

THE TRIUMPH OF TURKISH DEMOCRACY

THE JULY 15 COUP ATTEMPT AND ITS AFTERMATH

BURHANETTİN DURAN

FAHRETTİN ALTUN



SETA

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The Triumph of Turkish Democracy

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BURHANETTİN DURAN & FAHRETTİN ALTUN (EDS.)

SETA

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FOREWORD

The night of July 15 was the longest night of Turkish Democracy. On that night members of the Fetullah Gülen Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) which has been infiltrating the Turkish Armed Forces for about four decades tried to stage a military coup to overthrow the democratically elected government and suspend the constitution of the Turkish Republic.

On that horrific night FETÖ members committed heinous crimes against Turkish civilians who took to the streets to protect Turkish democracy and its constitution. The crimes perpetrated by FETÖ members were unprecedented in Turkish history. For the first time in Turkish Republic history which saw many military coups, terror waves and civil unrest, the Turkish parliament was bombed while it was in session by F-16 fighter jets and attack helicopters. It was clear from the first hours of this attempt that the Gülen military coup members were willing and desperate enough to commit any crime in order to achieve their goal. In this spirit, they assaulted the Presidential Palace, the Police and Turkish Intelligence headquarters with heavy weapons and tried to assassinate President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The turning point of that night was when President Erdoğan called Turkish citizens to the streets to protect the country's democratic order. All the political leaders in the country also joined this declaration and called their supporters to the streets. Facing this public outrage the coup plotters chose to massacre civilians on the street in order to gain control of the country. CNN Türk, TRT and many other public and private TV channels were also raided by FETÖ members and a female TRT anchor was forced to read a coup declaration at gunpoint.

In the course of this night, the Gülen coup attempt was defeated mainly by the peaceful civil disobedience of Turkish citizens from all segments of Turkish society. During this night, Turkish people realized that the democratic order of their country was in danger of being abolished by the followers of a false messiah. They realized that this was also an assault on their freedom, independence, and the future of their children. That's why they were ready to sacrifice their lives – a sacrifice that they made. The tally of the casualties was shocking: FETÖ members massacred 240 people, of which 173 were civilians and injured another 2,195 civilians.

There is no question that this bloody coup attempt is the greatest national trauma that Turkey has witnessed since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. The Turkish public was outraged by the fact that FETÖ members disguised as Turkish soldiers killed Turkish citizens with the weapons that were meant to be used in defence of the country and bought with Turkish citizen's tax money.

The weak reaction and statements of our long-standing allies such as the USA, EU, NATO and many European countries was even more shocking for the Turkish people. The biggest shock came, however, when many Western media outlets, think tanks and politicians started a smear campaign against Turkish citizens and Turkish politicians who courageously defeated a bloody coup attempt and saved the democratic political order in the country. Facing this media campaign many Turkish intellectuals, politicians and academics from

different political backgrounds rightly felt abandoned by our allies who clearly betrayed their democratic ideals.

SETA as the leading think tank in Turkey felt an urgent need to address this problem. There is no question that there is a great deal of misunderstanding in Europe and the United States about what happened in Turkey during this night, what it means for Turkish people and the steps that have been taken to remove FETÖ members from Turkish state institutions and eliminate this threat entirely. The aim of this book is to overcome the prejudice and the misunderstanding against Turkey by analysing the events that took place on that night and the developments that followed.

The first chapter attempts to show how ordinary people in Turkey fought against the coup attempt on July 15 under the leadership of President Erdoan. The second chapter deals specifically with the messianic aspects of the Gülenist Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) by describing how a religious movement became an illegal organization and attempted to stage a coup against the democratically elected government of Turkey and its president. The third chapter explains the motivation of the people taking to the streets. The fourth chapter further evaluates how the Western governments and media intentionally misrepresented the developments of July 15. In the last chapter, the spirit of Yenikapı in which millions of people gathered in the meeting against the coup attempt is analyzed and the question of “what is next?” for Turkey in its struggle against FETÖ is answered.

This edited volume was compiled with the efforts of SETA people in a short period of time. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all of our contributors for their timely and precise contribution.

Burhanettin Duran and Fahrettin Altun

Istanbul, August 2016

ONE THE JULY 15 COUP
ATTEMPT:
THE LONGEST NIGHT
AND BEYOND

GÜLENIST COUP FAILED, DEMOCRACY WON

FAHRETTİN ALTUN*

On July 15 at 9:48 p.m., a news portal sent me a ‘breaking news’ message from its social media account: “Troops in front of Beylerbeyi Palace: Martial law declared. Everybody, go home!” The message was familiar for someone who knows the history of military coups in Turkey. Interestingly, the sender of the message was familiar too. The message was posted on a website called Haberdar, one of the Gülenist Terror Organization’s (FETÖ) media bases. After the announcement, the website started to post articles trying to prove that the military had carried out “a successful coup in the chain of command.”

Precisely 12 minutes after the FETÖ news outlet shared the “successful coup” message, it was heard that tanks were positioned to cut off traffic on the Boğazici and Fatih Sultan Mehmet bridges in İstanbul, and in a few minutes people began to share the information that warplanes were flying low over Ankara. Soon it was heard that helicopters were opening fire on the headquarters of the Turkish Armed Forces and the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), both in Ankara. Police and troops began to clash around public buildings in different parts of the country. Less than 30 minutes after the coup announcement, claims that the Ataturk Airport in İstanbul was besieged by tanks and that the control tower had been seized by the pro-coup soldiers began to circulate.

From the very moment that rumors of “soldiers attempting a coup” began spreading on social media and photos of the tanks placed at the entrance of the two bridges in İstanbul were shared, clear messages were broadcasted by the Turkish authorities. Before the coup plotters got a chance to force TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) to read the coup announcement, Prime Minister Binali

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Yıldırım went live on A Haber at 11:05 p.m. and said that a group of soldiers within the Turkish Armed Forces had undertaken an unlawful attempt to seize control, but that the government was on duty and the citizens must protect democracy. He tenaciously highlighted that the coup attempt was being executed outside the chain of command. TV channels started announcing that a junta led by the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ) was behind the coup attempt. By the time the pro-coup terrorists seized the TRT building and forced the anchorwoman to read the coup announcement at gunpoint, the atmosphere that they had planned to create could no longer exist. People already knew that “they were faced by a terrorist organization nested in the Turkish Armed Forces.” Thus, the coup plotters were firstly defeated in the media war.

But the essential move that thwarted the coup attempt came from President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who joined a live broadcast on CNN Türk via videophone and called on the Turkish public to stand up against the coup plotters, to defend democracy and foil the coup. Erdoğan implicated the Gülenist factions within the army in initiating the attempt and clearly underlined that the government was in charge. This call was enough to make people take to the streets. Thousands of civilians all around Turkey showed great courage by crowding the streets, filling up public squares, walking on tanks, and taking the guns of the pro-coup soldiers from their hands. Civilians not only crowded the streets, but also provided moral support to the government’s legitimate security forces. The people’s determination encouraged the security forces to fight more decisively against the pro-coup terrorists wearing soldier uniforms.

That night, Turkey experienced one of the biggest crises in the history of its democracy. Even though Turkey has experienced military coups and barbarous attacks by terrorist organizations before, this was the first time that the country faced a military coup at-

tempt by a terrorist organization that had infiltrated the state. This attempt was managed by a “cleric” residing in the American state of Pennsylvania, whose followers see him not as an ordinary person but as a messianic figure. Following his lead, the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ) mobilized its cells in the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) and attempted to plunge a dagger into the heart of Turkey’s democracy.

Turkey’s political history has undergone many interruptions due to myriad coups. In 1960, 1971, 1980, 1997 and 2007, we were subjected to military interventions; we have been told for years that “Turkey’s political history is the history of coups.” Tanks would head to the streets, they would seize public buildings, the state radio and television would broadcast a “coup announcement,” and finally, state and government officials would be arrested and a new era would begin. Exceptionally, it was in 2007 that Turkey saw for the first time that civilian politicians could frustrate a military intervention and repel the army. In 2007, a controversial statement was released on the website of the Turkish Armed Forces. It came to be known as the ‘e-memorandum,’ and aimed at intervening in the Turkish presidential elections. Then, the government authorities took the necessary steps, made counter-statements, reminded the true place of the army in a democratic country and thus obstructed a military intervention in Turkish politics.

But this time, another first was experienced: the Gülenist junta members, a small but influential faction within the Turkish Armed Forces, resorted to brutal force and used violent means to crack the people’s resistance. Coup plotters ran over people with tanks; deliberately opened fire on selected civilians; closed down the Bosphorus and Fatih Sultan Mehmet bridges in İstanbul; captured the Ataturk Airport and canceled the flights; they raided the official state television TRT, and forced a “coup memorandum” that was clearly a reminiscent of the Sept. 12, 1980 coup to be read on live

TV. They attempted to seize the Justice and Development Party's (AK Party) provincial centers. Moreover, they tried to assassinate the president and the prime minister; bombed the Turkish Grand National Assembly; attacked the Turkish General Staff of Military, the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), the Police Special Operations Center, and the Police Academy in Ankara with the state's guns and bombs in an attempt to topple the democratically-elected, legitimate government. Unfortunately, more than two hundred civilians and security personnel lost their lives resisting the coup, and more than two thousand were injured. But at the end of the day, the junta was brought down and once again, democracy won.

MAIN TENETS OF A FAILED COUP ATTEMPT

VEYSEL KURT*

On the night of July 15, 2016, a group of coup plotters organized within the body of the Turkish military, using terrorizing and violent means, embarked on a military coup attempt in order to seize the political authority of Turkey. Following the reactions from different ranks and branches of the army, it was understood that the plotters violated the chain of command and the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces and the rest of the army did not take part in the coup attempt. Therefore it appeared to be an attempt by a small faction from the very early hours and President Erdoğan stated that the coup attempt was controlled by FETÖ (the Fetullahist Terror Organization). Turkey has a history of military coups; however the July 15 coup attempt, in many aspects, can be distinguished from the coups and juntas of 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997. The most striking difference being that, the plotters used terrorizing means such as opening fire against the people in the streets from tanks and helicopters. However, the fact that they have used these means does not mean that they cannot be considered as a junta.

Considering the military units that took part in the action on the night of July 15, the junta planned to mobilize a large number of military troops. A big part of the commando and combatant brigades, almost all of the airbases and the whole of the naval forces except the submarine flotilla, were planned to be set in motion. Relying on the information revealed on July 16, the aides of the President, Chief of Staff, and of the Commanders of the armed forces all took part in the junta together with the soldiers on active duty who hold critical positions such as intelligence and information services units. A crucial point here is that the junta met with resistance in almost all of these units. Later on it was revealed that

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even the most minimal amount of resistance had a significant negative impact on the conduct of the coup attempt. In operational terms, the junta operated within the frame of a three-stage plan. The first stage was to take control of the headquarters of army general staff. The second stage was designed to obtain the control in the whole country. The third one was to declare martial law and to establish the political and social order anew. When each stage is looked at individually, it is possible to find clues on how the coup process would proceed and on why it would eventually fail.

In the first stage, the target was to gain the control of the headquarters of army general staff. To this end, the Chief-of-Staff and the Commanders of the Armed Forces were taken hostage. The main purpose here was to stage the coup, first of all, in the chain of command. This was the reason why forcible attempts were made to make the Chief of Staff and the Commanders sign the declaration prepared by the usurpers. However the resistance they faced made it impossible. Despite that, the junta did not renounce their attempt, retained the top rank of the army, and tried to take control of the military headquarters. The counteraction of the First Army against the junta on the ground was the most visible sign of this non-compliance. In addition many high ranking commanders went live on TV declaring that they are against any coup attempt. That hindered the full control of the junta on the general staff HQ.

The second stage was designed to gain the control on the ground in the whole country. To this end the junta deployed tanks to strategic locations such as the Bosphorus Bridge, Atatürk Airport, and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Simultaneously the troops listed above took action. Taking the control of the strategic points and institutions in Ankara and İstanbul was very significant. That's why they intervened at the National Intelligence Organization and the units of Security General Directorate

with artillery. The special operation command in Gölbaşı and security general directorates in Ankara and İstanbul were the first targets. An attempt to take over the Special Forces Command of the Army was also made. However in all of these points, there was a strong resistance against the rebel groups. Therefore from the very first moment, the junta faced a swift resistance in all of the points it tried to take control of, particularly in the Headquarters of the General Command. At the same time, the junta made a move to neutralize President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In a program at CNN International, Erdoğan said that “it was an attempt of assassination or detainment; I escaped in the last instance” adding that two of his guards were martyred. The junta’s inability to detain and neutralize Erdoğan, who is both President and the Chief Commander, became a turning point for the failure of the coup attempt.

Another attempt of the junta was directed at media channels; in order to make the declaration of a coup and psychologically have the upper hand, media control is essential. In this regard, the control of the national channel TRT and the reading of the coup declaration from there were important to the junta and they succeeded in doing that. Contrary to the expected practice of reading of the coup declaration by juntaists, they forced a speaker to read it. However as it was featured only in one TRT channel, it did not have a significant psychological impact. The appearance of the President, the Prime Minister, Ministers, Top Commanders, and several high rank officials on other TV channels ensured that the junta failed to take control over the public through the media.

The failure of the coup attempt can be evaluated through four factors. First is the popular resistance against the coup, second is the powerful political leadership and the third one is the operational activity. While these three factors formed the resistance bloc, the media is the fourth factor which broadcasted in

compliance with the three resisting actors. The activity of each factor in terms of resisting the coup attempt can be summarized as follows:

The very first sign of the coup was the closing of the two bridges in İstanbul by tanks. People, who suspected a coup as a result of the closing, began to gather in the critical points occupied by the juntaist forces and intervened in the situation. The popular resistance in the critical locations such as airports, bridges, security headquarters and the Presidential Campus precluded the juntaist activity from succeeding. Furthermore, the resistance of the people that never ceased, even under the heavy gunfire of the juntaist forces, contributed to the gaining of the upper hand by the security forces. The active popular resistance also helped in the gaining of the psychological edge. The stance of the people despite the reading of the coup declaration on TRT and taking back control of TRT from the juntaist forces provided one of the most critical victories to the civilian resistance. In brief, the people used all the opportunities available to thwart the coup attempt without resorting to arms and without harming public or private properties, displaying an effective performance of civilian resistance.

The second factor has been the strong leadership of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. His appearance on TV at the most critical moments of the coup attempt stating that he stands against the coup by any means and calling people out onto the streets to protect the Turkish democracy was significant from two aspects. Firstly that provided a strong motivation to the people resisting the coup. His appearance fused the different anti-coup groups together for the sole purpose: to bring about the failure of the coup attempt. The second factor that reversed the crisis in the early hours was Erdogan's taking the risk of flying to İstanbul while the juntaist F16 war planes were in-flight. With his coming to İstanbul, the civilian initiative and the operational units on the

ground united with the political leadership. In addition to that the integrated actions of the cabinet members and the President, was important for managing the process efficiently. Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, as well as other ministers, went live on the TV and openly declared that they will stand against the coup resulting in the mobilization of the public. The support from the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, Devlet Bahçeli also had a significant contribution to the popular resistance in the streets.

The third factor that hindered the coup attempt was the mobilization of security units. Together with the Special Operations Unit, mobilization of all the facilities of internal security organizations provided a capacity to counter the juntaist forces. The resistance of most of the units in the Turkish Army, primarily that of the Special Forces Unit, and the public statements of the army high-ranks against the coup attempt, helped people to realize the exaggerated capacity of the junta and contributed to the decisiveness of the resisting groups. The rescue of the Turkish Chief of Staff and the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces by the Special Forces Unit were significant for regaining the ground control.

The coming together of these three factors into one bloc drew the media over to that side. The broadcast of the popular resistance and not supporting the coup attempt in Ankara and İstanbul from the very initial moments had a high motivational impact over the people. The negation of the enforcedly read coup declaration at TRT, or partial coverage of it in other channels exposed an important deficit of the juntaists: They could control neither the ground nor the media. Withdrawal from the raided buildings of TRT and Doğan Media Group showed that the anti-coup bloc had the upper hand.

Considering all the process so far, the coup attempt had no legitimate political ground. Turkey is governed by a President who achieved 52% and a government that received 49.5% of the over-

all votes. The people of Turkey have come to a point where they can reflect on political and social events rapidly. The government and the security units have been carrying out effective operations against the terrorist organizations. While there were hot public debates on the one hand, there has been a process of social solidarity and cohesion. The opposition has been alive and well. The media, for the first time in the history of Turkey, has been free to use the harshest tones against the ruling party. The economy has stable indicators. In this current political, social, and economic environment, the anti-coup bloc mobilized and thwarted the coup attempt.

JULY 15 MARKS THE BIRTH OF A BRAND-NEW PERIOD

BURHANETTİN DURAN*

On the night of Friday the 15th of July 2016, Turkey bore witness to a coup attempt plotted by the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ). The coup attempters, who seized control of some critical institutions and spots in İstanbul and Ankara by force of arms, were repelled thanks to the people's democratic reflexes and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leadership. The efforts exerted by the Police Department and the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) played a crucial role in quelling the insurrection in a context where a considerable part of the army did not support the anti-coup struggle. What the coup plotters failed to take into account was the Turkish people's willingness to sacrifice their lives in order to protect the Turkish democracy. The coup plotters exaggerated the differences of opinion and fragmentations within Turkish society to justify their actions.

Courageous people defending Turkish democracy by standing up against the tanks, while their bodies were targeted by bullets, have been recorded in the glorious pages of our history. The democratic reaction shown by all segments of society has constructed a myth and demonstrated how strong and developed the political consciousness of our nation is.

I bore witness to the determination of honorable people who marched towards the Bosphorus Bridge despite deadly gunfire from tanks. We have obtained a lot of technical data explaining the reasons for the coup attempters' failure. However, the main reason for their failure was their inability and incompetence in analyzing Turkish politics. They did not predict that the Turkish people would strongly embrace the statesmen they elected, their institutions, their future and more importantly their homeland. The

* General Coordinator, SETA

Turkish people protected their willpower with their reactions on that night, proving that only they can change the ruling power in the country.

The dissent toward Erdoğan, which has been consumed by opposition groups for a while, was the main factor that misled the coup attempters. The coup plotters exaggerated the effect of this factor and were caught by its illusion. They assumed that the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) dissidents would unite for the coup. They hoped they would meet overt or covert support of various societal segments if they could form a dissident alliance with the army. They thought secular, leftist, nationalist or Alevi citizens would take to the streets to support the coup. FETÖ members underestimated the difference between providing capital to opponents and forming an alliance for a coup led by them. They ignored the political consciousness of AK Party proponents, ignored what they learned from the Feb. 28 process, the 2007 memorandum and the Dec. 17 judicial coup attempt. This fault represents an irrational mindset that valorizes its own role to an almost messianic degree.

With its pluralism, level of development and dynamism above all, today's Turkey is in a sophisticated position that cannot be ruled by a coup regime. In this regard, the main aspects that prevented the coup are the foresight of political institutions, media and civil society and the common sense of the people, who know very well that a coup can only bring chaos and civil war. I can refer to that as the "profound Turkish consciousness," which is cognizant of the importance of stability and peace. Ideological conflicts aside, everyone would be disadvantaged in a possible coup scenario. The tanks blocking the bridges demonstrated how all colors of life would fade in the face of a coup. The tanks on the bridges symbolize the transformation we went through on July 15 and mark a brand new period. For this reason, it can be said that the night of July 15 sets a milestone, the beginning of a new phase.

That night, the turbulence we have been experiencing for the last three years climbed to its peak. We have entered a period in which the consolidation of our democracy cannot be revoked. The coup attempt, which has been an ace in the hole against the democratically elected government, was organized as a kamikaze attack by FETÖ and failed. The following period will not just consist of the cleansing of the parallel structure that had infiltrated state institutions. This insurrection must be marked as the last attempt in coup history by penalizing those responsible for the turmoil. We must introduce a new process in which the pro-coup tendencies in the army are completely eradicated and a new social contract is created. People must be alert for those that might waste the process with concerns that “it would favor Erdogan” and for international campaigns motivated to restrict Turkey.

TURKEY: WHO CONTROLS THE ARMY ?

KILIÇ BUĞRA KANAT*

The only thing that can enable an outsider to understand the extent of the threat that Turkey faced on the night of July 15 is fiction. Yes, fiction, because it was in some sense unimaginable and unthinkable. It had characteristics that we have seen in some other type of movies, which are “more fictional” and in some instances approaching “science fiction.” In 2013, two films reached the box office that portrayed a terrorist attack on the White House. In “Olympus Has Fallen” and “White House Down,” the American presidential seat of power was attacked respectively by North Koreans and mercenaries. The damage and destruction done to the parliament building and the number of casualties resembled the incidents depicted in these two - not very good - action movies. However, those who caused this destruction were not from an enemy country or mercenaries, they were putschists from within the military.

What happened on July 15 was an extraordinary incident, even for Turkey, which has experienced several military interventions. It was extraordinary even for a country that has seen more “innovative” techniques in military interventions, such as “postmodern coup” or “e-coup.” The coup makers engaged in multiple different methods throughout the process. There were conventional coup steps, including an attempt to detain the president and to gain the control of the public broadcasting service. The statement broadcasted by the putschists and the phrases and expressions that they used were similar to those used in earlier coups and coup attempts. However, extraordinary events took place as the failure of the coup started to become clear to the coup actors. The national parliament building was bombed for the first time by fighter jets. The presidential palace was attacked and the shooting of civilians by some members of the military was particularly horrendous.

* Research Director, SETA DC

After the failure of the attempted coup, we started to learn about the number of generals and commanders who participated, which further shocked Turkish public opinion. Although many thought that military personnel served to protect the homeland, some of them were actually planning to overthrow the democratically-elected government and were prepared to do whatever was necessary to achieve this goal, even if that meant killing civilians. After these arrests, there are many questions regarding the actions of these coup actors. The extent of the investigation is not clear, but considering that some of the commanders who supported the coup were stationed and commanded in critical regions and were responsible for sensitive matters, it is important to review whether they tried to do something earlier to sabotage the government or neglected their duties, before their support for military interventions. The extent of the use of force by the coup actors demonstrated their animosity towards the government of Turkey and towards democratic institutions and people of the country. This generates concern among the Turkish public regarding their previous missions.

Since the arrest of some generals for their involvement in the coup, there are an increasing number of questions appearing in international media regarding the security of Turkey and the power of its security mechanisms. However these depositions may bring forward a more professional group of soldiers to these posts, whose priority will be to their duties and not to organizing another military coup, or any external organization or ideology. It may lead to a more effective fight against terrorism as well as other security threats to Turkey and the international community as a whole. This situation will certainly generate further debates in Turkey in the coming days about the need for significant reform within the security sector and the military.

SURREAL COUP, REAL VIOLENCE, REAL THREAT

KILIÇ BUĞRA KANAT*

Charles Dickens's famous novel, "A Tale of Two Cities," starts with a well-known sentence: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair." The people of Turkey lived all of these things in one single night. It was like a movie scene. It was a mix of things, the plot and conspiring similar to the Z of "Costa Gavras," the ridiculousness of "Bananas" by Woody Allen with the violence of "Missing." They all came together in one night.

It was a surreal moment in history, not only for Turkey but also for the world. The Turkish people, especially the young who had never lived through a coup or junta rule, faced the threat of military intervention and experienced a short preview of a coup. When the announcement was made on a public broadcasting channel about a curfew and martial law, some even started to lose hope and express despair and hopelessness. The noise of low-flying fighter jets, the sounds of bullets from helicopters on the crowds, the bombing of Parliament and the silence and shock on the streets for a while happened in the darkest moment of the night. Foreign news channels and outlets, after the declaration of coup plotters, started to spread news that the coup had taken place and the military had taken control of the government. Some commentators on foreign TV stations even started to explain how the coup would save Turkey and the Turkish-U.S. alliance. Breaking news on some networks passed on information that "the Turkish president is seeking asylum in Germany but has been refused." People who were following social media were appalled by this ingenuity, disinformation and betrayal of democratic principles and ideas.

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In the midst of the darkness, different segments of society united against the coup makers and with the help of security forces defeated them. It was the best of times when thousands of Turkish people stood in front of tanks and climbed on them to defend their democratically elected government. In Russia it was Boris Yeltsin, in China it was an unknown hero, about whom there is now an award-winning documentary. However, in Turkey it was thousands of people suddenly emerging from their homes, leaving their dinner tables and filling the streets. The fact that the coup was prevented by the people shows the maturity of Turkish democracy. For the last 15 years the political, institutional and legal infrastructure of the active civilian control of the military was achieved by the government. With the resistance and resilience of the people against the coup a new step was taken to complete the social dimension of the civilian control of the military.

One can only understand heroism and resilience after seeing the violence of the plotters from the videos uploaded to social media in the aftermath of that night. We watched how the Parliament building was bombed, the headquarters of the National Intelligence Organization was attacked and the hotel where President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was staying was stormed by coup soldiers. The violence and the attempted coup show one more time that Turkey has been trying to deal with a very different threat over the last few years.

The success of the coup attempt could have resulted in tragedy for Turkey and for the region. The reaction of the people to the coup showed that the coup could result in the instability of Turkey and further insecurity for the region as a whole. While there was still momentum for the coup makers, the fact that the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry responded to a question by emphasizing stability and peace in Turkey without stressing the fact that Turkey's democratically elected government was under threat

and Turkish people are facing the danger of military rule, shocked everyone in Turkey. Whatever Kerry's intention, that he did not underline democracy, but instead emphasized stability, generated a major negative reaction among the people in Turkey. The statement that came after the coup attempt lost its credibility and did not satisfy anybody in Turkey. Without serious damage control over the next few weeks by the U.S., this moment will be very damaging in the history of bilateral relations.

THE TRIUMPH OF TURKISH UNITY AGAINST THE COUP ATTEMPT

MUHİTTİN ATAMAN*, GLORIA SHKURTİ*

Sun Tzu, the famous military strategist has stated, “If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle.”

Seen from such a perspective, the Fetullah Gülen Terrorist Movement (FETÖ) in their last attempt to destroy the democratic structure of the Turkish state failed to know their enemy. While FETÖ considered the elected government as their enemy, another unexpected “enemy” emerged –and that was the Turkish citizens. FETÖ did not realize the power of the Turkish people and took a malicious but blind step that backfired. They underestimated the fact that Turkey is a democratic state whose government is elected by the will of the Turkish citizens and that these people were willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their nation. Consequently, it is no wonder that they succumbed in a matter of hours. Calling this coup attempt a “battle” may be considered an exaggeration by some but for those who witnessed what happened that night it is not so. It was a battle because the putschists did not only aim to overthrow the elected government –they bombed governmental institutions and killed innocent civilians. Turkey has suffered many military coups in the past but what happened on July 15 was not a military coup. It was a battle against the right of self-determination.

MAIN EVENTS DURING THE JULY 15 COUP ATTEMPT

On July 15, 2016, a fraction of the Turkish military attempted to overthrow the Turkish democratic structure and its elected gov-

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ernment. Many governmental institutions in İstanbul and Ankara such as the Grand National Assembly (TBMM), the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), the Special Forces Headquarters, the Turkish National Police, the AK Party Headquarters, the Presidential Palace and television channels were bombed by warplanes and targeted by military helicopters. Moreover, in İstanbul both of the bridges and airports were shut down by tanks, while in other cities –including Ankara– tanks blocked the city centers.

A few minutes before midnight, a group of soldiers entered the building of TRT TV channel and at gunpoint the anchor was forced to read an announcement stating that the military had taken control of the government and had banned all citizens from going out in the streets. Soon after this, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım connected live with CNN Türk and NTV TV channels and claimed that this was an illegal coup attempt, calling for people to go out onto the streets. These calls were repeated from the leaders of other opposition parties: the CHP and MHP. The calls accelerated the mobilization of people who marched in the streets of all Turkish cities, but especially in İstanbul and Ankara.

The unification of the political elite, media outlets, security forces and people turned into a counter coup against the violent and illegal coup attempt. This unison among the people reflected the Turkish values to the world and lay witness to the consolidation of Turkish democracy. The government soon took control of the situation; however, the putschists did not spare the life of civilians and currently according to official sources, 240 people were killed and 2,195 were wounded.

THE MASTERMIND BEHIND THE COUP ATTEMPT

Almost immediately it was obvious that this was not a typical military coup and that certain high and mid-ranking mili-

tary officers – mainly members of the FETÖ – were behind the coup attempt. Calling themselves “Yurtta Sulh Konseyi” (Peace at Home Council), the putschists aimed to overthrow the government. This attack against the Turkish state structure is one among many others by FETÖ, while President Erdoğan has continuously been their main target.

This public animosity of FETÖ towards Erdoğan and the government emerged in 2013 after the latter declared the movement to be a terrorist organization. The main reason behind these declarations was the creation of a parallel organization within the Turkish state. While calling itself a religious movement, FETÖ started penetrating all institutions, aiming to gain control from within. Realizing the threat that this terrorist organization posed to the Turkish institutions, government and people, decisive steps were promptly taken to weaken and impede FETÖ from gaining more power.

The leader of the FETÖ terrorist organization, Fetullah Gülen, has been living in Pennsylvania, U.S.A, since 1999, and the Turkish authorities have continuously requested his extradition by the US government. Nevertheless, a proper response has never been given from Washington and Gülen has ceaselessly controlled and directed his followers in Turkey and other states.

Gülen is considered to be the main mastermind and, therefore, the one responsible for the death of more than 200 civilians, the injury of more than 2,000 people, and the destruction of many state buildings. All this has caused the discomfort of the Turkish people. Among others, they have expressed this agitation by using the hashtag #ExtraditeTerroristGülen on July 19 as a direct call to Washington; in a short time, this hashtag became a trending topic across the world.

After the July 15 coup attempt, Turkey submitted an official request composed of four folders to the United States for the extradition of Gülen and a response is expected in the coming days. John

Kerry stated that Turkey needs to provide “legitimate” proof of Gülen’s culpability. Following this statement, many reminded the United States that when Afghanistan requested proof of the culpability of bin Laden after the 9/11 attacks, the U.S.A. bypassed this and simply bombed Afghanistan. Washington’s response will be crucial in terms of the relations between Turkey and United States especially in terms of the war on terror where Turkey has been one of the main allies and supporters of the United States. It should be recalled that Turkey has been collaborating with the U.S.A. since the 9/11 attacks. In this context, the Turkish intelligence captured some of the leading members of al-Qaeda and handed them over to the CIA. The American indifference to Turkish claims and requests will damage this cooperation against international terrorism.

THE STANCE OF DOMESTIC ACTORS

Turkey has been shaken by a coup attempt organized with the aim to destroy Turkey’s current order and development. To the surprise of those behind the coup attempt, its failure showed that the power of people and their right of self-determination should not be underestimated. Many actors played a significant role during the coup attempt and its aftermath; nevertheless, not all of them were on the side of democracy and the people.

All domestic actors played an effective role during the coup attempt. They can be separated into four different groups: the political elite, government officials (especially those working in the police departments), the media and, last but not the least, the people. As soon as the coup attempt began there was unison not only within the aforementioned groups but between these actors as well.

If we were to focus on the internal unison of each group, it would not be an exaggeration to assume that for the first time Turkey witnessed such a togetherness. Political, ideological and reli-

gious differences were put aside and all people united for the sake of their nation.

The statement of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan served as a turning point and had a direct impact on the failure of the coup attempt. Before his call, people had already started to march in the streets despite the on-air statement by those involved in the coup that specified that people should not go out onto the streets as this may endanger their lives. However, Turkish citizens were still confused and scared of what was going on. Erdoğan's presence on TV through FaceTime both calmed and accelerated people's mobilization. During his call, Erdoğan ensured the people that the government was in control of the situation and reiterated what the PM had previously stated: this was not a typical military coup but just a coup attempt that threatened the Turkish state structure and democracy. Moreover, Erdoğan called people to march into the streets and stop the putschists from pursuing their goals. This call turned the situation on its head and it soon became clear that the organizers of the coup attempt were caught by surprise by this quick mobilization of people and by their opposition to the coup attempt.

At the same time, the spokesman of the Turkish Parliament, İsmail Kahraman and the MPs of the AK Party, CHP and MHP gathered in Parliament. They remained in the building despite the fact that the putschists' jets and helicopters were bombing them from outside. The MPs refused to leave the building and through a live connection with TV channels they spoke to the whole nation. In this way they not only transmitted a message of unity to the people but they showed them that the Turkish legislators would not bow to such violent actions and that the government was standing firm and strong.

In terms of the political elite, all four political parties that are represented in the current Turkish Parliament –the AK Party, CHP,

MHP and HDP—unanimously condemned the coup attempt. The Turkish Prime Minister and the leader of the AK Party, Binali Yıldırım, soon after the beginning of the events, via a phone call with NTV channel, stated that this was a coup attempt, and ensured the people that the situation was under the control of the government. The declaration of the PM was shortly followed by the statements of opposition leaders who similarly condemned the coup attempt and expressed their support for the Turkish government. Devlet Bahçeli was the first leader from the opposition to contact the PM and stated that his party opposed this coup attempt and that they would stand by the Turkish government. Just less than one hour later, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu—the leader of the CHP—through a statement on Twitter emphasized that the CHP stands by the democracy of Turkey and was hostile to the coup attempt. The last declaration came from the HDP. Through a post on Twitter, the HDP—in a similar manner to the other parties—condemned the coup attempt. Moreover, other important political figures such as former Turkish president Abdullah Gül and former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu harshly condemned the coup attempt.

Coming to the second actor, there were four main state institutions whose contribution was indispensable during the whole process of deterring the coup attempt. The National Intelligence Organization (MIT), the police, the Turkish Special Forces (those who refused to be part of the coup) and Türksat are the institutions that were in the front line of stopping the putschists from destroying the democratic values of Turkey. The cooperation among these officials helped in establishing superiority over the putschists in terms of intelligence and on a tactical level. The first three (the MIT, Police and TSK) played an important role as they managed to capture and detain all the soldiers who were part of the coup attempt. Some of the soldiers were captured by citizens, who were protesting against the coup attempt, and were later handed

over to the police forces. The officials who were at Turksat on the other hand, even though they were not armed, defended –even with their lives– the freedom of the media and the right of free speech. The putschists entered the Turksat building with the aim of stopping the broadcasting of public and private TV channels. The officials of Turksat did not allow the putschists to use the TRT channel to transmit their declarations, nor did they permit the censorship of private channels. Had this attempt been successful, the chances of the coup attempt's success would have been higher. The Turkish media was the main source of information for the citizens during those difficult hours, and if such a source had been cut off, it would have been impossible for the people to see the truth about the coup attempt and to act in the way that they did.

In this regard, the media –both private and public– is another actor that had a crucial responsibility. We live in a world where the role of media and communication is irreversible. The July 15 coup attempt showed the maturity of the Turkish media which served as a catalyst for the mobilization of the people. It is beyond doubt that on Friday night the free media in Turkey won over the coup attempt, which threatened Turkey's democracy. The putschists tried to take control of the national TV channel TRT but this did not intimidate the other media outlets, which continued transmitting live on the putschists' bombing of the main governmental buildings, and the targeting and murder of unarmed people by military helicopters. Soon the people marched towards TRT and managed to remove the soldiers from the building making it possible for TRT to restart broadcasting. However, the soldiers participating in the coup attempt tried to cease the broadcasting of private media such as CNN Türk. As in the case of TRT, people retook the channel from the hands of the putschists. Focusing on the media during the July 15 coup attempt, two main elements warrant further discussion. First, the organizers of the coup made

a tactical mistake by going to the TRT building. Even though this has proven to be effective in previous military coups, this time this step was detrimental. In the previous military coups, TRT was the only channel, and taking control of it was enough; currently however, in Turkey there are a large number of channels. The other channels, affected by the putschists' acts at TRT, reacted with harsher declarations against the coup attempt and made stronger calls for the people to march in the streets. Secondly, no one from those who lived through this coup attempt will forget the stony expression on the face of the anchor, Tijen Karas, and no one is going to forget how all the TV channels united against the attempt. This was a surprising event, considering the fact that the media nowadays is prone to ideological or political divisions. It is very difficult –not to say impossible– for the media in one state to speak the same language and protect the same values against a common enemy. Seen from such a perspective it is safe to say that the media unison delivered a strong blow to the putschists and their coup plan.

On July 15, the Turkish people sealed the fate of Turkey. People marching in the streets and the call of President Erdoğan and other leaders that accelerated this may have caught the coup organizers by surprise; the fact that in a matter of mere minutes millions of people started to march in the streets of Turkish cities was a shock to them. Turkey in the last years has gone through some difficult times when considering regional affairs and external pressures, and this has resulted in a disunity among the population. Nevertheless, on July 15, people left aside their differences and marched in the streets for one purpose: the protection of the Turkish government, state and democracy. The armed soldiers who were part of the coup attempt were confronted with unarmed men driven by the love for their country. Despite the bullets that were directed at them and the F-16 jets flying over

their heads, the people never stepped back but they struggled until the last soldier was detained by the police.

The winners of the July 15 coup attempt were the people of Turkey and Turkish democracy. Turkish citizens were ready to lose everything in order to sustain the freedom of their country and their right of self-determination - and they won. They showed to the world that Turkey is not a third world country that can be easily destabilized and the democratic foundation on which Turkey stands is strong unlike many states where military coups have been successful. Most importantly, people with their peaceful attitude showed to the world that they support peace and not chaos. In a time when Turkish citizens have been the target of many woeful critics, they proved to themselves that they are capable of unity and of achieving great things.

THE STANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

While the domestic actors had a direct impact in preventing the coup attempt and its aftermath, Western international actors, both leading political actors and media outlets, declared their disappointment over the failure of the coup attempt. Moreover, some of the actors, mainly from the West, triggered an exacerbation of the situation.

The stance of international actors will be analyzed under three categories: politics, media, and Turkish expats. With the exception of the latter, the behavior of the other two was not fair – not only towards the Turkish state, but most importantly towards Turkish citizens.

In the first hours after the coup attempt, the declarations of many state leaders or representatives were very vague. It was clear that their stance toward the coup attempt was going to depend on its outcome. When it became obvious that the putschists were losing ground, then state leaders started to declare their support

for the democratically elected government. This pattern was followed primarily by the United States and other Western countries. A striking example is the message directed to US citizens from the US embassy in Turkey where the coup attempt was called “an uprising.”

While politicians were careful not to make any politically incorrect moves, the media used this reluctance to do what it has done best in the last years: vilifying Erdoğan. At the beginning, Western media did not hesitate to declare that the government in Turkey had fallen and that the military was in control. News about Erdoğan requesting asylum in Germany was widely broadcasted as well. In addition even when the President, the Prime Minister and other leaders declared that the state was under control and that this was just a coup attempt, Western media did not reflect this to their audiences.

Fabricated news about Turkey has made the headlines many times in Western media and this incidence was not an exception. It can be said that Turkey has become immune to these kinds of hoaxes, but most of the Western public is not there yet. The wide coverage of the coup attempt in Turkey from Western media is undeniable. Unfortunately, Western media almost unanimously directly or indirectly began to accuse the Turkish government and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and, indeed, are still trying to portray him as responsible for these events. Firstly, mainstream Western media did not mention the name of those behind the coup. They have been presenting FETÖ as a peaceful face of Islam and Western countries continue to harbor its leader and leading personalities in their respective countries. Moreover, Western media and politics forget that the organizers of the coup attempt – FETÖ – pose an imminent threat to the security of Turkey and the measures taken in the aftermath of the coup are what any state would do to protect its national security.

Secondly, without mentioning how the putschists bombed the capital city, how the army helicopters mercilessly killed more than 200 innocent women, men and children, or even how the people, united, marched in the streets to protect their state, Western media focused only on President Erdoğan. Most of the headlines raised concerns about the “authoritative tendencies of Erdoğan and the purge against the opposition groups” concealing the reality and the message that the people on the streets transmitted. They refuse to see that all political parties represented in parliament declared their opposition to the coup attempt. Similarly the media refuses to disseminate images and information about the support towards the coup attempt in the streets and squares of Kurdish-populated cities.

Thirdly, Western media and many journals have been warning and even threatening the Turkish authorities not to punish the putschists. It can be said that they do not want the Turkish government to take proper measures against them. Moreover, Western media declared their defiance against the state of emergency declared by the government in the context of the Turkish constitution, a move which is also accepted by the European Human Rights Convention. Their Orientalist approach towards Turkey shows that they still consider Turkey as a typical Middle Eastern or Third World country.

An important example that needs to be mentioned is WikiLeaks. Soon after the coup attempt, Wikileaks posted in its official Twitter account that the people must get ready to fight as they were about to publish approximately 300,000 emails from the AK Party which would shed light on the coup attempt and those behind it. This was a shameful move by WikiLeaks and the media outlets that made news of this statement as it resulted in a huge sham. The emails that were made public were mainly spam emails followed by a couple of inconsequential emails. Many Turkish citizens mocked

WikiLeaks, while the international media remained silent and did not update their previous news in this regard.

The media outlets in the Middle East were/are more neutral towards the coup attempt. They were divided into two opposing categories. The first category welcomed the coup attempt in Turkey, which has been considered as the last Ikhwan-like regime in the region. This view was shared by the Egyptian media, which is completely under the control of the Sisi government, an administration established after a military coup in 2013. Similarly the media outlets controlled by the United Arab Emirates (UAE) were also strongly pro-coup attempt and anti-Erdoğan. Those who are in favor of a one-man rule and strictly authoritarian regimes consider Turkey as one of the last remnants of the popular and democratic movements of the Middle East. The second view welcomed the crackdown of the coup attempt and declared their support for the Turkish people and their legitimate administration.

Lastly, the Turkish expats in different states of the world went out in the streets to support the democratically elected government of Turkey in its battle against the FETÖ terrorist organization that organized the coup attempt. Many Turks gathered in front of Gülen's mansion in Pennsylvania and requested his extradition to Turkey from the US government. At a time when the Turkish people are intimidated by the West, the support of their expats was/is essential. However, some influential Turks living in the West and working for Western think tanks followed their host institutions, criticized the Turkish government and President Erdoğan, but neglected the death toll and the exceptional resistance of the Turkish people.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, domestic and international actors, in most cases, had a reverse impact on the events of July 15. While the do-

mestic actors served as a catalyst for unity and therefore for the defense of the state structure and democratic values, international actors mostly tended to obliterate the reality especially through their biased media. For what it's worth, it can be said that Western antagonism did nothing but further unite Turkish citizens. Today, they are aware of their power and this has made people stronger than ever; a notion, which the West has long taught but little supported.

UNDERSTANDING THE IDEATIONAL SOURCES OF THE TERRORIST COUP ATTEMPT

UFUK ULUTAŞ*

THE GÜLENIST INFILTRATION STRATEGY

A major difficulty in understanding the Gülenists' endgame and their involvement in the coup d'état derives from the group's ontology. Outsiders are confused about their organization and methods of operation due to their secretive nature, cult-like operation, cell-based structure, strict hierarchy, and extensive use of dissimulation. However, for those whose life ever crossed paths with that of the group (regardless of the extent of this conjunction), the Gülenist methodology of recruitment and infiltration is common knowledge. It is for certain that they have been laying the groundwork for a complete takeover of the state for decades. Considering the ranks of the captured military officers including the generals, one could argue that the terror organization has been operating within the Turkish army with varying capacity at least since the mid-1980s.¹ They have been following three main strategies to expand their influence and operational capabilities in the army: infiltration, conversion, and the formation of alliances.

Although for many it was common knowledge, the July 15 coup attempt proved beyond all doubt that the Gülenists had not only infiltrated the army. It became clear that they considered the civil bureaucracy, the judiciary, and NGOs as means to expand their influence over the state and Turkish society. Yet, the military occupied a special spot in the group's list of priorities. This is primarily because Fetullah Gülen has an interesting affinity with the coups and junta regimes which he believes have the ultimate say in Turkish politics despite years of democratization especial-

¹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/askere-sizma-1986da-fark-edildi-ama-40156430>

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ly during the AK Party era. For example, after a literary overture to the 1980 Coup, Gülen described it as a resurrection and the last outpost of the nation's expectations and saluted the army with high praises.² He 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. Despite the rising power of civilian politics under the AK Party rule, the Gülenists came to believe that the armed forces are still at the center of gravity and if other attempts fail, a takeover via the armed forces could be a last resort.

One of the centerpieces of the Gülenist strategy of expansion and control has been training students from secondary school onwards for the military high school exams. Sharp students often from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are selected by the group, and the group elders initially socialize, indoctrinate and train them in apartments reserved only for the military high school candidates. In the earlier years, it is probable that there was a greater emphasis on the students' mental and physical qualities. However, as the group expanded their influence within the armed forces and started to occupy key positions, such as the offices related to military recruitment, they became less selective given that they had already gained more influence over the recruitment process in the armed forces.

The students who succeed in entering the armed forces are already indoctrinated by their contact person who uses their code names rather than their real ones. The aide-de-camp of the Chief of General Staff Levent Turkkan explains this process clearly in his confessions. He explained that he comes from a poor farmer's 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,

² <http://www.haberveriyorum.net/icerik/Fetullahin-12-eylulu-mehmetcige-selam>

and after his admission to the İşiklı 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.³

The Gülenists also shape the students' personal lives in an effort to preserve their ties to the group. In this sense, the students pray secretly and limit their ties with their families; the Gülenists even have a say regarding the women they should marry. These actions remove any morsel of doubt regarding the involvement of Gülenists with these students. Once they are in the armed forces, they follow orders from the group and at the same time try carefully to convert unaffiliated students into Gülenist militants.

The Gülenists try to convert military school students as well as army officers. The students already indoctrinated by the Gülenists, as is the case in civilian life, socialize with potential recruits at school and outside. When a student is deemed ready for the next step, he is introduced to an elder contact person outside the school and invited to a house used by the Gülenists as a cell. He is then gradually indoctrinated using similar methods to those used in the secondary school years. These efforts of conversion are sometimes exerted in periods beyond school years as well; apparently there were group militants who were converted in later periods of their lives through friendships and marriages.

The Gülenists are also known for forging alliances with individuals who are pragmatists and have personal agendas that can be furthered by an alliance with the group. For many officers in the armed forces, the Gülenists are known as a strong clique that is influential in key decisions within the armed forces regarding issues such as promotions. Thus, an alliance with or submission to the Gülenist clique within the army had direct implications for

³ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ve-orgeneral-akarin-yaveri-40155810>

officers who wanted a quick promotion or an appointment to a certain post.

PREVIOUS TAKEOVER ATTEMPTS

Although the Gülenists have been in the headlines due to the coup attempt of July 15, it should be noted that this was not their first attempt at total or partial takeover - obviously, however, it was the first one mobilizing their militant followers in the armed forces and using them to take full control of the state. However, they had tried and failed at least twice before under different capacities and aiming at different branches of the government. The first overt attempt was on February 7, 2012, when prosecutors with apparent links to the Gülenists summoned the Turkish Intelligence Chief for interrogation. The Gülenists tried to sack Hakan Fidan with accusations amounting to treachery connected to the MIT's involvement in the negotiations with the PKK. The attempt failed when the then Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, ordered Fidan not to comply with the summons. This move was unprecedented in the government-Gülenists relations as it was the first time the Gülenists openly targeted a key institution such as the MIT as a springboard for expansion. It was also the first public challenge by the Gülenists directed against the government via intended arrest of a key bureaucrat.

The second attempt was more extensive and directly targeted the government with a campaign involving bogus corruption charges, doctored whistle-blowing and media propaganda. This time, on December 17 and 25, 2013, Erdoğan was openly at the center of the takeover attempt. Gülenist prosecutors targeted key AK Party officials, bureaucrats, and a number of businessmen close to the AK Party circles with allegations and doctored video and audio tapes to humiliate the AK Party government ahead of the approaching elections. It was the first time the AK Party open-

ly declared that it was the Gülenists who were trying to topple the government with bogus allegations. The AK Party's ensuing electoral victories consolidated the AK Party's power and Erdoğan was elected president despite the Gülenists' manipulations and harsh media campaign. Following the failure of the two attempts of partial or complete takeover by the Gülenists, since December 2013, the government has taken strict measures against the group, including their designation in the National Security Council as a terrorist organization. Following this designation, the government has arrested scores of Gülenists who were involved in illegal wire-tappings, money laundering, espionage and the revealing of confidential documents and meetings. In addition, an arrest warrant was issued for the terrorist organization's leader, Fetullah Gülen, and his close aides.

THE GÜLENIST ROLE IN THE JULY 15 COUP ATTEMPT

Since December 2013, Gülenist activities were first restricted and then banned by state authorities, and an open fight against the Gülenist influence over security services, civil bureaucracy, economic institutions, academia as well as the armed forces has been in progress. However, the Gülenists within the armed forces had been mostly untouched due to its internal. Turkey has also been working on filing an extradition request for Fetullah Gülen who has been living in Pennsylvania, U.S.A, since the late 1990s. After the failure of the previous attempts there have been claims indicating a potential future coup attempt by well-known Gülenist social media users. Fugitive Gülenists such as Tuncay Opçin sent a threatening message over Twitter alluding to the takeover while Emre Uslu mentioned July 2006 as the date of his return to Turkey. Many of the armed forces personnel have also pointed to the Gülenist nature of the coup attempt based on their personal acquaintances with the coup plotters. Furthermore, police officers

who had been recently sacked because of their membership to the Gülenist organization were captured by the police and civilians in tanks and armored vehicles wearing military uniforms.⁴ As the interrogation of the coup plotters continues, confessions are coming in establishing a strong case for the Gülenist role in the coup attempt. So far several soldiers, including Levent Türkkan, have confessed their ties to the Gülenists; it is fair to expect more such confessions to follow.

On July 15, 2016, the Gülenists played their last trump card in a bid to topple Erdoğan's presidency and the AK Party government. The unprecedented level of violence perpetrated by the coup plotters indicates the level of the plotters' desperation to survive. In expectation of the High Military Council's meeting where a great purge of Gülenist officers was expected, the Gülenists rushed to execute a preemptive strike against the government. The attempt failed yet again and has already prompted an even more extensive purge of the Gülenists from the armed forces as well as from other government sectors.

⁴ <http://www.yenisafak.com/video-galeri/gundem/cu-emniyet-muduru-askeri-kamufajla-tank-icinde-yakalandi-2102548>

THE IMPORTANCE OF ERDOĞAN'S LEADERSHIP IN THE PREVENTION OF THE COUP

NEBİ MİŞ*

Erdoğan's political leadership has been very significant in the prevention of the Gülenist Terror Organization's (FETÖ) coup attempt. Thanks to his leadership, our nation quickly escaped the hopelessness and fear of the coup atmosphere. The heroic resistance of the Turkish nation, the extraordinary efforts of the law enforcement and the National Intelligence Agency, the resistance of the national elements within the military, and the efforts of the media, political parties, non-governmental organizations and the local administrations are a direct result of his political leadership. The role of this leadership on the night of July 15 and the period afterwards can only be understood by being analyzed from two aspects.

The first is related to the time Erdoğan asked people to go to the airports and squares on the night of July 15, right after the coup attempt took place. While everyone was trying to figure out what to do and was hesitant about what they should do, Erdoğan's call ensured that millions of people went out to the critical areas and opposed the coup plotters actively. This way, the coup plotters were outmaneuvered psychologically and the anti-coup front's confidence was boosted. The fact that Erdoğan looked very determined and steadfast in his speech consolidated this confidence even further. Erdogan's decision regarding the prayers heard from the mosques and his arrival at Ataturk Airport as commander in chief despite the security risks were essential steps in this success story. Prayers were symbols reminding people of the Independence War. Thus, people saw the struggle against the coup attempt as another war of independence and they all stood together against it.

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THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL INFORMATION

The second aspect regarding the prevention of the coup is directly related to Erdoğan's political leadership. Since 2002, Erdoğan has followed a political leadership which made the transformation of the nation and politics possible in Turkey. The nation gained confidence while opposing anti-democratic guardianship structures. The political parties, bureaucratic formations and media which supported coups in the past had to transform. In the past, authors wrote about the "legitimacy" of the coup, political parties supported it and media reported it to the nation. The judicial bureaucracy in the first place, and civil bureaucratic structures cooperated with the coup plotters to ensure the period after was in favor of the coup. This way, military coups were normalized and politics was confined. This atmosphere also silenced the nation and deprived it of the confidence to oppose military coups.

On the night of July 15, political parties passed an important test by opposing the coup attempt right away. All political parties resisted by not closing the Turkish Grand National Assembly even when bombings took place. Since media has developed a great deal in the last decade, it was obvious that taking hold of TRT would not mean much. Unlike the previous coup periods, social media played a significant role regarding the organization of the anti-coup front and informing us about the latest situation in the streets. With the resistance of the nation and the efforts of law enforcement, coup plotters became unsuccessful in some critical areas, and this news quickly spread in social media. This way, the nation's motivation for resistance increased.

Erdoğan's political leadership related to the e-memorandum on April 27 is also closely linked to the failure of July 15 coup attempt. The afore-mentioned memorandum was opposed in a stern way and was doomed to failure. This was a breaking point

regarding the coup. When we evaluate this period together with the other challenges the AKP faced, we can see that this political party gained very valuable “political wisdom” throughout the years with each crisis that was encountered. It gained experience and even more confidence.

IF NOT FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FETÖ, THE ATTEMPT COULD HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL

One of the most important elements of Erdoğan’s leadership regarding the coup attempt is the struggle against FETÖ. After the December 17-25 coup attempt, Erdoğan saw the struggle against FETÖ as a matter of life and death with regard to the state’s survival. He told the nation about the structuring of the state, the dangers of Gülen’s organization, and the perverse concept of religion held by Gülen. He convinced the masses that this is a struggle we need to face. Although he did not receive the support of other political parties and some sections of his own political movement, he kept on fighting.

If Erdoğan was not this dedicated in the struggle against FETÖ, the resistance on the night of the coup attempt may not have been sufficient. If Erdoğan did not convince the masses that FETÖ is very dangerous for the future of our country, the anti-coup front could have been weak. The disposition in judicial and law enforcement institutions, especially a significant section of management staff, was significant. Erdoğan also fought against supporters of this organization in the media and decreased their level of support. On the other hand, he took many precautions in order to eradicate their economic resources. Therefore, FETÖ lost power and became weak. If all these necessary measures had not been taken, the probability of the military coup’s success of the coup attempt would have been higher.

FROM A HYBRID COUP TO A MILITARY ONE: THE PATH LEADING TO JULY 15 AND BEYOND

TALHA KÖSE*

The night of July 15, 2016 began as one of the darkest nights in Turkish political history and democracy. FETÖ, which has been infiltrating the military bureaucracy of Turkey for decades and which is antagonistic to the country's people, parliament and all its values, attempted to seize the state control with a military coup. The attempt was repelled thanks to the courage of the Turkish people and the devotion of the military and police officers who were loyal to their land. In a world where coups can be organized as economic, psychological or societal uprisings, attempting a conventional and outdated type of military coup greatly surprised everyone. This is actually directly related to the fact that the antagonists of the ruling power had no other option for overthrowing the government.

The question "Can a coup be staged in this age?" was answered in a shocking way during the night of July 15. For a country that has 70 years of multi-party democracy and is integrated into the world economy, it was an unexpected and shocking experience to face a coup. The surprising aspect is not the attempt of intervention through anti-democratic methods, but the method and implementation of the coup. FETÖ and its international affiliates had to resort to the conventional methods of a military coup since they did not have any other option for changing the ruling power. Many times before July 15, the ruling AK Party and President Erdoğan had been under attack by various unconventional methods with the aim of being ousted from the political arena. The previous intervention attempts had been confronted with success.

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The military coup was the last resort for those motivated to change the government; its failure had heavy costs for the plotters. In the current period, coups generally emerge in hybrid forms. Many countries lately have witnessed hybrid coup methods, including triggering economic crises, the organization of societal uprisings, a judicial coup as happened in Brazil, attempts at information coups through media and social media such as Wikileaks and the Panama documents, intimidating or changing governments by organizing various social conflicts such as civil wars. In some cases, these attempts form a psychological ground of legitimacy for a more comprehensive intervention. In other cases, they are enough to shape the governments as desired without requiring a government change. Preferring a military coup instead of hybrid methods of reshaping the government can be considered extraordinary within the context of the current period.

ATTEMPTS TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT BEFORE JULY 15

In fact, the start and preparation process of the failed coup attempt on July 15 dates back a few years. During its terms in power, the AK Party was subjected to the April 27, 2007 e-memorandum and the Dec. 17 and 26 interventions in 2013. Starting with asking then MIT Chief Hakan Fidan to give testimony on Feb. 7, 2012, the MIT crisis was the first phase of the FETÖ's coup attempt; these attempts however were dismissed. Then a judicial coup attempt followed on Dec. 17 and 25, 2013.

With the fabricated allegations of corruption by FETÖ, a judicial coup tried to overthrow the government. The Gezi uprising that started in May 2013 was also an attempt to overthrow the government, which also laid the social and psychological grounds for the events of Dec. 17 and 25. When all attempts failed initiatives targeting entire Turkey were resorted to. With the news reports released about the National Intelligence Organization (MIT)

trucks, baseless accusations were made against Turkey suggesting that Turkey abets DAESH and terrorism. Ending the reconciliation process, the outlawed PKK also engaged in efforts to rule out the ruling party. In an atmosphere where conventional coup attempt fail, from now on such methods will be employed with greater frequency.

A TERRORIST ASSAULT ORGANIZED AS A MILITARY COUP

The July 15 coup attempt differs from previous hybrid coup attempts and the 1960, 1971, 1980 and Feb. 28 coups in many aspects. This latest insurrection looks like a kamikaze terror assault organized as a military coup. In military coups, the coup plotters try to seize government and state institutions by the use of force. Generally, places such as the parliament and presidential palace are not attacked since they are the symbols of national unity and solidarity. Targeting these places actually means an attack to Turkey's national unity and solidarity. In this respect, the insurrection we confronted on July 15 resembles a terror attack or a hybrid war method targeting Turkey as a whole. Seemingly, Turkey's unity was attacked rather than the government. It is hard to assume that an intervention directly targeting people was organized exclusively by domestic elements.

Hybrid coups and intervention methods cause many elected governments in various countries to be manipulated by internal or external forces. In recent years, Turkey has been directly targeted by hybrid coup methods and outside interventions. These interventions continue in the face of the struggle of the ruling power and its support from the people. The FETÖ-linked efforts for a coup or domination might have been repelled after the failed coup attempt; however, the arena of legitimate politics is still vulnerable to other methods. In the following periods, provocations to disturb Turkey's peace and integrity, efforts to defame Turkey on the

international arena and the risk of manipulations to spoil Turkey's economic stability are likely to continue. It is very difficult to discard such threats only by means of state apparatuses and government. For this reason, the anti-coup fight can only be possible with people's solidarity and the solidification of resistance against risks.

The greatest threat that might be posed by the organization in the aftermath of the process is that the marginalized agents of FETÖ might engage in more radical activities such as political assassinations or attacks against civilians. Another risk is the triggering of Turkey's inner conflict dynamics with social provocations. Still, many secret spots of the organization remain unknown. We are only at the beginning of our fight against FETÖ and new institutions are needed to coordinate this complex and risky process.

THE CODES OF THE COUP DECLARATION

NİGAR TUĞSUZ*

During the July 15 coup attempt, an attack was openly organized against the political rule, political institutions and people's democratic will. The main theme of the coup declaration, which was announced on TRT at gunpoint, was the proclamation of the coup's dissidence to the presence and activities of the government. Causing a great stir and shock among people, a clichéd and technocratic language the present conditions could not interpret the present. Some latest allegations used as propaganda tools were also added to the text to shake the citizens' trust in politicians. The declaration's claims were the repetition of the allegations made by FETÖ's media outlets regarding the political rule for a long time. Unlike the declarations of previous coups, a tangible problem was not articulated in this declaration text. Also, the text was not signed by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), but by a group named "Peace at Home Council," which was outside the chain of command.

THE CLAIMS IN THE DECLARATION

DO NOT HAVE ANY SOCIETAL RESONANCE

In the Feb. 28 memorandum, the main target was to mold public opinion in line with a main goal and the media were used in this respect. Within that process, long-lasting operations and provocations lead by media outlets were conducted, and the media were actively manipulated with psychological war techniques. Due to this difference in method, the Feb. 28 coup is also referred as a "postmodern coup." The main themes included in the Feb. 28 declaration were "modern civilization," "retrograde threat," "secularity," and "the rule of law."

In the 1980 coup, on the other hand, the highlighted targets

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included “survival of the state,” “instituting order,” “secular and democratic republic,” and “protecting the integrity of the country.” The main danger was defined as “the domestic turbulence,” while the most frequently used notions were “protecting the unity of the country,” and “fight of brothers.”

The July 15 coup declaration, however, directly targeted the presence of the political rule. Some alleged activities of the political order were listed as the main grounds for the coup. These grounds include “violations of the constitution and the laws,” “ideological design of state apparatuses,” “de facto disappearance of the secular and democratic rule of law,” “disregarding fundamental human rights,” “the country’s governance with a fear-based autocracy,” “escalation of terrorism,” “corruption,” and “the corrupt legal system.”

The words in the declaration did not even have any internal consistency, let alone any resonance with the Turkish public. The above claims were used to argue that the political system had lost its legitimacy and was discharged from duty. The most distinct aspect of the expressions in the declaration is that they were already in circulation as propaganda tools to undermine political institutions. Although the text stated that international relations would be redesigned, there was no emphasis on the EU. Instead, the declaration claimed “Stronger relations will be developed to provide peace on an international scale,” and “All the measures were taken to meet the obligations of the international organizations including UN and NATO,” which were also used in the declarations of previous coups.

THE PICTURE OF VIOLENCE AND ATROCITY

Instead of a military officer, a newswoman at TRT was made to read the declaration at gunpoint, which portrayed the violence and atrocity prevalent in the country that night in the most effective

way. All kinds of violence were employed to scare the Turkish nation: tanks, rifles, bombs, and war jets. Despite that, the nation, a substantial part of the TSK, the media and bureaucracy protected the political institutions and popular will by risking their lives. So, we experienced a historic night which was full of pain and torment, but democracy eventually won while the public's self-confidence and trust in political institutions were renewed.

TWO FETULLAH GÜLEN
AND HIS MESSIANIC
CULT MOVEMENT

THE EMERGENCE OF FETÖ: FROM THE SERVICE (HİZMET) TO A TERROR ORGANIZATION

BURHANETTİN DURAN*

Classifying the Islamic movements in Turkey as moderate and extremist/radical is a common acknowledgement in US-based literature. Political movements which aim to overtake the government are pictured as “radical,” and civil entities organized within the area of social services are pictured as “moderate.” Moreover being open to the West, emphasizing tolerance and peace is also seen as an indicator of being moderate. This approach sees fit to put the “radical” label on the National Outlook movement although it didn’t make a call for an “Islamic State,” while it prefers to use “moderate” and “smiling face of Islam” for the Gülen movement.

As a matter of fact, Graham E. Fuller, one of the masterminds of the “moderate Islam” project, and the CIA’s former chief of station for Turkey, continues to describe the Gülen movement as “one of the most encouraging faces of Islam” even after the July 15 coup attempt. Regarding the Islamic movements, it is sufficient to recall the al-Qaeda experience, in order to understand what kind of monsters were created as a result of the policies of the USA, which received Gülen with open arms in the late 1990s. The Gülen movement, which is spread across 140 countries, came to be a religious structure that is an enemy to its own country, putschist, and “heretical.”

THE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MAINSTREAM ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

The main criterion to understanding the characteristic of mainstream religious-political organizations in Turkey is “conforming to the Turkish- native and Sunni codes,” inherited from the Ottoman past. These codes act like “yeast” which protect from

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both Salafi and Shiite ideological influences. What is the meaning of this criterion? It involves being loyal to the state in terms of looking out for the long-term affairs of the nation. In other words, this is a rejection to be alienated from the government and the national interests despite the secularist Kemalists who came to power during the early years of the Republic.

This attitude appeared in the form of expanding the realm of existence with the means of democracy instead of that of absolute submission. It is evaluating and realizing these ideals and sensitivities with Turkey in the center. When examined from this perspective, unlike the Sunni sects and communities coming from the Ottoman past, the Islamic formations, which were influenced by Iran, Egypt, and the experiences of Pakistan can be said to have had some contrary aspects to this state friendly approach for some time.

In addition to this, most of the Islamic movements during the rule of the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) and the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) internalized “native” and “loyal” codes. In this transformation, the contributions of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s political choices to the National Outlook line had an important effect. Erdoğan carried out an inclusive politics, branching out to different sections of society, beyond the mosque community. He approached relations with the West, not on the ideological rebuttal level but on the level of “interaction” and “rational interests.” However, the main intricacy of the Islamic movement in Turkey is the story of the Gülen movement.

BREAKING AWAY FROM THE NATIVE

This story is about a movement which presented itself as a “moderate service formation” for its 40-year existence, and in its last stop became a radical military coup, a terror organization which ran over people with tanks. In its core, this story is about

the radical politicization of an organization, which promoted itself through the refutation of political Islam, grew stronger, and became estranged from and betrayed the “Turkish-native and Sunni codes.” It is the dreadful story of the material and moral empire of an organization ranging from student houses to educational institutions which ended up with a parallel structure within the government. It is the consequence of a “religious” entity with lots of layers and different faces becoming corrupt and finally a “useful card” at the hands of international actors on its way to creating a government monopoly.

Understanding the “codes” of why the Gülen movement came to such an end will help to foresee where it will evolve in the aftermath of July 15. Above all, the story of the Gülen movement is different and unique, and cannot be compared to any religious formations in Turkey, including the Nur disciples with whom the Gülenists prefer to say they are connected.

The Gülen movement designed itself from the beginning as a “parallel state structure.” The deep “rage” the movement’s leader Gülen felt towards the Kemalists produced a brand-new deception (*takiye*) politics under the name of caution (*tedbir*). The purpose of this politics is to make all kinds of sacrifices until the day comes, and to take hold of power centers. Separating itself from other religious groups as much as from the general public, and closing itself to the outside world is also related to this purpose.

In spite of the “dialogue,” “tolerance” and “hybridization” claim, it is an organization with maximum autonomy and fanatic purity. Interaction with all sections in its outer periphery is aimed towards realizing the “severely faithful” and “bigot” greed at its core. The following can be mentioned as the basic features of the Gülen movement’s organization: a sharp hierarchy centered around the older brothers (*abiler*) and imams; a select and simple “religious” teaching canonizing the leader; a plan spread over time;

a totalitarian relationship network which controls the followers' daily lives and all their choices; control mechanisms based on intelligence; and a messianic theology which blesses success.

For the disciples, everything is decided by the organization: from which schools they will go to, to whom they will marry. Their lives are completely controlled. Devotion is based on an abnormal self-sacrifice, which is at odds with human nature, and based on emotional manipulation, coercion, and intimidation. The decision of the leader is always above the current law and general religious interpretations. Moreover, all kinds of methods are legitimized for the sake of success and in fact are blessed.

This approach enables a legitimacy supposedly based on religion, in order to favor their organization, and the disregard of other people's rights. Legitimizing all kinds of methods for the sake of greater success, and regarding success as a sign of divine "excellence" brought this organization under the influence of a mystical narcissism. Moreover, the Gülen movement boasted of having a "strategic mind" enjoyed by no other Islamic community.

THE HYPOCRISY OF THE "STRATEGIC" MIND

The Gülen movement acted according to a political sense that saw all turning points of Turkish politics, starting from the 1980 coup, Feb. 28 and the coming of power of the Justice and Development as junctures of opportunity. The more successful it became, the more it legitimized, and blessed adopting more brutal and crueler methods. It prioritized growing according to a strategy focusing on its own success, first on the national level, and then in the global environment. This preference created a network of relations which were constantly renewed, and, the bigger the movement got, the more it drifted away from being Turkey centered.

The Gülen movement found it useful to become a "moderate Islam" organization joined with the global power and the operations

of the USA and Israel, for its ultimate victory in Turkey. It showed how useful it was with the Ergenekon and Balyoz (Sledgehammer) cases and the Dec.17-25 operations. Still, the coup attempt on July 15 was its most radical act. The fact that officers put their freedoms, careers, and families at such risk with just a signal from Gülen reflects the totalitarian, reckless, and extremist features of the organization. Giving the order to fire at people is proof that even killing is permissible to them in order to reach their aims.

WHAT KIND OF A CHALLENGE IS FETÖ?

After the failed coup attempt of FETÖ on July 15 the main question was how to deal with this challenge. For a fight against the FETÖ we need a comprehensive, long-term policy. Currently, with the measures stemming from the state of emergency, all state institutions have been mobilized to cleanse the members of this illegal organization. The cadres and structures infiltrated in various institutions including the military, judiciary, education and health services, which intelligence units had already discovered over the last two years, are now being cleansed.

The cleansing of these cadres, which were infiltrated both inside and outside of state apparatuses by means of all kinds of intrigue and unjust practices over the last 30 to 40 years, guarantees the future of the Turkish state and democracy in the country. Contrary to what the think tanks in the U.S. say this process will strengthen Turkey. Some of them argue that these cleanings will create weakness in the Turkish military's fight against DAESH and the PKK while others claim that the nuclear arsenal at İncirlik Air Base is not safe. In reality the cleansing of FETÖ elements from institutions is absolutely essential to guarantee the effective operation of state apparatuses. This implementation will also improve Turkey's relations with its allies while aiding the counterterrorism fight.

The main aspect that must be emphasized is that FETÖ is not an ordinary terrorist organization. It is an exceptional structure with some religious claims organized both overtly and covertly while engaging in deep international lobbying and networks. It would not be realistic to expect the organization to dissolve in the short run. Acting within the chain of command so far, FETÖ has entered a new phase after the failed coup attempt. Even though the Dec. 17 and Dec. 25 judicial coup attempts revealed that the organization poses a great security threat, the cadres occupied by Gülenists could not be discharged completely.

Taking courage from its structuring within the military and its civil society initiatives, the organization preferred to resist and counterattack. The July 15 coup attempt is the most radical and violent assault from Fetullah Gülen to date, who tries to keep his disciples alive with a mystical and messianic kind of hope. With this assault, a group that was seen as moderate Muslims turned into a terrorist organization that ran over people with tanks and opened fire on them from helicopters. There are three critical aspects with respect to FETÖ's dissolution in the near future: Dissolving the organization, decapitating its leadership and de-radicalizing its members.

Undoubtedly, the most important aspect is preventing Gülen's leadership.

Decapitating the leadership is more effective in the struggle against organizations with religious concerns than with secular- or ethnicity-focused organizations. For this reason, extraditing Gülen to Turkey is much more important than that of the PKK's imprisoned leader, Abdullah Öcalan. Brainwashing his disciples with twisted religious discourse encompassing both the ephemeral world and the afterlife, Gülen must be stopped from instilling courage in his supporters to conduct new attacks.

Having rejected ties to the coup attempt in his first statements following the event, Gülen now suggests his disciples "stand up-

right” and that the international public is with them. He is trying to form a resistance that would meet their failure with patience. It is also evident that the support the Gülenist diaspora enjoys in Western capitals contributes to this resistance. In my opinion, FETÖ members consist of two main groups of people: Those who have undergone intense brainwashing from their childhood and those recruited later in their lives. It is highly possible for the older recruits to leave the organization giving confessions and expressing regrets after witnessing the frenzy of July 15. However, unless Gülen is taken hold of, people from the first group, who owe everything they have to the Gülen movement, will continue to form new underground organizations.

The second critical aspect in the fight against FETÖ is the need to de-radicalize its members, which would readjust the religious views of the people discharged from public institutions. Some preventative measures must be taken for the people whose semantic world collapsed and who are excluded from society. Their possible inclinations toward suicide or marginal individual attacks must be prevented. Nongovernmental organizations, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (DİB) and religious movements will play a great role in that.

PRACTICALITY OF GÜLEN FOR THE WEST

FETÖ elements “fearlessly” contributed to the international campaign aimed at the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan after the Dec. 17 and Dec. 25 operations. Members of this movement positioned themselves as “Turkey’s new Westerners” by using Western critical discourse employed by Kemalists. After accusing the AK Party of radical Islamism and being a supporter of al-Qaeda and DAESH, the FETÖ moved into a new phase with the attempted coup on July 15. This is a phase where a movement, which is described as a terrorist

organization by all social segments in Turkey, has consolidated its heretical and substitute position as a proxy. Moreover, it is being dragged into a kind of marginal Westernization, which is the final point of alienation from its home country. Its moderate, dialogist and globalist appearance will not be able to curtail this course. In fact, with this attempted coup, FETÖ lost Turkey irreversibly. The indicators of this are not only the liquidation of FETÖ affiliates from public institutions.

More importantly, even AK Party opponents in Turkey reached a great consensus that July 15 was a coup attempt by the FETÖ. Even circles that strongly oppose Erdoğan did not attempt to contradict this consensus. As such, anti-Erdoğan discourse inside the country has been significantly undermined through democratic and civil resistance to the attempted coup.

The Gülen movement, the legitimacy of which has completely disappeared, has been left with nothing other than further putting its members and diaspora at the disposal of Western intelligence agencies. FETÖ leader Fetullah Gülen's recent statement in *The New York Times* that "[a]t a time when Western democracies are searching for moderate Muslim voices, I and my friends in the Hizmet movement have taken a clear stance against extremist violence," suggests that they side with the West and proves my points.

Gülen continues to play his last trump card, which claims that Erdoğan is a dictator, by blatantly saying that his movement still has value serving the West and, for this reason, he should not be extradited. The discourse has been that Erdoğan is working for one-man rule and is executing a counter coup. Gülen has clung tightly to this course, which is the only element that works in the West's intentional anti-Turkey campaign.

As the confessions of coup-makers come to light, the Gülen movement's moderate appearance has significantly collapsed. It is no secret that a radical hardcore in this movement killed our

people with tank and helicopter fire. The purification of public institutions is not enough for the fight against the FETÖ. The politicians have the task of removing the Gülen movement from its radical and heretical structure. Confessions that expose the true color of the FETÖ must be encouraged. It will be effective in undermining radicalization if many figures seceding from the Gülen movement follow in the footsteps of Latif Erdoğan and Hüseyin Gülerce, who were former followers of Gülen.

Obviously, from now on, loyalty to the FETÖ will mean the agency of foreign intelligence institutions inside the country and the fearless militancy of the diaspora outside of the country. Both positions can only be legitimized by a more heretical approach in the world of individuals. The Gülen movement, which turned to a world of hierarchy, illegal eavesdropping and espionage activities, even before it was declared to be a terrorist organization, has the potential to produce the traumas of more radical preferences after the attempted coup. There is a need to increase the number of those who will say no to the organization's leader who markets his rootlessness, heresy and marginal Westernization as migration for the sake of his religion.

WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE COUP ATTEMPT: ORIENTALISM RELOADED

In the Western media the state of emergency and the purge of the Gülenists from bureaucracy in the aftermath of the failed coup attempt was the main story. Rather than portraying Turkish people's heroic struggle to save the democracy they criticized the Turkish Government's approach to dealing with the FETÖ challenge. A state of emergency has been declared to fight the FETÖ, which lies behind the attempted coup of July 15. Implementing states of emergency is a method to which Western democracies resort in critical periods. Most recently, France and the U.S. have resorted

to this method because of the Nice attack and black people's protests, respectively. A state of emergency was inevitable for Turkey in order to dissolve the junta that has high coordination within state institutions and that slaughtered civilians on the night of July 15. The single objective behind the expansion of state authority with respect to investigations, detentions, arrests, security measures, the ban of civil servants from leaving the country and the prohibition of demonstrations is to urgently complete the liquidation of this structure, which was first exposed in 2012, and to execute rapid judgement regarding the cadres that have already been uncovered.

The Western media has been quick to confine the declaration of the state of emergency, which runs as a reflex of protection for the democratic rule of law, to Islamist authoritarianism, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's empowerment through radical authorities and even Erdoğan's revenge. This attitude cannot be said to be limited to *The Guardian* or *The Economist*. German, British and American media are moving on the same line with several variations. From the first hours, the Western media labeled the repression of the attempted coup as "populist," "jihadist" and even "fascist," and was troubled about "Erdoğan's empowerment." As such, it is not surprising that it raised its accusatory tone in the face of the declaration of the state of emergency.

The approach that marginalizes democratic and civil reaction could assume an orientalist and Islamophobic form that legitimizes the coup, saying that human rights are more important than democracy. After all, security and stability is a luxury for Middle Eastern peoples, let alone democracy. If there is a public initiative, it can only be the destructive power of the masses. This time, it accuses Erdoğan of destroying the democracy that the public protects by risking their lives. The Western media's distorted evaluation of the attempted coup has nothing to do with ignorance. This also goes for its last intentional attitude, which is complete-

ly operational. It has been realized that democratic and civil reaction to the FETÖ's attempted coup provides an opportunity to completely inactivate the authoritarianism campaign aimed at Erdoğan. The reconciliation of the entirety of Turkish society against the attempted coup gives an opportunity to lessen the turbulence that has been experienced in domestic politics since the Gezi Park protests in 2013. Therefore, they want to destroy the existing reconciliation through the argument that Erdoğan seeks revenge, and keep the elected government in a controversial and fragile position. Moreover, they do not want opposition parties to lose their anger at Erdoğan.

The liquidation of the FETÖ not only means getting rid of a terrorist organization, it also means eliminating a handy lever that has a significant response in other initiatives that have been experienced over the past three years. Indeed, this junta structure has shown that it has enough of a strategic mind and international connections to trigger vulnerable points in Turkish politics and try to dominate them. The liquidation of the "parallel structure" that victimized people from all political segments, including Kemalists and leftists, will guarantee the future of Turkish democracy. This can be achieved only by protecting the existing reconciliation of politics. It goes without saying that the relief inside the country will open new spaces for Turkish foreign policy. As a requirement of democratic vigilance, it is time to foil the Western media's radicalizing and marginalizing campaign of creating perception and to reproach their hypocrisy of defining what goes against their interests as "antidemocratic."

THE FUTURE OF THE FETÖ

After being declared a terrorist organization, and with the ensuing purge, the Gülen movement lost its legitimacy and its legality. It is highly possible that a structure which is organized in

140 countries will have to withdraw from Turkey to a large extent. This gives rise to the thought that the final stop of the Gülen movement will be a diaspora against Turkey, and subcontracting for intelligence agencies. The future of the Gülen movement indicates the cursed birth of a heretic group, with its strong solidarity, deep victimization sentiment, and the messianic theology that revenge and victory will one day arrive.

TURKEY'S CIVILIAN POLITICS: RISK AND RESILIENCE

FAHRETTİN ALTUN*

The fact that military tutelage has been pushed back from civilian politics does not mean that all interventions into Turkey's civilian politics have been completely removed. Other elements have constricted civilian politics throughout Turkish history; judicial bureaucracy was one of them. For years, a mechanism has existed which, through the internalization of a radical reading of Kemalism, has continuously interfered with chosen politicians in the name of protecting the regime, closed political parties when the opportunity presented itself, and placed political bans on party leaders. While after 2002 the judicial bureaucracy's political intervention and possibilities around a Kemalist discourse were gradually limited, a new concentration of tutelage emerged after 2010. The Gülenists came to the center of this new tutelary concentration.

The Gülenists have been actively present in power struggles in Turkey since the 1980s. Initially active in the areas of education and non-governmental organizations, the organization has attempted to widen its sphere of influence within the civilian and military bureaucracy. The judiciary and the police force became the Gülenists' priority target. The Gülen movement, which formed its own media powers, also attempted to organize the Justice and Development Party's administration after it started thinking that it had reached a certain level of power in the judiciary and the police force.

In the 2011 elections, the Gülenists attempted to get many of their affiliates into Parliament through the AK Party, but was only able to get a tenth of them in. The Gülenists asked the ruling party to share its administrative capacity with them; when this demand went unanswered, they responded by attempting to take

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down the civilian and legitimate AK Party government through the use of its power in the judiciary and police force. The Gülenist organization had already begun preparations in 2011. They illegally wire-tapped the phones of many public figures and leaders, including politicians and bureaucrats, and prepared court cases based on these recordings. An unprecedented industry of conspiracy, never seen before in modern day politics, was set up and interventions were attempted into civilian politics. On the 17th of December 2013, the Gülenists initiated a judiciary coup through its prosecutors and prepared indictments against many, including President Erdoğan, who was prime minister at the time and was labeled by the Gülenist judiciary coup plotters as a “gang leader.” However, political authorities struggled against the Gülenist judiciary coup attempt and the coup plotters failed. From then on, the presence of the Gülenist Terror Organization within the state was deciphered. The elimination of this organization from the state apparatus was regarded as one of the most important issues facing Turkish democracy, since it posed an imminent threat of intervention into civilian politics.

With the failed judiciary coup attempt in 2013, the wider Turkish public began gradually to understand that the Gülenists had formed a parallel state structure within the state. Since then, a serious antipathy began to emerge among the public against the members of this group, called the “parallel state structure,” or “parallel structure” for short. President Erdoğan and the AK Party government made every effort to root out the members of this illegal organization from state institutions. The media tools of the “parallel structure” and some opposition party members who directly or indirectly supported the judiciary coup strove to hide the plot through manipulating public opinion. Even though the fight against the “parallel structure” faced many challenges, it continued steadfastly thanks to President Erdoğan’s decisiveness.

Important steps were taken to cut off the Gülenists' financial resources and propaganda tools. Among the public, however, there was an apprehension that the Gülenists' parallel structure within the army would eventually have its turn. Those who had voted for the AK Party government and many others with different ideological and sociological backgrounds shared similar concerns regarding the parallel structure's possible rage. The dismissal of a high number of Gülenist soldiers from the Turkish Armed Forces was actually expected to take place in two weeks' time, when the Gülenist factions within the army attempted the military coup. The military option was the last chance of the parallel structure to seize power and rule over the country. Thanks to the struggle over the past three years, however, this treacherous attempt, which had roots outside Turkey, could be repelled; the operative power of the parallel structure had already been seriously diminished and more importantly, the Turkish nation has seen how malicious this structure was for the country. When they finally took to the streets, the coup plotters terrorizing the public with state-owned firearms could not succeed, and were quickly captured by security forces. Other members of the Gülenist Terror Organization who joined the direct clashes, as well as those who provided them with logistical support, were arrested. Now the time seems to have come for the prosecution of the pro-coup terrorists.

In addition to the AK Party government's ongoing efforts to root out the parallel structure, the coup attempt proved unsuccessful owing to the high level of democratic maturity in Turkey. What western observers of Turkey have difficulty understanding is that modern-day Turkey is no longer the old Turkey. There is a new Turkey now, whose institutions have taken steps towards professionalization, whose political culture has matured, and whose citizens take care of its welfare and stability. This process can be interpreted as the reconciliation of state and society, large portions of which

had long been under-represented and even vehemently excluded from the country's administrative mechanisms. So, the question of what motivated people to go out into the streets in the face of gunfire and tanks has a simple answer: they rose up to protect the new Turkey which they had made great efforts to build for at least the last two decades. Undoubtedly, these developments took place under the strong leadership of President Erdogan who was ever ready to take the risk of countering a military coup and thus played a decisive role in helping Turkish democracy to survive.

THE JUDICIAL PILLAR OF FETÖ AND THE LAW: JULY 15 AND AFTER

CEM DURAN UZUN*

On the night of July 15, Turkey lived through one of the most important turning points of its history. The coup attempt led by the FETÖ member military officers in the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), was thwarted primarily thanks to the unyielding attitude and the bravery of the Turkish people. This attempt was doomed to failure for many reasons, apart from people's attitude, such as the president's strong leadership, the government's decisive attitude, the support from political parties, the fact that a significant section of the TSK did not support this movement and even opposed it, the police siding with the legitimate government despite severe losses, and the media siding with democracy. The nature of this attempt, why it failed, or its consequences will be discussed at length and in detail in the upcoming period. However, we can already say it is an undeniable fact that FETÖ is an armed terrorist organization, which can be as heedless as to attack civilians and the parliament with planes and tanks, and it can work in sly and dangerous methods to the point of capturing commanders by using their aide-de-camps and executive assistants. Following this, everybody understood that the judicial processes must react accordingly and take all necessary measures to remove the members or supporters of this structure from all levels of government.

FETÖ'S JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION

It is a known fact that one of the most important areas that must be purged of the FETÖ organization is the judicial system, where for years they have made vigorous efforts to be organized. This structure, used every possible method from stealing exam questions to blackmail and slander, and succeeded considerably in its organization and in capturing important, critical spots in the

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justice system such as in the TSK, and Security Forces. Its role in cases such as Ergenekon and Balyoz (Sledgehammer) showed the power of this structure in the judicial system, and especially after the 2010 Constitutional referendum, they controlled almost all of the judicial system through the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK). In their active period, they used the judicial system in parallel with their organizational purposes, completely against the Constitution, and the law, as a weapon and began a purge to clear the way for their own members in the TSK and many other institutions. Later, they began to target the government and the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) with the Feb. 7 MİT crisis, and the December 17-25 attempts. At the beginning of 2014, however, with the government's concerted efforts, the effectiveness of FETÖ in the justice sector was severely impeded. Most recently, with the HSYK elections in 2014, FETÖ's operational power was taken from them, and it was realized that they won a majority of almost half of the judicial system.

Judges and prosecutors from all walks of life, who had closely witnessed the activities of this structure, which operated with a tight hierarchy and a secret agenda within the judicial system, acting irrespective of any legal principles and rules and only in accordance with the demands from their organization, put their political views and differences aside and came together under the Platform of the Judicial Unity (Yargıda Birlik Grubu) and won the elections. Members in this group's list, who were known to be rightist, leftist, conservative, nationalist or Alevi, were elected as HSYK members and have exhibited a successful and pluralist administration for the past two years. Turning into an association later on, the Association of Judicial Unity (Yargıda Birlik Derneği), the platform should be examined as an example of a successful reaction to the same danger we are facing now. This association is the symbol of the union of judges and prosecutors who lived and

learned that the existence of FETÖ is a danger which should be eliminated beyond all political differences and struggles. It is necessary to put away daily political debates, and cooperate in order to eliminate this structure which has become a problem to national security, a threat to all rights and freedoms, and to our constitutional order.

EFFECTIVE AND CERTAIN MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN

The danger within and to the judicial system has been known for a long time, therefore following the July 15 coup attempt, simultaneously with the operations against the armed forces, dismissals and investigations of FETÖ members in the judicial system started. Even the operations concerning the Police Department, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, took place after the ones aimed at the judicial system. Around three thousand judges and prosecutors were dismissed and taken into custody from the Supreme Court, the HSYK, the Court of Cassation, and, in the first place, the Council of State. It is likely that this number will increase further. It should also be pointed out that these people were not identified in one day. As per its constitutional duty, the HSYK took action concerning these people before, and in accordance with the means of the current legislation and the available information their place of duty was changed, and they were given inactive duties. It was a known fact that this was the main objective of the legal regulation taken a month ago, and there were other endeavors going on. However, we can say that from now on more effective and certain measures will be taken.

Lastly, the investigations and prosecutions conducted within this period should be mentioned. Although, there have been extraordinary conditions since July 15, the processes of investigation and prosecution have not been left to personal initiatives; they are conducted in accordance with the decisions of competent judges

and prosecutors, and within the framework of the key provisions protecting the rights and freedoms of the Criminal Procedure. Even during the first days when there were still risks of a coup and of conflicts, the custody and arrest decisions were made by authorized judicial bodies, legal periods were abided, and the necessary forensics processes were executed. In other words, despite the extraordinary conditions, the fundamental principles of the democratic constitutional order were and continue to be maintained.

THE MENTALITY OF THE JUNTA COUP ATTEMPT

HASAN BASRÎ YALÇIN*

Three months ago when people, such as Michael Rubin, spoke of a coup we all got very angry. We thought that such men were stirring up provocations. We said they were dreaming. We always knew that they were calling for a coup by whistling. But we didn't know that there would be people who would run towards and answer this whistle. To our minds it wasn't something possible. It didn't have any logic. It didn't have either a political or a social foundation. There had been an election just seven months ago, and the government renewed its legitimacy with a historical record. All opposing groups felt obligated to show their respect for the national will. There wasn't any political or social vulnerability and instability to encourage the plotters of the coup.

However, FETÖ undermined the national will and attempted this madness as is it disengaged from the people, and doesn't know its own society; its relationship with the people outside its own organization's members is based on total fraud.

Throughout its history this group, saw the people of this country as crowds to exploit under the name of benevolence, to be used on political grounds, and to be ignored socially. They always stuck like a virus to areas not filled by the government, like a parasite on its coat-tails. They always believed that they were successful. They always coveted more. They didn't even have any tolerance towards the non-governmental organizations which weren't under their control. While talking about these, their hatred was clear in their eyes. As other masses of society didn't problematize their organized deception, they expanded more and more. However, they saw again and again that they couldn't have an effect on society no matter how much they expanded. Twice, they tried different kinds of coups with different methods. They were involved in various

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heinous acts before elections. They had no doubt that they could put their claim on people's will but they failed every time. Because they never knew the society they were in. They always thought that they could get stronger on the coat-tails of the strong. According to this logic, the source of power was not the people, but international effectiveness. They had such connections outside that there wasn't anything they couldn't achieve inside. At least, this was what their "older brothers" thought. Everything was instructed by those "older brothers" anyway. Those half-wit older brothers would tell them who to marry, what names to give their children, or whether they can visit their parents or not. They only followed orders. They didn't think of anything else besides carrying out a few simple methods they had memorized for years. If their "infallible and innocent" teacher said that "the international public opinion is in our favor," it was like that! It was not doubted! If he said "We were heralded," it was true! No question was asked! Only, what needs to be done was ordered, and they did it.

If we talked about this a month ago, this could seem like a caricaturized picture to some. We saw today that, even characters who managed to reach the status of general were not outside this logic. They were blind enough to undertake a suicide attack without giving further thought. From firing at civilians, to sending a killing squad to the country's elected president, and from bombing the parliament which is the symbol of the people's will, to hunting down innocent civilians with a sniper; there is no limit, no consideration.

For what? They wouldn't tell if you'd ask. They have to ask their older brothers. In fact, they all vaguely know that they want everything. But what is everything? Everything is not a concrete answer. What will happen next? It is also not definite. There is no need to answer these anyway, because this organization was established in this way. It became this strong because it was established on such irrationality - this same irrationality is causing its collapse.

UNSUCCESSFUL BLITZKRIEG

This is their third coup attempt. In the ones before, and for this one they made plans at length. They couldn't reach their aims in the first two, and this time as well. Their memorization on how they would do it is not enough to know what they will do. These kinds of operations need the skill of prioritizing the strategic targets. However, spineless people who have never determined any of their targets in their lives, cannot determine strategic priority. They know standard operation procedures by heart but they cannot make decisions in irregular environments.

They supposedly planned a blitzkrieg. However, they only memorized the speed and small unit side of a blitzkrieg, and studied how they would do it. Although, they had planned a blitzkrieg, they followed the attack plan of terrorization campaigns. They thought that once the military targets fell, the political targets would be alone, and the social support would collapse. Holding the bridges, and other transportation vehicles, is not a blitzkrieg but a terrorization campaign. For example, England which used terrorization, laid siege to all of Europe from the sea against Napoleon, closed off the transportation, and waited. Hitler who used a blitzkrieg didn't lose time with the Maginot Line, he went directly to Paris. They couldn't even see this difference.

Blitzkriegs focus on the target, while terrorization focuses on the tools. But their eyes are always on the tools. They started the operation on the bridges. They rushed to Telekom, raided TRT, went to CNN Türk, they wanted the Metropolitan Municipality. They didn't give special importance to the coup opponents' targets. They couldn't capture the Security buildings. Their operation against the MIT failed. In conclusion, both in Ankara and in İstanbul, the security forces cleared the places that were captured. They didn't even commence an operation against the prime minister or the ministers. The government worked like a clock in

Çankaya. Capturing the Chief of Staff, and the force commanders doesn't mean the end of politics and society. There is a real politics and society in this country. The government worked for hours in the absence of the commanders. When the chief of staff was rescued in the morning, the coup attempt had virtually ended.

WHEN THEY FAILED THEIR INTERNATIONAL “OLDER BROTHERS” STEPPED IN

They couldn't put the objectives in order. The people who belittled politics all their lives, couldn't see the power of politics in society. While every minute they couldn't reach their aims turned against them, they couldn't see that they stood against a leadership expert at setting strategy and political targets, and a nation that would follow his willpower. Their small, and mobile units were drowned in the crowds. While they waited on the bridge, Erdoğan plunged among the people. He hit the nail on the head. Then, he waited. While time was working against the FETÖ, its international “older brothers” started to crumble one by one. Though reluctantly, they had to declare support for the law and democracy in Turkey. This actually showed us, how Turkey can withstand even outside interferences when resistance on the inside increases.

THE ARMY SHOULD BE RESTRUCTURED

Today, the government is rounding up the FETÖ members. Once they are removed, this organization will cease to be a threat. However, this period showed us that crazed juntas can always emerge. Coup plotters can stage a coup attempt even if it is outside the chain of command. Therefore, we have to have an all-out fight against the junta. There are things to be done both on the political and the strategic dimension for this. Foremost among this, comes the restructuring of the army to discourage the formation of juntas. In order to prevent the domination of a minority group in the army, it should be made more open to the control of

political governments which wouldn't have the need of forming juntas. Once the army seems like it is far from political control, it is attacked by minority groups. Strategically, alternative measures should be developed against potential juntas which would be prone to blitzkriegs. The institutions and structures which will resist the junta will possibly use mobile and aggressive weapons, and should be equipped with defense weapons such as anti-tank and missile defense systems. Moreover, the kind and number of these institutions should be increased, and their strategic target type and number should be raised. Thus, coup plotters will have to divide their power, and the country will not be exposed to a coup.

THE ASSASSINS OF MODERN TIMES

ENES BAYRAKLI*

After the Dec. 17 and 25 judicial coup attempts failed, FETÖ started to be likened to the Assassins. During the July 15 coup attempt, FETÖ members bombarded the parliament, took the Chief of General Staff hostage, tried to assassinate the president, and killed civilians with tanks, war jets and helicopters. These were all shocking incidents. FETÖ's atrocity and ravenousness made the FETÖ members commit unprecedented offenses that have not been attempted by any other illegal organization throughout Turkey's history – all facts that lead to their association with the Assassins.

Founded and headed by Fetullah Gülen, this terror organization has many common aspects with the Assassins movement founded by Hasan Sabbah in the 11th century, which terrorized the Islamic world. Just like the disciples of Sabbah infiltrated the Seljuk Empire, Gülen's disciples infiltrated various state institutions of Turkey. Obeying all his orders unconditionally, Gülen's disciples partook in a bloody coup attempt in Turkey.

DECEPTION IS THEIR BIGGEST WEAPON

A comparative analysis of the psycho-theological resemblances between Hasan Sabbah's and Gülen's disciples shows that the association is quite sensible. One of the leading resemblances is the educational practices that tend to diverge from their doctrine are strictly prohibited. Sabbah prohibited his disciples from engaging in science based on the claim that they could reach Allah only through him. And we know Gülen has prohibited his followers from reading all religious sources other than his books.

One of the leading aspects the Gülen movement took over from the Assassins and Shia traditions is deception politics, which

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can be defined as talking or acting according to the conditions introduced by the context. Deception politics conceals its true motivations under the pretext of a lofty aim. While listening to Turkish pop singer Sezen Aksu was forbidden in their student dorms, they played English music in the lounge where guests were hosted. This mindset is full of such contradictions. With deception as a weapon, FETÖ members are raised and trained like robots who must unconditionally obey their superiors (abler) in the organization. This keeps them away from any kind of intellectual activity or discussion. Despite this, they represent themselves as the disciples of democracy, liberal values and pluralism in the international arena.

Another common trait of all mystical organizations is the eradication of all individual qualities for the maintenance of the group, which Gülenists and Assassins share in common. For the sake of the group, Gülenists stay away from sila-i rahim (Islamic order to maintain close ties with family and relatives). For the integrity of the group, Gülenists disregard the lives of their own and other individuals. In this way, one disciple of the Gülen movement can unconditionally accept working as a math teacher in Mozambique despite being a computer engineer. As can be seen, the only differentiating aspect between the Gülenists and Assassins is Gülen's rhetoric and crying sessions in place of the role of hemp for Sabah's disciples.

HALF-CENTURY-OLD SECRET ORGANIZATION

After the coup attempt, the number of state officials suspended from duty due to their ties with FETÖ shocked us all. However, the picture is not so surprising when it is considered that the parallel state is the outcome of an organization gradually and patiently formed over the course of half a century.

The Gülen movement regards the people outside of the organization with a Machiavellian and unhealthy point of view. For

FETÖ, people fall into three categories: the first group includes the saved ones believing in “Mahdi” Gülen. This group has four subcategories, namely “leader,” “senior imams,” “mid-level managers,” and “lower class.”

The second group comprises people that the Gülen group could manipulate regardless of their religion, nationality, or social status. A part of these people serve the movement for their own interests, while the other part serves since they are subjected to threats and blackmails by FETÖ. And the third group includes the people whom Gülen referred to as “deceived souls.” The movement attaches no value to the third group regardless of whether they are Muslim or not.

Beginning in the 1970s, the Gülen movement started to infiltrate the state institutions. It is known that this peculiar imam, who makes dramatic gestures during his ceremonies, also has a special interest in intelligence issues. By using the weapons of precaution, deception and patience, they leaked into the state. In 1986, the infiltrations within the army were revealed when the questions of the military high-school entrance exam were stolen. During the 1990s, Gülen introduced himself as a representative of liberal Islam defending dialogue between religions. Since then, Gülen’s followers aggressively set up their own cadres in public offices, particularly in security institutions. During this period, they resorted to various obnoxious methods including threat, blackmail, lies, and cheating that targeted those who were not in the movement.

RELATIONS WITH THE CIA

Gülen was probably noticed by the CIA, which carefully monitors social and religious movements across the world since the 1970s. In the 2000s, Gülen started to reside in the United States with the help of people with CIA connections and Gülen’s schools

were given great opportunities to organize themselves and enjoyed freedoms that were not allowed to any other Islamic movement across the world. All these factors indicate that there is a direct and active cooperation between Gülen and the CIA.

While organizing and forming networks within public offices, FETÖ also built its own media outlets, NGOs, private schools and finance organizations. The financial source managed by this terrorist group is estimated to have reached 150 billion dollars, which corresponds to the budget of a small country. As a result, by 2013, Gülen started to see himself as the ruling power. The first crisis between Gülen and the legitimate government arose during the appointment of the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) chief. Being aware of FETÖ's rising power, President Erdogan prevented a FETÖ-affiliated name from taking up the position. Upon that, the Gülen movement began to overtly challenge the state. This was followed by a coup attempt targeting the MİT, the Dec. 17 and 25 judicial coup attempts, the Gezi Park uprisings, and the July 15 insurrection.

When this picture is considered, it seems obvious that FETÖ has posed the biggest threat to the democratic constitutional order of the Turkish Republic so far. The dissolution of the organization, which does not value anyone but itself, is of vital importance for the future of our state and democracy.

THE JULY 15 COUP ATTEMPT: THE FOUNDING NATION AGAINST THE PARALLEL STRUCTURE

İSMAİL ÇAĞLAR*

“They’re provoking our people. Isn’t there a way to stop this?” asked one of the coup soldiers to his accomplices on the night of July 15. As much as we learned from the Whatsapp correspondences of coup plotters, this question remains unanswered. Of course, we all showed them there is not a way to stop this. The people were neither provoked nor ordered to take the streets. From the moment they heard about this attempt, our people were willing to give their lives in order to stop this cruelty. Just as people were trying to understand what was happening, we heard from President Erdoğan. He asked people go out to the streets and own their destinies.

People going out on to the streets to stop the coup is a dynamic which FETÖ members will never understand. The reason why they can never understand this and why they thought people would support them when they made a coup attempt is hidden in the structure of the organization. This organization recruits its members by gathering people from society and then cuts these people off from the rest of the population. Members are at school during the day, and they only socialize with the other members of the organization in the evenings. They return to the houses of the organization when their work “outside” is done. While this is their daily routine, other social relations are also based on the organization. The members get married to other members when the time is appropriate. The “service” mentioned in the organization’s propaganda is sanctified as an action which should be opted instead of family bonds, friendship, and human relations with other members of the community. Socially imprisoned by the organization, FETÖ members cannot reach any of the channels normal

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people use to form social bonds with others. Parents who have school-age children can socialize with other parents via messages, parent meetings and school trips. However, this is not possible for FETÖ members whose children attend the organization's schools. For FETÖ members living within a parallel structure, and with restricted communications with the outside world, "people on the outside" are not social companies. Rather, they are targets who need to be recruited, persuaded and transformed into sympathizers and/or members of the organization.

INSTRUCTION SUBSTITUTING THE TRUTH

The destroyed reality is replaced with another one: instructions from above!

The recruiting process of the organization does not end when, in order to be included in the organization, individuals are cut off from their social circles. On the contrary, it accelerates. FETÖ members are always subjected to "in-service training" via conversations, camps and events within the organization. Having both a hierarchical and ideological structure, there is always an ongoing indoctrination process in the organization. At the final phase of indoctrination, the members of the organization code everything they know as useful information which will help them survive in the "outside world" and cut their connections with reality.

The coup plotters taking action with instructions from above could not understand Turkish people's will to go out on to the streets. They thought people in the streets were only the ones supporting President Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKP. They assumed they were "provoked" crowds opposing their "legitimate" actions. It was incomprehensible for them that people can stand up for their country, nation, freedom, and most importantly for themselves. It was even more incomprehensible that some of these people did this with the guidance of the President who is the leader of

a political movement they did not support. FETÖ members who synchronized the reality and their lives to the organization could not understand that people can take action for something other than an organizational affiliation.

FETÖ members and the coup plotters who lost their ability to recognize reality thought that the Turkish people are just like them. However, the Turkish people carried out what was required of them by going out to the squares to suppress the coup attempt and to guard the rights of the national will on the night of July 15. Since there is no higher political concept than the direct will of the nation, the fact that people went out to the streets should be interpreted as “doing what is required of them” rather than “proving their adequacy.” This is what is required of a nation. “The nation” crowding the squares and “the squares” crowded by nations are not two different things. They are only two different manifestations or forms.

THE NATION'S MANIFESTATION AS "SQUARES"

This extraordinary manifestation had consequences other than preventing the coup. All the well-intentioned or malevolent doubts and discourses stating that Turkey has become an authoritarian regime heading towards a dictatorship or that Turkey can be dragged into a civil war have disappeared completely. The will of the nation represented in the squares showed that this is not possible. This will has proved that it can overcome all who dare to establish a cruel order, just like it overcame coup plotters in the military. The people proved that they will not be partners in crime when it comes to cruelty, they will oppose and go to the squares if necessary to establish justice.

The people showed that they are the owners and the real and primary protectors of the state, of constitutional order and public authority. This is also an internal message for the nation, as well

as an external one. For a long time, the Turkish nation has been alienated from the state which actually belongs to it. The state was alienated from the values and preferences of the nation, and it saw the nation as a threat. Thus, it tried to restrict the will of the nation by various bureaucratic guardianship instruments including military coups. A significant part of the nation faced the despotic side of the state, from their daily lives to their identity formation processes, and from their political preferences to their worlds of meaning. Society inevitably developed its self-defense reflexes against the state and therefore, the nation and state fell into a loop of alienation. The Turkish people who crowded the squares to prevent the coup attempt of coup plotters who are also FETÖ members on the night of July 15, also showed themselves that this separation between the state and the nation is not a rooted and genuine separation. Rather, it was a “defect” fixed by the nation itself.

From this aspect, the fact that the nation has been manifested as “squares” is more than a process preventing the coup. It is also a founding process. The nation fixed its problems and reconstructed itself. We are now faced with a new story, entirely written by the nation. Social polarization has been eradicated. The new story is the story of a civil nation not dictated from the outside and whose members can take part without the slightest discomfort - the nation who crowded the squares to oppose the coup on the night of July 15 is called the Turkish nation.

THREE THE RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE JULY 15 COUP ATTEMPT

THE JULY 15 RESISTANCE BY THE TURKISH PEOPLE: GOOGLING “HOW TO STOP A TANK”

SÜMEYRA YILDIZ*

On July 15, 2016, certain members of the Turkish army attempted a coup d'état to bring down the government. On the night of July 15, the people resisted this intervention, filled the squares all across Turkey and united against tanks, warplanes, and troops. Following the night of the coup attempt, graphs of Google trends illustrated an amazing fact: the number of the people googling “how to stop a tank” carried the words to the trend list.⁵ The subsequent events will live long in the memories as a glorious moment not just because of the fact that the coup attempt failed miserably, but also because by standing up to army tanks the Turkish civilians provided a remarkable example of a spontaneous civil resistance campaign against a military coup.

Civil resistance is an umbrella term for a number of concepts with distinctive connotations; the term has been used, among others, for satyagraha, nonviolent action, unarmed resistance, and people power. Civil resistance is a method of sociopolitical action for applying power in a conflict without use of violent action. It is a civilian-based method used through social, psychological, economic, and political means. The term “resistance” reflects both the non-institutional and confrontational nature of civil resistance. It is non-institutional in the sense that the civil resistance methods deliberately or compulsorily operate outside the conventional political sphere. It is confrontational in the sense that, civil resistance campaigns aim to weaken the opponents’ ability to sustain a particular policy or even undermine the ruler’s legitimacy and power as a whole. In the Turkish non-

⁵ CNN Türk, “‘Tank Nasıl Durdurulur’ En Çok Aranan Kelimeler Arasına Girdi”, July 20, 2016.

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violent resistance campaign, it is possible to diagnose both the confrontational and non-institutional nature of civil resistance movements.

WHAT EXACTLY HAPPENED ON JULY 15, 2016 IN TURKEY?

Late Friday, tanks rolled onto the streets of Ankara and İstanbul. Soldiers blocked the Bosphorus Bridge that connects the European and Asian sides of İstanbul. The Parliament, the Presidential Palace and some other government buildings including the police and intelligence headquarters were heavily attacked. Shortly before midnight, a faction of the military issued a statement, attempting to suspend the Constitution, impose martial law and enforce a nationwide curfew, claiming that the “political administration that has lost all legitimacy has been forced to withdraw.” In the advancing hours, President Erdoğan addressed the nation via FaceTime. Speaking to a CNN Türk anchor, he urged people to take to the streets to stand up to the junta. He said, “Go to the streets and give them their answer.”⁶ After the statement of the director of religious affairs calling people “to resist without resorting to violence,” mosque loudspeakers urged people to resist. Thousands heeded the calls to take to the streets, to resist the coup plotters. People marched with Turkish flags; they climbed onto the tanks. After a while photographs and video footages of civilians taking control of the tanks, and soldiers abandoning them gained widespread media coverage. Although there were some marginal cases in which some soldiers were tormented by angry crowds, it is generally reported that people took hold of Turkish soldiers participating in the coup, and handed them over to police officers. It is observed that to a large extent as a result of the resistance campaign, the coup attempt failed. The atrocious

⁶ Gül Tüysüz and Elliott C. McLaughlin, “Failed Coup in Turkey: What You Need to Know”, July 18, 2016.

coup attempt resulted in 240 deaths, and 2,195 injuries. In spite of the violent attacks by soldiers towards those resisting the coup attempt, people never abandoned their nonviolent methods, and remained steadfast in the streets. How did unarmed civilians of all ages become successful in the face of troops?

HOW DID THE JULY 15 RESISTANCE SUCCEED?

Firstly, the main logic behind any civil resistance campaign is that rulers derive their power from the people over whom they rule, and when an adequate number of the people withdraw their support for a considerable time, the rule disintegrates. Analyzing nonviolence merely as a technique, not a moral obligation, Sharp argues that “Without at least the passive support of the general population and his/ her agents the most powerful dictator in the world becomes just another crackpot with dreams of world domination.”⁷ He identifies six sources of power: the legitimacy of rule in the eyes of the people ruled; human resources provided to the government; citizens’ skills and knowledge to keep business and service systems operational; material resources; cultural and ideological beliefs to encourage obedience; and sanctioning the power of security officials imposed on the resisters in order to suppress them. A nonviolent strategy aims at withdrawing these power sources until the regime collapses.⁸ The people taking to the streets confirmed the idea that they would never accept the legitimacy of a junta regime in Turkey. From the very first moment it was made apparent to those involved in the coup and to an international audience that there was no way to make a junta regime legitimate in the eyes of Turkish people.

⁷ Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action Vol 3*, Boston: P. Sargent Publisher, 1973.

⁸ Sharon Erickson Nepstad, Nonviolent Civil Resistance and Social Movements, *Sociology Compass*, Vol 7 (7, 2013): 590-598 p. 592.

Secondly, there are certain psychological consequences of the use of nonviolent methods in the face of violent repression. Gregg argued that when unarmed resisters do not strike back, the opponents lose credibility. The resisters' acceptance of pain without attacking back will bring disgrace on the opponents, which will give resisters the ability to generate public support. Hence it is possible to argue that the failure of the coup attempt came as a result of the steadfastness of the people to resist by nonviolent methods. In recent events, it was observed how nonviolent action provided moral and psychological superiority to the Turkish people and caused despair to the other side.

The psychological superiority of the people in the streets is remarkable. Interviews conducted with the people who are participating in the guard of democracy reveal their psychological and moral superiority. A 46-year-old cleaning lady, who attends the protests in the late evening after work, says that she does not believe that there will be another coup attempt in the future. "They attempted such a thing because they did not predict that people would resist with such strength. Now they know what we can do. They will never dare to attempt a coup again."⁹ A 61-year-old man standing in the streets of Eskişehir since Friday night said, with pride in his eyes, that there will never be a coup from now on because the Turkish people did not give in and the ones with undemocratic aspirations would not attempt to do such a thing again.

Thirdly, they feel united and stronger when they are in the streets. It can be argued that this sense of solidarity and the participation in such a mass movement against an undemocratic attempt will have important consequences for Turkish democratic culture. Jacques Semelin argues that the goal of the unarmed resistance against Nazi occupation was not defeating them but, "to

⁹ Interview conducted, 20 July, Eskişehir.

preserve the collective identity of the attacked societies; that is to say their fundamental values. ...When a society feels less and less submissive, it becomes more and more uncontrollable. Then, even if the occupier keeps its power, it loses its authority.”¹⁰ It is apparent that the resistance movement has a strong role in the failure of the coup attempt. In addition to this, it is possible to argue that the resistance movement will result in a “less submissive, and more uncontrollable” society, which will be a factor that should be considered by anyone with undemocratic plans. In other words, it can be argued that the July 15 civil resistance movement prepared the grounds for a more democratic Turkey in the future.

Fourthly, civil resistance comes to fruition by two mechanisms. It either affects the decisions of domestic actors, or rallies international support around its cause and achieves its goal through the pressure of the international community on the government. I will argue that in the Turkish case the first aforementioned mechanism led to success. The coverage of the coup attempt and the resistance of the people in Turkey in the international media reflected a “wait and see” strategy in the public opinion of the world. Instead of the undemocratic nature of the attempt the measures applied to maintain the public order were scrutinized in the international media. Therefore it is possible to argue that the failure of the coup attempt owes almost nothing to the international public or actors’ pressure, and rather owes everything to the civil movement’s ability to change the behavior of the perpetrators. Civil resistance movements operate through four main mechanisms of change. The behavior of the adversaries (the coup makers in our case) can be changed due to acts of conversion, accommodation, coercion, or disintegration. Coercion mechanisms work when resisters ac-

¹⁰ Jacques Semelin, *Unarmed against Hitler: Civilian Resistance in Europe, 1939-1943*, (Praeger Publishers, 1993), p. 3.

quire the ability to impose their will as opposed to the will of their adversaries. The Turkish people filling the streets and forcing soldiers to abandon their tanks implemented the strategy of coercion. So, the success of the campaign turns out to be a product of internal mechanisms rather than external pressures exerted on the coup makers.

Fifthly, in general, nonviolent campaigns are more likely to attract higher levels of participation than violent campaigns. It is shown that major nonviolent campaigns are successful 53 percent of the time, compared with 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns. The main reason behind this success is that the implementation of nonviolent methods enhances the movement's legitimacy, which encourages more broad-based participation in the resistance. The mobilization of people is an important factor leading to success of a civil resistance campaign. Widespread participation increases the likelihood of success.¹¹ On July 15, 2016, the high level of participation was affected by two major factors. Firstly, the anti-coup sentiment was widely shared in Turkish society, and the action concerned was non-military or nonviolent in character, which increased the participation rates.

Lastly, the movement was an example of an elite directed defensive resistance. The statement of President Erdoğan, calling people to stand up to the junta constituted a turning point in the course of events. Although a number of people took to the streets before the statement, the bulk of the resisters were mobilized following the statement. Besides, the calls to prayer from mosques also urged people into the streets, having a considerable impact in motivating people towards action. In the light of these evaluations,

¹¹ Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. "The Primacy of Participation in Non-violent Resistance." In *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Non-Violent Campaign*, by Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, 30-62. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 30.

it is possible to argue that the movement has emerged as a result of an elite-directed mobilization, whereby elites harness popular discontent. The logic behind a defensive resistance may be summarized as follows: “we protect those in danger, and preserve certain values endangered by an illegitimate power.” The resisters in Turkey pronounced that they will stand up to the coup, and filled the squares to “protect the nation, homeland, democracy, freedom.” The protection of shared values that unite society is stated as the motivation behind the resistance, by the resisters themselves. Accordingly there is no doubt that the civil resistance campaign of July 15 has a defensive nature.

THE FUTURE OF THE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN

There is copious evidence from historical examples that civil resistance can be an effective technique of social action. The resistance of the Turkish People against the coup attempt on July 15 constitutes a remarkable example of how nonviolent civil resistance succeeds. The steadfastness of the resisters to remain nonviolent played and will play an important role in the future of the July 15 resistance movement. It is the nonviolent and civilian nature of the resistance which undermined all the legitimacy claims of the coup plotters. That's why the people who will stand guard against any coup attempts in the future should continue to apply nonviolent methods. The calls urging people to stand against the coup saved Turkish democracy from a deadly attack. The coup plotters and the ones who committed crimes in the course of the events are entitled to a fair trial in order to maintain people's respect for the rule of the law. Lastly, the exciting success story of the July 15 civil resistance campaign should be communicated in the international media more broadly. The lessons that the Turkish experience has taught us have the potential to inspire resistance movements against coup d'états all across the world.

THE DEMOCRACY GUARDS' STATE OF MIND

SERDAR GÜLENER*

In the face of the coup attempt organized by FETÖ on the night of July 15, people poured into the streets upon the call of President Erdoğan. The democracy defense that began on that night in the streets solidified the determination of the coup resisters and rendered the attempt ineffective. Although a week has passed since the attempt, people still continue to gather in public squares to protect democracy.

Aside from signifying the presence of a danger in waiting, the democracy watch also symbolize people's stance against the coup. People continue to issue the message that they guard democracy, and the constitutional and legitimate government by gathering in squares every night. At this point, indicating the codes of public reflexes is crucial to shedding light on the possible reactions to similar movements in the future.

Within his scope, a field study was initiated by SETA in the aftermath of the coup attempt and a series of interviews were conducted with the persons joining the democracy defense. In Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana, Sakarya and Trabzon provinces, many face-to-face interviews were made and the findings were assessed. The findings were evaluated in two specific contexts. The first is the framework that was formed through the answers to the questions regarding the experiences on the night of July 15, the aftermath of July 15, and the confrontation with the coup attempt. The second context is the narrative account of people's observations with the aim to reveal the general psychology prevalent in the squares.

THE NIGHT OF JULY 15 AND ITS AFTERMATH

The results of the interviews show that the "stance against coup" acted as the main motivation mobilizing all the people to

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the streets regardless of their political views. Another aspect that must be emphasized is that Erdoğan's call accelerated the street mobilizations. Also, a considerable part of the participants expressed how they saw the president's composure and call to public as the main factor that repelled the coup. A substantial part of the participants stated that TV broadcasts and social media had a major role in the people's organized resistance. It must also be added that the misinformation in some of the news circulating in social media was not taken into consideration by the participants.

Underlining the police's struggle during and after the coup attempt, the participants also regard the contribution of the police's anti-coup fight as a valuable factor leading to the failure of the attempt.

Almost all participants referred to various foreign forces that abet FETÖ as one of the components behind the attempt. Most of them regard the United States as responsible for the insurrection since it hosts FETÖ leader Gülen. Furthermore, the participants stated that they found the news on the subject released by European media outlets biased and fabricated.

Although most of the people in the squares are AK Party proponents, the MHP and CHP electorate are also participating in the democracy defense. The anti-coup sentiment in particular was especially strong among the nationalists. Some participants in various cities expressed a lack of trust towards the approach of the CHP.

TRUST IN TSK IS EXPECTED TO IMPROVE AFTER IT IS CLEANSED OF FETÖ AFFILIATES

A big question remains as to whether the organization of the coup attempt by a terrorist group that infiltrated the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) changed society's perspective towards the TSK. A substantial part of the participants do not consider the ter-

rorist elements and the rest of the TSK the same, while expressing that cleansing the terrorist elements from the TSK would improve the prestige and trustworthiness of the institution. Nevertheless, some participants taking into consideration that in the past the TSK had acted on the grounds of ideological concerns, now approach the institution more cautiously. The emergence of such an initiative within the TSK leads some participants to believe that a security weakness might arise in the process following the attempt. However, a considerable part agrees that the government and President Erdoğan will not allow such a weakness to manifest.

All participants wished the coup plotters to be held accountable for their actions but emphasized that this must be carried out within the scope of the law and that they must be given fair trials. However, they argue that the penalties given to them must act as deterrents to similar actions in the future. The outstanding options of penalties in this respect include life imprisonment and capital punishment.

Also, there is a strong consensus among the participants that the political power's fight in the aftermath of the coup attempt has been very successful and this fight must be maintained until the FETÖ threat is completely eradicated.

OBSERVATIONS FROM PUBLIC SQUARES

To better grasp the collectivity of the people gathered in squares, the participation rates, the songs and anthems played, the slogans and the placards give some important clues. In cities like İstanbul and Ankara, where people and the coup attempters confronted and clashed with each other more intensely, the participation rates in the democracy watch are much higher and people tend to stay in the meetings longer.

In all the public squares where people gathered, an atmosphere of festivity is prevalent. The crowds enthusiastically sing along and

shout slogans in unison. In some provinces, municipalities and various NGOs offered food and drinks to people.

Another notable aspect in the squares is the slogans shouted in favor of President Erdoan in the company of Turkish flags. The most popular slogans include “Democracy is and will remain ours,” “Martyrs do not die, our country is not split,” “Ya Allah, Bismillah, Allahu ekber,” “We sacrifice our lives for our country,” “One nation, one flag, one homeland.” In addition, prayers and passages from the Koran are being recited almost in every square in the memory of the martyrs. Mehter anthems are being played and hymns are being sung. The most popular songs include “Dombra,” “Trkiye’m” (My Turkey), and the soundtrack of the TV series “Dirili” (Resurrection).

TURKISH PEOPLE SHOULD GET THE NOBEL PRIZE

KILIÇ BUĞRA KANAT*

A year ago after visiting the refugee camps in the southeastern cities of Turkey, I wrote a piece about the generosity of Turks and the dedication of the members of Turkey's Disaster Management Authority (AFAD). Both the people and the association are exerting incredible effort to host millions of refugees in their homes, neighborhoods and cities. A year later when I visit the city of Kilis, which was that day under the attack of DAESH with Katyusha rockets, I wrote that the people of Kilis and AFAD deserve a Nobel Peace Prize for their valor and hospitality.

After the failed coup attempt in Turkey on July 15, the Nobel Peace Prize for the Turkish people became a much more significant necessity. On that fateful night the Turkish people demonstrated all forms of courage and brevity against the oppressive forces as well as its dedication and commitment to democracy on the streets of Turkey. The shootings from the helicopters, the bombs from war planes, the bullets from the coup plotters on the ground and the tanks running over the demonstrators did not stop them. They were standing against the coup plotters by showing utmost perseverance and diligence. Throughout the night their resolution and endurance stunned not only the coup plotters but also surprised the people around the world. Standing in front of the tanks and weapons of the armed forces has, for many years, been the symbol of resistance, resilience, defiance and challenge to the authoritarianism. The iconic Tank Man picture, the challenge of a single man to a tank at the Tiananmen Square became one of the most notable photos of the 21st century. The international community saw the ordinary people challenging the tanks by their hands and bodies in each and every city around Turkey. It was also a surprise to the

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coup plotters who were expecting an obedient public opinion following their declaration of martial law. The video recordings that were circulated on the social media following the coup demonstrated a different form of heroism in front of the tanks. It was a showcase of ordinary people fighting for their rights and freedoms when they are under threat.

Another significant dimension of the public mobilization since July 15 was that it was a totally peaceful and nonviolent resistance against the coup plotters. The demonstrators generated an exemplary discipline in keeping the rallies and protests against the coup in a peaceful manner. Other than a few exceptional instances, compared to the use of arms and ammunitions against the protesters, they preferred to stick with their flag poles without any party or ideology symbol and succeeded to stop the tanks in the midst of the streets. It was a night full of lessons for the people studying nonviolent movement around the world. The provocations of the military personnel using live ammunition and physical and verbal assault did not change the attitude of the people on the streets.

After this heroic night and the incredible generosity and hospitality of the Turkish people for the last five years, Turkish people demonstrated that they deserve every peace prize in the world, including Nobel. The pictures and videos from the resistance to the coup and the rallies for the last 10 days in the streets showed that Turkish people know how to protect, preserve their democracy peacefully under any form of threat. Their exemplary hospitality and understanding along with this heroism leaves no excuse for the committees of these prizes around the world to recognize and celebrate the Turkish people's contribution to peace, stability and democracy in the region and the world.

TURKEY'S THWARTED MILITARY COUP ATTEMPT AND THE MEDIA: A NEW VISUAL FRONT FOR RESISTANCE

MURAT YEŞİLTAŞ*

After the dramatic turn of events in the confusing hours of that thrilling and fateful night in July when an attempted coup in Turkey was thwarted, we know one thing much better than before: the power of the people using the Internet communication tools and platforms can be greater than the power of the military. Thanks to the mobilizing force of the new communication tools, the people went out in the streets in their epic struggle against the junta to face nothing less than the buzzing F-16's and rumbling tanks firing live ammunition and bombs at the protesters. There is no doubt that the public protests across the country against the attempted coup have taken place on multiple fronts by multiple segments of the Turkish society. However, the vital role played by the Internet media in deterring the coup merits particular attention.

Literally every digital social media platform from end-to-end encryption to FaceTime communication tools were put to use both by the officers in the attempted coup, by the civilians and the political forces. The latter included the President himself, who not only tweeted his anti-coup message to mobilize his eight million followers to resist the putschists but also used a popular news channel and connected through FaceTime video chat app on the iPhone, calling on all the people to stage anti-coup protests by taking to the streets and guarding critical check-points including the bridges and airports. Seeing the President alive and well through the improvised video link assured the people of the authenticity and urgency of the call. The people's power and many Internet platforms not only stopped the participating soldiers but also deterred many other soldiers waiting their turn at the barracks. Most

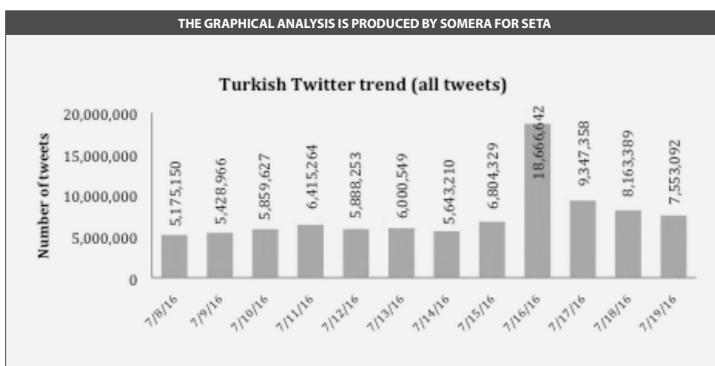
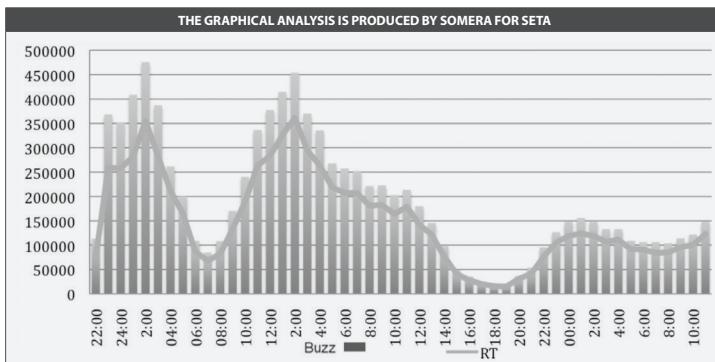
* Director, SETA

of the social forces posted statements on Twitter, including many MPs and political parties.

Those mainstream TV channels that managed to stay on air were quick to side and sync with the digital social media platforms helping to mobilize and inform the public. Soon after the people took to the streets to stop the coup attempt, they did crush the coup. While the military tried to take control of the state-run TRT – as it had done in the previous military coups – this soon proved futile because other private mass communication channels propitiously reported about the perplexing situation, conveyed the unanimous anti-coup message of the political class and even urged the people to march in the streets to stop the coup. This has showcased the immense mobilizing role of new communication technologies such as digital mass media in crushing the attempted military coup.

Make no mistake: this is not an ode to the enfolding romantic tale of social media's liberation power. Rather it is to understand the powerful sources of massive civilian uprising against the cruel bombings and brutal attacks by the military. Digital social media disseminated the overall anti-coup attitude of the activists as well as the lay people. Indeed, such a power proved critically instrumental in mobilizing the people; showing the power of the small street activism that has eventually triggered the ongoing mass protests. For example, the feeds following hashtags such as #Darbeye-Hayır (No to the Coup) and #MilletçeMeydanlardayız (The whole nation is at the maidans) were already trending for hours.

According to the data provided by Somera, the number of tweets increased by 223 percent and a total of 34,818,329 interactions was shared, reaching to a staggering of 15 million people. After 10:00 PM on July 15th, the buzz regarding the attempt started to rise, as President Erdoğan did a FaceTime on CNN Türk the first peak occurred. The next morning, the attempt failed and the second peak happened.



As soon as the tanks blocked the roads, including the famous Bosphorus bridge in İstanbul, amidst gunshots and flying F16's, the citizens, who just happened to be there as they were returning home after work, started live-streaming through the social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter. It is important to emphasize that the most shocking as well as mobilizing were the horrific images of tanks ruthlessly running over the civilians as well as appalling images of F-16's bombing the Turkish Parliament building.

To be sure, the President's video-chat and above-mentioned image sharing proved much more effective than other uses. Fearing that a possible military coup would ruin the lives and upset the country's future prospects they tuned in to listen to the Prime Minister, Binali Yıldırım, who connected to the NTV news TV channel

through a phone call confirming what was feared most, that this was indeed a coup attempt and that the public did not know the whereabouts of the PM. It was, however, the social media feeds that later carried the night with live-stream and critical information on the worsening of the situation. From the beginning of the coup attempt until 16 July midnight, there were approximately 180 tweets posted from the official Twitter account of the Prime Ministry itself. Clearly those tweets aimed to mobilize the people. The Presidency posted 35 tweets, whereas the main opposition party CHP's official page posted 7 tweets and MHP 24 tweets.

While all the TV channels were importantly unified against the coup attempt and strongly condemned it, they were clearly out powered by the power of images and narratives presented live-stream at the social media platforms across the country. Only minutes before midnight, a couple of soldiers managed to enter the offices of TRT where at gun-point they forced the anchor, Tijen Karas, to read the statement written by the junta which claimed that the government had been overthrown and that the people should return home leaving the streets to the tanks and officers for their safety.

In order to maintain the momentum of protests the day after the military coup attempt, the Internet communication platforms continued to play vital roles in convincing the people to stay in the city centers during the following nights to deter any remnants of the putschists from staging another coup. One can only hope that the anti-coup protests and the use of digital and visual media would be an opportunity for understanding the necessity of the responsible use of open Internet. The latter heralds a transforming social space beyond the traditional political practice by promising to fill the destructive gap within those highly connected yet disenfranchised social forces. It may also help to stop the existential polarization in a society otherwise driven by social and political divisions.

“TURKS ACHIEVED IT, SO WE CAN DO IT, TOO”

CAN ACUN*

On Friday night, I was at the video desk of the TRT News in Ankara for the shooting of a program. After the program ended, some jets appeared flying very low around 10.00 p.m., a few minutes before the coup plotters raided the studio. At first sight, I assumed that it was either a military exercise or a mobilization as part of a terrorism alert. However, all the indications showed that a coup attempt was impending.

Within a few hours, thousands of people upon President Erdoğan’s call took to the streets and tried to guard critical state institutions despite jets and helicopters hovering in the air. So, we joined the crowd.

The events reminded me of my experiences in Egypt. I was in Cairo when the coup on July 3, 2013 took place. All of a sudden Apache helicopters started to fly over us and tanks were positioned everywhere during that coup. While hundreds of thousands of Egyptians supporting the coup poured into the streets for celebrations, General al-Sisi declared that he had seized control of the governance of the country. While a substantial part of people were endeavoring to resist the coup, another part was unfortunately organizing celebrations at Tahrir Square and other spots. Afterwards, massacres kicked off. President Morsi was sentenced.

Those resisting the coup were brutally murdered before my eyes. Particularly what happened in Rabia was impossible to forget. The square, in which hundreds of thousands of people gathered to resist the coup, was beleaguered by troops. Helicopters and tanks simultaneously opened fire on people. People were set afire. During the coup process, more than 40,000 people were arrested. Then tortures came... Endless tortures...

* Researcher, SETA

"TURKEY WILL NOT TURN INTO EGYPT OR SYRIA"

While I was in front of the Turkish Parliament, my mind was crowded with these thoughts, but still I thought that Turkish soldiers cannot target their fellow citizens and can by no means be involved in murderous acts. At this moment, an F-16 jet lowered towards the ground and dropped a bomb on the Parliament. We heard an earsplitting noise. We were all shocked. Did the Turkish Armed Forces just bomb the Turkish Parliament, the symbol of the Turkish nation? Then sorties continued the bombardment. The Cobras were accompanying the jets, opening fire on the Parliament. Through social media, I also saw that the National Intelligence Organization in Ankara, the Special Operations Office, the Police Department and the Presidential Complex were also bombed with the same atrocity.

While I was asking myself if the country will turn into Egypt, I thought the people would not allow such a thing to happen. I am sure many people felt the same way during that night. On one hand there is Egypt, which is subjected to a coup, on the other hand we have Syria, which was turned into a wreck by al-Assad. All the suffering, blood and tears... the innocent people who are hit with barrel bombs and whose screams ascend to the heavens. The mutual pain of a community we identify ourselves with... Maybe thanks to this identification, we were able to say "stop" to the coup attempt.

It was seen that our nation would never allow the repetition of the atrocities that have occurred in our country in the past. Throughout the night, the number of people on the streets kept rising despite bombardments and tanks. People lied in front of tanks, stood up against bullets, risking their lives – all evidence that the Turkish people did not surrender to the coup attempt. The prayers recited from the mosques muffled up the sonic booms made by jets. And the coup attempt, or better phrased, the siege,

was eventually repelled. A new war of independence was marked.

No one took to streets to side with coup attempters

Of course, Turkey is neither Egypt nor Syria. The coup was attempted not by the army hierarchy but by a junta lead by the Gülenist terror organization, which has outside support. Our police and intelligence units resisted the coup at the cost of their lives. A strong political leadership was displayed particularly by President Erdoan, while the Parliament carried out a sacred duty. The media could not be censored, and even a small minority did not take to the streets to side with the coup.

All these differences were crucial in detrimental the outcome. But the traces and testimony in our hearts of the incidents in Egypt and Syria were also a major component. Now, in the entire Islamic world, this glorious resistance of the Turkish nation will leave a mark in hearts and may inspire new resistances against coups. “Yes, Turks achieved it, so we can do it, too.”

FOUR REFLECTIONS ON TURKEY COUP ATTEMPT

TURKEY SAFER TODAY THAN IT WAS YESTERDAY

FAHRETTİN ALTUN*

SIDE EFFECTS OF THE JULY 15 COUP ATTEMPT

The July 15 coup attempt has brought about staggering changes to Turkey's socio-political reality. This bloody attempt, led by Fethullah Gülen, was obstructed by the political leadership of President Erdoğan, the anti-coup broadcasts of the Turkish media, the successful operations of the security forces, and obviously by the Turkish people going out into the streets and standing up against the tanks and armed pro-coup soldiers. Ever since the night of July 15, ordinary people have been watching and guarding Turkey's democracy with great determination in a festive atmosphere of solidarity throughout the country. Lights have not been dimmed and the squares are full. Thousands of people still spend their nights in the streets upon the call of President Erdoğan, who said that the threat is not yet over and that the "democracy watch" should continue.

One significant thing that has changed in Turkey after the failed coup attempt is above all the intense atmosphere of interaction and dialogue between various actors, both in the politics and society. Over the past few years, analysts of Turkish politics have constantly referred to the issue of political and even social polarization. Regarding this debate, I have persistently argued that while one can speak of political polarization, it would be unrealistic to speak of social polarization in Turkey. People's reactions to the July 15 coup attempt clearly demonstrate that Turkish society objected to – and foiled the coup attempt – as a whole.

Following the solidarity shown by Turkish society, a new political environment of normalization and dialogue has appeared in Turkey's politics. Opposition party leaders condemned the coup

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attempt and responded positively to Erdoğan's call. Afterward, Parliament met in an emergency session and the four parties in Parliament signed a joint declaration. This is something that had never happened before in Turkey's recent political history. No matter how baseless and irrational the western representation of Erdoğan has been, the negative image of President Erdoğan in the eyes of the opposition parties has shrunk to a great extent. The general understanding among the Turkish public is that Erdoğan's decisiveness on the night of the coup attempt, and the struggle he has led against Gülen's illegal organization over the past several years, greatly contributed to thwarting the coup attempt.

What is more, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party), the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), and the far-right opposition Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) were invited to the Presidential Palace in Beştepe. The photo of Erdoğan, Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, CHP Chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and MHP Chairman Devlet Bahçeli at the meeting illustrated a turning point in Turkish politics. Observers of Turkish politics know well that the opposition parties conducted their election campaigns in the last four elections based on their opposition to Erdoğan. Especially in the last two elections, they slammed the construction of the Presidential Palace.

Another contribution of the July 15 coup attempt to Turkish politics is the positive politicization of people. By actively going out into the streets to protect their votes, large numbers of Turkish citizens have participated in politics not merely by voting at the ballot box. This politicization had occurred in an incomparably limited manner during the Gezi Park protests in 2013, and has been constantly mentioned in the headlines of the Western media. Given the western media's current ideological blindness, however, it is not difficult to predict that the Turkish people's recent turnout will not attract the attention of the Western world.

Following the July 15, Turkey witnessed an increase in capacity in the fields of politics, bureaucracy, civil society, media, and economics. Despite the trauma caused by the Gülenist coup attempt, no economic turmoil was experienced; structural solutions to Turkey's awaiting political problems were sought; civil society organizations concentrated their efforts on rehabilitating the society; the media undertook the duty of providing Western audiences with true information; and Turkey's bureaucracy quickly adapted to the new period, recovering itself to become more functional.

But there are fundamental steps ahead of Turkey that must be taken. The first step involves the fight against the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ), which attempted the coup with state-owned aircrafts, tanks and firearms. To achieve this goal, the leader of this movement must be captured and deprived of his financial resources; his domestic and international activities must be terminated; and his criminal followers should be brought to justice. The second step would be to prevent any group from turning into a terrorist organization like FETÖ. Turkey must cultivate an environment where no group, regardless of its ideology, is allowed to use state power for its own interests or to form a parallel structure within the state.

And finally, structural adjustments must be made to prevent any non-political actors, especially in the military, to restrain democracy. Although civil-military relations in Turkey after 2002 have developed in favor of civilians, the July 15 coup attempt revealed that Turkey has yet to completely rid itself of the "military coup" threat. There is no doubt that fully-fledged democratization has been under way since 2002, and that political stability, economic growth and social welfare played a major role in repelling the July 15 coup attempt. But, on the other hand, military educational institutions must be extensively revised; spa-

tial arrangements in terms of military bases and garrisons must be discussed, along with professionalizing the military and other similar steps.

OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEW ERA

If the coup had succeeded, Turkish society would have faced heavy losses: the leading representatives in politics, media and civil society would have been executed, the chaos in the Middle East would have deepened, and Turkey would have become the main focus of global disintegration in the 21st century. Thankfully, President Erdoğan was saved from the assassination attempt and his leadership played a key role in thwarting the coup attempt. Since July 15, Erdoğan's leadership has taken on a different meaning in the eyes of the political actors in Turkey. In the wake of the coup attempt, Erdoğan's discourse of "localism and nationalism" (*yerli ve milli*) will probably appeal to a wider audience from different segments of society. Now, both Erdoğan's development and combat strategies have a greater capacity to move a wider sociopolitical ground than they did before the July 15. An opportunity for political interaction arose during the purging of the coup, which had not been experienced between different political actors for many years. When all is taken into account, one can argue that today we are living in a much safer and stronger Turkey than before the July 15; we now have better opportunities to get rid of new threats and to use new facilities. Democratic politics in Turkey is undoubtedly central for solving the social, political and economic problems of the country. Despite the fact that Turkey is busy with recovering from the problems caused by the coup attempt, Turkish democracy is moving in the right direction.

TURKEY WON, THE WEST LOST ON JULY 15

ALİ ASLAN*

During the July 15 process, the tendencies to violate the rules of democratic politics, which has often been seen in various attempts to overthrow the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) and Erdoğan, reached its peak. The process encompassed preparing a convenient atmosphere for a coup for months beforehand, providing practice for and discourses to the coup, and the efforts to obscure it after its failure.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE COUP

The discourses such as authoritarianism, radical Islam and corruption lost their influence since AK Party had an outstanding victory in the Nov. 1, 2015 general elections and the counter-terrorism fight stood out as the number one agenda topic. The disappointment caused by that lead to the circulation of a new discourse, which highlights that violence and chaos would rise across the country and the army would seize power as the political will loses its strength. Some grounded the calls to stage a coup on the claims that the political power is weak and ineffective, while others sought to justify the coup by asserting that the army would intervene in politics again with the rising prestige it enjoyed as part of the fight against the PKK.

An article entitled “Turkey’s Next Military Coup” by Gönül Tol, which was published by *Foreign Affairs* on May 30, sets a good example of this discourse. Michael Rubin, who is a former Pentagon employee, published an article in March at the American Enterprise Institute, which points out that a convenient ground was formed to stage a coup in Turkey, and that the new U.S. presidential candidates would ostensibly react against the coup but they would end up cooperating with the coup plotters. Turkey’s left-

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wing media outlets applauded this article, asserting that the allegation of a military coup in Turkey, which has been whispered for a while, is explicitly articulated in this article. Besides, some journalists at dissident media outlets in Turkey, including Rıza Türmen and Tarhan Erdem, began to emphasize that it is not possible to overthrow the government within the realm of democratic politics and party politics, so a “democracy front” which would organize street demonstrations must be formed for this purpose. Such a “civilian” formation was reminiscent of the psychological and social support received at the previous “successful” coups.

The silence of Western states and politicians during the coup attempt were noticed. The U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry acted as a representative of the West. He repeated the outdated remark that Turkey must respect democracy, human rights, and fundamental liberties. Also, according to a report by *The Wall Street Journal* based on some U.S. officials, intelligence units conveyed to the White House that the coup attempt was legitimate. Afterwards, Kerry threateningly remarked that Turkey’s NATO membership would be at stake in response to the criticism of the U.S.’s silence to the incident. Kerry also tried to make things difficult for the extradition of FETÖ leader Gülen to Turkey. The U.S. authorities demanded evidence from Turkey and emphasized that they had not received an official request. The EU meanwhile threatened Turkey to suspend its EU membership process if the death penalty is reintroduced.

WESTERN MEDIA SIDES WITH COUP ATTEMPTERS

Various interesting analyses appeared in the Western media, which displayed a disgraceful performance during the coup attempt. While the coup attempt was still not fully overcome, representatives of prominent Western media outlets conducted an interview with Gülen in his house in Pennsylvania. The interview

highlighted that Gülen has no ties with the coup. Speaking to Fox News, former military officer Ralph Peters talked about the Islamization threat to Turkey and added that a coup is the last hope for democracy in the country. Some claimed that Erdoğan's authoritarian and repressive policies lead to the coup, thus attempting to conceal the real actors behind the attempt. In another article, written by Alev Scott and published by *The Guardian*, anti-coup protesters were represented as a "violence-prone gang." Another article published by *The New York Times* after the coup also humiliated the people repelling the coup by referring to them as a "herd."

Western media outlets put the coup plotters and the AK Party government in the same equation and commented that democracy in Turkey is under a twofold siege. According to an analysis also shared by dissidents in Turkey, the coup was plotted by Erdoğan himself in order to enable the introduction of a presidential system and to consolidate his power. Some Erdoğan dissidents went even further and claimed that there might be a covert cooperation between Erdoğan and Gülen. Last but not least, the U.S.-based intelligence agency Stratfor attempted a perception operation asserting that Erdoğan issued an asylum request to Germany during the coup attempt and provided information via twitter about the route of Erdoğan's plane which took off from Marmaris, escaping the assassination attempt.

THE WEST OBSCURED THE COUP ATTEMPT

After the coup attempt failed, a great disappointment prevailed in the Western media. It was emphasized that the failed coup consolidated Erdoğan's power, and conservative politics and secularism were endangered. For instance, the BBC Turkish represented the cleansing of state organs after the attempt as a pincer movement of the conservative-religious government against the liberal-secular segment. In his article published by *The New York Times* on July

18, Tim Arango pointed out in yet another Orientalist response that Turkey is drifting in to the swamp of the Middle East with the failure of the coup attempt. Writing for the blog OpenDemocracy, Cihan Tuğal defined the repellence of the coup as a victory of neo-fascism. Some calmer criticisms were also released regarding the failed coup attempt along with the ones seeking to obscure it. For instance, Stratfor underlined that Turkey would be defenseless against the threats in the region after the coup. Similar analyses were made inside the country. According to some arguments, the control and cleansing operations of the army weaken the latter in the fight against the PKK.

All in all, it can be seen that some Western politicians and media outlets had prepared ground for the coup. The normalization of the country's politics is constantly hindered by states of exception and the grounds for anti-political interventions are kept prepared. The West's approach towards the coup was disrespectful. For the sake of some interests, the fundamental principles of the West, including democracy, were disregarded. The West lost a substantial part of its prestige, while democratic politics and social bonds were consolidated in Turkey.

FETÖ, THE COUP AND EUROPE

KEMAL İNAT*

First of all, I would like to point out that not all Europeans share the same opinion over the blood-stained coup attempt recently experienced in Turkey. It is known that numerous European people look at the subject within the framework of democracy and human rights, determinedly reacted against the heinous coup attempt and are grieved by the loss of people who were killed while struggling against the coup.

However, when the leading actors of European politics and media are considered, it can be seen that they pursue an ambiguous policy by focusing on who would rule after the coup instead of determinedly reacting against the coup. They acted the same way in the face of former coups staged or attempted in Turkey, Egypt, and Algeria. Within the framework of interest-focused policies, they seem to lean towards the coup that might overthrow a government that does not align with their policies, and object to the coup if it would happen to bring the parties they dislike to power.

It is not hard to explain this interest and power-focused approach in the scope of the general principles of international politics. We should not allow their anti-coup remarks to deceive us since they issued these remarks after understanding that the attempt they originally supported resulted in a failure. Unless a coup is plotted by them from the very beginning, they support or object to the coup based on their political interests. Their statements underlining “siding with the legitimate government” and “defending democracy” carry little significance.

EUROPE DOES NOT SUPPORT TURKEY'S FIGHT AGAINST FETÖ

To comprehend the policies of our Western “allies” in the process of FETÖ’s coup attempt, we must bear in mind the above-

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mentioned points. The first point that must be emphasized within this scope is the fact that Erdoğan and the AK Party, the targets of the coup attempt, have not always acted in line with the policies of Europe and the United States. They objected to the crackdowns imposed by Washington or European capitals and embraced Turkey's own interests. Erdoğan in particular has been the target of various Europe-based smear campaigns for a long time since he gives priority to Turkey's interests. When we consider the media outlets of leading European countries such as Germany and England, we can observe that the smear campaigns also continued throughout the coup attempt process. Chronic Erdoğan dissidents in these countries' media maintained their anti-Erdoğan remarks, proving how organized the smear campaigns are, and demonstrated their disappointment in the face of the failed attempt. The "solidarity with legitimate government" themed messages issued by European politicians after a long-lasting silence are not enough to cover the degree of Erdoğan dissidence in Western countries.

In the light of these considerations, can it be argued that European countries provide covert support to FETÖ? To answer this question, it is necessary to place countries into one of the following categories.

WESTERN COUNTRIES' ATTITUDES TOWARDS FETÖ	
Category	Attitude
1	Determinedly fights against FETÖ. Engages in all kinds of cooperation with Turkey in this regard and does not condone the activities of FETÖ in the country.
2	Recognizes FETÖ as an outlawed organization but does not conduct a determined fight against it.
3	Although not favoring FETÖ, it does not fight against it and condones its illegal activities in the country.
4	Does not recognize FETÖ as an illegal organization and allows it to engage in their activities in the country.
5	Regards FETÖ as a manipulative tool against Turkey in foreign policy and promotes the networks of the organization in the country.

When we look at the positions of the Western countries through this picture, we unfortunately see that none of our “allies” are in the first or second categories. When their policies regarding FETÖ are considered, European countries fall into 5th, 4th, or 3rd categories. However, FETÖ openly engages in activities to threaten Turkey’s security. For a long while, it resorted to every possible means to overthrow the democratically elected government, and with its latest violent coup attempt of July 15 and 16, it killed hundreds of people.

FETÖ bombed the institutions representing state and popular will, including the parliament. Europe’s inability to side with Turkey against FETÖ has very problematic implications. It is not known how long it will take Europe to realize that their position is not in line with interest-focused policies and might pose a risk to them in terms of security. However, Ankara expects its Western “allies” to adopt a rational policy with regard to the fight against FETÖ, which is even more threatening than PKK and DAESH terrorist groups. Turkey sided with its allies after Sept. 11, the London, Brussels and Paris attacks without hesitating, and now, it demands to see the same solidarity from Europe and the U.S.A.

However, when it is considered that these countries fall into the 2nd category even on the PKK matter despite Turkey’s long-lasting efforts and that they allow the PKK to maintain its activities in their countries under different names despite recognizing it as an illegal organization, it can be said that a challenging process awaits Ankara on the subject of FETÖ. We must convince our Western allies about the danger posed by FETÖ and underline that they also will be in harm’s way if they condone the organization’s activities against Turkey.

THE COUP, FETÖ AND THE USA

KILIÇ BUĞRA KANAT*

The US foreign policy's relations with coups have always been a problematic issue. The US government's relationship particularly with the coups in the Middle East and Latin America has been a popular research question among journalists, academics, politicians, and directors. The question marks are also valid for the United States' relation to coups in Turkey. While many questions regarding the 1960 coup remained unanswered, the relation with the 1980 coup began to be articulated more overtly.

Twenty years after the 1980 coup, the coup's general Kenan Evren was asked by then US Secretary of State Gen. Haig why the army was too late, which did not surprise anyone. Of course, the junta regime formed after the 1980 coup tried to be legitimized in the context of the Cold War period on a global scale despite all the violations of rights. The same approach was adopted in many Latin American countries, particularly in Chile. For the United States, what really mattered was the country's foreign policy orientations' alignment with the US global policies rather than the regime. In following periods, senior US officers of that time underlined the importance of ending the turbulence in Turkey and stabilizing the country for regional and international security.

The US government's approach to coups and military interventions did not radically change after the Cold War period came to an end. With regard to the Feb. 28, 1997 memorandum issued in Turkey, which was named a "postmodern coup" by the coup plotters themselves, the USA and the West could not display the principled stance which was expected of them. A democratically elected government was forced to resign with the support of military jurisdiction and the media, and oppressive amendments were made in the laws by the National Security Council (MGK), none

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of which met any serious criticism by the West. Moreover, some circles spoke as if the military intervention had been a long-awaited and rightful move. This situation meant international legitimacy for the coup plotters and both the United States and Europe were completely aware of this.

The Turkish public has never forgotten the attitudes adopted by Turkey's allies during the coups. The United States' unresponsiveness and inertia made the public think that the coups were abetted by the USA. When additional data regarding the silent support was added to the equation afterward, some thoughts that originally emerged as conspiracy theories started to have grounds and witnesses. Of course, the United States provided all the support for those conspiracies when the army-civilian relations came into question. During the Egypt coup, the US government hesitated to refer to the coup explicitly as a coup, which created a tragic situation, and afterwards the US Secretary of State remarked that the army restored democracy in Egypt. So, conspiracy scenarios were no longer needed in the face of these facts. Everyone witnessed this stance without having a need to open archives as in the Musaddik case or to hear the confessions of actors as in the 1980 coup.

THE UNITED STATES' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE COUP ATTEMPT

As a matter of fact, the insurrection and coup attempt kicked off on July 15 by a group of soldiers from within the army created a major opportunity to dismiss the views prevalent in collective memory and change the USA's image with regard to coups. Several months before the coup attempt, the Turkey experts in the United States started producing speculations based on different grounds and suggested that the army would intervene in the government or might even stage a coup in Turkey. In times of tension and political divergence between Turkey and the USA, some people try to hold on to the possibility of a coup by asking the military to

intervene in the conflict. Thanks to the reforms made during the AK Party period, the democratic standards could be applied to the army-politics relations in a legal and political sense. Yet, the army's monopoly in the security field and the insufficient civilian control of the security sector kept this possibility alive.

However, none of these analyses regarded the possibility that the names affiliated with the parallel state, which attempted a judicial coup on Dec. 17, 2013, would make such an attempt. Moreover, the threat perceived by the government on that matter was not taken into consideration by most people. The concerns expressed by the names close to the government were mostly seen as a false perception of threat.

The incidents of July 15 displayed the reality of the threat and people wondered about the US attitude towards the coup in the early hours of the insurrection. The United States has often criticized Turkey in recent years on the subjects of democracy and human rights. However, since it displayed a poor response to the Egypt coup, many figures in the Middle East focused on the approach of the United States towards the coup attempt in Turkey. Meanwhile, the US State Secretary underlined peace and stability when questioned regarding the coup attempt in Turkey instead of highlighting democratic processes and institutions. It was not a civil war or a political crisis, but a military coup attempt. Everyone knows what it means to issue stability messages during military coup attempts.

ISSUES OF TRUST WITH THE USA

No matter what they say, that statement meant support for the coup plotters during those hours. The reactions to the statement remained unanswered for a while. Then, after a few hours and as the momentum of the coup plotters weakened, the statement issued by the White House that highlighted democracy was per-

ceived as a compensation for the former statement. Meanwhile, some names in the US media made comments as if the coup had succeeded, listed the reasons for the military intervention and endeavored to legitimize the coup, which surprised everyone following the developments outside the United States. The existence of this tone, although in the periphery, and the rush of certain people to TV stations with opportunism in the guise of strategy discussion, Islamophobia in the guise of political analysis and ideological stance in the guise of democratic values left profound marks.

The coup attempt, which was repelled thanks to the struggles and self-sacrifice of people, deepened the issue of trust between the US government and the Turkish people. The meaning of their alliance started to be questioned long ago due to the USA's approach to the Peoples' Protection Units (YPG). Being indifferent to Turkey's threat perceptions and national security concerns, the Turkish public reacted towards the US government after the PKK's attacks in Turkey.

And now, the situation has a new dimension with the nature of the reaction shown towards the coup attempt. The issue will continue to be discussed in a different realm in the following days. The immediate response of the United States to the investigations of the coup plotters and the warning made to Turkey with regard to rights and liberties formed the first damage in this respect. In the following period, the attitude of the USA towards activities that will reveal the coup plotters' affiliates in the United States will form the second crucial dimension. At this point, the meaning of alliance will be redefined: either new crises or new opportunities will arise in the bilateral relations.

DECLARATION OF STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE WEST'S HYPOCRISY

BURHANETTİN DURAN*

A state of emergency has been declared to fight the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ), which lies behind the attempted coup of July 15. Implementing states of emergency is a method to which Western democracies resort to in critical periods. Most recently, France and the U.S. have resorted to this method because of the Nice attack and black people's protests, respectively. A state of emergency was inevitable for Turkey in order to dissolve the junta that has high coordination within state institutions and that slaughtered civilians on the night of July 15. The single objective behind the expansion of state authorities with respect to investigations, detentions, arrests, security measures, the ban of civil servants from leaving the country and the prohibition of demonstrations is to urgently complete the liquidation of this structure, which was realized in 2012, and to execute rapid judgement regarding the cadres that have already been uncovered.

The Western media has been quick to confine the declaration of the state of emergency, which runs as a reflex of protection for the democratic rule of law, to Islamist authoritarianism, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's empowerment through radical authorities and even Erdoğan's revenge. This attitude cannot be said to be limited to *The Guardian* or *The Economist*. German, British and American media are moving on the same line with several variations. From the first hours, the Western media labeled the repression of the attempted coup as "populist," "jihadist" and even "fascist," and was troubled about "Erdoğan's empowerment." As such, it is not surprising that it raised its accusatory tone in the face of the declaration of the state of emergency.

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The approach that marginalizes democratic and civil reaction could assume an orientalist and Islamophobic form that legitimizes the coup, saying that human rights are more important than democracy. After all, security and stability is a luxury for Middle Eastern peoples, let alone democracy. If there is a public initiative, it can only be the destructive power of the masses. This time, it accuses Erdoğan of destroying the democracy that the public protects by risking their lives. The Western media's distorted evaluation of the attempted coup has nothing to do with ignorance. This also goes for its last intentional attitude, which is completely operational. It is now realized that democratic and civil reaction to the FETÖ's attempted coup provides an opportunity to completely inactivate the "authoritarianism" campaign aimed at Erdoğan. The reconciliation of the entirety of Turkish society against the attempted coup gives an opportunity to lessen the turbulence that has been experienced in domestic politics since the Gezi Park protests in 2013. Therefore, they want to destroy the existing reconciliation through the argument that Erdoğan seeks revenge, and keep the elected government in a controversial and fragile position. Moreover, they do not want opposition parties to lose their anger at Erdoğan.

The liquidation of the FETÖ not only means getting rid of a terrorist organization, it also means eliminating a handy lever that has a significant response in other initiatives that have been experienced over the past three years. Indeed, this junta structure has shown that it has such a strategic mind and international connections to trigger vulnerable points in Turkish politics and try to dominate them. The liquidation of the "parallel structure" that victimized people from all political segments, including Kemalists and leftists, will guarantee the future of Turkish democracy. This can be achieved only by protecting the existing reconciliation of politics. It goes without saying that the relief inside the country

will open new spaces for Turkish foreign policy. As a requirement of democratic vigilance, it is time to foil the Western media's radicalizing and marginalizing campaign of creating perception and to reproach their hypocrisy of defining what goes against their interests as antidemocratic.

YOUR'S STUMBLED, OURS MADE HISTORY

FAHRETTİN ALTUN*

The experiences we went through since the night of July 15 showed our friends and foes very clearly. We saw who the real sovereign is in Turkey. We witnessed a nation's insight, capacity and patriotism. We also realized that we still could not get rid of the pro-coup mindset despite the democratization processes from as early as the 2000s and that the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ) is a violent and deadly illegal formation. Even the word "assassin" falls short when defining the atrocity of the coup attempters who used the state's weapons, tanks and aircraft against the people.

And of course, we witnessed how the U.S. and the rest of the Western world stood against Turkey in this. They disregarded the Turkish people's will and showed that they would not hesitate to throw Turkey into the fire for their own interests. Yes, we bore witness to all of this. We observed the leading Western media outlets' publications during and in the aftermath of the coup attempt in dismay. Such poor fiction and such an aggressive tone have not been seen before. One can easily infer from their publications that the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post* or *Foreign Policy* might be controlled by the FETÖ headquarters.

They first released false news that the military had successfully staged a coup in Turkey and shortly after justified the coup. For a while before the coup attempt, they had already been releasing news asserting that the military in Turkey might stage a coup, adding that U.S. President Barack Obama's administration would condone a possible coup. Now we can grasp much more clearly that these were all political operation efforts. When they saw that the coup attempt failed, they started to circulate new manipulations such as the claim that the coup attempt might be a scenario

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plotted by President Recep Tayyip Erdoan. Soon after, they started to complain that Erdoan's power would be consolidated and Turkey would become more authoritarian after the coup attempt. They did not care about the Turkish people's confrontation with a large-scale military coup attempt headed by a terrorist junta. They did not take interest in the crucial incidents, including the assassination attempt against Erdoan, the bombing of Parliament and hundreds of casualties. They chose to side with the military junta controlled by a terrorist organization rather than siding with democracy.

Shortly after the coup attempt, they came up with the lie that Islamist militants tortured the Kemalist soldiers. Other lies followed. They also claimed that the military was undergoing dissolution and the security of nuclear weapons at Incirlik Air Base was in danger due to this dissolution. All of these reports were manipulations aiming to mobilize the people. They were of course addressing not the U.S., but the pro-coup terrorists here who are still at large.

They could not obtain any result. The people have taken to the streets every day and poured into squares. They watch and guard their democracy with great determination in a festive atmosphere of solidarity. They still keep guarding democracy in the streets. Now, the Western media tries to problematize the decision to declare a state of emergency in Turkey. They claim that it will bring a new authoritarian wave; however, almost all citizens of Turkey support this decision. Although the Republican People's Party (CHP) and Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) object to it for different reasons in order to gain a space of political maneuvering, at least a substantial part of the CHP base backs the decision. Of course, everyone knows that only the state's authority is expanded, judicial supervision of constitutional rules and the administration will remain in force, and no restrictions will be made with

respect to individual rights and liberties. The daily lives of people will continue as usual. On one hand, an effectual fight will be conducted against terrorists and, on the other hand, it will attempt to prevent the emergence of new threats At this point, it does not really matter what international media outlets write or say. Many agents claiming to be democrats were caught in the act. If they could handle the issues through dialogue, they would not have activated other tools. Now they are only making noise to minimize the damage and not to victimize their guards. On the night of July 15, the Turkish people showed the entire world that they have the capacity to protect and defend their democracy, liberties, values and lifestyle.

THE QUESTION OF PRO-COUP WESTERN MEDIA

FAHRETTİN ALTUN*

As a researcher working in the field of media sociology, I have been following Turkey's image in American and British media for years; I have never come across such a dogmatic representation of Turkey. It was during the Gezi Park protests that we first saw leading American and British media organizations, primarily CNN, taking sides in Turkey's domestic politics and conducting propaganda for a government change in Turkey. During the Gezi Park protests, American and British media outlets took the side of the protesters; they used the discourse of democratization and interpreted the incident as the people's opposition to authoritarianism. This was a one-sided evaluation that ignored the true reasons behind the protest, the political culture and the contemporary process of democratization in Turkey. It appears that a kind of dogmatism is drawing ideological front lines for the American and British media and thus instilling reporters and commentators on Turkey with politically entangled and biased perspectives.

"A revolution took place in Turkey, but it is not clear who won. On the microphone, one says 'We won' and then the other says 'We won!'" In 1962, the BBC announced Talat Aydemir's "failed coup attempt" in Turkey with these words. For an outsider's perspective, it was a fight between two sides, no matter whom these sides represented. Since the 1960s, Turkey has progressed outstandingly, but the Westerners' outlook on Turkey hasn't changed, and, on the contrary, has regressed. Turkey's modernization, democratization, institutionalization and economic growth has had no impact on their essentialist, discriminatory and alienating perspective. Moreover, they have preferred to put effort into reversing Turkey's liberation, modernization and democratization processes.

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To no one's surprise, as soon as the American and British media began to broadcast the news about the coup attempt on the night of July 15, 2016, they spoke of it as a power struggle between two sides. They placed Erdoğan (a democratically elected president) on one side and the military junta on the other. They represented the former as the symbol of authoritarianism, and the latter as the torch-bearer of Turkish modernization. Such was the case in 1962. With this interpretation, they were actually following the evaluations of Turkey's politics in the American literature on modernization after 1950, in which the military's modernizing and progressive role is emphasized while politics is downgraded. Oddly, since the beginning of 2000, evaluations in the American literature with regards to the modernizing actors in Turkey had changed considerably, and politics and politicians had come to be regarded as the most powerful actors in modernizing the country. But it seems that in its 2016 coup coverage the American media opted for reverting to the old repertoire about Turkey's politics. The BBC, in that regard, went even further. BBC producer James Bryant sent emails telling people that he was looking for someone who would "criticize the governments' actions." It was indeed difficult for him to find such a person. The BBC, which sells objectivism to the world, set out on a hunt for anti-government (meaning pro-coup) opinions, when it came to reporting on Turkish democracy.

The articles and news that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post* and *Foreign Policy* lead one to wonder what kind of a relationship exists between the members of the Gülenist Terror Organization and these media institutions. For a while before the coup attempt, the aforementioned media outlets had already been releasing news asserting that the military in Turkey might stage a coup, adding that U.S. President Barack Obama's administration would condone a possible coup. These media out-

lets initially released false news that the military had staged a coup in Turkey and, shortly after, tried to justify the coup attempt. Regrettably, several articles published on the July 15 coup attempt argued that a military takeover in Turkey could have been better for the West. De facto acceptance of this approach completely disregards Turkey's progress over the past decades, and grossly underestimates the level of its democratic maturity and the people's increasing commitment to democracy.

In general, American and British media, which mythologized the Gezi Park protests, ignored the civil side of the July 15 resistance and portrayed the citizens on the streets as "Islamist militants." Excessive comments and manipulations of the facts were grotesquely abundant. They turned a deaf ear to the Turkish people's confrontation with a large-scale military coup attempt headed by a terrorist junta. They did not take interest in crucial incidents, including the assassination attempt against President Erdoğan, the bombing of Parliament, and hundreds of casualties. Instead, they chose to side with the military junta controlled by a terrorist organization rather than siding with democracy. Shortly after the coup attempt, they came up with the lie that Islamist militants had tortured the soldiers of the country. In reality, these reports did not primarily target U.S. citizens; rather, they were manipulations aimed at mobilizing the Turkish people against the legitimate political authority.

When it became evident that the coup attempt was doomed to fail, a systematic wave of manipulation began, complete with arguments that the coup attempt might have been a scenario plotted by President Erdoğan himself, or warning that Turkey will become more authoritarian after the coup attempt. Various sorts of allegations along these lines include: "The coup was fictional," "Erdoğan will use this unsuccessful coup attempt for his own interests," and "All opposition will be liquidated." The political propaganda of the

leading American and British media institutions went further as they began disseminating the argument that Turkey was no longer a militarily safe region. Without knowing what was really going on in the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF), they quickly propagated the idea that the TAF was undergoing dissolution and the security of nuclear weapons at İncirlik Air Base was in danger. They also projected that Turkey could no longer provide necessary support in the struggle against DAESH. Contrary to these forecasts, one can argue that Turkey is much safer militarily than before. Once the military staff that caused the present turmoil have been removed, Turkey will have a much more reliable military staff. The fact that the soldiers involved in the downing of the Russian jet were among the July 15 coup plotters is one of the clear indicators of this fact. With the exclusion of members of the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ) from the Turkish Armed Forces, military-led sabotage possibilities will be minimized.

Similarly, the Western media approached the government's declaration of the State of Emergency with apprehension and claimed that this decision will bring about a new wave of authoritarianism in Turkey. However, although the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) objected to the State of Emergency for different reasons, primarily in order to reserve space for future political maneuvering, most of the Turkish citizens, including a substantial part of the CHP base, supported the decision. Recent field research demonstrates that while the Turkish people know that the State of Emergency has expanded state authority, they are confident that the judicial supervision of the constitutional rules will remain in force; there will be no restrictions over individual's rights and liberties; people's daily lives will be unaffected; and the government will have the opportunity to effectively fight against the terrorists, preempting the emergence of possible new threats.

Turkish citizens who came face to face with tanks and armed soldiers on the streets, and who witnessed the murders of civilians feel a true sense of resentment against the American and British media. This resentment is directed not only towards certain media organizations, but also towards the tarnished image of the US and the American government. Many Turkish people followed the publications of the leading Western media outlets during and in the aftermath of the coup attempt in dismay. Due to the American and British media's vulgar, biased, and ideological attitude in the aftermath of the July 15, anti-Americanism is rapidly on the rise in Turkey. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the Western media, particularly the US and British media, might bring about an escalating Western opposition in Turkey. The Western world that protects Fetullah Gülen and his terrorist organization will continue to raise the eyebrows of Turkish citizens, and all actors engaged in politics in Turkey have to take these reactions seriously.

FIVE

YENİKAPI SPIRIT AND
WHAT IS NEXT

YENİKAPI SPIRIT: THE NEW POLITICAL TREND

BURHANETTİN DURAN*

A Politician who cannot read the trends of politics is destined to be lost in the pages of history before long.

Having repelled the coup attempt, the Turkish people laid the ground for a new political reconciliation as part of “democracy watches.”

A civilian wave mobilized to protect Turkey’s welfare, security and integrity has been formed and a state of mind that goes beyond the daily party politics has emerged, laying the ground of an all-encompassing mindset, which regards the notions of land, state and democracy within the framework of common national interests.

The last chain of this phenomenon in public squares is the Democracy and Martyrs Rally held in İstanbul’s Yenikapı district on the 7th August.

Upon the invitation of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the chairmen of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and Republican People’s Party (CHP), made speeches there.

The best answer given to the West’s Turkey dissidence is the unity of political parties against the coup and the organization of a common rally to mark it.

Also, it is pleasing to see that CHP Chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu rid himself of his concerns that the solidarity against the coup attempt would favor Erdoğan.

The CHP first declared that it would not participate in the rally on the grounds that it was an attempt to fix Erdoğan’s prestige, which declined on the international scale, through opposition leaders.

This doubt is reminiscent of the Western media’s discourse concerning July 15, which can be summarized as saying that the coup attempt would favor Erdoğan.

* General Coordinator, SETA

Therefore, upon this remark, I worried that the CHP would have some inclinations detached from the new trends in Turkish society.

Studies and surveys conducted on the people who poured into the squares to defend democracy show that a new political perception map that also encompasses the CHP electorate has been formed.

Two individual studies conducted by the Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) and Ankara Social Sciences University found that people with different ideological stances unite on the common ground of “patriotism.”

The participants from the CHP base, particularly women, are gradually leaving their deep-rooted criticism of Erdoğan and adopting a supportive approach to the president to a certain extent for the sake of the country’s future.

Around 95 percent of the people participating in the democracy watches said they had trust in Erdoğan.

Undoubtedly, this is because Erdoğan displayed successful leadership and shouldered the critical role of calling the people out to the streets on the night of the coup attempt.

I could easily say that the political codes have changed to such an extent after July 15 that Erdoğan dissidence has turned into one of the dimensions that could undermine political parties.

The notions of stability, safety and the future are increasingly identified with Erdoğan’s leadership.

If the opposition wants to use the “Erdoğan phenomenon” as a political maneuver, it has to produce a new language and a new political style.

And this new language needs to build its criticism through positive and protectionist themes.

The wave of efforts to marginalize Erdoğan is now over and coded in the country as one of the hallmarks of foreign and marginal Westernism.

As a matter of fact, the CHP has a chance to increase its influence in this atmosphere of reconciliation.

CHP politicians can make serious contributions to lessening the Turkey dissidence the Western media engages in through criticism of Erdoğan.

The arguments used by the opposition against the AK Party now correspond to all of Turkey.

As a country, we came to suffocate ourselves with this stale air, and even July 15 could not break the international campaign.

It became evident that Turkey's Western allies prioritize their own tangible interests rather than democracy and secularism in Turkey.

In such an atmosphere, objecting to the approach that represents democracy watches as ferocious masses of the Islamist dictator can create new political possibilities for the CHP.

The concern of being a consistent opposition turns into the problem of remaining silent to the course of events against Turkey.

The Yenikapı spirit works to end this dilemma.

Otherwise, the new trend in politics could get out of hand. And missing reconciliation moments of society would be the biggest mistake a politician could make.

WE WERE ALL IN YENİKAPI

FAHRETTİN ALTUN*

Millions of people gathered in Yenikapı. Yes, millions of people.

The actual owners of Turkey showed the facts of the country to all, friend and foe. They demonstrated that they persist and stand up for their homeland. They declared that they keep on with their democracy watch.

The nation was in Yenikapı on Sunday. All of Turkey poured into public squares during the Democracy and Martyrs Rally at Yenikapı Square. July 15 marked the beginning of a new era in Turkey.

Fortunately, the plots, made-up segregations and fake tensions to divide the nation did not yield any result. Our nation foresaw every attempt.

The nation was not provoked and did not allow any fight between brothers. They never approved any fake tensions or conflicts in politics.

When confronted with an outside threat, the nation always sided with unity, peace and brotherhood.

The people regarded the July 15 coup attempt and Gülenist Terror Organization's (FETÖ) assaults as an "invasion attempt of foreign forces."

With this in mind, they marched toward tanks and made the country their homeland again. They demonstrated that this land cannot be designed by pro-Western policies, terrorism, Jacobin behavior and underground illegal organizations.

They had their name written in gold letters in the world's history of democracy.

Around 90 percent of Turkish people clearly identify their foes. They appreciate President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leadership and struggle throughout the process. They trust in Prime Minister

* General Coordinator, SETA İstanbul

Binali Yıldırım and the government. They think the opposition parties acted responsibly to a great extent.

In my opinion, Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Chairman Devlet Bahçeli had a great role in forming this perception. The surveys clearly show that political unity and solidarity was formed regardless of party differences.

From now on, the main aim must be to sustain this atmosphere. For this, the nation's message must be interpreted in the right way.

The Yenikapı rally was a significant starting point in this respect. The participation of Republican People's Party (CHP) Chairman Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was also quite important.

Turkish politics is now confronted with a genuine demand coming from the base of society.

We are mentioning a dynamic society gathered around a common ideal and against a common enemy.

This is a conscious nation that is able to become an active agent.

From now on, assuming that the nation does not have memory or competence would only be absurd.

While FETÖ members were attempting to stage a coup and while the global forces behind them were attempting to make political operations on Turkey, they always saw the nation as a neutral element.

Kerim Balçı, a Gülenist journalist, said the following during the coup attempt:

“Our people do not know anything about standing against the G3 bullet or lying on the ground. They did paid military service.” By saying so, he tried to contribute to the coup attempt’s success.

Now the “parallel structure” has seen what the nation accomplished. Let alone G3 bullets, they stood up against tanks. When necessary, they lied on the ground and took shelter. But they did not fall down. They did not leave the country to weasels, and will not.

FETÖ IS NOT AT ORDINARY TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

BURHANETTİN DURAN*

For a fight against the Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ), which attempted to stage a coup in the country on July 15, we need a comprehensive, long-term policy. Currently, with the measures stemming from the state of emergency, all state institutions have been mobilized to cleanse the members of this illegal organization.

The cadres and structures infiltrated in various institutions including the military, judiciary, education and health services, which intelligence units had already discovered over the last two years, are now being cleansed.

The cleansing of these cadres, which were infiltrated both inside and outside of state apparatuses by means of all kinds of intrigue and unjust practices over the last 30 to 40 years, guarantees the future of the Turkish state and democracy in the country. Do not consider what the think tanks in the U.S. say. Some of them argue that these cleansings will create weaknesses in the Turkish military's fight against DAESH and the PKK while others claim that the nuclear arsenal at İncirlik Air Base is not safe.

The cleansing of FETÖ elements from institutions is absolutely essential to guarantee the effective operation of state apparatuses. This implementation will also improve Turkey's relations with its allies while aiding the counterterrorism fight.

The main aspect that must be emphasized is that FETÖ is not an ordinary terrorist organization. It is an exceptional structure with some religious claims organized both overtly and covertly while engaging in deep international lobbying and networks. It would not be realistic to expect the organization to dissolve in the short run.

Acting within the chain of command so far, FETÖ has entered a new phase after the failed coup attempt. Even though the Dec. 17 and Dec. 25 judicial coup attempts revealed that the organization poses a great security threat, the cadres occupied by Gülenists could not be discharged completely. Taking courage from its structuring within the military and its civil society initiatives, the organization preferred to resist and counterattack.

The July 15 coup attempt is the most radical and violent assault from Fetullah Gülen, who tries to keep his disciples alive with a mystical and messianic kind of hope. With this assault, a group that was seen as moderate Muslims turned into a terrorist organization that ran over people with tanks and opened fire on them from helicopters. There are three critical aspects with respect to FETÖ's dissolution in the near future: Dissolving the organization, decapitating its leadership and de-radicalizing its members.

Undoubtedly, the most important aspect is preventing Gülen's leadership.

Decapitating the leadership is more effective in the struggle against organizations with religious concerns than with secular- or ethnicity-focused organizations. For this reason, extraditing Gülen to Turkey is much more important than that of the PKK's imprisoned leader, Abdullah Öcalan. Brainwashing his disciples with twisted religious discourse encompassing both the ephemeral world and the afterlife, Gülen must be stopped from instilling courage in his supporters to conduct new attacks.

Having rejected ties to the coup attempt in his first statements following the event, Gülen now suggests his disciples "stand upright" and that the international public is with them. He is trying to form a resistance that would meet their failure with patience. It is also evident that the support the Gülenist diaspora enjoys in Western capitals contributes to this resistance. In my opinion, FETÖ members consist of two main groups of people: Those who

* General Coordinator, SETA

have undergone intense brainwashing from their childhood and those recruited later in their lives. It is highly possible for the older recruits to leave the organization giving confessions and expressing regrets after witnessing the frenzy of July 15. However, unless Gülen is taken hold of, people from the first group, who owe everything they have to the Gülen movement, will continue to form new underground organizations.

The second critical aspect in the fight against FETÖ is the need to de-radicalize its members, which would readjust the religious views of the people discharged from public institutions. Some preventative measures must be taken for the people whose semantic world collapsed and who are excluded from society. Their possible inclinations toward suicide or marginal individual attacks must be prevented. Nongovernmental organizations, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (DİB) and religious movements will play a great role in that.

AFTER THE FAILED COUP: HOW TO DEAL WITH THE FETÖ THREAT IN THE SHORT AND MEDIUM TERMS

TALHA KÖSE*

The key factors that can facilitate purge of the FETÖ are closely connected to the organizational structure of the FETÖ network. The FETÖ is a hierarchically organized network and the leader of the organization, Fetullah Gülen, has himself absolute command and direct control over the entire organization. It is very difficult to manage such a complicated organization with operations in almost 140 countries and those who are placed in the middle ranks of the organization are only chains in its command and control system.

In the short term the main challenges, in order to deal with the FETÖ, are to dissolve the organizational structure, cut the material and human sources of the organization and to purge the militants and supporters from bureaucracy and civil society. The medium term challenge is the problem of radicalization of the militants and followers. When they are removed from the bureaucracy they may be immediately radicalized and resort to violence to destabilize Turkey. They may create crime networks, mafia style organizations and other secret illegal networks to threaten ordinary people and officials. Therefore, in the long term the main challenge is to de-radicalize the body of the followers. This will be a long term challenge but the religious scholars, social scientists and bureaucrats need to deal with the “Gülenist belief system”, delegitimize the deviant symbolic system, replacing it with legitimate conventional beliefs.

Preventing the remnants of the FETÖ from cooperating with the enemies of Turkey and Turkish people and containing the media manipulations is an absolute priority. The struggle against the FETÖ will be a long and a challenging process, which needs

to be well coordinated and the entire Turkish society should own this struggle like a national struggle. The aspect of public diplomacy is also another essential dimension. The most challenging aspect of this struggle is the international one. Since FETÖ is a transnational organization, the Turkish Government needs to coordinate its efforts in the international domain as well. This will appear as the soft underbelly of Turkey and some governments may want to capitalize on the FETÖ threat against Turkey rather than cooperating with the Turkish government. In order to facilitate such a struggle international law needs to be utilized. Turkey needs to develop new instruments to put pressure on the states that will not cooperate with the Turkish Government in such a struggle.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF FETÖ AND INSTITUTIONAL MEANS TO DISSOLVE THE ORGANIZATION

From their early entry into the FETÖ system until they become devoted militants, the loyalty and obedience of members is tested many times. The individuals can only ascend within the system if they are loyal to the orders of their superiors. The roles, which agents play within the totality of the system, are much more important than the individual skills or characteristics of the members. The FETÖ 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 of the organization. Since its establishment in 1970s, Fetullah Gülen as the mastermind of this sophisticated organization has overseen the entire body and given all the critical decisions. In terms of its organizational framework the FETÖ organization looks more like a regular military organization. The loyalty of the militants and the support is to Gülen himself and his messianic views and objectives.

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The leader and his messianic ideology play a critical role in maintaining unity and harmonious functioning of this organization. Any effort to deconstruct and eliminate this organization needs to take this framework into account. On the other hand the organization has skills to form clandestine bodies, militants are expert in infiltrating to other organizations, hiding themselves and increasing their loyalists and supporters gradually. It is therefore impossible to wipe out the entire organization. Sleeping cells and hiding militants will most likely continue but if they are not connected to their leader or their superiors they can hardly function. Therefore, decapitation and containment of the leadership and the elite structure of the organization is crucial. Because of their messianic and apocalyptic views they may not consider the great purge within the bureaucracy as the ultimate defeat of the organization, they will rather continue to believe that when the time is right they will resurrect and take the control of Turkey and probably the entire world. The loyalists of the organization believe that they are on the right side of history and those of who try to contain them are destined to fail. It is very difficult to convince them about anything else. Using the Islamic texts and some other sources, Gülen has formulated a messianic narrative, which is quite difficult to defeat.

All the profound efforts, organizational activities and routines of the entire structure are interpreted under the guidance of this belief structure. Two things are quite crucial in order to deal with this body: first of all the leader Fetullah Gülen and a few of his high ranking loyal acolytes need to be contained and the perversions and the absurdities within the Gülenist messianic belief system need to be demonstrated to the loyalists of the organization and the public. Material infrastructure, institutions and international aid to the FETÖ are only secondary to the leadership and the Messianic teachings. It must also be kept in mind that many of the loyalists of the FETÖ join the organization in the beginning

because of their quest for a better education, position within the bureaucracy, faster promotion to the higher ranks of bureaucracy and for a business network. The FETÖ network has provided many opportunities to its members and loyalists. Looking at Turkish society as a whole, more effort must be made for equal opportunities to be provided to people in education, the bureaucracy and business so that they are not be vulnerable to this kind of clandestine body.

In order to eliminate domestic establishment of the organization, this aforementioned hierarchy can be purged by deciphering its institutions and actors. Due to its hierarchical characteristic, the organization might be dissolved when the leader, who keeps the organization together, is decapitated. When hierarchy fails, it is not possible for such organizations to ensure their existence unlike other secret organizations that are set-up in a cell system. However, credence to system does not decline as long as the leader is still in power because members of such organizations are absolutely committed to their leader.

It would be quite difficult to eliminate FETÖ using rational arguments due to the organization's messianic and apocalyptic characteristic. Even faults of the leader are legitimized somehow by presenting these faults in a plausible format and by suggesting that "There might be unknown reasons." Thus, the organization's existence can be maintained as long as the leader is in power and sends messages to his followers. The main momentum that leads to elimination of the organization is to overthrow Gülen, the leader of the organization. Elimination of the leader would be very decisive for the struggle because Gülen's spiritual leadership and influence over his organization is the main impetus for the members to ensure its survival. For this reason, Turkey should request the deportation of Gülen and also should ensure the rehabilitation and normalization of Gülenist youth.

The FETÖ is already organized in the judiciary, police department, education system, bureaucracy, military, business, and academic circles. The fact that FETÖ's known affiliations in the military have been eliminated does not mean that the organization is totally wiped out. National security risks will remain, particularly in sectors that the organization is still active and well-organized. In short term, total elimination of the organization is not easy. In long term, the organization will remain in the establishment by effacing itself through mingling with other groups. By doing so, the organization with its messianic understanding will be biding the next reorganization moment. The main danger in this process is that the organization attempts to smuggle itself into other civilian organizations, NGOs, and networks. The fight against this organization will take many years, however, it will not be possible for the struggle to be maintained consistently if governments and actors who operate against the organization change. Thus, a well-planned, gradual but urgent struggle is essential. It also should be kept in mind that if this purging process is delayed and diffused, the possibility of militants and sympathizer to hide themselves increases. It is therefore crucial to act rapidly and in a very coordinated manner until the visible elements of the organization are completely wiped out.

Some secret layers and segments of the organization will never be completely wiped out in the next couple of decades. Therefore an official institution composed of police, intelligence officials, judges and academics which is especially expert in fighting against this organization is an absolute necessity. In particular, governmental and bureaucratic actors should establish strategic communication units in order to manage the complications, which are derived from the fact that crucial and top secret governmental information is in wrong hands. A new judicial framework is also required in order to ensure that the relevant actors can take actions.

STRUGGLING AGAINST FETÖ IN THE CIVILIAN DOMAIN

FETÖ is particularly well-organized in civil society and the Turkish education system. Thus, the struggle with FETÖ in governmental bodies only is not adequate. In short term, it is not easy to eliminate the social capital that FETÖ has obtained by developing warm relations with the public. Sanitizing all institutions from FETÖ will spread over time since the organization is well-established in business, education systems, judicial system, and the medical sector. The organization will strive to find new ways and methods in order to maintain its existence, thus it will try to ensure its association if not its activities. The government has to follow up structures within which the organization has hidden itself. The domestic dimension of the struggle will be tough and comprehensive. Due to their capability to cover themselves within other groups, it might not be easy for Turkish officials to totally eliminate the organization.

The fact that the members of the FETÖ who are in the military and police have guns and they are expert in the use of sophisticated weaponry is a significant risk. The government should locate these weapons and prevent third-parties from seizing them. At this moment nobody knows whether this organization has hidden weapons from the military in secret places to start a guerrilla style uprising against the government. The members of the FETÖ might drag Turkey into an unstable process by using these guns. These weapons must be found and registered to official institutions.

The next and the hardest task is to struggle with the FETÖ's international network and institutions. Some states and intelligence agencies might use the organization in order to weaken and threaten Turkey and FETÖ itself can threat Turkey's interests by aligning with other states. Turkey needs to persuade other states in order to struggle with FETÖ in the domestic realm. Presenting materials

that can assist judicial process is not adequate for persuading other states. Turkey should present comprehensive data and more-detailed files through public diplomacy in order to demonstrate the illegal activities of FETÖ. Putting pressure on the international media, academic and policy circles is an absolute necessity. Lobbying and law companies and a comprehensive plan to publicize the danger of FETÖ are key roles for this task. These companies should formalize Turkey's cause in a proper way abroad. The International struggle is more challenging than the domestic struggle, however, in the event of the elimination of the leader, purging the international organization of FETÖ would not be a tough task for Turkey.

THE PROBLEM OF RADICALIZATION

In the following period, the biggest threat that might come from the isolated, radicalized and illegitimate organization is political and civilian assassinations. Further, the organization can also trigger the civil war dynamics of Turkey by provoking the public. The only way to deal with these potential threats is to restore and strengthen the social peace. The assassination squads of the FETÖ may conceal themselves in various institutions including other terrorist groups such as the PKK and the DHKP-C. The struggle against the FETÖ should be a national matter therefore the TGNA and the opposition parties need to play an important role in this process. A new legal framework and set of laws needs to be enacted in order to deal with the FETÖ threat. Public diplomacy office needs to explain the struggle against FETÖ in both international and national domains. Maintenance of the popular support and containing the international efforts are two necessities at hand.

SECURITY VULNERABILITY AND THE REORGANIZATION DILEMMA: WHAT'S NEXT AFTER THE FAILED COUP ATTEMPT?

NECDET ÖZÇELİK*

It was not only the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) that the FETÖ terrorists infiltrated long before the coup attempt; some police chiefs and intelligence agents were also FETÖ terrorists, working within the Police Department and intelligence agencies when the junta takeover was attempted. The TAF seems to have been exploited the most among those security institutions and there is no doubt that a new reorganization process will start within it. In the long term, the TAF will be subject to lustration, rehabilitation and reconstruction periods for a complete reform. With that said, the security threat that Turkey faces is multiple. Clearly, security concerns have also expanded in different dimensions – domestic, regional and international – under the effect of multiple actors following the coup attempt.

Domestically, the coup attempt has complicated Turkey's fight against terrorism. The Turkish fight against terrorism has two fronts, and involves three terror organizations within Turkish territory. On the rural domestic front, Turkish security forces have been fighting against PKK terrorists for decades in eastern Turkey, and as a well-settled organization the fight against PKK is rather effective. Special Operation Units, which are composed of police, army special forces, and gendarmerie and village guards, have the initiative to carry out operations under the supervision of provincial governor offices. The good news about these units is that although a few military commanders and police chiefs in eastern Turkey did get involved in coup-related plots, the main body of the counter-terror forces seems to have no affiliation with supporting the coup. On the other hand, given the upheaval within the TAF, this composite force will be deprived of much of the aerial

support it previously enjoyed in its rural operations. Considering the lack of sufficient reliable rural operational forces and close air support, these counter-terror forces should opt for surge strikes rather than major operations. Such quick military operations require precise human intelligence and should be carefully planned to strike only the intended targets in order to destroy the terror elements with the minimum chance of security casualties.

The effective use of operational sustainability until the PKK's rural elements return to their hideout in wintertime is crucial and will save time for the government and the security forces to pursue their reorganizing efforts. Special operation units and the army aviation elements are expected to carry on enormous efforts while suffering long period of rotations. These elements, together with more active village guards, should shoulder the burden of counter-terrorism during the reorganization period. The key rural locations in which the PKK are assumed to be active are Hakkari-Van-Şırnak and Diyarbakır-Bingöl-Bitlis with its HPG terrorists, and the Tunceli-Gümüşhane-Giresun triangle with its HBDH affiliates. During the wintertime, the PKK is expected to engage in classical urban attacks such as assassination, intimidation, suicide- or vehicle borne improvised explosive (VBIED) attacks. Many more police SWAT operations supported by valuable intelligence are needed to foil the wintertime attacks.

On the urban domestic front, the PKK, DAESH and the DH-KP/C are expected to be active in initiating armed attacks, particularly suicide or VBIED attacks, even before the wintertime. Security forces should watch over Adana and Mersin provinces with extra care for a potential urban attempt by the PKK. PKK affiliated TAK, and DHKP/C forces and DAESH should be targeted with more police operations in İstanbul and Ankara. More importantly, it was the people who were behind the success of ousting the coup attempt. A pseudo civil defense organization against any attempt threatening state and democracy is worthy of considering.

* Security Analyst

In the larger, regional dimension, Turkey should reinforce its relations with local actors in Syria and Iraq. Turkish security starts beyond its borders and a policy change toward Syria seems probable. Even if this policy conflicts with the interests of the USA, methodologically, the armed elements in Syria could be treated in the same way that the United States treats the PYD/PKK elements. More concrete international support for those pro-Turkey local actors in Syria should be considered. The local partners in Iraq also should be encouraged in fighting with the PKK on the basis of shared interests.

All of Turkey's security circles found themselves surprised when the sophisticated weapon systems used by coup plotters took to the streets of Ankara and İstanbul. According to logical threat assessments, the most powerful defense systems should be deployed to high risk areas, not clustered around the metropolises. Two of the most modern tank models in the Turkish Army inventory played a significant role in the attempted coup; the M60T and Leopard 2A4. The Turkish Army has four M60T battalions in total, and two of them are in Ankara and İstanbul, far away from the Syrian and Armenian border or eastern Turkey. Similarly, the Leopard 2A4 battalions are all located in Trace. Ankara hosts the Army Aviation School and Command, while İstanbul has an Army Aviation Regiment equipped with AH-1W helicopter gunships. Those units could be moved to eastern Turkey, specifically close to the Southeastern borders. Relocation of the units with modern weapon system should be undertaken immediately.

Internationally, Turkey can also revise its relations with NATO for a stronger position in the alliance. Traditional NATO policies over Turkey should be critically analyzed and alternative security alliances can be sought. At all dimensions, Turkey is capable of designing a perfect check and balance system. The current threat is not only the terrorism itself but also terrorist proxies within the state structure and regional security environments.

TURKEY'S NEED FOR A RE-INSTITUTIONALIZATION

ALİ ASLAN*

The message issued by people on July 15 was clear: “authority belongs to the nation.” This was a declaration clarifying that no willpower could be held above the national willpower. In this way, it was explicitly seen that no intervention in the normal functioning of politics could be considered legitimate and such an attempt will by any means be rejected.

When Turkey's history is viewed, several cases are seen in which civilian and military bureaucracy suspended the national willpower and sought to design the politics. It is possible to sum up Turkish politics as a power struggle between the political representatives of masses and the bureaucracy class. With the proclamation of the Republic and the democratic regime, this struggle gained a more critical momentum since democracy is the name of a regime in which numbers determine who would rule the country and the majority has the power in hand. If some minorities wish to hold power, the only way for that is to seize and monopolize bureaucracy, which is the “universal class”. Kemalists stayed in power for a long while through this method. At the points when the rule of bureaucracy was not consented, military coups were staged.

The Gülenists who attempted a coup on July 15 also followed a similar path for a long time. They wished to come to power by seizing the control of civilian and military bureaucracy from the hands of Kemalists and aligning the AK Party government to a line they wished. Consequently, one must bear in mind that people heroically resisted, not to a religious community, but to an extra-political actor who attempted to seize the ruling power through military and civilian bureaucracy.

What turned the Gülen Community into the Gülenist Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) is their antagonism to national

willpower and political institutions, and their control over the bureaucracy. When looked at from this perspective, FETÖ categorically does not have any difference from the Kemalist agents that suppressed the political institutions and national willpower. During the AK Party rule, people fought against the Kemalist agents between the years of 2002 and 2013, who tried repeatedly to suspend national sovereignty through civilian and military bureaucracy. The most crucial acquisitions this fight introduced were expanding the realm of democratic politics and downgrading the military and judicial tutelage.

The discharge of Kemalist agents from civilian and military bureaucracy accompanied this process. Since 2012, people have been fighting against the Gülenist agents, who monopolized the bureaucracy to a great extent. Consequently, the resistance displayed by people on the streets against the July 15 military coup attempt is not any different from the July 22 election results' response to April 28, 2007 e-memorandum and the Republic rallies organized the same year. The "respect for the national will" rally organized in Kazlıçeşme against the Gezi Park uprising in 2013, the results of March 30, 2014 local elections and August 10, 2014 presidential elections in response to Dec. 17 and 25 judicial coup attempt in 2013... They all reflect people's resistance and answer to undemocratic interventions. Regardless of Kemalists or Gülenists, all interventions in national willpower and political institutions are strongly responded to by the people.

THE RETURN OF KEMALISM

However, we have observed that some groups could not comprehend this message properly. The July 15 process also bore witness to the resurrection of Kemalism. During this new period that began with the discharge of Gülen-affiliated officials, Kemalist agents started to have positions. The Republican People's Party

(CHP) leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) leader Devlet Bahçeli had to pay a visit to Beştepe Complex although they tried to show the complex as illegitimate and regarded it as the symbol of “authoritarianism” up until now. Portrayed by media as a picture of unity, solidarity and consensus, this political pragmatism was also accompanied by the parameters of the order projected by Kemalists for the new period.

A group of nationalist Kemalists represented people’s resistance to FETÖ on July 15 as a resistance to religion and a yearning for secularity. They started to highlight that if the founding principles of the Republic was adopted, many problems would be resolved and a normalization and social consensus could be achieved in the country. According to this view, the military and civilian bureaucracy must be reshaped by basing them on republican and secular values, and personnel must be appointed with due regard to these values.

The moderate wing of Kemalism, on the other hand, overtly reacted against AK Party’s institutionalization efforts with the slogan “no to coups, no to authoritarianism”. This wing also specifically expressed that merit must be considered as the main factor rather than ideological tendencies in appointing officials to bureaucracy. However, as participating in the social sphere without an identity is not possible; they started to imply that the secular identity that is seen as universal and objective must be the basic criteria again. This positivistic view, which is full of ironies, leans toward the presumption that the secular people guided by science could pass the merit test while the religious people labeled as “reactionist” would not be thought to have necessary qualifications for the positions.

International media, some Western political figures and certain groups in Turkey who attach values to Western lifestyle and secular identity but outside of the Kemalist inclinations also took part in the discussion. These circles started to spread the claim that after the coup

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attempt's failure was seen, the AK Party government would attempt to cleanse dissidents from public institutions and democracy would suffer a great deal due to that. It was surprising that these groups, who did not explicitly respond to the coup and pursued a "wait and see" method, regard themselves as democrats. This contradiction has only one answer, the anxiety felt towards the institutionalization that will form the grounds of a democratic and strong Turkey.

To sum up, while we are on the threshold of a radical institutionalization move, nationalists and moderate Kemalists recommend returning back to the default Republican values of the 1930s, while the international community seeks to intervene in the new institutionalization process by drawing attention to the "dangers" of an institutionalization move lead by the AK Party by means of the authoritarianism discourse that was put into circulation to malign Turkey.

THE COMMON GROUND OF GÜLENISM AND KEMALISM

The main reason for the Kemalists to desire to come into power in the new term is the claim that politics referencing to religion collapsed because of the FETÖ, and moreover it has damaged both the state and the people. It is asserted that the importance of going back to values of the Republic including secularism lies here. However, it is not correct to assume that the terror acts of the Gülenists make politics with a religious reference illegitimate.

Firstly, the religious understanding of the Gülenists is based on possessing the knowledge of the truth, and the belief of being chosen. It is out of the question for this totalitarian mentality to dominate all political movements with a religious reference. Not to mention the fact that it is highly unlikely to come across such esoteric and messianic references in AK Party, which also pursues a religion based politics. Moreover, it is possible for a similar level of totalitarian politics to be produced by a positivist-secular worldview. The political language of Kemalism which categorizes political identities as progressive and reactionist, is based on a

truth outside time and space; namely the absoluteness of scientific knowledge, and the epistemological superiority of a literati class that can have an influence on it. This belief of possessing the knowledge of truth, and selectness, can create a similar totalitarian mentality, and oppressive politics.

Secondly, the political style of the Gülenists is similar to Kemalism rather than the AK Party. Both Kemalists and the Gülenists choose to take hold of the key power apparatus such as civil and military bureaucracy by moving behind the democratic politics, rather than doing popular politics in the struggle for the power. In other words, both sides have an anti-political style doing politics by staying outside the politics. Therefore, the reason for the failure of Kemalism and the Gülenists, is their way of doing politics, which does not take the people seriously, far from transparency, and anti-democratic. This brings two political movements which seem like opposites together. Therefore, if there is any politics that has failed; it is the anti-democratic politics the common ground of Kemalists and the Gülenists, which is focused on seizing power through bureaucracy, and with means outside the politics.

Thirdly, in a sense Gülenism is a phenomenon created by Kemalism. The support of countries such as the US in the establishment and the development of the Gülen movement, looking after their own interests, can also be not ignored. It is a known situation for the Western, imperial center to pursue the way of controlling peripheral countries such as Turkey, through minority and closed off groups. However, the role of Kemalism in the development of Gülenism is a considerable one. The secularization of the religious identities, and their being kept outside the legitimate democratic politics by Kemalism, caused religious conservative sections to go underground, and turn into communities. Particularly, the process of the February 28, announced the impossibility of the religious-conservatives existing within the democratic politics, and made FETÖ-type structures more

legitimate. Still, while some of the communities turned in on themselves, with the self-protection reflex and isolated themselves from the outside world, some such as FETÖ tended to infiltrate the arteries of the government through deception. Therefore, although it is an undeniable fact that although they had more areas of opportunities, and expanded more during the AK Party period, the Gülenists are the product of a Kemalism-dominated period, and they opened space for themselves in the bureaucracy and the civil society by using the equivalent of the Kemalist guardianship in the society during the AK Party period.

Lastly, the Gülenists' language of politics has never been based on religion on the legitimate ground. It is seen that they embraced a liberal democratic narrative which extends to opposition to politics, in order to downgrade the Kemalist guardianship which it sees as its rival on the one hand, and on the other hand in order to make way for moves outside the politics by weakening the democratic political institution based on the national will that the AK Party leans on. At the same time, it should be noted that the liberal democratic language was functionally used by the Gülenists in order to get the support of the West on the global scale. When considered from this point of view, if we were to agree that a group which is as hierarchical, collectivist, and closed such as FETÖ really believed the liberal democratic ideology which sets forth an equalitarian, individualistic, and transparent politics, the failure of the Gülenists should be viewed as the failure of the liberal democratic politics rather than the politics referencing to religion.

THE NECESSITY OF INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Contrary to the negative picture painted by the Kemalist actors, suppressing the coup attempt on July 15 ensured strengthening of politics and democracy. In addition, thanks to suppression of the coup attempt, further steps could be taken to expand the field of democracy. The nation was alienated from itself due to Kemalist

reforms and suppressions. However it still could show resistance, it experienced a “return to self” overcame its internal contradictions at least for a while. The stronger than ever feeling of peace of mind and togetherness is the proof of that. The will of the people should be a strong pressure over existing institutions with a vague structure. Restructuring existing institutions and creating a state and institutionalization centralizing politics are now essential to suppress future coup attempts and interference in politics. Radical steps should be taken for this institutionalization to take place. So what are these steps?

First of all, steps should be taken ensuring localization and nationalization of non-politic segments such as civil and military bureaucracy. The main problem of bureaucracy, either Kemalist or Gülenist, is that it is distant from the nation and it is not democratic enough. Jacobin political actors used bureaucracy as a tool to impose their own beliefs and interests rather than serving the public. Therefore, a two-dimensional structural transformation is required when it comes to bureaucracy. The first dimension is the transformation of mentality. Reevaluating society-military relations is essential at the center of this transformation. This requires reevaluation of the materials used to train military and judiciary to ensure they are in line with the values and traditions of the society. In addition, it must be ensured that the military gains a democratic mentality and it views society and civilians in a positive light. The second dimension is organization. Bureaucracy should be as transparent, open and accountable to the public as possible. The measure of success in these two dimensions is ensuring bureaucracy is not involved in politics and it is focused on a mission to ensure the continuity of the state. As a result, a balance should be established between the principles of bureaucracy, which are the change in politics and the continuity of the state.

Secondly, politics must be strengthened further with a presidential system. The main feature of the presidential system is that

it ensures that the will of the nation is reflected upon the politics and guarantees the stability. These features strengthen politics and protect the will of the nation from non-political interventions. The gradual transformations of politics in Turkey for the last 15 years followed this direction. The President of the Republic Recep Tayyip Erdoğan played a key role in the struggle against the parallel formations and in the period after July 15 coup attempt. Placing the existing regimen into a new legal framework with a new constitution will strengthen the politics against actors such as FETÖ and it will render the regimen more resistant.

Finally, to strengthen the autonomy and independence of the country internationally, institutionalization steps in civil segments other than politics should be taken immediately. Political independence should go together with economic, military and cultural independence. Thus, it is critical to have an economic model based on production, an industrialization model and autonomous security politics based on manufacturing its own weapons and an educational and cultural politics harmonizing universal values with cultural values.

As a result, Turkey needs to re-institutionalize immediately after July 15. However this re-institutionalization cannot be realized by returning to republican values, and especially secular identity, like Kemalists argue. The ideological basis of 1930's Turkey cannot be applied to today's Turkey with the existing national and international conditions. Kemalist actors should reevaluate their opinions by taking into account the profound changes in Turkish society and the world, and they should make realistic assessments. The ideal of an independent and strong Turkey cannot be interpreted with a rootless and secular Westernist and Russian geopolitical understanding. It should be interpreted with a geopolitical understanding based on local and national values, putting itself at the center and having a realistic point of view regarding current international relations.

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The night of July 15 was the longest night of Turkish Democracy. In the course of this night, members of Fetullah Gülen Terrorist Organization (FETÖ), which has been infiltrating the Turkish Armed Forces for about four decades, tried to stage a military coup to overthrow the democratically elected government and suspend the constitution of the Turkish Republic.

During this night, the Gülen coup attempt was defeated mainly by the peaceful civil disobedience of Turkish citizens from all segments of Turkish society. Turkish people realized that the democratic order of their country was in danger of being abolished by the followers of a false messiah. They realized that this was also an assault on their freedom, independence, and the future of their children. That's why they were ready to sacrifice their lives –a sacrifice that they made. The tally of the casualties was shocking: FETÖ members massacred 240 people, of which 173 were civilians and injured another 2,195 civilians.

The aim of this book is to overcome the prejudice and the misunderstanding against Turkey by analysing the events that took place on that night and the developments that followed.

