**MEDIA REPORT**

#  Introduction

This report consists of four parts. [**The first chapte**](#_BASKI_DÖNEMİ)**r** discusses the repression of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's government on the media since 2014, [**the second chapter**](#_EL_KOYMA_DÖNEMİ) discusses the stage of confiscation of media organizations by means of trustees appointed by the government, [**the third chapter**](#_CEZALANDIRMA) discusses the punishment of journalists and newspaper owners, [**the final chapter**](#_MALVARLIKLARINA_EL_KOYMA) discusses the confiscation of assets.

#  PERIOD OF REPRESSION

In November 2015, television channels close to the Gülen Movement were removed from the TÜRKSAT satellite and the sound of opposition broadcasts was cut off. First, the channels of the Samanyolu Broadcasting Group[[1]](#footnote-1) then Kanaltürk and Today TV were kicked off the satellite.[[2]](#footnote-2)

The first operation of the AKP government to the media close to the Gülen Movement took place on the anniversary of the December 17 corruption investigation. Using the operation of the Istanbul police against a radical Islamist group called Tahşiyeciler as an excuse in 2009, the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office detained Samanyolu Broadcasting Group Chairman Hidayet Karaca and Zaman Newspaper's Editor-in-Chief Ekrem Dumanlı, alleging that they contributed to the formation of public opinion before and after this operation. After 5 days of detention, Hidayet Karaca was arrested on the pretext of a series of scenarios broadcast on STV, and Ekrem Dumanlı was released after being banned from abroad due to two columns and a news article published in his newspaper.[[3]](#footnote-3)

Today's Zaman the English-language newspaper of the Zaman Media Group. During the Gezi Protests of 2013, the government was very disturbed by his harsh opposition to Erdogan's government. This caused the government to draw its thunderbolts on it, especially since it was followed by foreign public opinion. Bülent Keneş, the editor-in-chief of Today's Zaman, was arrested on October 10, 2015 for insulting Erdogan in a tweet he posted. Bülent Keneş, who was detained in Silivri Prison for 5 days, was released on appeal.[[4]](#footnote-4)

In the summer of 2013, some columnists writing in Koza Ipek Media Group's publications about the Gezi Protests that broke out in the summer of 2013 wrote articles criticizing the government's attitude. Thereupon, Koza İpek Holding boss Akın İpek, who was summoned by the Prime Minister of the time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, was asked to dismiss some columnists and to replace editors-in-chief and to appoint people who would work in harmony with the government, and was blacklisted when he refused to fulfill these demands.

Erdoğan, who was wounded in the general elections of 7 June 2015 and lost the majority that could form a government on his own, left the coalition discussions carried out by the then Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu inconclusive and decided to renew the elections on 1 November 2015. The period of approximately 5 months between June 7 and November first has been a nightmare for Turkey. More than 600 soldiers and policemen lost their lives in the Southeast. Erdogan's promise to ‘Give 400 deputies to let this matter be resolved peacefully’ was perceived by the people as a message of ‘if I leave, terror will rule'.

On November 1, 3 days before the elections, Koza Ipek Media group was confiscated by appointing a trustee. Koza Ipek Media Group, which owns Kanaltürk, Bugün TV, Bugün Newspaper and Millet newspapers, has been taken over by people close to Erdogan. Newspaper readers and journalists gathered in front of the building where Kanaltürk and Today newspapers are located in Mecidiyeköy, and the police intervened with pepper spray and water cannons. Bugün TV Editor-in-Chief Tarık Toros shattered a historical record by broadcasting without leaving the broadcast room for 8 hours. The trustees managed to stop the broadcast by cutting the television cables.

Exactly 4 months after the appointment of trustee to Kanaltürk Television and Today group, newspapers and televisions were closed on February 29, 2016, and fixtures and valuable devices were sold to supporters at no cost.

Kaynak Holding, known for its proximity to the Gülen movement, was appointed trustee on November 17, 2015. Among the companies operating in different sectors within the Holding, there were magazines such as Yağmur, Yeni Ümit and Fountain, especially book publishing and Sızıntı Magazine, which has a circulation of about 700 thousand. Again, the largest broadcast distribution network in Turkey, Gökkuşağı Distribution, and NT Stores with nearly 100 branches were operating within Kaynak Holding.

The trustee management has destroyed thousands of printed books of the Holding, even though they do not carry any criminal elements, and has shattered the biggest book massacre in recent history.

A group of journalists who were dismissed from their jobs while working at these newspapers after the appointment of trustees to Today and Millet newspapers, which are part of the Koza-Ipek Group, have published a new newspaper under the name Özgür Bugün. The trustees assigned to the newspaper Bugün complained to the prosecutor's office on the grounds that this outlet is a trademark violation. On November 11, 2015, the printing house belonging to Feza Journalism Inc. where the Özgür Bugün newspaper was printed, was raided by the police. However, the police not only raided the printing house, but also broke the law and entered the Zaman Newspaper building adjacent to the printing house, even though they did not have a search warrant decisively. Police wanted to search on the broadcast floors yet had to leave the building after the reaction of journalists and lawyers of the newspaper Zaman. Upon this raid, Özgür Bugün newspaper changed its name and continued its path as Özgür Düşünce. It was closed after the failed coup attempt on July 15, 2016.

While the calendars showed March 4, 2016, the news that a trustee would be appointed to the Zaman Newspaper appeared on news websites. Not only would the trustee be appointed, but some journalists would also be arrested. The spread of the news caused an uproar in Zaman's readership, which was around 650 thousand in those days. The people gathered in front of the newspaper building and unfurled ‘free press cannot be silenced’ banners. Towards evening, the newspaper building was surrounded by thousands of police and water cannons. Without any warning, the police dispersed the crowd, including women and children, by firing water cannon and pepper spray, the doors of the newspaper were broken and the building was broken into.

The trustees appointed to Zaman changed their editors, the next day's newspaper was filled with pro-government news, etc. their unlawful practices provoked reactions from journalists and readers. The newspaper circulation, which was 650 thousand on March 4, fell to 2 thousand on March 6.

In the following days, the editorial staff of Zaman, Today's Zaman and Aksiyon Magazine was replaced with employees from the Sabah ATV group, the vast majority of which is controlled by Erdogan. Dozens of journalists have been terminated.

The Zaman Media Group, which has now become the mouthpiece of the government, continued to exist until July 27, 2016, when it was filled with hundreds of pro-government journalists. It was decided to close the non-selling supporter newspaper and journalists for doing nothing but being a burden on the government's back. The publisher company Feza Journalism Inc., which owns the Zaman Newspaper, was transferred to TMSF (SDIF) with the decree law dated September 1. On the same date, it was decided to close the company and leave the trade registry. So the 30-year-old company was murdered.

Cihan News Agency, of which Feza Journalism Inc. was a 100% shareholder, was known for being the private news agency with the most widespread news network. In addition to his reporting, it came to prominence with his healthy and fast reporting of the election results by transmitting the results he received from about 120 thousand polling stations to broadcasting organizations in the elections held in Turkey.

The trustees assigned to Zaman Newspaper also seized Cihan News Agency 4 days later. The first thing they did was to dismiss the general director of the agency and appoint a government-supporting journalist instead. Then, as the agency's archive was destroyed, it was instructed to stay away from topics that would disturb the government in the new news.

Its existence was terminated at Cihan News Agency Inc. with Decree-Law No. 670 and it was left from the trade registry on 16.11.2016. The agency's fixtures, live broadcasting tools, technical devices and cameras were sold to the subsidiary companies at the expense of none with the tenders made by the TMSF (SDIF) from time to time. (Appendix list)

With the decision of the Istanbul 9th Criminal Court of Peace on March 11, a trustee was appointed to Irmak Television, Radyo Cihan and Cihan Media Distribution (CMD) Inc., which has the most widespread newspaper distribution network in Turkey.

The appointment of a trustee to the CMD was a decision aimed at preventing newspapers that are not under the control of the government from reaching the reader. As a matter of fact, the trustees appointed to the CMD stopped the distribution of the newspapers Taraf, Özgür Düşünce, Meydan, Yeni Asya, and Yarına Bakış with a decision they took on March 23, less than two weeks later. After this decision, CMD's 1600 distributors were terminated, distribution offices located at approximately 300 locations throughout Turkey were closed, office fixtures were distributed to other institutions free of charge. (Appendix)

Following the seizure of the ZAMAN and KANALTÜRK BUGÜN groups, newspapers such as Özgür Düşünce, Yeni Hayat, Yarına Bakış, and Meydan, founded by journalists who were dismissed from their jobs, were able to continue their publications for only a few days after the July 15 coup attempt. A detention order was issued for many of the journalists working in these newspapers, and none of them were made unable to work as journalists.

Yarına Bakış, which started publication on March 6, 2016 under the direction of journalist Bülent Korucu, Yeni Hayat, which started publication on April 18, 2016 by Veysel Ayhan, and Özgür Düşünce newspapers, which were published under the direction of Mehmet Yılmaz, ended their publications on July 19, 2016. Meydan Newspaper, which was printed by the police on 19 July and where its editor-in-chief Levent Kenez and the responsible editor-in-chief Gülizar Baki were detained, also ceased publication on 20 July 2016.

With the decree Law of the State of Emergency No. 674 dated July 27, 2016, 16 television stations, 3 news agencies, 23 radio stations, 45 newspapers, 15 magazines, 29 publishing houses and distribution channels were closed.

Among the closed broadcasters, there were Barış TV, Bugün TV, Can Erzincan TV, Dünya TV, Hira TV, Irmak TV, Kanal 124, Kanaltürk, MC TV, Mehtap TV, Merkür TV, Samanyolu Haber, Samanyolu TV, SRT TV, Tuna Shopping TV, Yumurcak TV, Taraf Newspaper, Zaman Newspaper, Bugün Newspaper, Aksiyon Magazine, Sızıntı Magazine, Nokta Magazine, Cihan News Agency, Muhabir News Agency ve SEM News Agency.

Doğan Yayın Holding, which has Hürriyet and Posta Newspapers, Kanal D, CNN Türk televisions and DHA (Doğan News Agency) within its structure, could no longer withstand the pressures of the government and was transferred to the Demirören group, which has now completely taken control of the government.

#  WITCH HUNT FOR MEDIA EMPLOYEES

## TERMINATIONS

The trustees assigned to Koza Ipek Media Group and Zaman Media Group laid off hundreds of journalists in a short time. Pro-government journalists from Sabah-ATV and Yeni Şafak group newspapers were hired in their place. For example, trustees appointed to Zaman, using the newspaper's falling circulation as an excuse, replaced nearly 600 journalists, most of whom were dismissed without compensation, and more than 110 fellow journalists were recruited.

## ARRESTS

The coup attempt of July 15, 2016, was an opportunity for Erdogan to do everything he wanted to do and couldn't do until that day. Until that day, he had not been able to get many people, including those around him, to accept the definition of a "terrorist organization" for the Gülen Community. The failed coup attempt enabled both his own base to consolidate and the opposition to keep ranks behind him.

Now everyone who opposes him was a member of the ’Fethullahist Terrorist Organization‘ (FETO), and opposition journalists were 'FETO media'. Immediately on July 15, a list of journalists to be arrested from pro-government social media accounts was published in the cabinet, and the target was shown. In a short time, detention and arrest Decisions were issued for more than 100 journalists, including well-known journalists such as Ahmet Altan, Nazlı Ilıcak, Şahin Alpay and Mustafa Ünal. Currently, there are more than 200 journalists in Turkish prisons. The spouses or children of some journalists who could not be found were arrested.[[5]](#footnote-5) (For example, the wife of Bülent Korucu, the daughter of İbrahim Karayeğen)

## TAX PENALTIES (Appendix-6)

The owners of the confiscated and closed media reporters faced astronomical tax penalties months after the confiscation. As a result of the tax inspection initiated 13 days after the trustee was appointed to Zaman Newspaper (Feza Journalism Inc.) on March 4, 2016, the company was fined approximately TL 250 million in tax, the trustees representing the company did not even object to this penalty in a way that protects the interests of the company and ensured that the penalties were finalized. After that, former board members of Zaman Newspaper Mehmet Akif Afsar, Hüseyin Döğme, Behçet Akyar and former Editor-in-Chief of Zaman Ekrem Dumanlı were fined an average of TL 250 million each separately, and then all the assets of the aforementioned names were confiscated. The confiscated assets of the mentioned individuals have started to be sold by the TMSF (SDIF) on a regular basis.

#  CONFISCATION OF ASSETS

The coup attempt of July 15, 2016 was a great opportunity for Erdogan. In the first two months of the implementation of the state of emergency (state of emergency), which was declared a few days after July 15, opposition media were completely destroyed. A total of 179 media employees (53 newspapers, 34 TV, 37 radio stations and 20 magazines, 6 news agencies and 29 publishing houses), all of which are close to the Gülen Community or parts of Kurdish media, were closed down. The press cards of 620 journalists and the passports of some journalists were canceled.[[6]](#footnote-6) The assets of the media, which was closed with the decree laws (KHK), were transferred to the treasury.

## SINCE IT IS NOT LEGALLY POSSIBLE, THE LAW WAS CHANGED TO CONFISCATE THEIR ASSETS (Appendix-7)

On 01.12.2016, Assets of 57 journalists were confscated by the Istanbul 12th Criminal court of Peace.[[7]](#footnote-7) Upon the objections made, the confiscation decision on those who are still in prison was turned into an injunction in order to prevent their transfer to third parties. The confiscation decision for journalists who have an arrest warrant against them is still ongoing. Bank accounts have been frozen, pensioners are not being given pensions.

According to Turkish criminal law, it was only possible to make a confiscation decision with a unanimous decision of a high criminal court (CMK 128). The AKP government made a change during the state of emergency and changed the ‘unanimity of the high criminal court’ requirement as ‘the judge can decide’. In this way, the confiscation of the assets of anyone (who did not have a court qualification) wanted by a judge from the criminal court of peace was enabled. There has been much debate over the authorization to confiscate the assets of the Criminal Judgeships of Peace, allegedly established specifically to carry out the Gülen community investigations.

## THE ASSETS OF THE CLOSED MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS WERE PUT UP FOR SALE BY THE TMSF (SDIF) (Appendix-8)

The confiscated media companies were closed with the State of Emergency decrees issued after July 15. Publishing companies, which were brought to the point of bankruptcy due to the fact that they were completely destroyed by the trustee, were murdered by canceling (deleted) from the Trade Registry, and their assets were recorded as income in the treasury. The materials and tools obtained from the tenders held by the TMSF (SDIF) from time to time have been put up for sale. (Appendix-9)

The announcement archive previously on the website of the TMSF (SDIF) has been removed and only the latest announcements are included. In this way, the information about whether the goods that were announced to be sold in the past were sold or not sold to whom at what price is hidden.

## NEWSPAPER ARCHIVES DESTROYED

The archive of a broadcasting organization is considered one of its most valuable assets. The publication archives of the media organizations confiscated by the AKP government by appointing a trustee were destroyed first.[[8]](#footnote-8) The trustees who were appointed to the newspaper Bugün and the newspaper Zaman in the following months first of all banned access to the newspapers' websites. After a while, it was seen that the archives of the websites that were put back on the air were completely deleted. In the same way, as in the examples of Cihan News Agency, Irmak TV, Cihan Radio, after the broadcast archive was destroyed, the servers where these archives were stored were sold to third parties.

After the publishing houses of Kaynak Holding, which were seized by the appointment of a trustee on November 19, 2015, were closed, tens of thousands of books left in their warehouses were destroyed.

## BOOKS CONTAIN THE WORD "PENNSYLVANIA" WERE DESTROYED

It was revealed that the Ministry of National Education (MEB) destroyed textbooks that it had purchased or had printed from private publishing houses to be distributed to students at the beginning of the academic year on the grounds that it was spreading 'FETO' propaganda. Among the destroyed books, there are also 892 thousand books with the word 'Pennsylvania' in them. Pennsylvania is one of the states of the USA and where Fethullah Gulen, accused of being the planner of the July 15 coup attempt, also lives.[[9]](#footnote-9) This issue was raised by a member of the main opposition party in Parliament with a motion for a question[[10]](#footnote-10)however, it was not answered by the Minister of Education within the time limit.

#  RESULT

The AKP government led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan has displayed a revanchist attitude towards the media since the moment it took office. At first, the Çukurova Group, owned by the Uzan Group and Mehmet Emin Karamehmet, seized the media through the banks owned by these names at the same time, under the pretext of banking laws. In the following period, these seizures accelerated on charges that had no legal basis, such as tax debts or terrorist propaganda, to the media that published opposition to the government. The July 15 coup attempt gave the government the opportunity to take all the media into the palm of its hand. A total of 179 media employees, all of which are close to the Gülen Community or parts of Kurdish media, were closed with the State of Emergency decrees.

All these actions were to prevent especially publications that will criticize the government from reaching the public, to prevent accurate information from reaching the public through different channels, to allow publications that will only convey the views of the government, to broadcast untrue or fanciful news most of the time, to prevent unlawful acts by making psychological warfare or black propaganda. The actions are aimed at not even allowing the information that untrue news is untrue to reach the society, preventing the society from learning the facts, making propaganda for the government and thus preventing the possible loss of votes. Because the powers that have to answer to the people, if they have taken the judiciary under control, there is no power left to ask for accountability from them except the media.

### [(APPENDIX Examples of ACCREDITATION REVOCATION)](#_AKREDİTASYON_İPTALLERİ)

### August 28, 2014

During the presidential handover ceremony, accreditation was applied to Zaman Newspaper, Cihan News Agency, Bugün Newspaper, Bugün TV, Kanaltürk, Shaber, Samanyolu Tv. It was stated that the Sözcü and Aydınlık were on the list. Zaman Newspaper reporters went to the Presidential gate number 5, like other journalists, to watch the ceremony. But the Mansion staff said that Zaman reporters will no longer be able to watch programs at the Presidential gate from now on.

### August 30, 2014

Cihan News Agency was not allowed to participate in the sections of the August 30 Victory Day ceremonies at the Çankaya Mansion. The reporters who entered through Gate 1 were taken out by the officials after asking their institutions. Some media organizations that wanted to watch the program were also told in advance not to come.

### September 9, 2014

Minister of Justice Bekir Bozdağ did not attend the meeting, where he met with the Judiciary reporters at the Hakimevi, and media organs including Zaman, Bugün, Taraf and Sözcü newspapers, Cihan News Agency, Kanaltürk and Samanyolu.

### September 17, 2014

Zaman and Cihan reporters who wanted to watch Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's visit to the Ministry of National Education were removed from the building by the decision the Prime Minister's Press Adviser Osman Sert.

### September 17, 2014

Media organizations including Kanaltürk and Samanyolu Zaman was not taken to the general assembly of the Confederation of Tradesmen and Craftsmen (TESK) at the Rixos Hotel, where Erdogan also attended. Presidential press officers and bodyguards told reporters that from now on the ban will be applied to all programs except in the Çankaya Mansion.

### October 3, 2014

The Prime Minister's Office has expanded accreditation. Reporters from Zaman, Cihan, S Haber and Bugün newspapers were not allowed into the Prime Minister's Office building where they came to follow the Council of Ministers. The guards at the gate turned away the reporters, stating that they were to follow an order.

### November 8, 2014

Zaman newspaper, Cihan News Agency and S Haber were not accepted to the 4th Hacı Bektaş Ashura Day events attended by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu . During Davutoğlu's visit to the Hacı Bektaş Veli Museum and Cultural Center, censorship was imposed on journalists.

### November 8, 2014

The first action of the Reform Action Group meeting, which was established with the aim of bringing Turkey's EU process to the table and coordinating the necessary reforms, was accreditation to the press. Zaman, Cihan ve Samanyolu were denied access to the meeting. Minister for EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator Volkan Bozkır, Minister of Justice Bekir Bozdağ, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and Minister of Interior Efkan Ala.

### November 23, 2014

For Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's visit to the cemevi in Tunceli and other visits, the correspondents of Zaman newspaper and Cihan News Agency who went with bu were not included in any program. The Prime Minister's bodyguards told Zaman and Cihan reporters at the entrance to the cemevi, “We can't let you in." When asked by reporters on what grounds such accreditation was applied, the answer was “Ministerial decision”. Cemevi officials reacted to this practice.

### November 24, 2014

Some media outlets that went to the Ministry of National Education building on the occasion of November 24, Teacher's Day, were stopped by guards by the Prime Minister's Building. The names of the media organizations were requested. Reporters who said they were from the Zaman Newspaper were waiting at the door, while other media organizations passed easily. The program had nothing to do with the Prime Minister's Office, but Zaman reporters were prevented from entering the Ministry of Education building.

### December 1, 2014

Zaman and Cihan reporters were not allowed to the New Prime Ministry Building where Deputy Prime Minister Ali Babacan held a press conference on the occasion of the takeover of the G-20 presidency on December 1, 2014.

**REACTION FROM PRESS ORGANIZATIONS**

### November 6, 2014

Media organizations reacted to the implementation of accreditation discrimination against the press in the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the Presidency. The G-9 platform which consist of Association of European journalists (AEJ), the representative of the Turkish media and Communication Workers' Union (Haber-Sen), Association of contemporary journalists, Diplomatic Correspondents' Association, Economics Correspondents Association, the Parliamentary Reporters Association, the Association of professional News Cameraman, Tourism and Society of Environmental Journalists, Turkish photojournalist Association and the Turkish Journalists 'Association of Turkey and the Ankara representative of the journalists' expressed that the process had become the censorship of the accreditation pressure. "The AKP government should immediately put an end to this outdated, anti-democratic, prohibitive and censorious accreditation practice, respect critical thinking, and stop obstructing journalists from doing their jobs and the right of the public to receive news," the platform said in a statement. While reminding the government that these practices are befitting of despotism, not contemporary democracies, we also want to state that we, as professional organizations, will oppose such repressions with all our might." were expressed. It was reminded that the obstacles in front of the freedom of the press and expression constitute the most serious problems in front of the democratization of Turkey.

**Blow on Freedom**

"The increasing criticism and intolerance of different opinions by the AKP government has increased the pressure on the press and broadcasting organizations and led to the spread of self-censorship, while hundreds of journalists have lost their jobs. This situation, which is reflected in many national and international reports, has been described as a serious blow to freedom of expression, which is one of the basic human rights." was said. It was mentioned that the government, which has never taken into account the criticisms in this direction, has constantly introduced new pressure practices and has expanded restrictions on the press. The statement included the following statements: "The latest development in this direction has been the extension of accreditation, which has been applied by the Presidency for some time, to other institutions of the state, especially the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Monday, November 3, journalists working in institutions affiliated with certain media groups, although they have institutional accreditation and have yellow press cards issued by the Prime Ministry's General Directorate of Press and Publication Information, they have not been able to monitor the activities in these institutions. The Prime Ministry correspondents who were attached to this accreditation application were unable to follow the regular post-Cabinet press conference and the activities of the Prime Minister in other institutions; diplomatic correspondents were also unable to follow the regular ministerial information meeting."

**No satisfying information**

In the statement, neither the Prime Ministry nor the Foreign Ministry officials complained that they did not provide satisfactory information on the legal basis of this practice or by which administrative act it was implemented. It was stated that this situation showed that the application was based on an arbitrary decision, that it was open-ended, and that critical news or commenters and the institutions they were affiliated with could be punished in a similar way. "It seems that the power holders decided to expand and disseminate the accreditation application, which has turned into a kind of punishment method, in terms of form, scope and time, and wanted to reveal the New Turkey's view of the free press and freedom of expression. " as statement expressed.

1. <https://www.haberler.com/turksat-samayolu-grubu-kanallarini-uydudan-cikardi-7873569-haberi/> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/10/151028_kanalturk_baskin> [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/hidayet-karaca-tutuklandi-27805653> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/bulent-kenes-serbest-birakildi-30314904> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. <http://www.diken.com.tr/kendisi-bulunamayinca-esi-tutuklanan-korucu-icin-abden-aciklama-turkiye-insan-haklarina-saygi-duymali/> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <https://turkey.mom-rsf.org/tr/bulgular/el-koyulan-medya/> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. <http://www.diken.com.tr/fetopdyden-tutuklu-54-gazetecinin-mal-varliklarina-el-kondu/> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/bugun-gazetesinin-yazar-arsivi-silindi-40010925> [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. [https://t24.com.tr/haber/meb-yuz-binlerce-kitabi-imha-etti-pensilvanya-ifadesini-cikarttirarak-yeniden-bastirdi,377380](https://t24.com.tr/haber/meb-yuz-binlerce-kitabi-imha-etti-pensilvanya-ifadesini-cikarttirarak-yeniden-bastirdi%2C377380) [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. <https://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d26/7/7-16752s.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)