



# JULY 15: GÜLENIST COUP ATTEMPT

---

**REPORT**

ISSUE 3, JULY 2016



---

Daily Sabah Centre for Policy Studies is an Istanbul-Ankara-based, non-profit institute which focuses on Turkey's vibrant socio-political landscape and its reflections and wider implications both at the regional and global levels.

DS Centre was founded in February 2015 as the think-tank extension of the English-language newspaper Daily Sabah, published in Turkey. DS Centre's aim is to provide cohesive and extensive understanding on national and international affairs via reports, publications, frequent conferences, round table meetings and workshops.

DS Centre endeavors the dissemination of knowledge. The centre's events serve as a platform for prominent academics, researchers, policy-makers and experts of the subject matter to present their perspectives and analyses to ensure coherence and reliability.

---

## **DS CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES**

### **Istanbul Office**

Barbaros Bulvarı, No:153, Cam Han, Beşiktaş

### **Ankara Office**

Çetin Emeç Bulv. No:117 Balgat, Çankaya



[www.dailysabahcentre.com](http://www.dailysabahcentre.com)



[dailysabah.centre@dailysabah.com](mailto:dailysabah.centre@dailysabah.com)



+90 212 354 3432



[facebook.com/DSCentreforPolicyStudies](https://facebook.com/DSCentreforPolicyStudies)



@ds\_cfps



@ds\_centre

---

© Daily Sabah Centre for Policy Studies. All rights reserved.

---

**Publisher** Daily Sabah Centre for Policy Studies  
**Director** Pınar Kandemir  
**Contributors** Sena Alkan, Semanur Pekkendir, Nejat Başar,  
Madeline Zutt, Mehmet Solmaz, Batuhan Takış,  
Merve Baran, Fatih Şemsettin Işık  
**Cover** Ümit Oğuz  
**Art Director** Berrak Türkmen  
**Cover photos by** Reuters and AP

---

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|    |  |
|----|--|
| 1  | ■ Introduction                               |
| 3  | ■ 5WS & 1H                                   |
| 4  | ■ Chronology of the Failed Coup              |
| 8  | ■ Strategic Locations of the Attempted Coup  |
| 12 | ■ Eyewitness Accounts of the Coup Night      |
| 16 | ■ National Reactions                         |
| 18 | ■ International Reactions                    |
| 20 | ■ The Man Behind The Coup: A Life in Shadows |
| 23 | ■ Decoding the Gülenist Terror Organization  |
| 24 | ■ FETO Dictionary                            |
| 26 | ■ Evidence                                   |
| 28 | ■ Post-Coup Era in Turkey                    |



# INTRODUCTION

---

On July 15, Turkey descended into a night of chaos and violence as a failed bloody coup attempt gripped the country, killing 238 civilians and police officers. The group responsible for the coup belonged to a small faction within the Turkish military. Within this faction was a group of renegade soldiers who orchestrated a number of coordinated attacks in both Ankara and Istanbul in an illegitimate attempt to seize key government institutions, including the Presidential Compound and the National Intelligence Agency (MİT). The Parliament was bombed 11 times during the night of the attempted coup while deputies from both the ruling party and the opposition were inside. Tanks and troops blocked the Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul while bombs fell on Ankara from F-16 jets. In an effort to control the media, putschists stormed into the buildings of CNN Turk and TRT, Turkey's public broadcaster, where a TRT anchorwoman was forced with a gun to her head, to read the coup announcement on live television.

Both Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım condemned the coup as an illegal act and ordered security and police forces to restore order. President Erdoğan — who had been on vacation in the western coastal city of Marmaris — used the FaceTime app on his iPhone to connect to CNN Turk. Moments after CNN Turk broadcasted Erdoğan's speech on live television, the junta soldiers invaded the channel's building. During his speech, the President called on the Turkish people to resist the coup and march into the streets to defend and protect democracy. All political parties in the Parliament denounced the coup as people began flooding the streets to stop the putschists from seizing power. Erdoğan leaving a Marmaris hotel about 15 minutes before it was stormed by assassin coup

soldiers, managed to land safely in Istanbul after skirting past F-16s that were trying to take down his plane. While this coup attempt rocked a nation that has a history of military coups, it also showed the world the resolve, heroism and determination of the Turkish people who rallied for their leader and defended democracy. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's upright stance against the coup as well as his call to the nation to take to the streets to resist the heinous attempt were, without a doubt, the most critical and important steps leading to this victory. The resistance of political parties, NGOs and civilians in Turkey has shown that democracy is a non-negotiable value beyond any argument.

Testimony given by junta soldiers and other pieces of tangible evidence so far point to Fethullah Gülen, the leader of Fethullah Terror Organization (FETO) as the mastermind behind the unsuccessful coup. In the wake of the putsch, the response of the Turkish government - like that of many other European countries that face terrorist attacks -- has declared a three month state of emergency in the country and has demanded that the U.S. extradite Gülen to Turkey so he can be brought to a fair trial in the Turkish criminal court system. Cleansing every cell in the state from the influence of this terrorist organization, as well as the extradition of its leader Gülen to Turkey in accordance with an existing agreement between the U.S. and Turkey, will be a permanent and important step for Turkish democracy. This report, prepared by the Daily Sabah (DS) Centre, is a compiled work that includes a timeline, locations and profiles of eyewitness detailing the events of the coup on the night of July 15 as well as detailed information about FETO.

**Daily Sabah Centre for Policy Studies**

---



---

On the night of July 15, a small military junta linked to the Fethullah Gülen Terrorist Organization (FETO) attempted a coup d'etat against the elected Turkish government and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan that ultimately failed. The coup plotters tried to seize key provinces in Turkey including Istanbul and Ankara. Police forces, a vast majority of the army, the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT) and members of the bureaucracy stood against the coup attempt, raising their voices after the President's call to nation to take streets. A total of 238 lost their lives and 2190 injured.

---

---

The coup attempt started on the night of July 15 around 10 p.m. when a road to the Bosphorus Bridge was blockaded by coup plotters and F-16 warplanes started flying low over Ankara. The attack by the putschists was taken under control around 8 a.m. on July 16. The schedule of the coup attempt was moved in an earlier hour after MIT officials realized a hustle in the army around 4 p.m and the key figures in the army were informed by MIT chief Hakan Fidan. The allegations of a coup attempt started circulating the governmental institution and for this reason, coup plotters initiated their assault around 10 p.m. instead of after midnight at 3 a.m. as initially planned.

---

---

Putschists attacked civilians with tanks and helicopters and shot at civilians who resisted, striking innocent people on roadways using snipers and alternating their methods in key strategic points. F-16s controlled by putschists bombed Parliament, the Presidential Compound and many other critical institutions. Despite being faced with certain death, Turkish civilians took to the streets, facing deadly bullets and demanding that putschists surrender for the sake of democracy.

---



---

Key Turkish cities, including Istanbul and Ankara, were invaded by putschists as they tried to occupy key state institutions, media outlets and military bases with tanks and warplanes. The western district of Marmaris where Erdoğan was on vacation was also bombed by putschists in efforts to capture the president and some other provinces in Turkey were used as bases for the coup plotters. Nationwide protests increased throughout the night in the affected Turkish provinces.

---

---

The Gülen Movement tried to seize power over the Turkish state, with followers of the Movement infiltrating key state institutions since the 1970s. Gülen desired to arrive in Turkey as a savior if the coup had succeeded, as Ayatollah Khomeini did in 1979 after the Iranian Revolution. The Turkish Government began to eliminate FETO-related figures within the state when the malicious aim of the Movement came to the fore a few years ago. In recent years, the Turkish State has declared the Gülen Movement a terrorist organization. FETO-linked soldiers within the military attempted to conduct the coup on July 15 after being informed by FETO infiltrators in the judiciary. Nearly 60 FETO-linked generals who are related with the Military Espionage Case, were expected to be arrested while nearly 800 FETO-linked soldiers who were found out through the MIT's Bylock program, were expected to be removed from their posts. The tipoff resulted in FETO members launching the coup attempt in a desperate last move to overthrow the Turkish government and evade being dishonorably discharged from their posts.

---

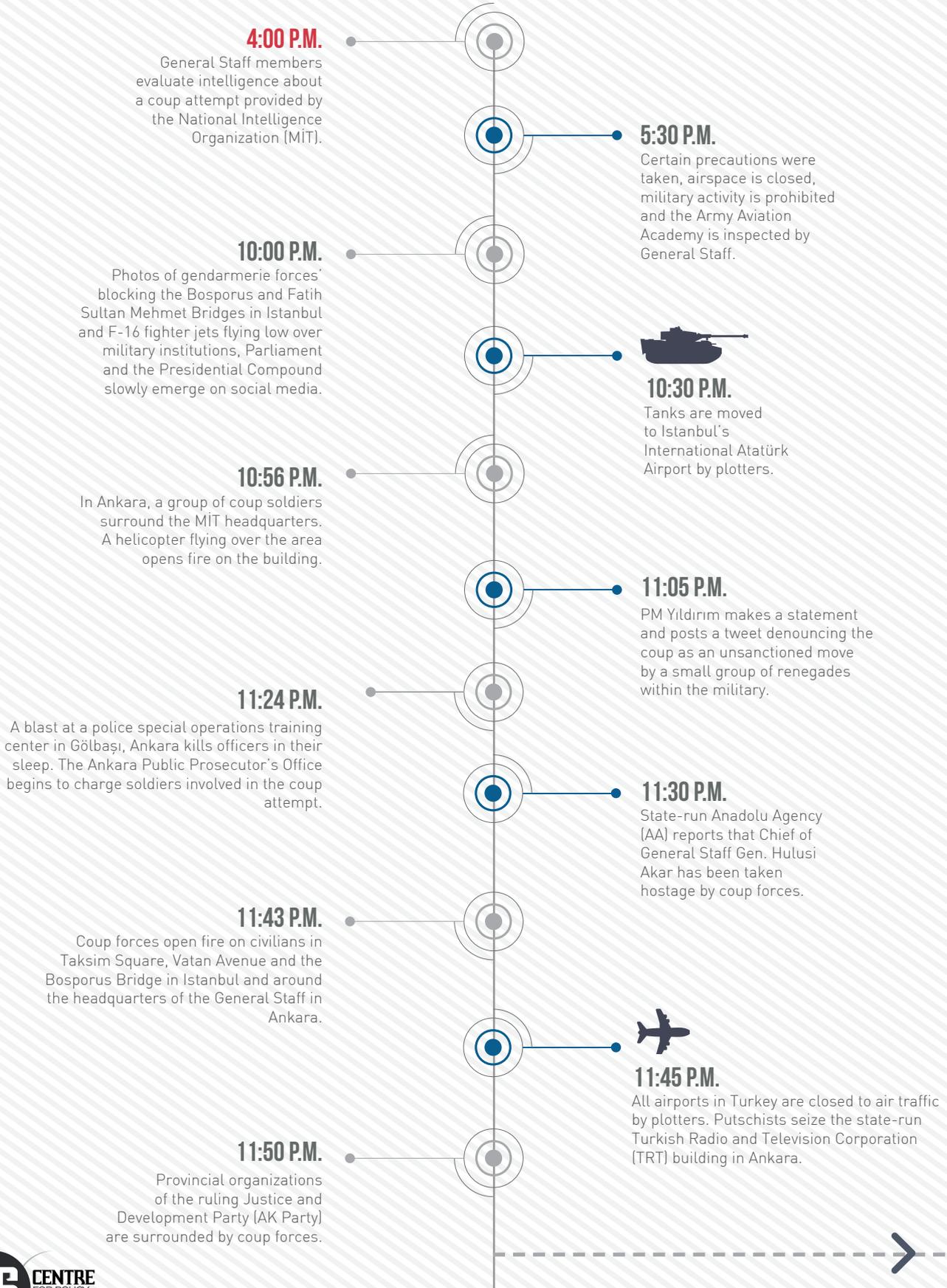
---

Fugitive imam Fethullah Gülen, who lives in self-imposed exile in rural Pennsylvania and runs the FETO terrorist organization, is the leader of the coup attempt, which was planned and staged by his followers, although he was quick to deny any responsibility. Testimony and evidence obtained from coup plotters point to Gülen as the mastermind behind this failed coup attempt. Turkey demands the extradition of Fethullah Gülen, a Turkish citizen, from the U.S.

---

# CHRONOLOGY OF THE FAILED COUP

JULY 15, 2016 FRIDAY



# CHRONOLOGY OF THE FAILED COUP

JULY 16, 2016 SATURDAY



**12:04 A.M.**

TRT anchor Tijen Kardeş is forced at gunpoint to read out the coup declaration on live television. Coup leaders declare a nationwide curfew.

**12:25 A.M.**

Erdoğan connects to CNN Türk through FaceTime on his iPhone and speaks live to the people, telling them to go out to defend democracy against the coup plotters.

**12:52 A.M.**

1st Army Commander Gen. Ümit Dündar connects live on TV and says: "This isn't an act supported by the Turkish Armed Forces."

**12:55 A.M.**

TRT goes off the air. Fighter jets bomb the Interior Ministry and police headquarters.



**12:57 A.M.**

Two civilians were shot dead by plotters during the attack at the Turksat Communication Satellite.

**1:16 A.M.**

Tanks surround Parliament in Ankara.



**1:48 A.M.**

Coup forces shoot down helicopters at Vatan Boulevard in Istanbul.

**2:00 A.M.**

Police start to arrest coup soliers.

**2:05 A.M.**

In Ankara, a helicopter used by coup forces is shot down by F-16 jets. Coup soldiers attack to the Police Special Forces Training Academy in Gölbaşı, Ankara. 42 police officers died at the attacks to the Academy.

**2:05 A.M.**

One-hundred deputies from three political parties (MHP, CHP and Ak Party) meet at Parliament.

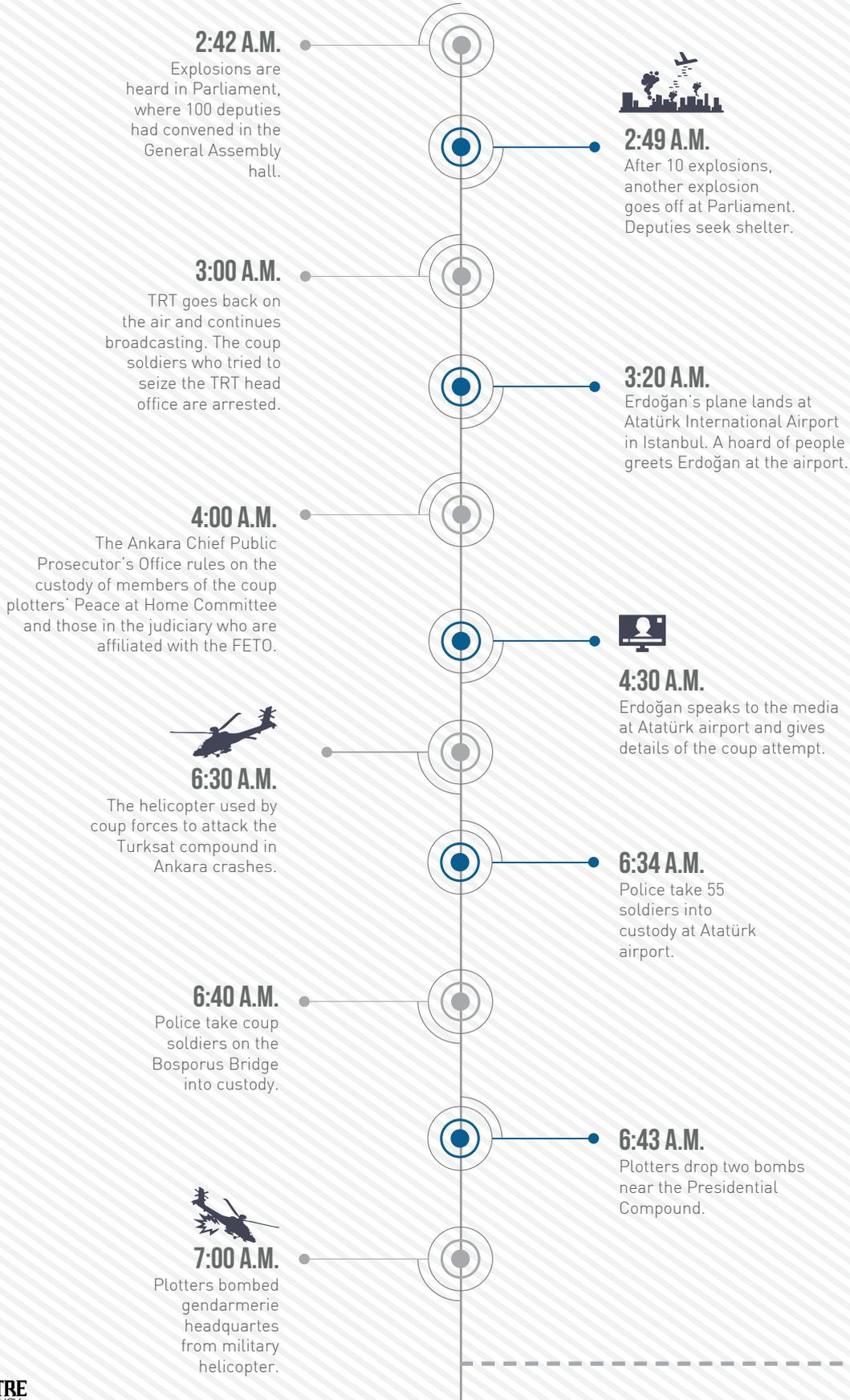
**2:30 A.M.**

The MİT announces the coup attempt is mostly rebuffed and that the coup plotters are Gülenists. The MİT also announces that all coup plotters will be tried for treason. Thirteen soldiers, including three senior officers, are detained while trying to enter the Presidential Compound in Ankara.



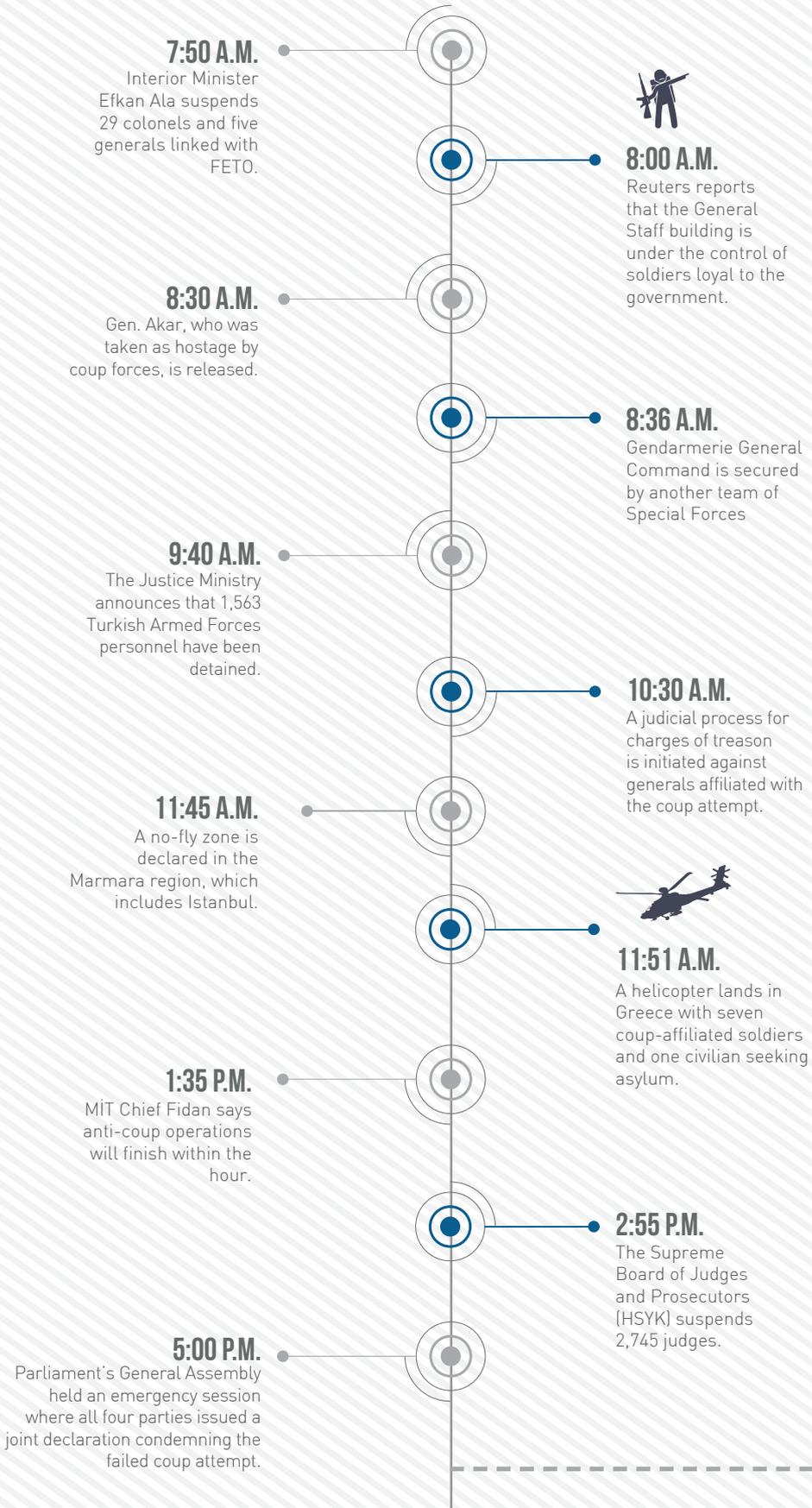
# CHRONOLOGY OF THE FAILED COUP

JULY 16, 2016 SATURDAY



# CHRONOLOGY OF THE FAILED COUP

JULY 16, 2016 SATURDAY



## JULY 17, 2016 SUNDAY

- Armed fight takes place in Istanbul's Sabiha Gökçen Airport and Turkish police detain remaining coup plotters at Istanbul's Sabiha Gökçen airport as well as at an air base in Konya.
- Police surround the war academies.
- The Board of Higher Education (YÖK) holds a convention of university presidents.
- Turgut Aslan, the head of the Counterterrorism Department, is found fatally shot in the head.
- A team from the Turkish Army arrives in Greece to bring back eight coup plotters who had fled Turkey after the failed coup attempt.
- Eleven soldiers and policemen, including İncirlik commander Gen. Bekir Ercan Van, are arrested for complicity in coup attempt.
- Former AFC Gen. Akin Öztürk is brought to the Counterterrorism Unit in Ankara for questioning.



## JULY 18, 2016 MONDAY

- Whatsapp conversations between the putschists are leaked and exposed.
- Public officials are banned from leaving the country.
- İncirlik military base is searched.
- Brig. Gen. İsmail Gürgen, the commander of the 18th Mechanized Infantry Brigade in the Gelibolu district of the western Çanakkale province, is released pending trial.

## JULY 20, 2016 WEDNESDAY

- Hulusi Akar's military secretary confesses his link with the Gülen Movement.
- 113 judges and prosecutors, including two constitutional court members, are arrested for having links to the Gülenist coup.

## JULY 21, 2016 THURSDAY

- After four hours and 40 minutes cabinet meeting, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declares a three-month state of emergency following the failed coup.
- The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) suspends 29 personnel from duty.
- Tens of thousands of gather on Istanbul's Bosphorus Bridge to protest Friday's failed coup attempt.

## JULY 19, 2016 TUESDAY



RELEASE: 294,548 emails from Turkey's ruling political party, Erdoğan's AKP #AKPemails  
[wikileaks.org/akp-emails/](http://wikileaks.org/akp-emails/)

- The two pilots who crashed the Russian jets are taken into custody.
- Former Istanbul mayor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu is suspended from his job and detained in connection to the failed coup attempt.
- The National Intelligence Organization (MIT) suspends 100 personnel from duty.
- Those who use the controversial Twitter account under the name Fuat Avni (@fuatavni\_f), which has been extensively used by Gülenists to manipulate, propagandize and intimidate, are reportedly captured in an operation. Some claim that the one running the account is Akif Mustafa Koçyiğit, who had been working as the head of collection center of the Prime Ministry, a key position where intelligence is gathered.
- Wikileaks releases what it calls secret correspondence between members of the AK Party. The contents of the emails do not seem as crucial as it was suggested by WikiLeaks. Most of the emails comprise of private information of the AK Party members, Google Groups notifications, newsletters from media outlets and spam.

## “DEMOCRACY WATCHES” CONTINUE ACROSS THE COUNTRY WITH PEOPLE ON STREETS SINCE THE NIGHT OF THE COUP ATTEMPT

Erdoğan called people to stay on the streets since July 15 at 9 p.m. Throughout Turkey people gather on streets and in squares for the “democracy watch.” Now these demonstrations against the coup attempt have turned into rallies to celebrate democracy with celebrities in attendance. Erdoğan said that these gatherings will end with a historic meeting in Yenikapı.

AFP



AA



AP

IHA



AP



AA

# ISTANBUL

## STRATEGIC LOCATIONS OF THE ATTEMPTED COUP



# ANKARA

## STRATEGIC LOCATIONS OF THE ATTEMPTED COUP





## OTHER LOCATIONS

## STRATEGIC LOCATIONS OF THE ATTEMPTED COUP

### SAKARYA GOVERNATE ■

Coup forces attempted to seize the Sakarya Governorate. Civilians who heard about the development arrived at the building. The putschists fired at police protecting the governorate and civilians, but the people attacked the putschists and handed them over to the police. Fourteen people were injured, including women.

### KOCAELİ ■

Putschists seized cellphone operator Turkcell's data center in Gebze and tried to disconnect the data service. They failed and were arrested shortly afterward.



### MARMARIS, MUĞLA ■

Fifteen coup officers from the Special Forces Command, 12 soldiers from the Search and Rescue Team, two from Underwater Offence (SAT) commandos went to the resort town of Marmaris and bombed locations where the president had been at shortly after he left. Around 30 soldiers in helicopters descended on the hotel on ropes, shooting in an apparent attempt to seize the president.

### ADANA ■

Police, who heard that 30 soldiers would move to the campus where the 10th Air-Tanker Base Command and provincial gendarmerie command are, blocked the exit of the soldiers with riot control vehicles and armored cars.



**İNCİRLİK AIR BASE**

The air space around İncirlik Air Base was closed during the attempted coup amid concerns a tanker aircraft commandeered from the base was used to refuel aircraft involved in the coup attempt. The air space around the base quickly reopened in the days after the attempted coup.

**DİYARBAKIR**

Six warplanes took off from the southeastern city of Diyarbakir on the night of the coup attempt. Citizens in the Kurdish-majority province took to the streets to stand against the coup attempt.

**BİTLİS**

With the order of Brig. Gen. Arif Settar Afşar, helicopters, which operated by coup plotters fired over Tatvan. Barracks roads were blocked with municipality vehicles to stop military tanks.

**KARS**

Critical locations such as the headquarters of the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), municipal buildings and AK Party offices were invaded by coup force tanks. Kars was one of the last cities in which coup forces surrendered.

## EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE COUP NIGHT

## PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYİP ERDOĞAN

İHA

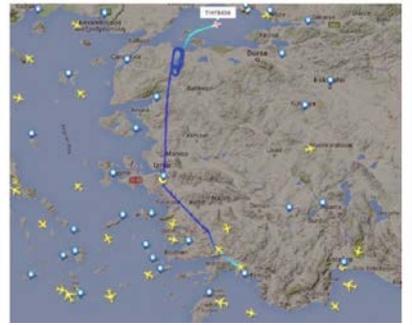


President Erdoğan left the Yazıcı Hotel in the western district of Marmaris 15 minutes before forces plotters entered the president's hotel room on the night of July 15. He later stated that he heard of the coup attempt when his brother-in-law called him on the night of July 15 and informed him about what was happening. Commander of the 1st Army, Gen. Ümit Dündar also called Erdoğan and told him to come Istanbul instead of Ankara. On his way to Istanbul, Erdoğan appeared on CNN Türk through FaceTime and called on the people to take to the streets to resist the coup attempt, most of the people on the streets later said that they went out to the streets after Erdoğan's first call. A senior official confirmed that Erdoğan's official jet had been harassed while in the air. When he landed, Erdoğan met the people who had flocked to Atatürk Airport even though it was largely under the control of coup soldiers. He made a speech at the airport to the public.



Tracking #Turkish President Erdogan's airplane, now over Sea of Marmara.  
[social.stratfor.com/jyBW302iAIS](https://social.stratfor.com/jyBW302iAIS)

İngilizce dilinden çevir



Stratfor shares info on Twitter on Erdoğan's flight en route to Istanbul while two pro coup F-16s harass his plane.

## PRIME MINISTER BİNALİ YILDIRIM



Yıldırım examines the Parliament building after bomb attacks.

Yıldırım acknowledged late on July 15 that a group from the military was engaged in what appeared to be an attempted coup, as military units blocked the entrances to the Bosphorus and Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridges connecting Istanbul's European and Asian sides. Later on, Yıldırım called on citizens to take to the streets for resistance. Yıldırım was on the Asian side of Istanbul when the coup attempt started. Although he decided to return to Ankara immediately by land due to security concerns about traveling by air, his convoy decided to pass through Kastamonu province near Ankara following news reports that clashes in the capital had intensified. Yıldırım stopped for over an hour-and-a-half to receive information from Ankara. As he continued on his route, gendarmerie forces opened fire at a vehicle behind the convoy, causing the prime minister to change his route again. With the continuing armed conflict in Ankara, Yıldırım had to stay at the house of a district governor in the area and led the process of rebuffing the coup attempt in Ankara from there. He continued on and returned to Ankara in 12 hours.

## CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF GEN HULUSİ AKAR

Gen. Akar was unlawfully detained by coup forces on the night of the coup attempt. Akar was transported by helicopter to Akıncılar Air Base, which is located some 35 kilometers northwest of Ankara. Coup plotters tried to convince him to sign the coup declaration at gunpoint, choking him with a belt. He was later released and taken to a safe zone.



Akar's neck was injured from being choked with a belt.

## 1ST ARMY COMMANDER GEN ÜMİT DÜNDAR

Gen. Ümit Dündar, the commander the 1st Army, played a historic role on the night of the coup attempt. Right after he learned key generals were taken hostages by coup forces, Dündar rejected the coup soldiers' call to side with them. He called Istanbul Governor Vasip Şahin first and then government figures. Dündar called Erdoğan and said: "Mr. President, I am at your service. You are the legitimate president. I suggest you not go to Ankara. Come to Istanbul, I am going to ensure your security." Ümit Dündar was assigned as acting Chief of General Staff until Akar was released.



## JULY 15: GÜLENIST COUP ATTEMPT

### SERGEANT ÖMER HALİSDEMİR

Sgt. Ömer Halisdemir was the soldier who prevented FETO-linked coup plotters from taking over the Special Forces Command (ÖKK). Halisdemir shot pro-coup Brig. Gen. Semih Terzi in the forehead and changed the course of the coup attempt after Terzi said that martial law was declared and he was in charge from now on. After Halisdemir killed pro-coup soldier Terzi, the other coup plotters who occupied the ÖKK with Terzi killed Sgt. Halisdemir. Soldiers who opposed the coup attempt clashed with the putschists within the army to neutralize the pro-coup soldiers.



### EROL OLÇOK AND HIS SON ABDULLAH TAYYİP

A prominent figure in advertising and renowned for campaigns he launched for the AK Party since its AK Party's establishment, Erol Olçok and his 18-year-old son were killed on Friday night in the coup attempt. Olçok and his son went to the Bosphorus Bridge to resist after it was shut down by coup forces. They were both shot to death by coup soldiers who opened fire on civilians.

### PHOTOJOURNALIST MUSTAFA CAMBAZ

Photojournalist for the Yenişafak daily, Mustafa Cambaz, was shot in the chest by a coup soldier in Istanbul's Anatolian district of Çengelköy on the night of the coup. A father of one, Cambaz had told his wife: "You cannot keep me at home in such a situation" before taking the streets.

IHA



### HEADMAN METE SERTBAŞ

Mete Sertbaş, who has been the headman of Istanbul's Acıbadem neighborhood for the last 10 years, was shot by a coup soldiers during the coup attempt. A father of two, Sertbaş took to the street to help police who tried to repel the putschists. Trying to stop the soldiers by speaking to them, Sertbaş was shot at close range by Lieutenant Mehmet Karabekir. Karabekir prevented Acıbadem residents from taking Sertbaş to the hospital.



### TEACHER DERYA OVACIKLI

Derya Ovacıklı, a teacher, went through a similar experience in Ankara. A resident of the Kazan district, she joined locals heading to the military base there to prevent the coup attempt. A bullet hit her leg and she collapsed.



### MUSTAFA YAMAN

A 32-year-old imam and father of two, Mustafa Yaman, who worked at the Special Operations Center in the Gölbaşı district of Ankara was killed by a coup soldier when the rogue forces attacked the center by bombing the building and shooting the soldiers in it.



### HALİL KANTARCI

Father of three, Halil Kantarcı, 37, was shot to death in a firefight in Çengelköy between civilians and coup soldiers on July 15. Halil heard that coup forces were attempting to seize the police station in Çengelköy, so he left his wife Ayşe behind and went to Çengelköy. Halil was arrested in 1995, when he was 15, for being a member of the National Youth Foundation. He was tried at the State Security Court of the Feb. 28 period. He was tortured for days at the Counterterrorism Branch Office and served nine years in prison. He was later found innocent and released.

### PROFESSOR İLHAN VARANK

Brother of Mustafa Varank, Erdoğan's advisor, İlhan Varank was killed by coup soldiers while protesting in front of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Varank, 45, was an academic at Yıldız Technical University in Istanbul. A father of two, Varank, said in a WhatsApp group message before taking to the streets: "My friends, if we are scared, everyone would be. I will take to the streets."

DHA

### FATİŞ BIÇAKÇI

Fatış Bıçakçı, 82, took to the streets after Erdoğan's call for the people to defend democracy. In the central Anatolian province of Kırşehir, Bıçakçı has gone to the city center for the "democracy watch" since the July 15 with her grandsons and children.



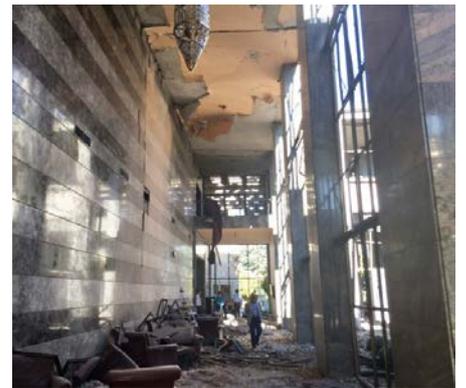
Prime Minister's office

### PARLIAMENT BOMBED WHILE DEPUTIES IN SESSION

On the night of the coup attempt, some deputies went to Parliament to read out a declaration against the coup attempt. But the putschists started bombing the building while deputies were in it. Bombed 11 times, some parts of Parliament were heavily damaged and deputies went to a shelter in the basement.



Turkish Parliament was bombed 11 times during the coup night.



Soldiers surrender when they learn it is not a military exercise

### SOLDIERS TOLD THEY WERE CONDUCTING AN EXERCISE

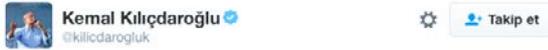
Soldiers in their testimonies have said that their commanders told them it was just a military exercise. Allegations circulating in the media are that high-ranking soldiers kept soldiers until 9 p.m. for night training and later ordered them to take ammunition for a military exercise. In testimony a soldier said: "When the nation came and climbed over the tanks, we realized that it was not a military exercise."

## NATIONAL REACTIONS



PHOTOS BY ALI EKEVILMAZ

- The first reaction from opposition parties came from Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Chairman Devlet Bahçeli at 11 p.m. on 15 July, who called Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım on the phone and said that his party was in solidarity with the government, saying that the coup attempt is “unacceptable.”



Cumhuriyet'e ve demokrasimize sahip çıkıyor; inancımızı eksiksiz bir şekilde koruyoruz.

- Main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) Chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu posted tweets condemning the coup on Friday and released a written statement after the failed coup attempt: “We protect our Republic and democracy, we keep our faith complete.”



Those who are in mistake go back to barracks.

- Former President Abdullah Gül spoke live on TV at 1:04 a.m. on July 16 to call the people from all political views to stand against the attempted coup.

- Former Prime Minister Ahmed Davutoğlu spoke live by phone on TV at 1 a.m. on 16 July to tell the people to defend democracy.

- Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) condemned the coup attempt via their official twitter page on July 16 at 1:28 a.m. Later, Co-Chairs Selahattin Demirtaş and Figen Yüksekdağ released a statement on Saturday, July 16 at 1:00 p.m

- Parliament's General Assembly held an emergency session at 5:00 p.m. on July 16 where all four parties issued a joint declaration condemning the failed coup attempt and underscoring solidarity against threats to democracy. The Prime Minister, approximately 100 ambassadors, nongovernmental organization representatives and the Chief of General Staff were all present at the meeting.

- Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) and The Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (MÜSİAD) condemned the coup attempt on July 16 .

- The Constitutional Court released a statement: “We reject any kind of anti-democratic attempt that is against the constitutional order and we want our precious nation to know that we are standing by the democratic state of law.”

- Statements from representatives of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities declared their our great sorrow over the terrorist attacks that disturb the peace of our great nation and of the world on July 16. The signatories included the head of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, Constantinople Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and Chief Rabbi Ishak Helava.

AP



- A manifesto, titled "No to Coup," was signed on July 17 by prominent actors, singers, artists and writers such as Nobel Prize laureate Orhan Pamuk, megastar Tarkan and many other from different political orientations.
- Muftis in Turkey issued a joint declaration on Wednesday, July 20, condemning the coup attempt.
- Celebrities such as producer and TV personality Acun Ilıcalı, singers Hadise and Fettah Can along with actors Murat Yıldırım and Hakan Ural started to attend rallies on the streets against the failed coup attempt, addressing the people who were in the Kısıklı district in Istanbul for the "democracy watch" on Thursday night, July 21.



Rıdvan Dilmen(L), Arda Turan, Hakan Ural, Fettah Can, Murat Yıldırım, Hadise(R)

- Former Chief of General Staff Gen. İlker Başbuğ with the press on July 16, commenting on the failed coup attempt, said: "One who bombs his own Parliament and shoots his own people cannot be a Turkish soldier. Those are the ones who receive orders from somewhere and someone else other than their superiors."
- Former Chief of General Staff Gen. Hilmi Özkök spoke to Hürriyet daily on July 21, calling the attempted coup a "heinous attack."
- The Turkish Football, Volleyball and Basketball Federations released a statement against the coup on their websites on July 16.
- The representatives and heads of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), Confederation of Turkish Trade Union (Türk-İş), Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen (TESK), Confederation of Public Servants Trade Union (Memur-Sen) and Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK) issued a joint statement condemning the coup attempt.

## INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

### NATO

NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg's first statement on **July 16 at 5:34 a.m.** (Turkish local time) was: "Just spoke to Turkish FM. I call for calm, restraint & full respect for Turkey's democratic institutions and constitution."

Stoltenberg's statement following the attempted coup in Turkey published on the official website on **July 18**: "I have spoken to President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, in the aftermath of the attempted coup in Turkey. I welcomed the strong support shown by the people and all political parties to democracy and to the democratically elected government. The Turkish people have shown great courage."

### UNITED NATIONS

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon released a written statement on the U.N.'s official website on **July 16 (July 15 in the U.S.)**:

"The Secretary-General is following closely and with concern the fast-moving developments in Turkey. At this moment of uncertainty in the country, the Secretary-General appeals for calm, non-violence and restraint. Preservation of fundamental rights, including freedom of speech and assembly, remain of vital importance.

The Secretary-General underscores that military interference in the affairs of any state is unacceptable. It will be crucial to quickly and peacefully affirm civilian rule and constitutional order in accordance with principles of democracy."

### UNITED STATES

On Saturday, **July 16 at 12:14 a.m.** (Turkish local time), U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry issued the statement following: "I hope there will be stability and peace and continuity within Turkey, but I have nothing to add with respect to what has transpired at this moment."

Later on **July 16**, after the coup was quelled, the following statement was issued at **2:13 a.m.** (Turkish local time): "The President and Secretary agreed that all parties in Turkey should support the democratically elected government of Turkey, show restraint, and avoid any violence or bloodshed. The Secretary underscored that the State Department will continue to focus on the safety and security of U.S. citizens in Turkey. The President asked the Secretary to continue to keep him updated as the situation unfolds."

White House on **July 16**: "The President and Secretary agreed that all parties in Turkey should support the democratically-elected government of Turkey, show restraint, and avoid any violence or bloodshed,"

### BRITAIN

Prime Minister Theresa May on **July 18** at the House of Commons: "We firmly condemn the attempted coup by certain members of the Turkish armed forces.

Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson posted on Twitter on **July 15 at 9:53 p.m.** (Turkish local time): "Very concerned by events unfolding in #Turkey. Our Embassy is monitoring the situation closely. Brits should follow FCO website for advice."

And again on **July 16 at 7:12 a.m.** (Turkish local time): "Just spoken to #Turkey foreign minister @MevlutCavusoglu. I underlined #UK support for the democratic elected government & institutions."

## EUROPEAN UNION

On **July 16 at 3:10 a.m.** (Turkish local time) joint statement from European Council President Donald Tusk, European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker and EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs Federica Mogherini: "Turkey is a key partner for the European Union. The EU fully supports the democratically elected government, the institutions of the country and the rule of law. We call for a swift return to Turkey's constitutional order. We continue to follow closely the developments and to coordinate with the 28 EU Member States."

Tusk tweet on **July 16 at 3:23 a.m.**(Turkish local time): "EU supports Turkey's democratically elected gov, institutions & rule of law. Call for return to constitutional order."

## RUSSIA

On **July 16**, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov told reporters on a conference call that President Vladimir Putin was being kept constantly updated on the situation in Turkey.

"Moscow is most concerned at the latest events in Turkey," the foreign ministry said in a statement. Moscow confirmed its "readiness to work constructively with the legally elected leadership of Turkey in the interest of promoting bilateral relations," saying this particularly applied to "fighting the threat of terrorism."

## IRAN

Just hours after the coup attempt, on **July 16**, Iranian President Hassan Rouhani publicly condemned the failed coup, telling local media outlets: "We support Turkey's legal government and oppose any type of coup either [initiated] domestically or supported by foreign sides."

## QATAR

Qatar congratulated Erdoğan on July 16 on apparently foiling a deadly coup attempt by the military against his rule. In a telephone call with the Erdoğan, Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani "congratulated (Erdoğan) on the support of the people of Turkey on his rule against the failed military coup," the official QNA news agency reported. Thani "strongly condemned this failed attempt and voiced... (Qatar's) solidarity with Turkey... in all measures it takes to protect constitutional legitimacy, enforce the rule of law and preserve its security and stability."

## PAKISTAN

On July 16, Pakistan Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif strongly condemned the coup attempt and he expressed Pakistan's complete support and solidarity with President Erdoğan, the democratically elected government and democratic institutions of the Republic of Turkey. A statement released by the Prime Minister's House quoted Sharif as saying "We deeply admire the resolve of the brave and resilient Turkish people who stood up against the forces of darkness and anarchy to express their support and commitment to democracy."

## EGYPT

Egypt blocked a U.N. Security Council (UNSC) resolution backed by the U.S. on **July 16** condemning the attempted coup in Turkey, according to diplomats, although Cairo denied the move.

Following consultation with officials from key NATO ally Turkey, the U.S. proposed a draft statement calling on "all parties in Turkey to respect the democratically elected government of Turkey."

## GERMANY

German Chancellor Angela Merkel told reporters in Berlin on **July 16**: "In the name of the entire German government, I sharply condemn the attempt by Turkish military units to overthrow the elected government and president. ... Germany stands on the side of all those in Turkey who defend democracy and the constitutional state. It is and remains the right of the people to decide in free elections who will rule."

Merkel's spokesman posted on Twitter on **July 15 at 10:08 p.m.**(Turkish local time): "The democratic order in #Turkey must be respected. Everything must be done to protect lives."



# THE MAN BEHIND THE COUP

A LIFE IN THE SHADOWS

Name

**FETHULLAH GÜLEN**

Titles

**IMAM OF THE UNIVERSE**

**MAHDI**

**HODJA EFFENDI**

Born on April 27, 1941  
in Erzurum

Began primary school in  
1946 in Erzurum

Studied at the Kurşunlu Mosque  
madrasah in Erzurum in 1954

## IN 1966

he was assigned to İzmir as the main imam and served until 1971.

He formalized his operations in İzmir and met some of his senior operatives.

Arrested in 1971 by the post-coup junta and spent seven months in prison charged with reactionary activities before being found not guilty.

## IN 1979

he started to write for the monthly Sızıntı (Fountain) Islamic magazine, which was published by his followers.

## IN 1980

he wrote an editorial for Sızıntı in which he praised the overthrow of the government

## IN 1981

On March 20, 1981 he retired as an imam from the Presidency of Religious Affairs.

Zaman newspaper was founded in 1986 by Gülen followers.



His illicit movement picked up in the 1980s and 1990s, with his articles distributed across the nation by his disciples. Funds collected by the movement were channeled into schools, media organizations and other projects to help recruitment and expand influence. Recruits started to infiltrate state institutions, especially the military, police and judiciary in an effort to assume state power from the inside.

## IN 1991

In November 1991, the first protocol was signed to open a Turkish high school in Azerbaijan's Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic.

The network eventually included hundreds of schools around the world in the 1990s. His charter schools in the U.S. became one of the main funding sources for the illicit organization.

## IN 1993

In January 1993 Samanyolu Television was funded by Gülen followers, and the movement began to build a media empire from scratch as a tool to increase its political influence.

## IN 1997

During the 1997 military intervention that forced out the prime minister and precipitated a much-condemned clampdown on conservatives, he called on his followers to respect the will of the military.

## IN 1999

As judicial authorities closed in, he fled to the U.S. for "health reasons." The past decade saw the movement come of age, with its operatives in the judiciary launching a widely discredited drive to punish, through illegal means, all those it perceived as opponents.

Between 2007 and 2013, he took advantage of the instability of the state system that occurred after the Balyoz (Sledgehammer), Ergenekon and military espionage trials by assigning the movement's own judges, prosecutors and academics. Those cases allowed FETO quicker infiltration of the state.

## IN 2013

By December 2013, the movement believed it was strong enough to take on the democratically elected government, launching an anti-corruption operation through its members in the judiciary and police to topple the government.

The swift response by the government prevented the movement's takeover of the state, and a comprehensive investigation began to tackle the danger posed by Gülenists' judicial, security, media, business and education arms.

## IN 2016

On July 15, 2016, the remaining military operatives of the Gülen Movement within the military launched a desperate bid to topple the government. The coup attempt failed due to large public resistance and other factors.

## DECODING THE GÜLENIST TERROR ORGANIZATION (FETO)

The Turkish state foiled a coup attempt by followers of U.S.-based, fugitive imam Fethullah Gülen, who has lived in the U.S. since 1999. Opening schools in over 160 countries and claiming to promote interfaith dialogue, the organization led by Gülen deceived hundreds of thousands of people to empower its presence within the Turkish state and in the international arena. He even obtained his passport through illegal means, as Gülen was able to get over 20 references that helped him stay in the U.S. His references include Graham Fuller, former vice chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council. The 77-year-old terrorist leader, played the leading role in major incidents that shook the country.

### CRIMINAL PLOTS AGAINST OPPOSING FIGURES

Gülenists used their power in the military, judiciary and police to infiltrate the state and eliminate all opposing figures

#### TAHŞİYE CASE

The movement targeted the Tahşiye group, a branch of the Nur Movement, and its members were imprisoned on false evidence and labeled terrorists by suspected movement-linked police officers and prosecutors. The group and its leader, former imam Mehmet Doğan, are known for their opposition to the Gülen Movement and have a firmer stance against interfaith dialogue than other movements.

#### MATCH-FIXING CASE

Fenerbahçe football club Chairman Aziz Yıldırım and six other suspects were accused of match-fixing in the 2011-12 season, but were later acquitted of all charges. Yıldırım was released from prison two years later. He claimed that the case was "a plot" against him by the FETO. In an August interview with the media, Yıldırım slammed prosecutors linked to the FETO, claiming they fabricated the allegations against him in the case. The match-fixing trial was the culmination of an investigation by Prosecutor Zekeriya Öz. Öz, who fled the country in September, is linked to the FETO.

#### BALYOZ CASE

Gülenist infiltrators have also been accused of forging evidence in the Balyoz (Sledgehammer) case in which the Supreme Court sentenced the defendants who were accused of attempting a coup to prison sentences of six to 20 years in September 2012. The case was conducted by Gülenist bureaucrats and judges to remove the military officers and place Gülenist militants into their positions. All defendants were freed after a Constitutional Court verdict in June 2015. The defendants had claimed that all documents implicating them in the case were forged. One of the most striking allegations about the forged evidence is that an allegedly authentic Microsoft Word document detailing the coup plan conceived in 2003 was written using a 2007 version of the word processing software.

#### ERGENEKON CASE

Ergenekon is the name of an alleged organization belonging to the "deep state" in Turkey. The Ergenekon case was conducted by Gülenist prosecutors and judges to remove some members of the military and security

forces and place Gülenist militants into their positions. On April 21 2016, all the accused were acquitted and some of the Gülenist executors of the trials were charged with plotting against the Turkish Armed Forces.

#### MILITARY ESPIONAGE CASE

In 2010, the İzmir branch of the National Police Department dominated by Gülenists, launched an investigation based on an anonymous tip sent by email, and detained 357 people including high-ranking officers. Defendants were found in possession of confidential information about military facilities based on the evidence that they were collecting the information with the purpose of giving it to foreign intelligence service agents according to the indictments. A court ruled for their acquittal in February, six years after the case started.

Members of the FETO within the police department and judiciary have been accused of wiretapped hundreds of people by creating an imaginary terrorist organization called Selam Tevhid. Many politicians, journalists and bureaucrats were among those who were wiretapped.

There are dozens of cases, which the FETO tried to take advantage of the vacancies in the system, and design its reconstruction.

The FETO was behind the Balyoz (Sledgehammer), Ergenekon and military espionage cases in which hundreds of military officers, journalists, academics and other prominent figures were either accused of planning coups or running criminal organizations. Many defendants were released pending trial after renewed legal processes found they were detained, arrested and convicted on trumped-up charges or falsified evidence. The head of the FETO, Fethullah Gülen who lives in self-imposed exile in the US, allegedly ordered the wiretapping of prominent leaders' telephones as well as those linked to them through FETO-linked police officers to obtain confidential information or create fake audio recordings to implicate them in a number of cases.

### IMPRISONING CRITICS WITH FABRICATED EVIDENCE

Imprisoning critics with sham trials by prosecutors and judges linked to the organization was something that frightened Gülenists' enemies. Most notably, journalists Ahmet Şık, Nedim Şener and former Police Chief Hanefi Avcı were jailed for releasing books critical of the Gülen Movement. Released after prolonged sentences without reasonable cause, Şık, Şener and Avcı claimed they were targeted by Gülen Movement-linked prosecutors and judges who leveled charges of being members of a terrorist network without any concrete evidence.

Prominent figures in Turkey who raised their voices against the shadowy network over the years have faced lawsuits, such as Hanefi Avcı, Nedim Şener, Ahmet Şık.



#### NEDİM ŞENER

Columnist Şener, 50, who is known for reporting on corruption cases and the murder of Armenian-Turkish journalist Hrant Dink, was kept in pretrial detention for over one year and freed in March 2012 by Gülenist infiltrators in the judiciary since he wrote about Gülenist police officers' misconduct in Dink's murder.



#### HANEFİ AVCI

Avcı, 60, the former chief of police, wrote a book titled Haliç'te Yaşayan Simonlar" (The Simons Living in Haliç), in which he showed how FETO had infiltrated the police and manipulated key trials such as the Ergenekon trials through judges and prosecutors close to FETO. He was once close to Fethullah Gülen. Shortly after publishing his book, he was arrested based on false accusations.



PENNSYLVANIA

EUROPE

TURKEY

ASIA

AMERICA

AFRICA

AUSTRALIA

# FETO

## BREAKING UP A GLOBAL CRIMINAL WEB AROUND THE WORLD

### ■ PARALLEL STATE

#### ■ Infiltration into

Political parties with FETO-linked representatives

Military, police and judiciary

State bureaucracy

National Intelligence Agency

### ■ EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

■ Dormitories

■ Private schools

■ Prep schools

■ Student Houses

### ■ NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

#### ■ Humanitarian Aid foundations

Hundreds of relief organizations including Kimse Yok mu?, Helping Hands Relief Foundation, Embrace Relief

#### ■ Interfaith dialogue

Dozens of interfaith foundations including Dialogue Society, Rumi Forum, Atlantic Institute, Alliance for Shared Values, Peace Islands Institute, Dialogue Institute of the Southwest, Pacifica Institute

#### ■ Intellectual and cultural activities

Including famed Abant Platform, International Turkish Olympics, Journalists and Writers Foundation

### ■ ECONOMICAL ACTIVITIES

■ Bank

■ Finance Business

■ Insurance Companies

#### ■ Professional Associations and Business Networks / Confederations

Including Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), Ankara Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (ASAD)

### ■ MEDIA OUTLETS

#### ■ TV Stations

Tens of TV channels including Samanyolu TV, Samanyolu Haber TV, Kanaltürk, Mehtap TV, Ebru TV etc.

#### ■ Newspapers

Including Zaman, Today's Zaman, Meydan etc.

#### ■ Magazines / Journals

Including Turkish Review, Aksiyon Haber, Sızıntı (Fountain) etc.

#### ■ International News Agencies

Burç FM  
Samanyolu Haber  
Dünya Radio

#### ■ Websites

■ Bookstores

## DECODING THE GÜLENIST TERROR ORGANIZATION (FETO)

### SCHOOLS: MAIN SOURCE OF RECRUITS

There are more than 2,000 charter schools linked to the Gülen Movement in 160 countries, some of which have been shut down. Some of the charter schools in the U.S. are under several FBI probes in four states. The FBI does not comment on ongoing investigations. Charter schools linked to the Gülen Movement in the U.S. are facing several probes by the FBI in four states, although the FBI does not comment on ongoing probes. They reportedly concern improper business practices by the charter school chains, the largest of their kind in the country. Several schools affiliated with the movement have already closed. Since the coup attempt, the Turkish state has closed down hundreds of Gülen schools and dozens of Gülen Movement-affiliated universities. Almost all of these institutions were already under investigation, but the strong presence of Gülenist infiltrators in the judiciary and other parts of the state apparatus assured the investigations continue slowly. When asking a random person in a Turkish village if they know a member of the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETO), they would probably point to a member of their family or other relative and explain how that person joined the organization. The majority of recruits start when Anatolian families are deceived by members of the organization who promise to raise their children according to the morals of their faith to be useful citizens of the country.

### MEDIA EMPIRE A PROPAGANDA TOOL

During the years Gülenists infiltrated the state, they used Gülenist media outlets to justify their state of mind and to manipulate the people's perception. Promoting itself as the newspaper with the widest circulation for years, the Zaman newspaper was little more than a mouthpiece of a secret group of Gülenist conspirators led by Gülen that sold a few copies to the public and created a phantom readership through manipulation and coercion. It was not only Zaman, it had dozens of dailies, magazines and TV and radio stations to use for its manipulation operations. The media exposed Gülenists' false claims of having the best-selling newspaper and videos showed that Gülenist executives were recycling most of the print copies even before newspapers reached readers. They forced many people having sympathy for the movement to subscribe their newspaper, and they gave the newspaper for free to increase daily circulation.

However, although the numbers were false, the organization was able to open doors for itself in Turkey and abroad by saying that it had the country's best-selling newspaper. Anyone in Turkey has the right to defend their stance with their media, but creating news articles to be used against their opponents in criminal investigations, targeting all those who stood in its way and silencing critical people. The then editor-in-chief of Zaman, Ekrem Dumanlı, in a televised interview in September 2015, said that either Erdoğan would leave by his own free will or he would be pushed to leave the post.

### COMPULSORY DONATIONS, EXPLOITING FUNDRAISING TO FINANCE ORGANIZATION

It is compulsory for the members of the organization to pay 20 percent of their income to those in charge in the hierarchy or directly to one of their fundraising organizations, such as the charity foundation Kimse Yok Mu. The FETO has dozens of charity organizations and investigations revealed that these did not register charity donations in its bank account and took donations abroad without the knowledge of related government institutions. FETO used charity money taken from its members for the organization's secret agenda.

### SECRET AGENDAS OF GÜLEN'S INTERFAITH ACTIVITIES

In the name of advocating peace, Gülen and his followers run numerous interfaith dialogue societies, such as the U.S.-based Rumi Forum and the Dialogue Society branches across the Europe. The organization – which is not welcomed by the majority of Muslim societies – uses the interfaith dialogue as a tool in the Western world, to push those countries tolerating their activities.

### BUREAUCRACY: NO NEED FOR POLITICAL PARTY TO FIDDLE

Looking at all the developments since the 1970s, including the coups in 1980 and 1997, which Gülen supported, Gülen did not establish a political party, but rather lent support to those who were in power. However, his stance of siding with the ruling party ended when he thought he had become powerful enough due to having agents in all segments of the state to topple the government in 2013. When considering ousting the leader of the main opposition party through a sex tape scandal, wiretapping thousands of people, including top government and military officials, and infiltrators in all political parties, Gülen apparently thought it was time to have complete power over politics and the bureaucracy.

He then started looking for new allies, from ultra-nationalist figures to leftists and pro-Kurdish politicians. Although his followers in the judiciary sent thousands of Kurds to prison in the famed Kurdish Communities Union (KCK) case in 2011 and 2012, Gülen and his media extended support to a political party representing these people in the latest elections. The sole aim was to curb support for the ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party) that fights to cleanse the Gülenist "virus" from the country.

## FETHULLAH GÜLEN

The self-exiled, former imam, and author who leads the Gülen Movement, which Ankara declared to be a terrorist organization. He and his followers call him the "imam of the universe." He claims to speak with god and the prophet to convince his followers that he is the *Mahdi*, the Islamic version of a messiah.

### PIRLANTA (DIAMOND)

The name of the Gülen's series of books, which is ordered by imams to be read by followers on a regular basis.

### ALTIN NESİL (THE GOLDEN GENERATION)

According to the Gülen Movement, it is the ideal generation, who are educated in Hizmet's houses, dormitories and schools.

### TUSKON

The abbreviation of The Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists that is connected to the FETO. It controls businesses and organization around the world.

### DIALOGUE

Uses dialogue as a mean to cover its irregular activities and convince those countries to tolerate their presence.

### RUMI FORUM

The Rumi Forum for Interfaith Dialogue and Intercultural Understanding is a U.S.-based, Gülenist forum that aims to advertise the Gülenist Movement in the U.S. The Rumi Forum's website says its honorary president is Fethullah Gülen. The website has separate chapters to introduce Gülen, the movement, and Gülen schools in the U.S., including the testimonials of politicians, jurists, and academics on the movement.

### TURKISH CULTURE CENTERS (TCC)

One of the branches of the FETO in the United States that pretends to spread Turkish culture to the world.

### TEDBİR/TAKİYYE

Being precautious is common even for junior followers like house imams, students and house *abis* and *ablas* of the Gülen Movement. Followers familiarize certain precautions such as never keeping their cellphones with them at their consultation meetings, disposing notes right after and using keywords in their phone calls. In the system an *abi* or *abla* can only meet a higher ranking follower after getting a reference. Training for undercover work starts at an early and impressionable age. Followers who have high positions in the state or military hide their connection with the Gülen Movement as well. Gülen has given fatwas to his followers to do anything to hide their involvement with the FETO. One fatwa says his Muslim followers drink alcohol, not pray and not wear headscarves.

### FETO

The abbreviation for the Gülenist Terror Organization.

### HİZMET (SERVICE)

Service in Turkish. It is the word Gülenists use for the Gülen Movement.

### HİMMET

The word for 'donation' in Turkish is used by FETO. It is the money the organization gets from its members to contribute to the organization in the name of God. Himmets makes up 20 percent of the organization's income .

### MÜTEVELLİ

Mütevellis are the high-ranking people who financially fund the FETO.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Fethullah Gülen, the leader of the FETO, left Turkey in 1999 to seek medical treatment in the U.S.. Since then, he has been living in a complex located in Saylorsburg, in rural Pennsylvania, where he uses as a base to operate the FETO and where his followers visit him regularly.

# FETO DICTIONARY

## STRUCTURE OF THE IMAM SYSTEM

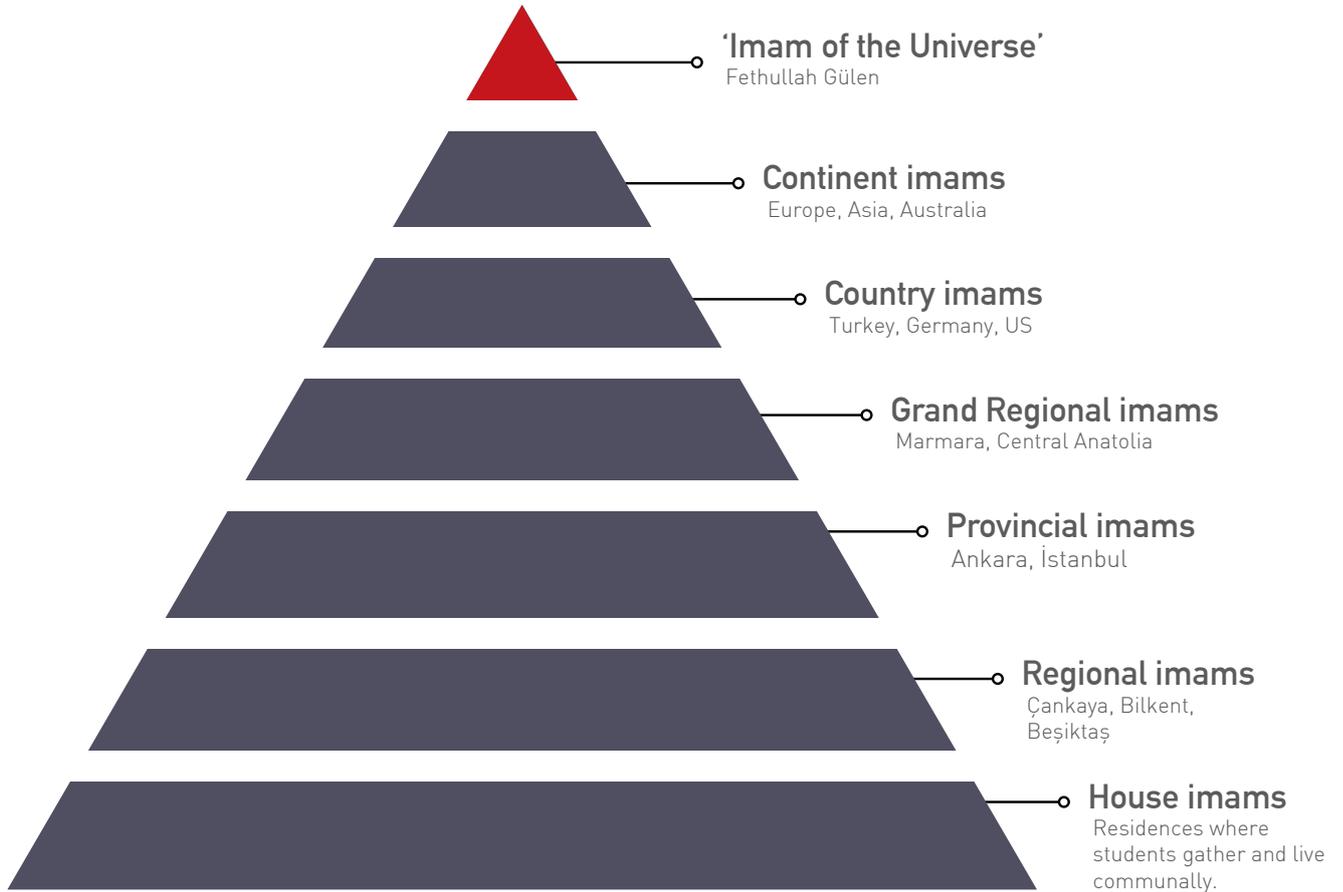
### IMAM SYSTEM

The system, which is hierarchically similar to a pyramid system and is the chain of command, is the main structure of FETO.

### ABI/ABLA (BROTHER / SISTER)

Gülenists are in a hierarchic manner appointed as responsible for specific locations from schools to regions. *Abi's* are responsible for men while *abla's* are responsible for women. They conduct their organizational works in their locations in an hierarchical order.

Each imam is an *abi*, but not every *abi* can be an imam.



## GÜLEN'S USE OF SUPERSTITIONS CRITICIZED

The FETO's promotion of superstitions, sorcery and dream interpretation has been particularly criticized, as many critiques claim the movement is withdrawing from reality to avoid facing the fact that its strength is decreasing as it is economically, socially and psychologically shrinking. Last year saw leaked recordings of Gülen's phone conversation with an official from the pro-Gülenist Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON). In the phone conversation, the official tells Gülen that

Prophet Muhammad told him to double the amount of tweets, and Gülen responded: "Do whatever he tells you to do."

His followers also claimed that the prophet was present at the Turkish Olympics organized by the Gülen Movement. This claim was published in an online article, which says that Gülen received many letters about the prophet attending the Turkish Olympics. "Believe me, our beloved prophet has honored our organization," Gülen was quoted as saying.



A video of Fethullah Gülen released in 1999 shows him calling on his followers to "move within the arteries of the system, without anyone noticing your existence, until you reach all the power centers... You must wait until you seize the entire state power."

## EVIDENCE

### COUP PLOTTERS TRIED TO CONVINCEN GEN AKAR TO SPEAK TO GÜLEN

Chief of General Staff Gen. Akar said in his testimony that the putschists tried to make him speak to Gülen. Akar said that Brig. Gen. Hakan Evrim tried to convince him to talk to Gülen during the coup attempt, but he refused to do so. He added that he tried to persuade coup officers to give up their attempt before anyone was killed.

### GÜLENIST POLICE OFFICER IN MILITARY UNIFORM

A video released after the thwarted coup shows a FETO-linked police officer who had been suspended during an earlier "parallel structure" probe over political espionage, but was reinstated, entering a tank deployed outside the Istanbul Police Department on the night of July 15. This is an evidence of the coup tanks were operated by FETO.

### TEXT MESSAGES

According to the Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, authorities uncovered text messages on a telephone belonging to Zeki T., one of the former police chiefs held as part of the coup probe. The messages said that "abiler" (brothers) should disobey the police orders. "All should head to General Staff, all of you contact each other, inform one another, even the retired ones. All retired ones in Ankara take their guns and shoot all resisters."

### GÜLENIST THEOLOGY PROFESSOR CAUGHT AT AIR BASE

Adil Öksüz, an assistant professor of theology at Sakarya University and an alleged senior member of the Gülen Movement there, was caught at Akıncı Air Base, north of Ankara, on July 16. During his interrogation, Öksüz claimed he was there to inspect land he intended to buy. However, it turns out that he had arrived in Turkey from a foreign country two days before the failed coup attempt.



High rank Gülenist military officials were detained on the night of the coup attempt

### TOP AIDE-DE-CAMP ADMITS LOYALTY TO GÜLEN

In testimony given to prosecutors in Ankara, Lt. Col. Levent Türkkan, the aide-de-camp to Chief of General Staff Gen. Akar, admitted to having links to the FETO. Türkkan said he has been a loyal member of the Gülen Movement since his youth. "I have obeyed the orders and instructions of *abi* (brother) exactly," he said.

He also confessed to spying on former Chief of Staff Gen. Necdet Özel between 2011 and 2015. Türkkan said he initially served as a deputy aid and later became an aide-de-camp after his chief retired. Türkkan said he fulfilled the Gülen Movement's orders after becoming a close aide in the General Staff. "I was spying on [former] Chief of Staff Necdet Özel all the time. I put a bug in the room in the morning and took it back in the evening hours," Türkkan said. "The device has its own capacity and could wiretap for 10 to 15 hours."

### COUP OFFICERS' WIVES WERE EXAM SUSPECTS

There is evidence that the wives of two coup suspects, Haldun Gülmez and Recep Zafer, were among those investigated in another FETO-linked case, a 2010 civil service recruitment exam scandal.

According to judicial sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, the two women are among 580 female suspects who are all wives of military officers who reportedly answered all the questions correctly on the 2010 exam. The FETO is accused of providing the answers to its members.

### GÜLEN'S DAMNATION DOCUMENT FOUND

Police discovered that Captain Haldun Gülmez of the Naval Forces, a member of the assault team whose mission was to capture Erdoğan, was carrying a document containing a *beddua*, a prayer of damnation that Gülen recites to curse the government.

### A SERGEANT ASKED "IS EVERYONE IN HERE FROM HİZMET (SERVICE) MOVEMENT?"

Sergeant Zekeriya Kuzu, who was FETO-linked military official within the army, confessed in his testimony that they took the money of the police officers they killed during the coup night. "We took the police officers' money and pockets. We later saw that the money we took was around 1500TL," he said. Kuzu continued saying that a FETO-linked sergeant named İsmail asked the soldiers: "Is everyone in here from Hizmet (Service) Movement?"

# FIRST TESTIMONIES OF COUP PLOTTERS

## Gürsel Aktepe

Former vice director of the intelligence department asked to invoke the effective remorse law and gave dozens of FETO-linked names from the intelligence department.

## Ebubekir Başel

State council investigation judge, said that he met with Gülenists at high school and began to go to the Işık Evleri (Light Houses) back then. He was assigned as an “abi,” imam and regional imam, or O3 imam – the “abi” who prepares secondary school students for military schools.

## Erdal Karlıdağ

A major in the Ankara Provincial Gendarmerie Commandership and an intelligence officer staff section chief, said in his testimony that they were informed about the plan and that he wanted to benefit from the repentance law. “On [the] Wednesday [before the coup attempt], two people came to my home. Among them, Halil told me that a list consisting of 3,000 gendarmerie forces who are active and in favor of the FETO, including me, are prepared and that those who are on the list will be dismissed in the upcoming Supreme Military Council [YAŞ] meeting in August. We went to a park in Anıttepe and met Lt. Col. Süleyman Karaca there. There was also Murat [Düzenli], commander of the district gendarmerie forces. They informed us that there will be an action on Friday and instructed us to go to Türksat [national satellite company compound] at Gölbaşı [in Ankara].”

## Kemal Işıklı

Banking regulation and supervision agency specialist, said: “I am an ‘abi’ in the Fethullah Gülen organization. I managed underwater demolition commandos.”

## Fatih Celaledin Sağır

Commander of an infantry brigade in the central city of Sivas, was among the list of people the coup plotters planned to assign as martial law commander if the coup succeeded. Sağır confessed he was connected to the FETO in his interrogation by prosecutors. According to his statements published by Ihlas News Agency, Sağır said he often attended the meetings of Gülen followers, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, and served “the movement” for 10 years. He claimed he distanced himself from Gülenists after 2007, especially following the sham trials masterminded by Gülenists to imprison military officers.

## Levent Türkkan

Lt. Col. Levent Türkkan, the aide-de-camp to Chief of General Staff Gen. Akar said: “I joined the Gülen Movement for the sake of God and to be beneficial to our motherland and nation. First I was only attached through spiritual, religious tasks, however they told me to act privately when the task of spying on the chief of General Staff began. When they were spying on the chief of General Staff, they said that too was for God’s sake and for good, and I believed them. Also, as they educated me and brought me to my current position, I was acting out of gratitude.”

## Mustafa Koçyiğit

Prime Ministry specialist said: “I met with the organization I knew as the Fethullah Gülen community at university. I was a successful student, I went to community pre-university schools... When I first met with Selman abi he wanted me to choose the code name that I will use. I chose “Arif,” and from then on the people who I am contacted within those operations know me as Arif.

# POST-COUP ERA IN TURKEY

## TSK TO PURGE GÜLENIST SOLDIERS

The measures, which will soon be applied and issued as statutory decrees, will initially address military high schools that have been serving as FETO's human resources. While the military high schools are temporarily closed, the TSK will recruit 250,000 soldiers from public high schools to replace the purged Gülenist soldiers. Additionally, the Presidential Guard regiment will be disbanded as part of counterterrorism measures being taken to stop Gülenist infiltration. The TSK's 2033 Action Plan further includes promoting current colonels who are not force commanders to the command echelon. The promotion of colonels to the command echelon of the General Staff will be in accordance with their personal history and achievements. With a statutory decree, the promotion criteria in the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) Personnel Law were reformed. With the reform, the prime minister will be able to promote military personnel if there is a dire need for a high-ranking officer. The new law allows generals to be promoted almost instantly if need be.

## POTENTIAL REPEATED INFILTRATION TO BE PREVENTED

Following the failed coup attempt by the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETO), which resulted in the deaths of 246 police officers, soldiers and civilians, the Turkish Armed Forces' (TSK) 2033 Action Plan will undergo extensive revisions, including closure of military high schools, transferring Gülhane Military Medical Academy (GMMA) and military hospitals to the Ministry of Health as well as disbanding the Presidential Guard regiment. While an investigation is underway to find links between Gülenists and coup officers, incidents including the discovery of a FETO-linked former police officer inside a tank targeting civilians and confessions from officers have already revealed connections. In this respect, the TSK is taking extensive measures to prevent any potential repeated Gülenist infiltration.

## ANKARA ASKS US TO EXTRADITE GÜLEN

Turkish authorities are demanding the extradition of FETO leader Fethullah Gülen, who lives in rural Pennsylvania, to Turkey for trial for his role in the failed coup attempt. U.S. authorities require concrete evidence linking him to the crimes he is accused of. Ankara has formally asked for Gülen's extradition and will provide the necessary evidence in the near future. The U.S. State Department offered its assistance to Turkish authorities in the extradition process as well as forming a joint team to work through the process. Speaking to reporters on July 21, State Department spokesman John Kirby said: "We have offered, as the Justice Department has offered, to assist Turkish authorities as they work through this extradition process. We've even offered to host a team, a Turkish team, here or to send a team there, a joint team, to help them work through the process."

## STATE OF EMERGENCY

Three questions on the state of emergency

### What is the scope of the state of emergency?

Under Article 120 of the Constitution, in the event of serious indications of widespread acts of violence aimed at the destruction of the free democratic order, a state of emergency can be declared in one or more regions or nationwide for a period not to exceed six months.

### Why was a state of emergency announced?

The purpose of the state of emergency is to most effectively and swiftly take steps necessary to eliminate the FETO threat to the country's democracy, the rule of law and the rights and freedom of citizens. To expedite and facilitate the process of legislation in order to eliminate the FETO threat easily are among the reasons behind the declaration of state of emergency.

### Who will have increased power with the state of emergency?

In addition to the president and Cabinet, governors will receive increased powers under the state of emergency as the Armed Forces will work in line with government orders.

**238 DEAD**

170 CIVILIANS  
63 POLICE  
5 SOLDIERS

**2,190 INJURED**

2,030 CIVILIANS  
139 POLICE  
21 SOLDIERS

Number of plotters injured  
**49**

Number of plotters dead  
**34**

MORE THAN  
**10,000 ARRESTED**

**6,314**  
SOLDIERS

**1,797**  
POLICE

**93**  
CIVILIANS

**2,136**  
JUDGE/  
PROSECUTORS





## IN MEMORY OF DEMOCRACY MARTYRS

İlhan Varank, **Ahmet Kocabay**, Emrah Sağır, **Mehmet Şefik Şefkatlioğlu**, Türkmen Tekin, **Hüseyin Kısa**, Muhammed Ali Aksu, **Mahir Ayabak**, Zekeriya Bitmez, **Ümit Yolcu**, Akın Sertçelik, **Erol Olçok**, Abdullah Tayyip Olçok, **Mete Sertbaş**, Tahsin Gerekli, **Muhammet Ambar**, Çetin Can, **Askeri Çoban**, Samit Uslu, **Burhan Öner**, Fatih Satır, **Yalçın Aran**, Şeyhmus Demir, **İsmail Kefal**, Mustafa Kaymakçı, **Onur Kılıç**, Osman Yılmaz, **Recep Büyük**, Mehmet Yılmaz, **Gökhan Esen**, Mehmet Ali Kılıç, **Kemal Ekşi**, Halil Kantarcı, **İbrahim Yılmaz**, Murat Kocatürk, **Erkan Pala**, Onur Ensar Ayanoğlu, **Muhammed Fazlı Demir**, Murat Demirci, **Muharrem Kerem Yıldız**, Halil İbrahim Yıldırım, **Şuayip Seferoğlu**, Kader Sivri, **Servet Asmaz**, Cemal Demir, **Adil Büyükcengiz**, Mustafa Direkli, **Recep Gündüz**, Ayşe Aykaç, **Vedat Barcegci**, Burak Cantürk, **Fahrettin Yavuz**, Erdem Diker, **Metin Arslan**, Murat Akdemir, **Murat Naiboğlu**, Mahmut Coşkunsu, **Şirin Diril**, Batuhan Ergin, **Mustafa Cambaz**, Erkan Yiğit, **Sedat Kaplan**, Ahmet Özsoy, **Ali Anar**, Ali İhsan Lezgi, **Ali Karslı**, Ali Mehmet Ürel, **Edip Zengin**, Emrah Sapa, **Fazıl Gürs**, Fuat Bozkurt, **Hakan Gülşen**, Hakan Ünver, **Hasan Yılmaz**, Hüseyin Güntekin, **İbrahim Ateş**, Lokman Biçinci, **Lütfü Gülşen**, Mehmet Gülşen, **Mustafa Avcu**, Mustafa Özgür Kabasakal (Şahbaz), **Mustafa Yaman**, Muzaffer Aydoğdu, **Yılmaz Ercan**, Ömer Takdemir, **Ömer Can Açıkgöz**, Ramazan Konuş, **Samet Cantürk**, Serhat Önder, **Uhud Işık**, Ümit Çoban, **Ümit Güder**, Yasin Naci Ağaroğlu, **Yasin Yılmaz**, Yusuf Elitaş, **Barış Efe**, Yunus Emre, **Mehmet Güder**, Murat Mertel, **Hasan Kaya**.