countries.