

## 7/ 15 FAILED COUP IN TURKEY: HIJACKING, PLOTTING AND MEDIA WAR AGAINST TURKISH DEMOCRATIC WILL

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On July 15 2016, a group of junta within the Turkish Armed Forces had attempted to perform a coup d'état by the Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETO/PDY)- which is identified as a terrorist organization and an enemy of the state by Turkish National Security Policy Document. The religiously motivated Pro-Gülenist low ranking army officers took hostage Turkish General Chief of Staff Hulusi Akar and launched operations from former NATO-bases Akıncı, Çiğli and NATO's current Incirlik air bases.<sup>1</sup> They sent tanks, helicopters, and F-16 jets, recklessly targeting the civilians and bombing three times Turkish Grand National Assembly. Millions of people simultaneously came together and established their "*historical bloc*" against plotters and reclaimed their democratic will by maintaining their peaceful street demonstrations. It is unfortunate that the cost of this failed coup was announced as over 246 civilian deaths and another 1491 heavily injured people. In addition, Turkey's political system is crumbling after the announcement of around 6fs0 thousand civil servants was arrested as a member of FETO/PDY. The "*hijacking*" of Turkish state attracted international and regional attention.<sup>2</sup> There is no state that has been faced such sort of hijacking plan in the world. Henry Barkey, who experts on Turkish politics called the group as gang in various newspaper and journals.<sup>3</sup> In order to understand the leverage of failed coup attempt, we will seek the history of coup attempt in Turkey and give more internal information to the interest of layman.

The coup attempt against Justice and Development Party (JDP) is not new. It has been challenged by a series of military coup attempts but, unfortunately enough, with ultimate failure. However, 15 July failed military coup is different from the previous four accomplished coups and other unaccomplished ones. This time, Pennsylvania-based self-exiled cleric Fethullah Gülen who has a vast network of followers in Turkey and abroad was announced by the Turkish President Erdogan as the mastermind of 7/15 coup. Erdogan has tried to get Gülen extradited from the United States to be charged as a member of a terrorist organization. He also told a crowd of hundreds of supporters at

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<sup>1</sup> Testimonies of seven high ranking coup plotters" 17 July 2016 TRT World <<http://www.trtworld.com/turkey/testimonies-of-seven-high-ranking-coup-plotters-148955>>

<sup>2</sup> The term (hijacking the state) was used by Jack Snyder in his seminal work "Myth of Empire". We employ this term as a metaphor to explain the activities of Gülenist organisation. They failed attempt of coup aimed to hijack the state and rule directly in 7/15 military coup.

<sup>3</sup> Berkay, Henry "The Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight" American Interest, <<http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/07/18/the-gang-that-couldnt-shoot-straight/>>

Istanbul Ataturk International Airport that he was full control of the nation and the rogue faction of the army had been successfully repelled.

In the previous four different types of coups in 27 May 1960, 12 March 1971, 12 September 1980, and 28 February 1997, Turkey experienced with gigantic political and economic corruption cases. The coup plotters have been always reclaimed the “*guardian of Turkish democracy*” in order to sustain their authority. As Turkey was roiled on that 15 July coup attempt, the older citizen that had experience at least one or more of former coups might have a sense of déjà vu with having the same scenario. No one estimate that how much the cost of economic damages of this failed coup will be? Looking at previous four “*coup d'état*,” they stole over 70 tones of gold in 1960, and 170 tones of gold in 1980 from Central Bank of Turkey. The stolen amount of postmodern military coup is around 70 billion USD. In addition the damages for Turkish economy was estimated as over 300 billion USD. It is unfortunate that there has no government launched any investigation where is those public wealth gone and who got it?

Turkey is now facing more dangerous coup attempt against its political and economic system. I can assume that if such thing happened in Western countries, none of the public intellectual might increases their voices against their own people's demand for their wealth and their common interest. It is now Turkish people who joined the “*historical bloc*” have difficulties to understand fabricated information of western intellectuals against Turkey's struggle for democracy. Prior to failed coup attempt, there are many literatures that have been produced in western media outlet.<sup>4</sup> Gülen's followers have very strong influence in western media outlet, which produced anti-Erdoganist fabricated information in order to convince those intellectuals how Turkish President is authoritarian leader and problem needs to be solved.<sup>5</sup> They try to show that Turkey has affiliation with such radical terrorist organization as DAES/ISIL. Due to Gülenists' clandestine operations in various sector of Turkish state and private sector, Turkish government has to sacrifice its democratic opening by closing Gülen's dirty internal and external network. So as to do this, the government has shut down several media outlets, including 16 television channels and three news agencies that are said to be supportive of Fethullah Gülen blamed as a subcontractor or mastermind of failed 7/15 coup in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> The western intellectuals accuse Turkish government of violating the free press and human rights. However, the long lasting program of this religiously motivated movement achieved to penetrate the state system and misused Turkey's social capital with the annihilation of ordinary people's basic right of recruitment in state and public sector by stealing the critical exam questions, which qualify candidate as a civil servant in many occasion since the early 1980s. If such things happened in UK, France, Germany or US, the punishment would be more harmful in order to secure common interest and equality in recruitments

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<sup>4</sup> Rubin. Michael, “Could there be a coup in Turkey?” 21 March 2016 American Enterprise Institute <<https://www.aei.org/publication/could-there-be-a-coup-in-turkey/>>

<sup>5</sup> Hannah, John, “How Do You Solve a Problem Like Erdogan?” 15 June 2016 Foreign Policy <<http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/15/how-do-you-solve-a-problem-like-erdogan/>>

<sup>6</sup> Aljezara

of state system.

It is unfortunate that most of the western intellectuals underestimate the development of civil society and public awareness in Turkish society. The transformation of society achieved some certain success about individual freedom as well as cognitive rationality in citizenship under the banner of common interest. On the other hand, during these transformative years, the people who belong to Gülen network infiltrated the state system by misusing Turkey democratic development. I urge that western intellectuals in various media outlet misguided their own people about the development in Turkey. In fact their prediction and false-flag production of discourse do not reflect the reality of Turkish politics. It can be easily said that the main reason behind their ignorance is that their wrong contact with persons who are ideologically blinded and sociologically alienated from their own society. If they follow truly Turkish academia and media they can easily see there is class struggle between old fashion state elites, corrupted religious groups who control army, judiciary and economics and ordinary middle class citizens life opportunities.

Since the launching of street demonstrations in in 15 July in every corner of the country, the people who stand against coup plotters have not involved any violent incident. Everyone in the country has experience and reflection against oppressor's coup attempt on 15 July. The day-night we were having dinner in district of Balgat Ankara. Two F-16 Aircraft passed with storming voice above the sky of the cities. We understood that there is something wrong, but we never expect that such thing would happen with having long-lasting democratic experience in Turkey. Together with my colleague we went to AK Party building. It was very crowded and then decided to go the General Staff building. The long cortege of private cars shows that there was a lot of people resist against pro-coup soldiers. They started open fire towards demonstrators recklessly. Some of them were shot down in front of me. The injured young man fell on the street, five to ten minutes we could not help saving him due to constant fire of plotters. There was a private car waiting behind the injured man, we tried to carry him and put him to the car to take him to hospital. The car suddenly run away from us and disappeared from our eyes without taking him. We understood that coup plotters deployed their equipment's in the car and were waiting for attacking behind the demonstrators. The tanks started driving towards street demonstrator. Over 15 people injured and fell down from 15-meter wall. We had to run away from this crime scene of coup plotters as death tolls rising. We did not know how many people lost their life at those moments. F-16 aircraft attacked three times and dropped to seven devastating bombs to the Turkish Grand National Assembly and also bombed Interior Ministry buildings many times. It is the first time the capital of Turkey was under such cruel attack. In Ankara, the babies and children could not sleep all that horror nightlong due to plotters coup attempts.

There is plenty of evidence that the 7/15 failed coup turning into a massacre against Turkish people was operated by Gülenist gang of band. As we mentioned above, there are dozens of people who lost their life and deadly injured during the demonstrations.

Looking at Turkish bureaucratic structure, Turkey has got 4 million civil servants, however, over 100 thousands Gülenist gang infiltrated the Turkish army and police forces for forty years. Immediately after the failed coup, Turkish government has detained over 60 thousand suspected people who are member of Gülenist network. Some of them confessed they took order of failed coup directly from Gülen. There are many evidences indicating that Gülen cannot be involved in such a crazy move without assuring the support of some “*cliché*” in American establishment.<sup>7</sup> Despite lacking of any voice from western intellectual environment, there have been a big discussion in Turkish media and academia about American involvement of 7/15 failed coup in Turkey. According to the recent poll, 90% of Turkish people believe that CIA/NATO operated this coup as such coup had been experienced in Greece in 1963. In Turkish media, some influential figures accuses former American Ambassador in Turkey, Morton Abramowitz, Eric Edelman<sup>8</sup>, and former CIA agent Graham Fuller<sup>9</sup> and George Fidas of being as the master of Gülen’s failed coup attempt. The commonality of Turkish people believes that the project in using of Gülen as an agent is neither American public interest nor Turkish one. The duties of intellectuals and academics can be accountable and valuable with producing knowledge for humanity without any engagement with intelligence and dirty operations. In Europe and U.S. some intellectuals and academics pretend to be like state-agent under the umbrella of academia and public intellectuality. The process of this politicization could lead to lose the faith and trust for their production of knowledge and information. Looking at the recent activities of Fuller, even after the failed coup d’état, he continued to criticize Turkish President instead of supporting elected government and peaceful demonstrations.<sup>10</sup> According to Turkish academic, Bedri Gencer, Former CIA agent, “Fuller spoke of the visible agent of the coup, namely, the Gulen movement, very curiously over-empathetically, like the spokesman for even the patron of that movement”.<sup>11</sup> It is now, Turkish people is now cursing Gülen and his bloody band, who killed countless innocent people resisting against the coup, and it is not fair that intellectuals and American academicians accuse of President Erdogan instead of Gülenist gang.

On the other hand, similar to anti-Erdoganist reflection in the western media, Iranian media outlet had another voice raised its echo from Iran. Whilst Iranian Foreign Minister

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<sup>7</sup> Gülen’s solicitors had submitted 30 reference letter to get Green Card, see details; Özyurt, “Ahu Gülen’e ret gerekçesinde CIA ile ilişki kuşkusu” 12 May 2016

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Guncel/HaberDetay.aspx?aType=HaberDetayArsiv&ArticleID=883012&Kategori=guncel&b=Gulene%20ret%20gerekcesinde%20CIA%20ile%20iliski%20kuskusu>

<sup>8</sup> “Turkey’s Erdogan must reform or resign” 10 March 2016 Washington Post

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/turkeys-erdogan-must-reform-or-resign/2016/03/10/80cc9be2-dffe-11e5-9c36-e1902f6b6571\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/turkeys-erdogan-must-reform-or-resign/2016/03/10/80cc9be2-dffe-11e5-9c36-e1902f6b6571_story.html)

<sup>9</sup> “Former top CIA official reveals Gulen relations” Daily Sabah 23 June 2013,

<http://www.dailysabah.com/nation/2014/06/23/former-top-cia-official-reveals-gulen-relations>

<sup>10</sup> Fuller Graham, “Turkey’s Lose-Lose Coup Attempt” 16 July 2016

<https://consortiumnews.com/2016/07/16/turkeys-lose-lose-coup-attempt/>

<sup>11</sup> Fuller Graham, “The Gulen Movement Is Not a Cult — It’s One of the Most Encouraging Faces of Islam Today” 22 July 2016 Huffington Post < [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/graham-e-fuller/gulen-movement-not-cult\\_b\\_11116858.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/graham-e-fuller/gulen-movement-not-cult_b_11116858.html) >

Javad Zarif denounced the coup plotter's attempt in a very first of day; the clerics continues to cherish their inherent anti-pathy against Turkish President Erdogan. Together with some prominent religious figures, heavily interested in Turkey's position in Syria accuse Erdogan of supporting DAES/ISIL.<sup>12</sup> Iran also tries to minimize Turkey's relations with Saudi government by accusing of King Selman to support military coup attempt in Turkey.<sup>13</sup>

For a nation state, internal security is first priority for democracy. Without security how you can talk about democracy and human rights? Some media outlet tries to get rid of Turkey from collective security system engagement with NATO. They insisted Turkey be faced "Truexit" from North Atlantic Treaty Organization if she continues cleansing of this gang in the state system.<sup>14</sup> Despite facing internal threat and treason, Turkish government achieved to secure strategic arsenal in Incirlik air bases. It is estimated that there will be 70 B61 Hydrogen bombs stored in this bases.<sup>15</sup> Erdogan gave direct order to close the bases and guaranteed 2700 US army personnel in this critical stage. Turkey has second biggest army in this collective security bloc and played essential role in one of the dangerous front line security zone of western countries. Many strategists believe that, hence, Europe's security begins with Turkey's border. I do believe Turkey will continue its presence in western collective security system but needs to solve some challenges stemming from internal dynamics in various sectors.

Since the failed coup began, they are many Gulenist media outlet and western intellectual produce wrong information on Turkey. Despite his direct involvement with 7/15 failed coup, the leader of group Fethullah Gülen, who pretends to denounce the coup attempt in his recent article published in New York Times on 25 July.<sup>16</sup> He stated that Turkish government suspended the "*European Convention on Human Rights*" with the declaration of state emergency. This is misleading production of knowledge on ties between EU and Turkey. Although the previous governments had conducted systematic torture after each coups, Turkey's current government who had started democratic opening and European accession process, has been currently avoiding any '*systematic state policy*' on torture and rape cases. Without any evidence concerning torture and rape of coup plotters, Amnesty International issued a report accusing Turkey by doing this.<sup>17</sup> The Fethullah Gülen used

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<sup>12</sup> Whistleblower: S. Arabia, UAE Involved in Turkey Coup" 18 July 2016 Fars News Agency, < <http://en.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=13950428000616>>

<sup>13</sup> Ja'far Haghpanah, An Analysis of Turkey's Bungled Coup Attempt, 17 July 2016 Iran Reivew < <http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/An-Analysis-of-Turkey-s-Bungled-Coup-Attempt.htm>>

<sup>14</sup> Lewis, Jeffrey, "America's Nukes Aren't Safe in Turkey Anymore" 18 July 2016 Foreign Policy< <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/18/americas-nukes-arent-safe-in-turkey-anymore/>>

<sup>15</sup> Christiensen,

<sup>16</sup> Gülen, Fethullah, Fethullah Gulen: I Condemn All Threats to Turkey's Democracy, 25 July 2016 New York Times < <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/26/opinion/fethullah-gulen-i-condemn-all-threats-to-turkeys-democracy.html>>

<sup>17</sup>, "Turkey: Independent monitors must be allowed to access detainees amid torture allegations", 24 July 2016, Amnesty International. < <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/07/turkey-independent-monitors-must-be-allowed-to-access-detainees-amid-torture-allegations/>>

this report to accuse Turkey of turning blind eye to the so-called torture and rape on Turkish plotters although this did not happen at all. This mainly aimed to delegitimize Turkish people resistance to coup plotters on the 7/15 failed coup and to isolate Turkey from international system so as to design the state as a religious one. Most of people in Turkey are against the capital punishment. I do believe it will be a disastrous process if such thing being implemented in Turkish politics. From judicial perspective, in fact Turkey does not need to suspend the “*European Convention on Human Rights*” in implementation of capital punishment. According to *Article 15 Derogation* in time of emergency, Turkey has the right to employ emergency rule if national security risk increased. Though Turkey is a part of banning of capital punishment by signing of *Additional Protocols 6* in normal condition, but she did not sign the *Additional Protocol 13* on “*European Convention on Human Rights*”. Therefore, Turkey can legally have right to implement the capital punishment when the emergency law condition could have been occurred.<sup>18</sup> In sum, from judicial perspective, Turkey can apply capital punishment against treason without suspending the European Convention on Human Rights.

In terms of the hijacking of state by Gülenist gang, their dirty affiliation in western media outlet strengthen more public awareness in Turkey and lead to increase anti-westernization tendencies in the society. Turkey is on process in establishing their “*historical blocs*” to defend bureaucratic and political institutions, which is so called second national struggle against coup plotters. In a sense due to security concern, Turkish government has declared three-month state emergency throughout country on July 20. Turkish President insisted that declaration of “*state of emergency*” would certainly not be synonymous with “*martial law*”. The implementation of emergency law does not restrict human rights and individual liberties.<sup>19</sup> However, the anti-Turkish blocs continue manipulating what is really happening in Turkey. In fact, by doing this, Turkish government tries to save its national security and secure political and economic institutions. The government has dismissed more than 1,223 officers from the Turkish army, including 87 generals in order to democratize the military institutions. Turkish people’s stalwarts stand with democracy by maintaining their peaceful demonstrations with perseverance.

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<sup>18</sup> European Convention on Human Rights, European Court of Human Rights Council of Europe <  
[http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf)>

<sup>19</sup> “Turkey declares three-month state of emergency” 21 July 2016 Hurriyet Daily News<  
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-declares-three-month-state-of-emergency-erdogan.aspx?pageID=238&nID=101896&NewsCatID=341>>