

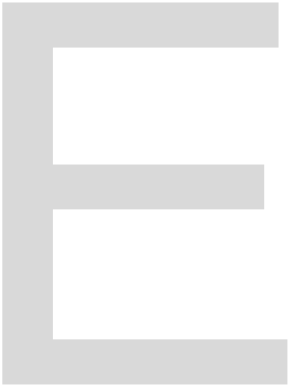


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Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians

Report on the on-site mission to Türkiye (10–12 December 2025)

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Executive Summary

From 10 to 12 December 2025, a delegation of the IPU Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians conducted an on-site mission to Türkiye in the context of its examination of cases TUR-COLL-02 and TUR-COLL-04 concerning 109 current and former opposition members of parliament. The mission took place at a critical political moment, marked by evolving regional dynamics and the Kurdistan Workers' Party's (PKK's) declared move towards disarmament and dismantlement, creating new opportunities for peace and democratic reform.

The delegation held extensive discussions with representatives of the executive, the judiciary, independent oversight bodies and parliamentary political groups, as well as with legal counsel and affected parliamentarians. It was also able to meet Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş in Edirne prison; this access was welcomed by the delegation as a constructive step. Discussions revealed sharply divergent assessments of the application of counter-terrorism legislation, the functioning of judicial institutions and the state of political pluralism.

The delegation noted that legislative and jurisprudential clarifications introduced since 2022, notably the clearer separation between the offences of terrorist propaganda and membership in a terrorist organization, constitute a positive but limited development. While these changes seem to have reduced certain types of prosecutions, they do not appear to have fundamentally altered the legal and political pressures affecting opposition parliamentarians.

A central concern raised by the delegation during the mission relates to the continued use of terrorism-related provisions in cases involving political speech and activity, the cumulative impact of repeated proceedings, and allegations of excessive use of force by law enforcement officials during protests. The delegation also took note of concerns that, in 2025, legal pressure increasingly extended beyond Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM) politicians to include members of the Republican People's Party (CHP), raising broader questions about democratic space.

The delegation further observed persistent challenges regarding the effective implementation of certain judgments of the European Court of Human Rights involving politicians and activists and the Turkish Constitutional Court, as well as long-standing concerns about judicial independence. In this context, it welcomed the commitment by the Ministry of Justice to provide detailed information on pending cases against the current and former opposition parliamentarians, and emphasized the importance of follow-up.

Finally, the delegation considers that the work of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye's National Solidarity, Sisterhood/Brotherhood and Democracy Committee, and the follow-up to its report, could provide an important opportunity to consolidate peace and strengthen democracy. The delegation expresses the hope that ongoing political efforts will contribute to conditions enabling all currently and formerly elected representatives, including Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş and other Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) parliamentarians, to recover their freedom and fully exercise their political rights.

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A. Origin, purpose and conduct of the mission

1. The delegation of the IPU Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians (CHRP), comprising its Vice-President, Ms. Nominchimeg Odsuren (MP, Mongolia), and its member Mr. Mladen Grujic (MP, Serbia), accompanied by Committee Secretary Mr. Rogier Huizenga, conducted an on-site mission to Türkiye from 10 to 12 December 2025. The mission took place in the context of the Committee's ongoing examination of cases TUR-COLL-02 and TUR-COLL-04, concerning 109 current and former opposition members of parliament. The mission followed an earlier on-site engagement in June 2019 and took place against the backdrop of significant political and security developments, including the aftermath of the attempted coup of July 2016, the challenging security environment Türkiye has faced in recent years, and signs of a more stable situation emerging on its southern border.

2. The objectives of the mission were to obtain updated information on the legal and political context affecting the rights of parliamentarians; to assess the implementation of domestic and international judicial decisions relevant to the cases under examination; to examine the application of counter-terrorism legislation to political activity; and to explore whether recent political initiatives, including the work of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye's National Solidarity, Sisterhood/Brotherhood and Democracy Committee, could contribute to addressing long-standing concerns identified by the delegation.

3. The delegation expresses its appreciation to the Turkish parliamentary authorities for facilitating the mission and ensuring access to a broad range of interlocutors. In the course of the mission, the delegation had the opportunity to meet with Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş at Edirne Prison, for which it expressed its deep gratitude.

4. The delegation met with the following people during its mission:

- Turkish IPU Group
 - Ms. Asuman Erdoğan, President of the IPU Group, member of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye
 - Mr. Ali Özkaya, member of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye
 - Ms. Fatma Öncü, member of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye
- Parliamentary and independent oversight authorities
 - Mr. Mehmet Akarca, Chief Ombudsman
- Judicial authorities
 - Mr. Adem Albayrak, First Deputy President of the Court of Cassation
 - H.E. Mr. Kadir Özkaya, President of the Constitutional Court
- Executive authorities
 - Ambassador Mr. Levent Gümrükçü, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
 - H.E. Mr. Yılmaz Tunç, Minister of Justice
- Parliamentary political groups
 - Mr. Abdullah Güler, President of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) Parliamentary Group
 - Mr. Murat Emir, Vice-President of the Republican People's Party (CHP) Parliamentary Group
 - Mr. Erkan Akçay, Vice-President of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Parliamentary Group
 - Mr. Sezai Temelli, Vice-President of the Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party (DEM)
 - Mr. M. Satuk Buğra Kavuncu, Vice-President of the İYİ Party Parliamentary Group

The delegation also met with legal counsel and representatives of affected parliamentarians.

B. Outline of the cases and concerns before the mission

5. Prior to the mission, the Committee remained seized of long-standing concerns relating, inter alia, to the lifting and application of parliamentary immunity; the use of anti-terrorism legislation against elected representatives; alleged violations of freedom of expression, assembly and association; lack of due process and fair trial guarantees; arbitrary detention; and the revocation or suspension of parliamentary mandates. These concerns had been articulated in earlier Committee decisions and were reiterated in the most recent decisions adopted in 2025.

6. Since the Committee's previous on-site mission in 2019, the scope of the cases before it has expanded, including through the opening of a new collective case concerning members of the DEM Party and related political formations. At the same time, the legal and political environment has evolved, notably through constitutional and legislative amendments, further judicial reform packages, and important rulings by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and the Turkish Constitutional Court.

C. Information gathered during the mission

1. Counter-terrorism legislation and the definition of terrorism

7. A recurrent and central theme in the delegation's discussions concerned the scope, interpretation and application of counter-terrorism legislation. Judicial authorities consistently recalled the exceptional security challenges Türkiye has faced over the past decades, including the attempted coup of July 2016, large-scale terrorist attacks and continued regional instability. In their view, the counter-terrorism framework must be assessed against this background, as it has played a decisive role in preserving public order and constitutional stability.

8. At the same time, interlocutors referred to legislative amendments adopted in 2022 and subsequent interpretative guidance by higher courts, which clarified the distinction between membership in a terrorist organization and terrorist propaganda as separate criminal offences. Membership now requires evidence of an organic or hierarchical link to the organization, continuity of conduct and intent, while propaganda concerns the dissemination of messages that legitimize or praise violence or terrorist methods. These clarifications were presented as a conscious effort to move away from earlier practice whereby expressive conduct was sometimes subsumed under membership offences.

9. Judicial interlocutors stated that this reform has had tangible effects. They reported a reduction in the number of prosecutions qualifying as membership cases, greater emphasis on individualized assessment of conduct, and an overall decline in terrorism-related indictments. They also indicated that courts increasingly distinguish between violent conduct, organizational involvement and political expression, thereby narrowing the scope of criminal liability.

10. However, opposition representatives, lawyers and civil society actors emphasized that these changes address only part of the problem. They argued that a number of terrorism-related offences remain broadly framed and that divergent interpretations persist across different courts and regions. In practice, they said, peaceful political activity, including speeches, participation in demonstrations, symbolic acts and association with lawful political actors, continues to attract criminal investigation.

11. The delegation notes that this assessment broadly corresponds to observations made by the European Commission in its 2025 Türkiye Report, which found that, despite certain legislative and jurisprudential clarifications, there has been no substantial progress in practice in ensuring that counter-terrorism legislation is applied in a manner consistent with freedom of expression and political participation. The Commission reiterated concerns regarding the continued broad interpretation of terrorism-related offences, the chilling effect on political debate and the absence of effective safeguards in judicial practice.

12. Several interlocutors stressed that inconsistent interpretation of terrorism-related provisions undermines predictability and equality before the law. Reference was made in this regard to cases before the CHRP, including those of Mr. Can Atalay and Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş, where differing legal interpretations have contributed to prolonged detention, repeated proceedings or non-execution of judicial decisions.

13. In this context, particular attention was drawn during the mission to the case of Mr. Can Atalay and to the convictions arising from the Gezi Park protests. Several interlocutors emphasized that the conduct attributed to Mr. Atalay consisted of political speech, advocacy and participation in a broad-based protest movement, and that it did not involve violence, incitement to violence or any other inherently criminal act. They argued that the Gezi Park protests constituted a form of collective political expression and peaceful assembly protected under international human rights law and expressed serious concern that such conduct has been retrospectively characterized as criminal. In their view, the case illustrates the risks inherent in an expansive interpretation of terrorism-related and public order offences that blurs the distinction between legitimate protest activity and criminal liability.

14. In addition, lawyers and opposition representatives described a pattern whereby indictments frequently rely on a cumulative reading of disparate acts and statements over extended periods, without a

clear articulation of how such conduct meets the constituent elements of terrorism-related offences. According to these interlocutors, this approach shifts the focus from concrete criminal acts to an overall assessment of political positioning, thereby blurring the boundary between criminal liability and political dissent.

2. Terrorism-related cases against parliamentarians

15. Discussions revealed deeply contrasting assessments of terrorism-related proceedings against current and former parliamentarians. Judicial and executive authorities emphasized that parliamentary office does not confer immunity for criminal acts and recalled that proceedings often concern conduct predating election to Parliament. They stressed that each case must be assessed individually, on the basis of evidence and applicable law, and rejected assertions that prosecutions are politically motivated.

16. Opposition representatives and legal counsel countered that many cases rely primarily on political expression, participation in protests or association with lawful political actors. They referred in particular to the cases of Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş and Ms. Figen Yükseskağ, which they described as emblematic of the criminalization of opposition leadership and discourse.

17. Several opposition interlocutors further expressed concern that, during the course of 2025, legal pressure had expanded beyond the DEM Party and its predecessors. They stated that investigative measures, prosecutions and administrative actions increasingly targeted members of the Republican People's Party (CHP), including mayors and parliamentarians. In their view, this development marked a significant shift, extending legal pressure to mainstream opposition actors and heightening fears of a generalized shrinking of democratic space.

18. Interlocutors also drew attention to the cumulative impact of multiple investigations and prosecutions against the same individuals, even where earlier proceedings had resulted in acquittals or findings of violation. This pattern was described as creating a situation of legal attrition that effectively weakens the capacity of parliamentarians to carry out their mandate.

19. Several interlocutors emphasized that the use of pre-trial detention in such cases has a particularly severe impact on political representation. Even where detention is later found to be unjustified, the prolonged absence of elected representatives from the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT) was said to produce irreversible consequences for constituents and to undermine confidence in democratic institutions. This pattern was described as creating a situation of legal attrition that effectively weakens the capacity of parliamentarians to carry out their mandate.

3. Freedom of expression, assembly and political pluralism

20. The mission devoted extensive attention to the relationship between counter-terrorism law, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly. Authorities stressed the obligation of the State to prevent incitement to violence, glorification of terrorism and threats to public order. They emphasized that freedom of expression is not absolute and must be balanced against security considerations.

21. Other interlocutors recalled the established jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights affording heightened protection to political expression, particularly when exercised by elected representatives. They expressed concern that criminal law continues to be applied to speeches, slogans, attendance at demonstrations, commemorations and funerals, and to social media activity that falls within the realm of political discourse.

22. Several interlocutors also raised concerns that, in the context of recent demonstrations and political tensions, certain opposition parliamentarians had allegedly been subjected to excessive use of force by law enforcement officials. These allegations, which feature in the new collective case TUR-COLL-04, were described as compounding the impact of legal proceedings and contributing to a climate of intimidation.

23. Particular concern was voiced regarding proceedings with potentially systemic consequences for representation, including the pending request for the dissolution of the HDP before the Constitutional Court and related demands for political bans affecting several politicians. Opposition representatives warned that such measures could have far-reaching implications for political pluralism, while judicial authorities reiterated their independence and commitment to European standards.

4. Parliamentary immunity and interactions between institutions

24. The legacy and consequences of the 2016 constitutional amendment providing for the wholesale lifting of parliamentary immunity were revisited in several meetings. Authorities recalled that the amendment was adopted by Parliament itself and applied across party lines, allowing long-standing investigations to proceed and responding to public concerns regarding impunity.

25. Other interlocutors argued that, in practice, the amendment has disproportionately affected opposition parliamentarians and, when combined with broad terrorism-related offences, has weakened the protective function of parliamentary immunity. They maintained that the amendment has facilitated the use of criminal proceedings as a means of political pressure.

26. Discussions with judicial authorities also addressed institutional tensions linked to the implementation of high court judgments. While interlocutors consistently affirmed that decisions of the Constitutional Court are binding, differing interpretations of jurisdiction and procedure due to alleged ambiguity in the current Constitution were acknowledged as having led to delayed or incomplete execution, particularly in cases concerning detention and parliamentary mandates.

27. Several interlocutors noted that these tensions are exacerbated by structural issues affecting judicial independence, including concerns relating to the composition and functioning of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors. They argued that appointment and disciplinary mechanisms were perceived as limiting the autonomy of judges and prosecutors, thereby weakening safeguards against external influence in sensitive cases involving political actors.

5. The National Solidarity, Sisterhood/Brotherhood and Democracy Committee

28. The establishment of the GNAT National Solidarity, Sisterhood/Brotherhood and Democracy Committee featured prominently in discussions. Representatives of the parliamentary majority and the executive described the committee as a forum for inclusive dialogue intended to address the social and political foundations of unity and to contribute to conditions conducive to lasting peace.

29. The mission took place in a broader context in which several interlocutors referred to prospects for de-escalation, including developments related to the PKK's move to disarm and dismantle. In this light, the committee was presented by some as an opportunity to translate a changing security environment into political and legal reform.

30. Opposition representatives and civil society interlocutors welcomed the creation of the committee in principle, while stressing that its credibility would depend on its willingness to address structural rule-of-law and human rights issues. They emphasized that dialogue alone would be insufficient in the absence of tangible legal and institutional follow-up.

31. Several interlocutors expressed the view that, if its report is made public and followed by meaningful action, the committee could contribute to rebuilding trust, reducing polarization and addressing some of the underlying causes of recurrent tension between security imperatives and democratic rights.

D. Findings and recommendations

32. The delegation wishes to thank the Turkish authorities for receiving and facilitating the smooth conduct of the mission. At a time when human rights are in retreat in many places across the world, the fact that the Turkish authorities allowed for the mission to take place attests to their openness and willingness to discuss and assess the state of human rights in Türkiye and to address concerns raised.

33. The delegation considers that the discussions held during the mission confirm a fundamental tension that has characterized the cases before the CHRP for several years: the coexistence of a security-driven legal framework developed in response to genuine threats, and a democratic constitutional order that requires a high level of protection for political representation, expression and pluralism. While the authorities emphasize the necessity of robust counter-terrorism measures, the delegation observed that the continued application of broadly framed offences to political activity has produced lasting structural effects on parliamentary life.

34. The delegation notes positively that legislative and jurisprudential clarifications introduced since 2022 have sought to distinguish more clearly between terrorist propaganda and membership in a terrorist organization, and that these changes appear to have contributed to a reduction in the number of prosecutions qualifying as membership cases. However, the delegation emphasizes that these reforms, while welcome, address only a narrow segment of the issues raised in the cases before it and have not fundamentally altered the dynamics affecting opposition parliamentarians.

35. In particular, the delegation remains concerned that terrorism-related charges continue to be brought in circumstances where the underlying conduct consists primarily of political speech, participation in demonstrations or symbolic acts. This concern is compounded by the cumulative effect of repeated investigations and proceedings against the same individuals, which, even when not resulting in conviction, can significantly impair the effective exercise of a parliamentary mandate.

36. The delegation further observes that the expansion, during 2025, of legal pressure beyond DEM Party politicians to include members of the Republican People's Party (CHP) marks a significant qualitative development. If confirmed, this trend risks normalizing the use of criminal and administrative law against mainstream opposition actors and could have profound implications for the functioning of parliamentary democracy.

37. With regard to parliamentary immunity, the delegation considers that the experience following the 2016 constitutional amendment providing for the wholesale lifting of immunity warrants careful reassessment. While adopted in a context of acute political and security crisis, its continued effects raise questions as to whether sufficient safeguards exist to prevent disproportionate interference with representative functions.

38. The delegation underscores the binding nature of judgments of the ECHR and the Turkish Constitutional Court and reiterates that their timely and effective implementation is indispensable to the rule of law. In this respect, the delegation recalls that European institutions, including within the Council of Europe framework, have consistently emphasized that effective judicial independence and the execution of binding judgments are preconditions for restoring confidence in democratic institutions. It considers that persistent difficulties in executing such judgments point not only to procedural shortcomings but also to broader challenges affecting judicial independence and institutional checks and balances. The delegation remains concerned that institutional disagreements and procedural uncertainties have resulted in delayed or incomplete execution of a very few, but critical judgments, such as in the case of Mr. Can Atalay. In this respect, the delegation notes that concerns relating to the execution of judgments in the case of Mr. Atalay cannot be dissociated from the substance of the underlying conviction, which raises serious questions regarding the criminalization of political expression and participation in peaceful assembly.

39. In this context, the delegation welcomes the commitment expressed by the Ministry of Justice to provide detailed factual and legal information on individual cases before the CHRP where such information is currently lacking. The delegation underlines that it will, as a matter of priority, seek clarification regarding the situation of the ten parliamentarians referred to in the most recent CHRP decisions who, according to the authorities, are not currently subject to legal proceedings.

40. The delegation notes with concern allegations of excessive use of force by law enforcement officials against opposition parliamentarians, as raised in the context of the collective case TUR-COLL-04. It emphasizes that such allegations, if substantiated, would constitute serious violations of the rights of parliamentarians and further undermine trust in State institutions.

41. Turning to the National Solidarity, Sisterhood/Brotherhood and Democracy Committee, the delegation considers that the imminent publication of its report represents a critical moment. In a context where the PKK has announced the end of its armed struggle and where regional dynamics appear to be evolving, the delegation believes that the committee's conclusions and follow-up could play a decisive role in shaping a transition from a security-dominated approach to a more inclusive political framework.

42. The delegation therefore encourages the Turkish authorities and parliamentary actors to ensure that the committee's report:

- explicitly addresses the human rights and rule-of-law implications of counter-terrorism legislation and practice;

- includes reflection on the protection of political expression, parliamentary immunity and effective remedies;
- is followed by a structured and time-bound process of parliamentary debate and legislative or institutional follow-up.

43. Finally, the delegation calls on all stakeholders to seize the current context to rebuild trust between institutions, strengthen judicial independence and reaffirm Parliament's central role as a forum for inclusive democratic debate and representation. In particular, it considers that meaningful progress will require renewed efforts to strengthen guarantees of judicial independence, including through a review of the composition and operation of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors, as well as sustained parliamentary oversight of the application of counter-terrorism legislation. In this regard, the delegation reiterates its appreciation to the Turkish authorities for the cooperation extended during the mission, including the opportunity to meet Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş in detention, and expresses the hope that he and other current and former opposition parliamentarians will soon be able to recover their freedom in the context of ongoing efforts towards peace and reconciliation.

Geneva, January 2026

E. Observations provided by the authorities

Pluralist democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of law remain the core principles to which Türkiye is firmly committed. As a country with a long-standing democratic tradition, Türkiye has, over the past two decades, implemented comprehensive reforms aimed at strengthening democracy, the rule of law and human rights.

We welcomed the visit of the IPU Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians to Türkiye from 8 to 10 December 2025, which took place in a constructive and positive atmosphere. As the IPU Turkish Group, we ensured that all necessary preparations were carried out with due diligence, in coordination with our Speaker and relevant institutions.

The Committee's report has been carefully reviewed in coordination with the competent national authorities. In this context, we wish to present our observations on the issues raised.

First, the definition of terrorism under the Anti-Terror Law is clearly formulated and consistent with the principle of legal certainty. For an act to qualify as terrorism, it must involve offences carried out with force and violence, within an organizational framework, and directed towards a common political objective. Acts involving violence without an organizational link may create fear and panic but do not constitute terrorism in the legal sense. What distinguishes terrorism is its systematic nature, carried out within an organized structure through coercion, intimidation or suppression.

Accordingly, a person may be considered a terrorist only if they act as a member of an organization, assist it, or maintain affiliation with it. An armed terrorist organization possesses the structural capacity to commit crimes, and the presence of weapons is one of its defining elements. However, it is not necessary for all members to be armed; it suffices that some members possess weapons sufficient to carry out intended acts.

Membership entails adopting the organization's aims, integrating into its hierarchical structure and subordinating one's will to that of the organization. While those assisting the organization may act under instructions, the defining feature of membership is the individual's unconditional submission to the organization's authority.

In 2013, significant amendments were introduced to Articles 6 and 7 of the Anti-Terror Law in line with the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights. The offences of "publishing statements of terrorist organizations" and "terrorist propaganda" were clarified, and an additional requirement was introduced: such acts must legitimize, praise, or encourage the use of violence or coercion.

Furthermore, a 2019 amendment explicitly stipulated that expressions of opinion within the limits of reporting or criticism shall not give rise to criminal liability, thereby ensuring alignment with the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights.

Second, regarding parliamentary immunity, it should be emphasized that immunity is not a personal privilege but a functional safeguard to ensure the uninterrupted exercise of legislative duties. It does not eliminate criminal responsibility but provides for the temporary suspension of proceedings.

The collective lifting of immunities in 2016 was carried out through a temporary constitutional provision of an exceptional and one-off nature. This measure was general and abstract, not targeting individuals. Following this amendment, case files concerning 144 members of parliament from different political parties were referred to the judiciary. These included various offences such as violations of the constitutional order, terrorism-related crimes, forgery, bodily harm, and insult, and were applied without discrimination. Importantly, these proceedings did not prevent members from participating in legislative activities.

The European Court of Human Rights has recognized that the granting of parliamentary immunity falls within the margin of appreciation of States and has noted that immunity in Türkiye is, in certain respects, broader than in other countries (*Kart v. Türkiye*, 2008).

Moreover, in the nearly ten years since 2016, only ten immunity files concerning five members have been approved by the relevant parliamentary committee, and the Turkish Parliament has authorized judicial proceedings in only three cases concerning two members, while the others have not been placed on the agenda.

Third, the principle of separation of powers is clearly enshrined in the Constitution and has been further strengthened through reforms. Judicial independence and impartiality are constitutionally guaranteed. Investigations and prosecutions are conducted with full respect for fundamental rights, particularly the right to a fair trial. Judges render decisions based solely on the Constitution and the law, free from external influence, and their rulings are subject to effective legal remedies.

Individuals may apply to the Constitutional Court and the European Court of Human Rights, as well as relevant United Nations mechanisms. Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights are legally binding, and Türkiye complies with them diligently. The domestic legal framework provides mechanisms such as retrial and other judicial remedies to address violations, and such judgments are taken into account by all levels of the judiciary.

In 2023, the execution process for 111 cases concerning Türkiye was completed, ranking the country third overall, with 21 leading cases, placing Türkiye first in that category. In 2024, 88 cases were finalized, ranking Türkiye second, including 16 leading cases, again placing it first. In 2025, 64 cases were concluded, with 7 classified as leading cases.

According to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Türkiye's execution rate of European Court judgments exceeds 90%, above the member State average. This demonstrates that there is no systemic issue regarding the non-execution of judgments.

The legal framework governing the execution of Constitutional Court and European Court rulings is clearly defined. Any interpretative differences among judicial bodies are addressed through established legal procedures and independent judicial review.

Fourth, in cases of alleged excessive use of force by law enforcement, individuals have access to both administrative and judicial complaint mechanisms. Such allegations are thoroughly examined, and investigations and prosecutions are initiated where necessary.

Finally, the Turkish Parliament's Committee on National Solidarity, Brotherhood and Democracy was established to eliminate terrorism, strengthen social cohesion and enhance democratic standards. The Committee conducted an inclusive consultation process involving political actors, public institutions, academia, civil society and opinion leaders.

Its report, published on 18 February 2026, was adopted with broad support and contains comprehensive recommendations guiding future steps in democratization and social unity. It serves as an important reference for advancing shared objectives.

In conclusion, the findings and recommendations contained in the Committee's report are assessed in the light of Türkiye's legal framework, which incorporates universal standards. Effective remedies remain available before independent and impartial judicial bodies, and forthcoming reforms, particularly those inspired by the Turkish Parliament Committee's work, will further strengthen the Turkish legal system.

F. Observations provided by the complainant (27 March 2026)

The IPU's December 2025 mission report makes a genuine attempt to present a balanced overview of the regression of parliamentary space in Türkiye. While the report makes honest attempts at balance, it does not sufficiently describe the structural and systematic reality of the political crackdown underway. This crackdown cannot be reduced to a "tension between security and democracy." That framing is the rhetorical shield authorities use to justify the dismantling of democratic space. As of April 2026, neither the judiciary nor the Government has successfully linked any opposition politician to an actual violent act. Türkiye has established a permanent, institutionalized model of political exclusion. The State deploys "security challenges" as a pretext to normalize emergency rule (*OHAL*) tools that have remained in place since 2016. Decree laws from that period continue, to this day, to be converted into permanent legislation. While the IPU views the 2022 legislative clarifications on "terrorist propaganda" positively, these reforms are purely formal and have failed to change the practice of criminalizing peaceful political speech. Notably, State authorities have failed to provide reliable statistics to substantiate their contrary claims.

The assertion that the 2016 immunity lifting was applied "across party lines" is demonstrably false. While hundreds of files concerning members of other parties remain untouched, HDP/DEM members were systematically arrested in coordinated "midnight operations." The Government has equally failed to provide statistics to support this claim. In March 2026, Ms. Ceylan Akça submitted a parliamentary motion demanding that the Minister of Justice share disaggregated data on prosecutions and convictions of MPs. As of 13 April 2026, the Minister has not responded — in direct violation of parliamentary rules, which require authorities to reply to motions within two weeks.

The mission report's optimism about judicial progress is directly contradicted by the State's recent appointments. On 11 February 2026, Mr. Akın Gürlek was appointed Minister of Justice. Minister Gürlek is the very judge who presided over the courts that handed down severe, unlawful sentences against the parliamentarians the IPU is monitoring, including Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş and Mr. Sırrı Süreyya Önder. He is

also the architect of the judicial offensive against the main opposition party. The judiciary operates in political synchronization with the executive; investigations are routinely accelerated or initiated only after individuals obtain political representation or parliamentary mandates.

The refusal to implement European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and Constitutional Court rulings is a deliberate political choice to keep opposition leadership imprisoned.

While the IPU report places hope in the National Solidarity, Sisterhood/Brotherhood and Democracy Committee, its February 2026 final report amounts to little more than a “pelure paper” — a thin, transparent veil concealing a lack of genuine intent. As of April, the Government has not shared any roadmap for how the report’s findings, specifically its sixth and seventh points, would be translated into legislative amendments. New *fezleke* (immunity-lifting summaries) continue to be filed against DEM and CHP members. Political officials continue to override the elected will of the people, and ECHR rulings remain unimplemented. Resolving these issues requires no new legislation, only political will.

Furthermore, the Government and its parliamentary ally, the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), speak openly of slowing the dialogue process, declaring “there is no rush”. In response to politicians demanding concrete steps to progress current talks, Vice President Cevdet Yılmaz said in April that DEM politicians “should stop imposing demands on the State and focus on what they should do,” while the ruling party spokesperson Mr. Ömer Çelik said, “DEM serves a certain algorithm.” In the meantime, politically motivated dawn raids have resumed. At least 200 people were detained for participating in Newroz celebrations in March. MPs are harassed in the field by police while simultaneously being selectively excluded from parliamentary proceedings.

The Committee must:

- Continue pressing for the implementation of ECHR rulings, which require no legislative amendments — only enforcement of the existing constitution.
- Continue consulting independent researchers and human rights organizations to maintain a balanced understanding of the political environment in Türkiye.
- Closely monitor the Ministry of Justice under Mr. Akın Gürlek, whose record strongly suggests a further escalation of politically motivated trials.
- Demand disaggregated data to substantiate any improvements the Government claims to have made.

The current situation in Türkiye is not a “risk” to democratic space. It is an ongoing, active effort to dismantle the expressed will of millions of voters — not only Kurds, but Turks as well.