

**15 JULY
COUP ATTEMPT AND
THE PARALLEL
STATE STRUCTURE
2016**





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STATE STRUCTURE**



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On 15 July, Turkey and the Turkish nation went through a dramatic chain of events that caught the millions in Turkey and beyond unaware. Rogue army officers who belonged to the Gülenist Terrorist Organization/Parallel State Structure (FETO/PSS) staged a bloody coup, which cost the lives of 250 people and injured 2.740. The Government, opposition parties, civil society organizations and ordinary citizens joined together and defended the dem-

ocratic order. This was an historic moment for Turkey. Since the defeat of the coup attempt, numerous questions have been raised about the instigators, their motivations and Gülenist terrorists around the world. This white paper is prepared to help security analysts, foreign affairs officers, journalists, academics and policy makers to understand the background of the events in Turkey and the role, ideology and methodology of the Gülenists.



THE PARALLEL STATE STRUCTURE

a. Brief Introduction to FETO/PSS

The Parallel State Structure (FETO/PSS) is a secretive and clandestine cult which was established by Fethullah Gülen in the early 1970s. In the early days, F. Gülen built its ideological foundation on the teachings of Said Nursi but later parted his ways. From 1974 onwards, Gülen formed his own network and sought strategic allies. Gülen's approach toward the state, as well as his obsession with secrecy leading to what felt more like a personal cult than a conventional religious group were criticized by the mainstream groups and scholars. Over the years, Gülen has emerged as a "messianic figure" that controls each and every aspect of the life of his followers.

One of Gülen's main objectives was to protect his cult's interests at any cost at critical times. For that purpose, Gülen supported the 1980 military coup, which shut down all political parties and associations, imprisoned and tortured tens of thousands and executed dozens of people. Gülen wrote "The Last Barrack"¹ immediately after the

coup where he praised military officers and expressed his strong support for military authority. The military intervention of 28 February 1997², also called a post-modern coup, was also supported by Gülen and his followers. Gülen praised one of the chief architects of the February 28 "post-modern" coup d'état, Çevik Bir, in a letter he penned in late 1997. Interestingly enough, these interventions created a social and political atmosphere which was highly beneficial to Gülenists for spreading their network.

From 1974 until the 1990s, F. Gülen spent all his energy to enlarge his network. Starting from İzmir, his followers opened private colleges and tutoring centers. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union opened new avenues for Gülen. He first expanded his network in the Turkic Republics, and eventually established a presence in 160 countries around the world. Starting from the mid-1990s, Gülen began to present himself and his movement as the enlightened and pro-Western face of

¹ "Son Karakol" (Turkish), Sızıntı, October 1980. <http://www.sizinti.com.tr/konular/ayrinti/son-karakol.html> Excerpt from the article "This is a victory by which the enemy is captured, the body [the government] is cleansed of viruses and has returned to its roots," he said in the article, implying that the military intervention somehow helped Turkey protect its democracy."

² You have failed, now quit"; "The military is more democrat [than politicians and civilians]." These were the remarks of Gülen during the 28th February Process which made headlines in the Turkish newspapers.

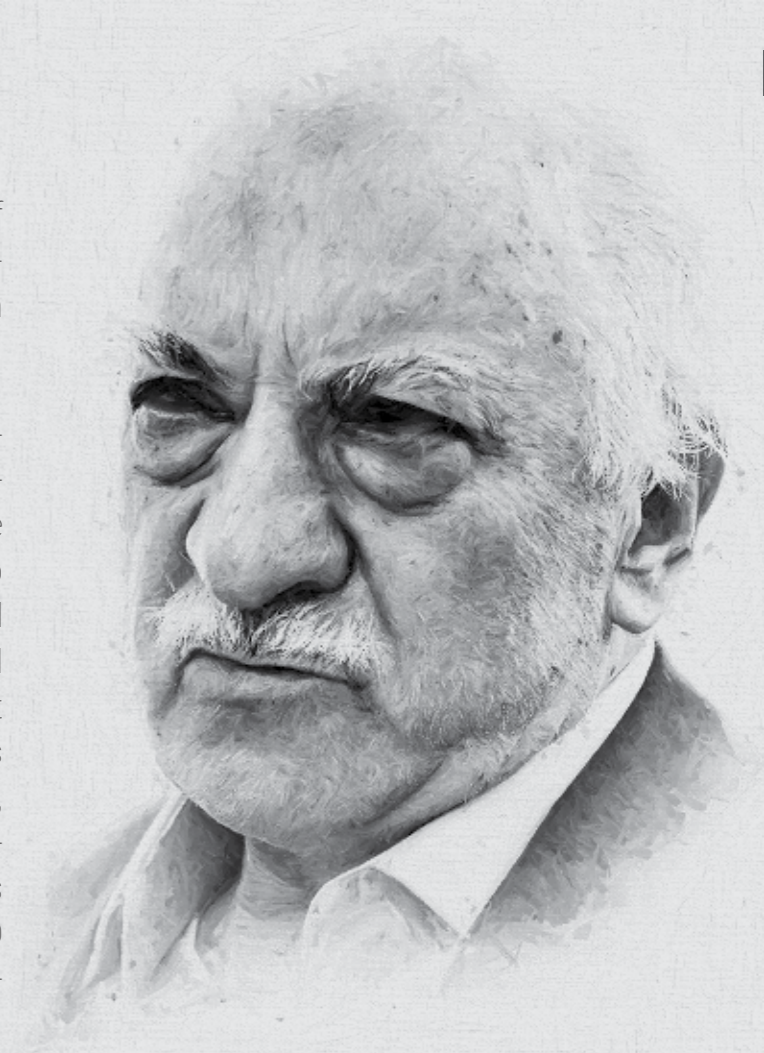
progressive Islam. Especially in the face of growing radicalism and fear after 11 September, this became a strategic move for Gülen rather than an ideological one.

In terms of its structural pattern and "modus operandi", the FETO/PSS is a "sui generis" criminal/terror organization. The uniqueness of FETO as a terrorist group comes from their use of legal means and institutions as a cover to achieve illegal objectives. Unlike other ordinary terrorist groups, they did not seek to acquire guns or power illegally, because as civil servants, military and police officers, these were delivered and given to them legally. Since its establishment, the main agenda of FETO has been to infiltrate critical state institutions and wait until they are in full control.

"**Taqiyah**" is the key tactical concept to understand Gülen's ideology, its organization and FETO members. In a broad sense, "**taqiyah**" can be defined as concealment and dissimulation. According to this concept, members of the cult are permitted to violate religious codes in order to blend in with the non-religious majority in certain organizations they are asked to infiltrate. Since the early days, Gülen has indoctrinated his followers to practice "**taqiyah**". Ac-

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gptKWc089A>

In this video, which was recorded before he left the Turkey in 1999, Gülen says to his followers, "You must move in the arteries of the system, without anyone noticing your existence, until you reach all the power centers. Until the conditions are ripe."



cordingly, Gülen supporters hid their identities and posed as leftist, rightist, liberal, secularist, religious, pious, etc. This video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gptKWc089A>)³ is one of the many examples in which Gülen instructs his followers to hide their real identities and to use any means to reach their goals. The cult's Machiavellian philosophy encourages them to use any method whatsoever, including illegal wiretappings, distorted investigations, fabricated evidence, and bribes and blackmail.

During another sermon he said "the philosophy of our service is that we open a house somewhere and, with the patience of spider, we lay our web, to wait for people to get caught in the web..."

b. Organizational Structure Image vs. Reality

FETO/PSS has a two-tiered organizational model and a strict hierarchy. The first layer is the legal side.⁴ On appearance, F. Gülen heads a civil movement called **“Hizmet”** [Service]. Again on appearance, **“Hizmet”** is a moderate, tolerant, non-violent, pro-dialogue social movement, rather than a political one. Over a long period of time in Turkey and overseas, FETO/PSS portrayed itself as an “education movement” involved in inter-faith dialogue, relief work and cultural activities. The variety of associations in media, education, humanitarian work, printing and banking sector, business associations etc. were established first in Turkey and later in different parts of the world. Under the guise of legitimate social service efforts, Gülen and his followers gained access to vast financial resources, human capital, political and social influence. They also infiltrated critical state institutions such as the national police, intelligence, judiciary, armed forces, central bank, treasury, prime ministry or the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey. FETO/PSS then used this

vast network to advance its hidden agenda. Senior government officials, businessmen, academics, political party leaders, journalists, actors, heads of nongovernmental organizations have been targeted by FETO/PSS when they refused to cooperate.⁵ Some of these people were put in prison based on false accusations, or even worse, killed.⁶

The probes by the Turkish High Court since 2013 revealed FETO/PSS’s tight hierarchical organization which includes the “Appointment Committee”, “Advisory Council”, “The Group of Mullahs” and **“Majlis”**. The hierarchical ranks of FETO/PSS are the so-called imam of the world, continental imam, country imam, regional imam, province imam, district imam, neighborhood imam, house imam, head guides, students and congregational members. In the organizational structure of FETO/PSS, F. Gülen is seen as the “Imam of the Universe/World” by his followers. The Gülenists consider him not just a religious cleric, but also the “awaited one” or the Messiah. FETO/PSS is structured as a “pyramid” where the top-level imams give

orders to the second level imams who in turn give orders to the third level. Gülen chairs the Governing Group (Committee) composed of the seven highest-ranking members of the cult. The organization is leader-centered and uses clandestine methods such as writing messages on tissue paper, encrypted communication, hiding identity, blackmail, intelligence gathering through its members in society.⁷

High ranking members of FETO/PSS use code names⁸ and take an oath that promises strict obedience and loyalty to the cult. Oath-taking is quite an important ceremony within FETO/PSS. Just like organized crime groups, whose practice of taking oaths seeks to strengthen loyalty to the organization, FETO also enforces oath-taking as an insurance mechanism. Especially until 1999, before Gülen left Turkey for USA, critical members of FETO/PSS used to take their oaths in the presence of Gülen. During these ceremonies Gülen himself re-decorated the uniforms of military and police officers according to their ranks.

Those FETO members who break their oaths are severely punished. They are not only cast out of the cult from which they benefit in many ways but are also subjected to a lynch campaign socially, economically and psychologically. Nurettin Veren and Latif Erdoğan are two victims of Gülen’s lynch campaign. They were very close associates of Gülen for years, before parting their ways with him. Veren and Erdoğan were subjected to inquiries and blackmail by the Gülenist police officers for a long time. In addition to the harsh consequences of leaving the organization, FETO/PSS members are incentivized financially to stay in the cult, through illegally gained assets, privileges, employment etc.⁹

The FETO/PSS structure does not leave much room for individuality and most militants at the lower levels of the structure do not know much about what is going on at the higher levels. The clandestine side of FETO/PSS is organized in disparate, small and perplexing “cells” which makes it difficult for security forces to decipher and break the chain of command. This is especially the

⁴ In her publications on the Gülen Movement, Professor Berna Turam coined the terms “window sites” and “private sites” to explain the way that Gülenists work. The “window sites” are what outsiders are supposed to see, while the core of the Gülen Movement lies in its “private sites,” where the truly important operations occur. For further information <http://turkishinvitations.weebly.com/image-vs-reality.html>

⁵ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/fetoyu-elistirdi-basina-gelmeyen-kalmadi-1337929/>

Associate Prof. Ahmet Inan was highly critical of Gülen and his cult. He was the subject of investigations 5 times and had to wait an extra 8 years

for his post. Dicle University is the state university which the Gülenists have almost completely infiltrated.

Another example can be seen in the testimonies of two former military high school candidates who had to quit their schools due to constant harassment by the Gülenists. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/two-ex-sergeants-reveal-feto-link-behind-their-dismissal-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=102325&NewsCatID=341>

⁶ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/general-who-caused-female-soldier-to-commit-suicide-arrested-over-failed-coup-attempt-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=102238&NewsCatID=341>

⁷ A striking example is that many suspects detained in the 15th July Coup d’état have “one-dollar bills” on them with special serial numbers in accordance with their rank. It is believed that military personnel used these banknotes to show their membership of the organization.

⁸ During the interrogations of army and police officers, they all mention that the people, whom they were in touch with for years, have all used code names and were known to them only by code names.

⁹ In Wiki Leaks documents, diplomatic cables regarding the Gülenists have soared in the years between 2003 and 2013 as well as questions and concerns about the movement due to its ambiguous intentions. For further information,

<http://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/08/02/a-decade-of-the-GülenGülen-movement-on-wikileaks-more-than-meets-the-eye>

case with government institutions which the cult refers to as “confidential areas,” such as the intelligence agencies, police, army and prime ministry. Each member of FETO/PSS in these high-profile institutions is tagged to only one other member. Therefore, even when a FETO/PSS cell is revealed, security officials cannot go further than a handful of people. It should also be noted that, for the persons who are working in the “confidential areas”, FETO/PSS has chosen wives or husbands through arranged marriages to minimize the risk of exposure. For instance, the key high ranking officers who took part in the latest coup d'état have filed for divorce just before the attempt.

The real reason behind FETO/PSS's focus on education cannot be explained in purely humanitarian terms. The educational establishments are the main recruitment ground of human resources for FETO/PSS. These schools are a constant, rich source of bright young minds for the cult. FETO/PSS starts to educate its future members from a young age, commencing when the child turns 13. When a student is deemed ready for the next step, he is introduced to an el-

der contact person outside the school and invited to a house used by the Gülenists as a cell. Especially sharp students often from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are selected by the Gülenist, and the Abi's (the elder brothers) socialize, indoctrinate and train them in apartments reserved only for the police and military academy candidates.¹⁰ The next promise of FETO/PSS to its young members is admission to leading universities, a secure job upon graduation and regular promotion at the state institutions or in the private sector. In this process, FETO has stolen questions for the higher education entrance exams and made them available to its top students.¹¹ As a natural result, top students in FETO institutions were routinely placed in top universities. In exchange, the followers would donate 10-20 percent of their future salaries to FETO/PSS. This tactic was extremely effective in Turkey and has resulted in the infiltration of key state institutions. For that reason, the model is being copied around the world.

It should be noted that, while underprivileged students were targeted for recruitment in Turkey, Gülen chose to recruit children of

middle-and upper-class families in other countries. Particularly in Africa and Central Asia, they offered certain favors to the children of ruling elites. For instance, right after the announcement of Barack Obama as the Democratic Party candidate for presidential elections in 2008, their schools offered scholarships and free education to Obama's relatives in Kenya. This is not a unique case in Kenya. From Afghanistan to Albania, from the Turkic Republics to Asian countries where the Gülenists operate, the children or relatives of high level bureaucrats, businessmen and politicians were targeted by the educational establishment. In addition, the so-called Light Houses [Işık Evleri] with 5-6 students each and dormitories are used to recruit and indoctrinate the new generation.

The Gülenist educational institutions are not immune from controversy either. The abuse of students or irregularities in the schools are suppressed or covered up in most cases. The families or the workers are silenced when they intend to come forward. One of the most heartbreaking examples is the case of Mahir Rakovac in Bosnia. Mahir was a 14 year old student at Sarajevo Interna-

tional School which belongs to F. Gülen. Due to bullying from his school mates and the negligence of his teachers, Mahir committed suicide on the 14th of December 2015.¹² His family was very critical of the school management and accused them of being negligent. The family claimed that instead of dealing with the problem, the school management tried to cover up the scandal. After Mahir's death, more students came forward to claim that they were subjected to pressure, violence and abuse both from their teachers and schoolmates. After these revelations, people took to the street in large numbers and demanded from the authorities to close down the Gülenist establishments in Bosnia.

Overall, FETO's tactics emphasize getting to know one's opponent, showing intimacy to gain their trust, recruiting and educating bright students and placing them in senior positions of leading state institutions, establishing strong financial muscle through global business activity, and establishing alliances with powerful local and foreign individuals.

¹⁰ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/soldiers-testimony-reveals-how-gulenists-lured-recruits.aspx?page-ID=238&nID=102326&NewsCatID=341>

¹¹ <http://www.yenisafak.com/en/news/three-detained-in-latest-raid-of-exam-fraud-case-in-turkey-2336692>

¹² <http://www.balkan.eu.com/mahir-die/>



CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS INTO FETO/PSS

The recent probes into the activities of the FETO/PSS by the Public Prosecutor's Office have shown that under the banner of service, tolerance and humanitarian organizations, the FETO/PSS and its leader Fethullah Gülen have established and managed an illegal organization, exposed confidential information belonging to the state for political or military espionage purposes, attempted to overthrow or obstruct the function of the Government of the Republic of Turkey, violated the confidentiality of private life, engaged in unlawful recording of personal information, forged official documents, fabricated crimes, destroyed evidence and laundered money.

The Turkish High Court has found concrete evidence of the involvement of Gülen followers in the assassination of Hrant Dink, a well-known Turkish-Armenian journalist, in 2007. Colonel M. Demirkaya, one of the coup plotters arrested in the latest operations, is the key person in Dink's killing.¹³ Also in 2002 Assoc. Prof. Necip Hablemitoğlu was killed in front of his house, while he was writing an investigative and critical book on Gülen. Hablemitoğlu

¹³ Dink, the editor-in-chief of the Agos weekly, was killed in broad daylight by Ogün Samast, 17, on Jan. 19, 2007. The first investigators on the case were prosecutors Selim Berna Altay and Fikret Seçen. Seçen

lu's wife has long voiced the involvement of Gülenists in the murder of his husband citing previous death threats. The judicial process has been blocked many times by the Gülenist police officers and judges until recently. The investigation was reopened in 2014 and has made considerable progress since then.

FETO/PSS also used its adherents to launch judicial and administrative investigations based on forged evidence against certain people to discredit and force them to work with the Structure. The inconsistencies by Gülenist judges and police during the Ergenekon, Balyoz (Sledgehammer) and other high profile cases are other examples of the way Gülenists abused their power to further the criminal objectives of FETO/PSS.

In addition, FETO/PSS planted its members within the state bodies through fraud, namely by gaining access to state selection examinations. For instance, in 2010 on the orders of F. Gülen himself, the exam questions and answer keys of the Public Personnel Selection Examination (KPSS) were stolen and

is now wanted for ties to the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETO) in another case and remains at large.

handed out to certain PSS members. Since the KPSS exam is the only way to be hired by state-run agencies, the members with high scores were placed strategically in critical state bodies. Apart from this, Gülenists have also manipulated the selection committees and eliminated candidates who were not of

their ideology. This was particularly the case during the interviews for career professions such as specialists, inspectors, diplomats, researchers etc. Currently F. Gülen himself is the "prime suspect" in over 50 different criminal indictments.





FETO: A GLOBAL CRIMINAL EMPIRE



In the United States, FETO - thanks to relaxed regulatory control - takes advantage of the 'charter school' program that allows educational institutions to pursue their own academic goals. As of August 2016, the organization is estimated to own and operate several hundred charter schools around the country. Although FETO operatives present themselves as peaceful educators in public, the charter school network actually facilitates the use of taxpayer dollars to sponsor Fethullah Gülen's activities.

An estimated 50 percent of each taxpayer dollar provided by the government to FETO charter schools is used to cover visa application costs for Turkish citizens coming to the United States as 'teachers' - including English instructors. The organization has been violating immigration laws so systematically that FETO charter schools in 2009 had more H1B visas approved than Google. In return for an opportunity to live and work in the United States, Fethullah Gülen's followers agree to a form of indentured servitude, whereby they agree to 'mandatorily donate' a share of their income to the network. To embezzle taxpayer money, FETO disproportionately

hires Turkish contractors for contract work and pays Turkish employees significantly more than U.S. citizens.

This financial power translates into political capital as policy makers at various levels of the U.S. government are treated to expensive international trips, campaign donations and volunteer services - which makes decision makers unwilling to sever their ties with the cult.

In 2015, a USA Today investigation revealed that FETO had secretly funded up to 200 trips for members of Congress and staff to Turkey since 2008. The newspaper also discovered that the group was using proxies to make campaign contributions to individuals running for public office in an effort to secure their loyalty. Many contributors who participated in the scheme, USA Today found, had modest incomes and no knowledge of the candidates they were supporting - including whether they were men or women. Although the United States remains FETO's nerve center, the organization implements the same model around the world to buy influence, recruit new members and keep growing. ¹⁴

¹⁴ For more detailed information about Gülenist Cult in USA, please visit <http://guleninvestigation.com>



GULENIST ATTEMPTS ON CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO 15 JULY

The botched coup d'état of 15 July was not the first attempt of the Gülenists on the state and the legitimate government, but the last and most daring. Considering himself strong enough to overtake the system, FETO/PSS made its first coup attempt in February 2012. The Gülenist prosecutors tried to arrest the Chief of the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) Hakan Fidan due to his involvement in the efforts to peacefully resolve the Kurdish issue. Gülenists tried to sack Hakan Fidan with accusations amounting to treachery. The real reason behind this attempt was to prevent the settlement of Turkey's long-lasting Kurdish Issue through dialogue and negotiation. Their attempt failed, but the Turkish Government had to postpone what was called the "Peace Process" for another year.

The Government's decision in 2013 to restructure the university prep schools/tutoring centers, many of which were the main source of finance and recruitment for FETO/PSS, and to make them more accountable

and transparent was another turning point. Given that an accountable and transparent system of private schools would mean a harsh blow to FETO/PSS's human resources, the organization started a sinister campaign to topple the government with the hope of securing its financial resources and recruitment centers.

A series of fraudulent investigations against government officials, politicians and businessmen based on illegal wiretaps and fabricated evidence were then launched. Anyone who voiced concerns or revealed information about FETO/PSS was subjected to prosecution by judges, prosecutors and police officers loyal to Gülen. The main purpose of the campaign was to defame the government and intimidate policy makers in an attempt to guarantee the survival of FETO/PSS members in critical positions at different levels.

After the failed "civilian" coup d'état of 17-25 December 2013, the Government intensified the struggle against FETO/PSS and resolved to completely rout out this structure from the state institutions. The steps that were taken dealt a big blow to FETO/PSS and some of its members either fled the country or faced serious criminal charges. Thus they had lost considerable credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the Turkish public before the 15 July attempt.

STRUCTURE OF TURKEY'S "PARALLEL STATE" REVEALED

FETULLAH GULEN IS AT THE TOP OF THE ORGANIZATION

*Some of the most influential names in
the organization besides Gulen*



Barbaros Kocakurt



Ismet Aksoy



Ismail Buyukcelebi



Cemil Koca



Cevdet Turkyolu



Dilaver Azim



Ibrahim Kocabiyik



Mehmet Ali Sengul



Mustafa Ozcan



73
Key figures
in the
organization



60
fled Turkey
before the
operation



THE 15 JULY COUP ATTEMPT



The 15 July coup attempt was the continuation of FETO/PSS's aim to take over the country and establish a "fascist and one man rule" in Turkey. With this assault, a group that had long presented itself as moderate Muslims turned into a terrorist organization that ran over people with tanks and opened fire on them from helicopters. In the history of FETO, this was the first time that they were caught red-handed. The coup attempt has also shown that FETO/PSS members do not hesitate to shed the blood of innocents on the orders of F. Gülen.

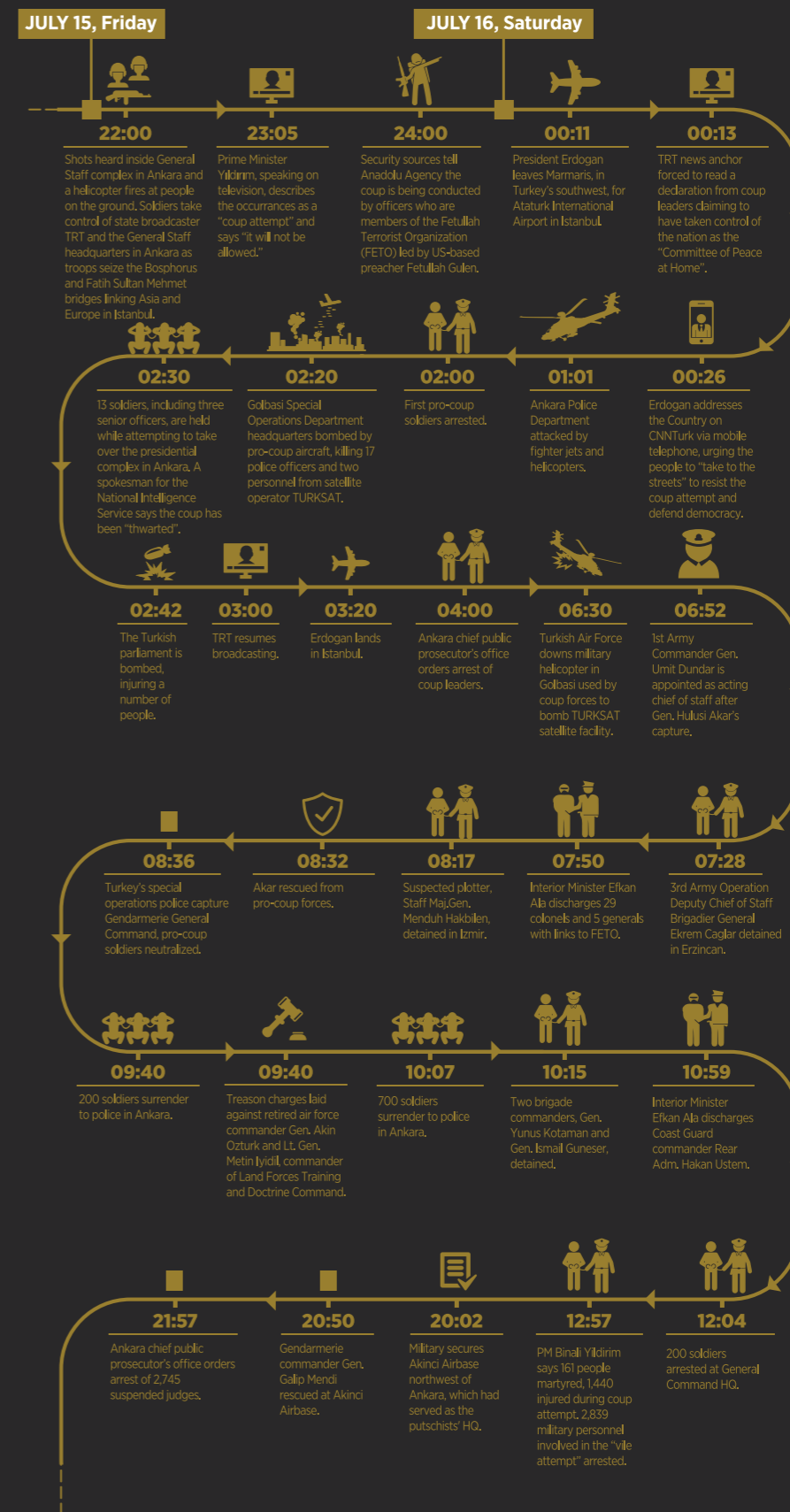
The documents seized after the failed coup sheds light on the reason why the junta acted



on the 15th of July. On the 9th of July, Prosecutors in İzmir arrested seven persons, including 2 admirals who were implicated in connection with an operation launched against FETO. The Gülenists saw this operation as a warning shot.¹⁵ Also just four days before the coup, on the 11th of July, the Turkish Intelligence Agency (MIT) had given the names of 600 military officers under suspicion to the military's general staff. The plan was to sideline them during the annual Supreme Military Council (YAŞ) meeting which was due on the first of August. Predicting that a big operation was underway, the Gülenist put their most daring attempt into action on the 15th of July.

¹⁵ <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/10/feto-operasyonu-amirallere-uzandi>

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/prosecutors-demand-arrest-of-admirals-majors-in-turkish-military-espionage-case.aspx?pageID=238&nID=101401&NewsCatID=509>



a. What Happened on the Night of 15 July?

On 15 July, a rogue faction within Turkey's military attempted to suspend the Constitution, impose martial law and enforce a nationwide curfew. As troops and tanks blocked the traffic crossing from Asia to Europe over the Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul, a number of government buildings including the Parliament, the Presidential Palace and the intelligence headquarters were heavily assaulted. The rogue faction seized the public broadcaster and forced an anchor woman held at gunpoint to announce that they were now in charge. Senior officers who refused to submit were taken hostage, including the Chief of the General Staff General Hulusi Akar.

Prime Minister Yıldırım called the coup illegal and President Erdoğan ordered the police and other security forces to stop the coup plotters. Soon afterward, President Erdoğan appeared on a television channel to call on the people to resist the illegal power grab. When President Erdoğan's message was aired live, the junta soldiers invaded the premises of that channel as well. However, millions had heard the call and started to defy the FETO affiliated rogue soldiers.

In the meantime, an elite military squad was sent to the hotel where President Erdoğan was vacationing at a southern resort town, to kill him and his entire family. Having barely escaped the as-

sassination attempt, President Erdoğan left the hotel on his official jet, which reached Istanbul safely after the pilot deceived rogue F-16s patrolling the airspace. On his arrival at the airport, he once again called the nation to resist against the junta.¹⁶

The leaders of Turkey's political opposition, particularly the Republican People's Party and National Movement Party strongly condemned the 15 July coup attempt and declared their strong support to the civilian government. From the early hours, the leaders called their supporters to resist and stand for democracy and the constitution. For the first time, ordinary people from all segments of society came out to the streets to protest. Therefore, President Erdoğan thanked all MPs and political parties for their courageous stand at his recent visit to the Parliament.

Despite the attempt by Gülenist military officers to drag the country into chaos, the will of the Turkish people, their resolve to defend democracy as well as the democratically-elected president and government helped to suppress the coup attempt. People from all walks of life, from different political parties with different political views and ideological backgrounds went out and defended democracy.

¹⁶ For more detailed information on what happened and how the President escaped: [http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/akp-deputy-describes-](http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/akp-deputy-describes-attack-on-Erdogans-hotel-during-failed-coup-attempt-.aspx?page-ID=238&NID=101915&NewsCatID=341)

[attack-on-Erdogans-hotel-during-failed-coup-attempt-.aspx?page-ID=238&NID=101915&NewsCatID=341](http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/akp-deputy-describes-attack-on-Erdogans-hotel-during-failed-coup-attempt-.aspx?page-ID=238&NID=101915&NewsCatID=341)

b. The Testimonies of the Coup Plotters and the involvement of F. Gülen

Gülen was quick to deny responsibility,¹⁷ but confessions of military officers involved in the putschist junta and several remarkable testimonies indicate that Gülenists were directly responsible for the attempted coup. Testimonies and evidence obtained from coup plotters point to Fethullah Gülen as the leader of the coup attempt, which was planned and staged by his followers within the army. Levent Türkkkan, aide-de-camp to the chief of staff of Turkish Armed Forces General Hulusi Akar, confessed to being a member of the Gülenist group after he was arrested, adding that he executed orders from his Gülenist superiors. In his statement Türkkkan, who names himself a member of FETO, said that there was an "older brother" codenamed Murat who was in charge of him. Adding that he was the child of a poor family and met with Gülenist "older brothers" while he was at junior high school, Türkkkan also said he had been given the exam questions before he entered the Işıklar Military High School's admission exams in 1989. Generals leading the coup had also urged General Akar to speak directly to F. Gülen, hoping to persuade him to join in their rebellion, according to General Akar.¹⁸ According to his statement, the putschists asked him to sign the coup dec-

laration that night and told him 'If you want, we can get you in touch with our opinion leader, Fethullah Gülen'.

To understand the critical role of "civilians" in the Gülenist structure, the testimonies of Muhammet Uslu, a putschist who was a primary school teacher and worked at the private secretariat at the prime ministry, is shocking and very enlightening. Muhammet Uslu, code-named 'Murat', has confessed that he provided the equipment to wiretap the chief of staff. He has given and collected regularly the recording device from Levent Türkkkan, the aide-de camp of the chief of staff, and Gökhan Seki, an employee at the HQ of General Staff. Uslu said that he would take the recording devices back when they were full and gave them to a person codenamed 'Murat'. Apparently, this went on for over two years.

Another striking example is Adil Öksüz, an assistant professor of theology at Sakarya University. Öksüz was a senior member of FETO and referred to as the 'black box' of Gülen. He served as the imam for the Turkish Air Force and was caught at Akıncı Air Base on the night of the coup. After he took his family and placed them at Pennsylvania, Öksüz returned back to

¹⁷ http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/26/opinion/fethullah-gulen-i-condemn-all-threats-to-turkeys-democracy.html?_r=0

¹⁸ In his testimony, Türkkkan explained that he comes from a poor farmer family, and the Gülenists first contacted him when he was a secondary school student. He also confessed that he was given the exam questions the night before the exam at a house owned by

Gülenists, and after his admission to the Işıklar Military High School, he continued his covert ties with the group and followed orders coming from the group, including wiretapping the then Chief of General Staff Necdet Özel. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/top-turkish-commanders-aide-admits-allegiance-to-gulenists-.aspx?page-ID=238&NID=101851&NewsCatID=341>

Turkey on the 13th of July to deliver the orders and coordinate the coup d'état.

Testimony of Gürsel Aktepe also proves the involvement of Gülen. Aktepe was working as a deputy director in the intelligence department of the Turkish Police and was suspended in 2014. He was captured while trying to take over the National Police HQ with the rogue army officers. On the night of the failed coup, Aktepe said he received a message via a messaging app called Tango that read: "The coup has taken place. For assistance, everyone must go to the places they used to work and get in touch with General Mehmet." Aktepe said the Gülenists gave him 4,500 TL (around \$1400) every month after he was dismissed from his position as Ankara deputy police chief following a domestic security bill passed last year. He used to receive money from a person with the code name 'Zubeyir', who worked for Samanyolu College linked to the Gülenists.

Brigadier General Fatih Celaleddin Sağır, commander of an infantry brigade in the central city of Sivas, was on a list of people who the coup plotters planned to assign as martial law commanders, had the attempt been successful. Sağır confessed his connection to FETO during his interrogation by prosecutors. According to his statements, Sağır said that he often attended meetings of Gülen followers, especially during

¹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nxd_Pc0Q5uo

the 1980s and 1990s, and had served "the movement" for 10 years.

Another FETÖ-linked bureaucrat Mustafa Kocyigit, a former specialist at the Prime Minister's office, told prosecutors that he was recruited by Gülenist while he was in college. In his testimony, Kocyigit said "I was a successful student and went to their university preparation exam courses. Upon being admitted into Ankara University's School of Political Science and Public Administration, I was introduced to a FETO member called Selman, in whose home I picked the code name Akif". Kocyigit confessed that he was collected sensitive information from his contacts at the intelligence department of Turkish National Police and handed them over to an elder brother code-named "Furkan".

Mithat Aynacı was a police chief in İstanbul until 2013, when he was dismissed for his role in the two Gülenist-linked investigations against several government officials and politicians. He managed to return to duty after he won a lawsuit against his dismissal. When tanks were heading to İstanbul police headquarters, Aynacı was found in one of the tanks. A video recording shows Aynacı, wearing a military officer uniform, entering the tank, and another one shows him forcefully pulled from the tank. ¹⁹



MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT

During the coup attempt, 179 civilians, 62 policemen and 5 soldiers lost their lives and 2,195 people were injured. Right after the plot, Turkey has immediately established public safety, subdued the perpetrators, and has begun to remove FETO/PSS members from the State and public institutions. Civil servants who have been identified as FETO members have been dismissed from all institutions, the Judiciary and the Security in particular, beside the TSK. Some others are under legal investigation.

In order to implement effective measures and uphold the rule of law, the Government declared a state of emergency for three months after the National Security Council meeting on 20 July 2016. The next day, the Turkish Parliament endorsed the Government's decision by an overwhelming majority where several members from opposition parties also voted in favor. This measure is in line with Article 120 of the Turkish Constitution. President Erdoğan has repeatedly assured the public and opposition parties that "the process of state of emergency will be managed with utmost care to minimize negative effects of the failed coup on Turkish people and everyday life".

²⁰ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/gulen-must-be-extradited-to-turkey-chp-head-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=102095&NewsCatID=338>

Considering the magnitude of the event, the dangers posed to democracy and the urgency of the measures needed to be taken, the state of emergency was necessary particularly to eliminate the cadres affiliated to FETO within state institutions. In fact, state of emergency is not an unusual method and one which Western democracies resort to in critical times. Most recently, France, the U.S., and Germany have implemented this measure in the wake of terrorist attacks or general public disorders.

As a further step, the Turkish Government has requested the extradition of Fethullah Gülen to Turkey as the coup instigator. 4 separate dossiers have already been handed over to the U.S. authorities to support the extradition request. The Republican People's Party (CHP) Chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu also urged the U.S. to hand over Fethullah Gülen. ²⁰ Another opposition party leader, Devlet Bahçeli also called on the US to extradite Gülen stating that he and his terrorist network were behind the coup. ²¹

²¹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-is-in-big-danger-if-us-was-behind-coup-attempt-mhp-leader.aspx?pageID=238&nID=102115&NewsCatID=338>

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, as one of the Turkish journalists has said, "This coup attempt was neither a conventional nor a civilian one like we witnessed during the winter of 2013. What happened in Turkey can only be defined as a terrorist coup attempt." Now it is very clear for all political parties and people that unless we overcome the threat from FETO members, Turkey's unity and security cannot be guaranteed. At the moment, judicial authorities are investigating all FETO/PSS members in Turkey and taking necessary steps. Contrary to the claims of F. Gülen and his supporters, this is not a political issue for Turkey; rather it is a national security problem. Turkey also warns its friends abroad and other countries of the dangers posed by FETO. In order to defeat this new type of terrorism, international solidarity is highly crucial.²²

²² For more detailed information about Turkey's position on the failed coup attempt, please read the article

http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/25/opinion/the-turkey-coup-leader-must-be-held-accountable.html?_r=0

15 JULY

COUP ATTEMPT AND

THE PARALLEL

STATE STRUCTURE