



ELECTION OBSERVATION REPORT

Presidential and Parliamentary
Elections of 14 & 28 May 2023

Human Rights Association
June 2023



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INTRODUCTION

This report incorporates observations and evaluations by the Human Rights Association (İHD) during and after the presidential and 28th term parliamentary elections held on 14 May 2023 and the runoff of the presidential elections held on 28 May 2023.

İHD closely monitors the right to vote and to be elected both through its independent work and through the “Independent Election Monitoring Platform” established with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights (ESHİD) as well as the “Election Security Platform” of which İHD is a part. İHD is aware of the contribution that its long-standing work in this context will make to the fair conduct of elections and the protection and promotion of human rights.

Citizens, candidates and political parties must be allowed to make propaganda freely in order for elections to be held in a fair and safe manner. In Turkey, however, there are restrictive legal regulations and very harsh practices beyond legal regulations against freedom of expression. The latest instance of such restrictive legislation is the “Law on the Amendment of the Press Law and Certain Laws,” commonly known as the “disinformation law” which entered into force on October 18, 2022.¹ İHD, which has numerous reports and statements on freedom of expression and the general situation, informs the relevant institutions and the public through these reports. Most recently, on December 12, 2022, İHD published a report titled “The State of Turkey before the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections”² and shared a comprehensive analysis on the issue.

After President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan signed the election decree on March 10, 2023 and the Supreme Electoral Council, which is responsible for conducting and ensuring the security of elections in Turkey, published its calendar for the Presidential and 28th term parliamentary elections on March 18, İHD intensified its reporting and monitoring activities during the election process. İHD initiated intensive work on this issue both through its headquarters and branches. In the last presidential and 28th parliamentary elections, İHD conducted “independent election monitoring” with its 450 members and executives in 27 branches and 7 representative offices.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) also monitored the latest elections through its election monitoring mission of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) with its long-term and short-term experts. Within this framework, the OSCE delegation shared its interim report covering the period March 22 - April 25 with the public on April 28, 2023 and its first findings report on May 15, 2023.

İHD drafted a report on rights violations that took place both before and after the elections. In addition to the allegations of violations submitted by İHD members and executives, violation

¹ <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2022/10/20221018-1.htm>

² https://ihd.org.tr/en/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/sr20221205_IHD-Elections-Report.pdf

allegations reported by the press have also been added to the current report. A detailed breakdown of the rights violations can be found in the following parts. These rights violations are listed under three groups as rights violations before the elections, during the elections and during the ballot-counting process.

VIOLATIONS AND ALLEGATIONS OF VIOLATIONS BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

- With the amendments introduced in 2018 and 2022 to Law No. 298 on “Basic Provisions of Elections and Voter Registers,” all election processes were changed in favor of the ruling party. Especially after the amendments made in 2022 became law on 07.04.2022, an unprecedented number of judges with civil and criminal jurisdiction were appointed in the history of Turkey.
- The Law No. 7418 “Law on Amendments to the Press Law and Certain Laws,” commonly known as the disinformation law, was adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 13.10.2022. Control over social media was further increased, the authority to block access to social media through band throttling was expanded and new restrictive measures were introduced regarding social network providers.
- With this amendment, Article 217/A was added to Article 217 of the Turkish Penal Code No. 5237 and the offense of “publicly disseminating misleading information” was regulated and a prison sentence of 1 to 3 years was prescribed.
- With the start of the presidential and parliamentary elections, there was a debate on whether the amendment introduced to the Election Law in 2022 or the previous law would be applied. While opposition parties and some legal experts argued that the new law would enter into force on April 6 since the election decision was taken on March 10 and the election process started before the law entered into force, the AKP and some legal experts stated that the new law would be applied since the election would be held on May 14, 2023. There was concern that if elections were held under the new law, judges appointed by and those close to the political power would be elected to electoral boards, especially since the chairs of the provincial and district electoral boards would be determined by lot instead of the most senior judge. Finally, the SBE decided to hold the elections under the new election law. Provincial and district electoral boards were thus formed according to the new law.
- The second important debate was whether President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan would be a candidate. While opposition parties and individuals argued that Tayyip Erdoğan had been elected president twice and could not run for a third term according to the constitution; the AKP, MHP and pro-government parties argued that Erdoğan had been

elected according to the constitutional amendment that came into force in 2018 and could run again. Despite the objections, the SBE accepted Erdoğan's candidacy.

- In the run-up to the elections, due to the ongoing closure case against the HDP and the possibility of its closure, the HDP had to enter the elections on the lists of the Green Left Party due to concerns that it might be shut down during the election process. In addition, the treasury aid granted to HDP was first blocked and then unblocked.
- The electoral activities of these parties were prevented and criminalized through continuous detentions, arrests, etc. against the opposition, particularly against HDP, Green Left Party and other left-wing and socialist party members, lawyers and observers. The Human Rights Association shared with the public its concerns about violence and detentions with the statements titled "Call for Free and Democratic Elections"³ on April 13 and "HRFT-İHD Joint Statement on Mass Detentions and Elections"⁴ on April 26.
- At least 128 people, including human rights defenders, lawyers, journalists, political party executives and members, were detained in operations in 21 provinces as part of a Diyarbakır-based investigation.
- Since HDP did not participate in the elections, the Green Left Party, on whose list it ran in the elections, could not have members on the polling station boards.
- Under the relevant law, parties that received 3% of the votes receive aid from the treasury and are granted double the specified sum during election periods, which in this case resulted in a huge gap between the election expenditures of many parties that entered the election and those that received aid from the treasury (HDP could not use this aid in the election since it did not enter the election by its name but through Green Left lists). Therefore, a great injustice emerged in the financing of the election.
- The fact that the president and parliamentary candidate ministers did not resign during the election period caused the ministries to use the state's resources in favor of their own parties. Thus, state resources funded AKP's election campaigns.
- İHD's application to the Supreme Electoral Board, dated 11.04.2023, stated that vice presidents and ministers in office should resign from their current ministerial posts as they are candidates for parliamentary seats, was rejected by the SEB with its decision no. 2023/617, arguing that there was no legal obstacle for ministers and vice presidents

³ <https://ihd.org.tr/en/ihd-calls-for-free-and-democratic-elections/>

⁴ <https://ihd.org.tr/en/hrft-ihd-joint-statement-on-mass-detentions-and-elections/>

to become candidates for parliamentary seats without resigning from their posts. İHD shared its opinion on this issue with the public through a press release titled "Ministers Running in the Parliamentary Elections Must Step Down."⁵

- The state-owned Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) has become the propaganda tool of the political power even more so in the election period. While the propaganda of the representatives of the political power was constantly featured on TRT, the opposition was hardly given any space. According to members of the Supreme Board of Radio and Television (RTÜK), Messrs. Taşcı and Keser, presidential candidate Recep Tayyip Erdoğan appeared on TRT News channel for 32 hours, 42 minutes and 47 seconds, while Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the People's Alliance (Cumhur İttifakı) partner ultra-nationalist MHP, was featured for 25 hours, 27 minutes and 40 seconds; BBP, one of the alliance member parties, was on TRT screens for 33 minutes and 43 seconds, DSP for 13 minutes and 11 seconds, Yeniden Refah Partisi for 7 minutes and HÜDA PAR for 6 minutes and 45 seconds between April 1 and May 1. Accordingly, the ruling People's Alliance was on TRT News for 59 hours, 11 minutes and 6 seconds in total.
- While AKP and President Erdoğan made unlimited propaganda on dozens of private TV channels, the opposition could only find space on a few TV channels.
- While some of those who moved from the earthquake zone to other cities registered as voters in the cities they moved to, others did not register because they wanted to vote in their own cities. However, how those who wanted to vote in their cities would reach their cities was not planned.
- Due to the transition of universities to hybrid education, some of the students stayed in the city where they were studying and some in the city where they resided. Hundreds of thousands of students were undecided about where to vote. (Considering that only CHP transported 160 thousand students to their polling stations on election day, it remains unknown how many of them did not have access to the polling stations. This situation must be regarded to bear even more importance taking into account that nearly 8 million voters did not vote.)
- It is understood that people who had to leave their places of residence in May and go to other regions as agricultural workers could not vote.

⁵ <https://ihd.org.tr/en/ihd-statement-ministers-running-in-the-parliamentary-elections-must-step-down/>

- The number of people who are homeless and do not have a place of residence due to impoverishment cannot become voters and reach the ballot box is another important problem.
- The limited number of polling stations abroad prevented voters from going to the polls sufficiently (88% voter turnout in Turkey and 53% abroad is a result of this limitation).
- Governors, district governors, rectors and local administrative authorities participated in pro-government propaganda activities. For the first time since the transition to multi-party political life, governors made speeches at election rallies of the political power and the rector of a university participated in the election campaigns of an AKP parliamentary candidate (there are many cases reported in the media).⁶
- In Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, many governors and district governors gathered mukhtars and asked them to vote for AKP and especially not to vote for the Green Left Party (Some cases reported in the media are provided in the annex).⁷
- The Ministry of Family and Social Services doubled the number of households receiving aid during the election period. State funding was mobilized for AKP's election campaigns. Since 3.3 million households were visited in the last five months of 2022 within the scope of the "National Household Visits Program" and "Cash Aid Program for Widows" launched by the AKP in August 2022, assuming that the work continued at the same pace, approximately 3.3 million households were visited in the first five months of 2023. This means a total of 6.6 million households visited before the elections. The average household size in Turkey is 3.17. However, we know that poor households are more crowded.

⁶ <https://www.odatv4.com/guncel/o-vali-akp-toplantisinda-282294> ;
<https://twitter.com/Haber/status/1653434491766030343> ; <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2023/gundem/son-dakika-valiligin-erdogan-propagandasina-tepki-yagdi-az-kaldi-7557343/>

⁷ <http://mezopotamyaaajansi35.com/tum-haberler/content/view/207157>
<https://www.evrensel.net/haber/490362/mardinde-kayyum-ve-kaymakamlar-muhtarlarla-gorusuyor-oy-dagilimi-degismeli>
<http://mezopotamyaaajansi35.com/tum-haberler/content/view/207745>
<http://mezopotamyaaajansi35.com/tum-haberler/content/view/207191>

14 MAY 2023 ELECTION DAY VIOLATIONS AND ALLEGATIONS OF VIOLATIONS

In Eskitaş village of Adıyaman Kahta, it was announced that the brothers of AKP Adıyaman provincial chairperson had open voting in the village in the presence of gendarmerie officers.

In Gülen Muharrem Pakoğlu Secondary School in Çankaya District of Ankara, Green Left Party could not take part on the board of ballot box no. 1174 on the grounds that their name was not included in the list handed to the chairperson of the ballot box although they had a member certificate from Supreme Electoral Board.

İHD Secretary General Hüseyin Küçükbalaban, executive board members Osman İşçi, Adnan Vural and member İsmail Boyraz went to the Ankara Chamber of Commerce Congress Hall in Ankara at around 19.30 to conduct independent election monitoring. They informed the district election board official and the security chief about their observation and work. The security chief told them that they would inform the District Election Judge and asked them to wait, but after waiting for more than an hour they were told that they could not observe.

In Diyarbakır, nearly 200 people were unable to vote because they were made members of the ballot board without their knowledge. Voters were informed at the polling station that they could not vote. Voters were unable to vote because they did not have the 142-coded documents required for ballot board members.

In Gaziantep, it was learned that around 1000 voters were allegedly registered as observers on behalf of the Vatan Party without their knowledge, and that they learned that their names were not on the ballot box lists they thought they were registered in, and that the ballot boxes they registered as observers were both very far away from them and that they were told that they could not vote without obtaining the 142 certificate, and that many people could not vote because they could not obtain the 142 certificate.

In Giresun, ballots were allegedly pre-stamped for Erdoğan.

It is reported that AKP observers beat a member of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) at Neslişah Imam Hatip Secondary School in Fatih district of Istanbul.

During the voting process in the rural Eşme neighborhood of Mardin's Kızıltepe district, relatives of AKP candidate Faruk Kılıç wanted to vote in mass. Green Left Party observers objected and wanted to record the incident on their phones. Meanwhile, a group of dozens of Kılıç's relatives attacked the Green Left Party observers. Havas Güngör and Kemal Erbey were injured during the attack. Two citizens were taken to Kızıltepe District State Hospital for treatment.

In Mersin, the provincial election board rejected the request of 33 independent election observers submitted by İHD to the board on the grounds that “the law does not include non-governmental organizations as observers.”

In Şanlıurfa Harran’s Alacalı Village, it was reported that men voted in place of women.

According to the statements of Mehmet Rüştü Tiryaki, HDP’s representative to the SBE in Siverek district of Şanlıurfa, open voting was reported in Çinhisar Primary School.

It is reported that İHD member and independent election observer Fevzi Kara was attacked and slightly wounded by village guard Hazım Babat and his supporters in Uludere district of Şırnak. On 19.05.2023 Fevzi Kara was called to testify on the grounds that he “insulted” those who beat him.

In Şırnak/Silopi, Esin Yılmaz, chairperson of İHD Şırnak branch, stated that their observation work was prevented and their IDs were taken at the school they went to observe in Yenişehir neighborhood, and that they were told that the law enforcement would check their IDs, and after the background check their IDs were handed back.

In the rural Gündaş neighborhood of Şanlıurfa (Akçakale) district, a group of 40-50 people who wanted to vote en masse poured boiling water over a CHP ballot board member. According to the allegations, a group of 40-50 people came to the polling station early in the morning to vote in the Kardeşler hamlet of Gündaş neighborhood and asked for a block vote. The CHP ballot board member who opposed the block voting was physically and verbally attacked by the group.

Provocations and attacks on people in Şırnak, Cizre and Silopi after counting:

Shortly after the end of the voting period and the start of counting, security forces in central Şırnak, Cizre and Silopi fired gas bombs randomly throughout the city. It was also reported by

observers that tear gas was also fired at schools in Cizre where the counting was taking place and that those working in the counting of votes were unable to leave the schools until 22:30 at night due to the intense tear gas.⁸

It was also reported in the media that masked people fired randomly into the air with heavy weapons for a long time during the vote counting in Cizre district of Şırnak. Eyewitnesses and observers claimed that the shooters were security forces. Şırnak Governor's Office announced that an investigation into the incident was initiated.

Other Violations Reported by Observers from the Field

- Pressure on voters to prevent the will of the voters from being adequately reflected in the ballot box,
- Some ballot board members and observers were not allowed into villages where AKP and MHP received votes,
- Mass voting, especially in villages with village guards,
- In some villages, men voted in place of women,
- Security forces were waiting at some polling stations during voting,
- Polling station chairpersons did not take 142 duty certificates of security forces and therefore security forces vote more than once with 142 duty certificates,
- More than 2000 voters in Antep and more than 2022 voters in Diyarbakır were registered as members of ballot boards by the Vatan Party without their knowledge, and when these voters went to vote, they could not do so because they did not have 142 documents. Some of them stated that they could not vote because they were assigned as ballot board members to very remote places and villages even though they applied to the election authorities during the day and received their 142 duty certificates.⁹
- In Gaziantep and Diyarbakır, Vatan Party members were appointed as members of ballot board without the voters' knowledge, and it is not known who replaced them in

⁸ https://twitter.com/CHPMuratBakan/status/1657834726684516353?t=rssaNN6d_CI_yqLkLywMMA&s=08

⁹ <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2023/gundem/son-dakika-binlerce-secmene-sahte-sandik-gorevlisi-oyunu-7683899/>

<https://www.evrensel.net/haber/490005/antepte-bazi-secmenler-bilgileri-disinda-koylerde-vatan-partisinin-sandik-gorevlisi-olarak-yazdirildi>

<https://t24.com.tr/haber/diyarbakir-da-200-e-yakin-secmen-bilgisi-disinda-sandik-kurulu-uyesi-yapildigi-icin-oy-kullanamadi,1109726>

thousands of ballot boards. This situation shows that especially the ballot board members were specified with a plan. Considering that the votes in the wet-signed minutes in the results of the ballot box counting are different from those in the SBE list, it shows that this was planned from the beginning.

VIOLATIONS AND ALLEGATIONS OF VIOLATIONS DURING VOTE COLLECTION AND COUNTING ON 14 MAY

It was observed that the information in many ballot box minutes across the country was incorrectly entered into the records of the SBE.

The statements of political parties on this issue are provided below:

- Mehmet Rüştü Tiryaki, Spokesperson of the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) Election Monitoring Coordination Center and Representative to the Supreme Board of Elections (YSK), said, "We have learned that more than 1000 ballot box result minutes shared with political parties across the country were entered incorrectly. The number is not very high. There are ballot boxes with 230 of our votes and some with 2 votes. We objected to all of these. Almost all of these objections have been resolved and all of this data has been resolved and all of this data has been corrected."¹⁰
- Doğan Ergün, Deputy Chairman of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP), said: "In every part of the world where fair, democratic elections can be held, voting around 95 percent is an anomaly, an indication of anomaly. In Turkey, the number of ballot boxes where 95 percent or more votes were cast in the May 14 elections is close to 20 thousand and the number of voters is around 4 million 200 thousand. In other words, approximately 20 thousand ballot boxes where 4 million 200 thousand votes were cast are shady."¹¹
- CHP Chief Electoral Affairs Officer Muharrem Erkek made a statement at the party's headquarters about the election results and SBE's data. The statement is as follows: "We identified differences in 2,269 ballot boxes in the presidential election. It can be in favor of all candidates. We are also identifying those against our candidate Mr. Kılıçdaroğlu. All of these objections were made as of 17:00 on Monday. For the parliamentary seats, we detected differences against CHP and İYİ Party in a total of 4,825 ballot boxes. Some of these are 300 votes, some are 1 vote. The objections were completed as of 15:00 yesterday."¹²
- Mr. Erkek also made the following statement: "Let me also inform you that while the district election boards are preparing the merger minutes, some material errors are corrected by the district election boards even without an objection."¹³

- Independent election observers appointed by İHD and the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights were prevented observing the elections in many places.

In conclusion, in light of the violations during the presidential and parliamentary elections, İHD has identified a number of important violations regarding the elections. It is necessary to state that some voters did not have the opportunity to reflect their free will due to the fact that the elections were not held in a safe and democratic environment.

Presidential Election Runoff

Independent Election Monitoring Platform and İHD as the component of the platform continued their election monitoring activities in the field with their observers. The first data on allegations of electoral violations reported by their independent election observers and those compiled from the press are as follows:

Adıyaman-Sincik: Mass voting was reported in Hasanlı village and Sincik center. CHP lawyers intervened.

Ankara - Çankaya: At Kocatepe Mimar Kemal Anatolian High School, 3 people were detected trying to vote with invalid ID cards; 1 person voted, 2 people were not allowed.

Bingöl: CHP delegation went to Çavuşlar village of Bingöl after a mass voting report and was attacked. The group objecting to mass voting told the delegation "This is Çavuşlar, you cannot enter."¹⁴

Lawyers from Lawyers for Freedom and Hakkari Bar Association were attacked when they went to a school in Hakkari - Derecik Samanlı (Mavan) Village against allegations of mass voting.¹⁵

Hatay: CHP observers were beaten by AKP members in Altözü district.

In Hatay- Tanışma village, CHP observers were allegedly thrown out of the school by the gendarmerie.

Hatay: In Fevzi Çakmak neighborhood Cemalettin Tınaztepe School, the head of the ballot box board allegedly voted with the citizens who came to vote.

Hatay- Altınözü Ballot box no. 1106 at Toprakhisar Imam Hatip Secondary School was allegedly used for mass voting.

Gaziantep - Nizip Yağmuralan Neighborhood of Nizip, open voting in ballot box 1302.¹⁶

İstanbul: Observers intervened in Kadıköy and Sarıyer when some police officers and guards tried to vote without 142 documents.¹⁷

¹⁴ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/bingolde-toplu-oya-itiraz-eden-chp-heyetine-saldiri-haber-1620809>

¹⁵ <https://twitter.com/Mazlumengndnz/status/1662787742277804032?s=20>

¹⁶ <https://twitter.com/GundemiAntep27/status/1662780091091369984?s=20>

¹⁷ <https://haber.sol.org.tr/haber/polisler-uzerinden-usulsuz-oy-kullanimina-mudahale-iki-yerde-birden->

Kocaeli: MHP Dilovası District Executive Yüctan Dilmaç was caught trying to vote twice.¹⁸

Şanlıurfa-Akçakale: Yazlıca neighborhood. CHP polling officials who tried to prevent mass voting were beaten and thrown out of the school. Lawyers who went to Yazlıca Secondary School in Urfa to vote on allegations of mass voting were threatened. The district governorship said it was a "minor dispute."¹⁹

Şanlıurfa: CHP MP Ali Şeker was reportedly beaten in Eyyübiye district of Urfa for objecting to irregularities in the ballot box.²⁰

Şanlıurfa: CHP MP Mahmut Tanal, who went to Urfa, where CHP MP Ali Şeker was attacked, said he also was attacked.²¹

Şanlıurfa: In Viranşehir-Anıt/Kerme Village, men voted collectively for AKP in place of women.

Şanlıurfa: In Bozova Arıkök Village, 600 votes were collectively cast for Erdoğan and citizens were prevented from voting.

In Kavaklıdere village of Şanlıurfa-Siverek, ballot box no. 1364 was set up in the house of the village mukhtar. The mukhtar prevented the villagers from voting and tried to vote in place of all voters.²²

Şırnak: In Ulaş (Zewik) village in Cizre, former AKP district head Cihan Güven and his nephews Ferzen Güven and Mesut Güven, Mehmet Kaçar entered the voting booth with the villagers threatening and pressuring them to vote for Erdoğan.²³

Şırnak: In Artukoğlu primary school in Cizre, security forces did not allow İHD's observers to enter the school. The names of the observers were reported to the Supreme Electoral Board and they were taken out.

Yalova: Folded envelopes were found to have been brought from outside.²⁴

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¹⁸ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/mhpli-yonetici-ikinci-kez-oy-kullanirken-yakalandi-haber-1620808>

¹⁹ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/urfada-toplu-oy-kullanildigi-iddia-edilen-okula-giden-avukatlara-engel-istersen-allah-ol-kimse-giremez-iceri-haber-1620794>

²⁰ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/ozgur-ozel-milletvekilimiz-ali-seker-sanliurfada-darp-edildi-haber-1620773>

²¹ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/chpli-ali-sekerin-ardindan-mahmut-tanala-da-saldiri-haber-1620807>

²²

<https://twitter.com/saitsirdas/status/1662716746317410304?t=Qxbgenv20GS1vZFN75OAw&s=08>

²³ <https://twitter.com/ihlal2023/status/1662719521650614273?t=EqBTnZKw1ewVaaxU-c51Yg&s=08>

²⁴

Yalova Çınarcık: The Green Left Party ballot box board member reported that envelopes were brought from outside and used for voting were cast in the ballot box. A report containing the information of the relevant person was kept and the intervention to the ballot box was recorded.²⁵

Ordu-Gülyalı: İYİ Party member Erhan Kurt died in a knife attack in front of the party building during “election celebrations” in the district.²⁶

Mardin-Nusaybin: After the presidential election runoff, a group celebrating President Erdoğan's victory in Girmeli town opened fire with long barreled weapons. Ahmet Akbulut was attacked when he tried to talk to the celebrating group to stop the shooting. Akbulut was hospitalized after being hit in the face and lost one eye.²⁷

Mersin-Toroslar: 15-year-old Muhammed Eslek, who was shot by a free-falling “tired” bullet during election celebrations in front of AKP Toroslar district office, died in hospital on 30 May 2018.²⁸

In the light of the first data we have received and reported in the press, it has been determined that violations including mass and open voting, obstruction of observers and party representatives, and physical violence took place in the 2nd round of the presidential election. We call on all public authorities, especially the SBE, to fulfill their duties in accordance with human rights standards in order to ensure fair elections.

<https://twitter.com/yeniyasamgazete/status/1662724050404139010?t=eNzdnXXUqF5BrsjK0iUHUA&s=08>

²⁵ https://twitter.com/Fehim_Isik/status/1662732642989514752?s=20

²⁶ <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/secim-kutlamasinda-iyi-parti-uyesi-erhan-kurt-olduruldu-haber-1620980>

²⁷ <https://artigercek.com/politika/mardinde-akpnin-secim-kutlamalarinda-saldiriya-ugrayan-ahmet-akbulut-bir-252120h>

²⁸ <https://www.birgun.net/haber/akpnin-secim-kutlamalari-sirasinda-basina-yorgun-mermi-isabet-eden-cocuk-yasamini-yitirdi-441508>

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