

The most heinous exploitation of Islam in the modern history

Unschooling Turkish clergyman Fethulla Gulen



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“Islam is a constant practice, which holds the believers constantly under the horror of God, shaping the mentalities, the cultures, the traditions and the nationalities according to its teachings, which are out of reason and justice”

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The deviant cosmic Empire of Fethullah Gülen

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the movement of the Islamic religious man Fethullah Gülen has begun to be whispered in the Turkish society, in the term of its constant spread within a limited educated religious milieu, and in the term of fear of the liberal secular milieu from spreading in the state institutions.

Like any aspiring Islamic religious man who has sought to achieve the principles of Islamic religion, Gülen has not ceased to organize and direct his surroundings since his youth benefiting from his rise in a religious environment rich of extremist religious sects and from his work in the state's religious institutions.

The Islamic religion requires every Muslim to work on the application of the Islamic teachings and laws and to administer the state with Islamic principles and Islamic leadership, and to spread of Islam by all means. These Islamic religious principles have been applied throughout Islamic history and are being applied today by states run by religious governments.

Many factors contributed to the development of Gülen's religious movement, including the spontaneity, deep spiritual attachment, and the absolute believe in the religion that the most non-Arab Islamic cultures characterize. This has existed more strongly in the Turkish society being leaded the Islamic countries for centuries.

Gülen lived his youth at the height of the bloody struggle between the Turkish nationalist-religious and the socialist-communist communities of the 1960s and 1970s, which was a practical reflection of the cold war between communism and socialism on one side and democratic capitalism on the other.

Turkish society is also unique in its capacity for solidarity and cooperation, which helps it to easily form groups, sects and civil society organizations. Therefore, the spread of civil society organizations in Turkey and in between the Turkish expatriates are very wide if compared to the Arab and Persian society.

With the development of the science in the west, particularly political, administrative and legislative sciences, the work on separation of religion and state has increased and they have been completely separated by the adoption of democratic teachings.

According to the teachings of the Islamic religion, which oppose strongly the democratic principles in many fields, the adoption of democratic rules by the Ottoman Empire was not possible. Additionally, Islam interferes in all areas of life and requires the state and the individual to adhere to, apply and establish the teachings and laws of the religion. The fact that Islamic teachings are issued directly and on orders from the god makes changing them impossible.

The Ottoman Empire began to adopt some democratic laws from the early 19th century, all of which were compulsory and came to address the internal and external problems that emerged because of the spread of democracy in the west, such as the rights of the minorities.

There is no doubt that philosophers and scientists were fought in the Islamic world and were subjected to physical and psychological attacks, which led to the disappearance of scientists and scientific development in the Islamic world after the first centuries of the emergence of Islam. This was mainly the result of the attempts of philosophers and intellectual groups, such as al-Mutazila, to interpret the Islamic rules and teachings scientifically,

which did not corresponded to the many religious interpretations of the Quran and Sunnah.

Therefore, the lack of change and developments in the management of the state and the absence of scientific developments were among the main reasons that led to the deterioration of the Ottoman Empire and the inevitability of its fall. The idea of the nation upon which the Ottoman Empire was built fell and the religious belief did not leave for the leaders and educated elites any chance for change and development, which led to the disappearance of the will to challenge and remained helpless in front of the collapse of the Empire.

Deliverance was at the emergence of a movement that provides a radical revision of the religious belief and aims at change, development and renewal. This movement came with the military commander Mustafa Kemal, despite that the religious belief that rejects renewal, change and development dominated the mentality of the intellectual, politician and society at the time. Mustafa Kemal began his movement with a few around him who believed in change. The leaders and intellectuals who were still adhering to the religious teachings did not have chance to rescue the homeland and religion other than to cooperate with Mustafa Kemal.

These few reformists have had three great challenges, challenge of the enemy, challenge of the state and challenge of the people. The enemy was the superpowers that were about to occupy the whole empire. The state was run for centuries by the caliphate system, which derives its strength from the firm religious belief in the mentality of society. Despair prevailed in between the people as a result of collapse of the caliphate, and the mentality of the people are built on the Islamic belief that the people should work

for the afterlife by fulfilling the word of God, and many religious teachings and national traditions do strongly oppose many democratic norms.

The reformists led by Mustafa Kemal chose the democratic system as a means to challenge all that difficulties to build a modernized civilized state. To avoid the major negative influences of religion in the administration of the state and to build the citizen who believes in innovation and development and participates in building of welfare society and developed country, the reformists had emphasized and focused on the separation of religion from the state, which is one of the most important democratic rules.

The reformists have made radical changes in all aspects of administration of the state. They abolished the caliphate and established a parliamentary system, applied contemporary legislation and laws instead of al-Sharia, granted women's rights, changed Arabic letters and numbers to Latin, disallowed clothes based on religious affiliation, used the Gregorian calendar and adopted the law of surname. They also collected the educational services under the authority of the State and reliance on contemporary education rather than religious education. They established strategic centers such as the institution of Turkish history and Turkish language and innovations in the field of fine arts. They updated the fields of economy, agriculture, industry and trade.

The reformists fought al-Darwasha and the Sufi orders, which swept the Turkish society in the late Ottoman Empire and exploited the religious feeling of the citizen to raise large sums of money in the name of religion, using it for political purposes against the democratic system towards the religious system. They closed the religious buildings such as Tekkes, Zaviyes, Hankahs

and Tombs, and banned the religious titles Sheikh, Dervishes, dedes, disciples, followers and servants

The reader must know that the leader of the reformists, Mustafa Kemal was the owner of the overwhelming majority of reforms and he supervised the realization of these reforms personally after their acceptance in parliament. Therefore, when the Turks talk about or write on the history of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, they speak and write in the name of Mustafa Kemal and call him father of the Turks.

Those who are familiar with the teachings of the Islamic religion will easily find that the reform measures undertaken by the reformists are in stark contrast to the Islamic religious mentality that ruled the Muslim world for more than thousand and three hundred years from its appearance until the end of the Ottoman Empire.

Consequently, the political equation consisted of two axes that were numerically unequal and ideologically contradictory. The reformists who aimed the renewal were the smallest and taking control of the governance. The traditionalists, who believed that any change must be within the religious framework, were the most numerous and the people were adhered to the Islamic religion. This explains the large number of rebellions and disobedience in the first decades of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, which were mostly religious, and those, which were ethnically motivated, were exploiting the religion, such as the rebellion by Said Nursi.

Despite that the insurgency was reduced after the enactment of a multi-party system in the mid-1940s, the use of religious sentiment by politicians in Turkey were continued. For example,

by Adnan Menderes in the Democratic Party in 1950s, by Najim al-Ddin Erbakan in the Welfare Party in the last three decades of the later century and by Rajab Tayyip Erdogan in the Justice and Development Party after 2000. The movement of Fethullah Gülen is one of the most dangerous religious movements, which was able to conceal their religious and political aims for decades, and have invaded the Turkish state and dominated most of its strategic centers.

Despite everything, what should be written in the history of the Turkish people as a bright page, is their march towards democracy, which continued almost ninety years, while the power equation in the term of stubbornness and number was in favor of the traditionalists. It should be taken in account that the Islamic beliefs deny categorically the democratic system, and ruling of the country by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan alone after 2010 when he dismissed his companions with whom he established the party, is a serious threat to the Turkish democracy and serious deviation from the course of building of democracy.

During establishing the republic and to avoid the obstruction of the way to democracy and to hamper returning to caliphate, it was not easy for the reformists to determine the extent of measures in number and feature by the reformists towards the enormous challenges of the traditionalists. Many of the standard measures, which they carried out, seem to be unfair for the people who raised the flag of the Islam for centuries. For example, abandoning to build mosques by state, reading of the Quran on the state's radio and teaching the religion in the schools, which all are the basic procedures in the context of the separation of the religion from the state.

There is no doubt that the reformists would have to do with several non-democratic measures during thirty years of transition from the religious system, which was rooted in the mentality of the people, to the democratic system. For example, legislations limiting the freedom of opposition, the one-party system, banning of religious Sufi sects like dervishes and closing their headquarters.

To preserve and consolidate a democratic system in a completely non-democratic culture, it seems inevitable at certain times to resort to some non-democratic measures, which conflicts with the democracy, particularly, when the religious mentality definitely rejecting the democratic principles, and many Turkish traditions and customs often conflict with Democracy.

Therefore, the implementation of several undemocratic measures by the Turkish governments before the application of the multiparty law and the subsequent military coups after that can be seen as unlawful efforts to prevent the deviation of the democratic process in Turkey.

The misuse of the application of the multi-party law, which was considered one of the largest democratic reforms in Turkey, by the first government formed after its application, can be considered the best evidence of the difficulty of application of democracy in non-democratic cultures. As it can be seen that once Adnan Menderes took the power in 1950 he started to violate the most basic constitutional item and one of the most important democratic principles, which is the separation of religion from the state. For example, religious lesson in the curriculum of education and religious programs in the state radio were embedded, a big budget was created for religious affairs. Menders used the religion in elections, gaining a large number of votes which helped him to

win three parliamentary elections and stay in the power for a decade until he was hanged by a military coup in 1960.

Menderes, after winning a second general election with an overwhelming victory in 1954, had ruled the country almost alone.

Other than the Gülen's movement and Erdoğan's policy Menderes was a conservative, he was not religiously minded and did not follow a religious policy. The reasons why Menderes violated the secular rule of separation of religion from state were: sympathy for the religious feelings of the people, as a reaction to antidemocratic decisions made by former governments and then exploiting the religion to win supporters and voters.

Study of the history of Gülen movement and its continuous development until the coup attempt in Turkey in July 2016 requires clarification of some factors related to the Islamic religion. The characteristics of the Islam teachings, the relation of the Islamic religion to the administration of the state and the role of the religion in the policies of the Middle East countries and the political changes in the region.

The Islamic religion uses three methods to create blind obedience in the people in order to let them believe in Islam. These methods are frightening 'Intimidation', elimination of the mind and elimination of the will, actually distortion of the will and exploiting it in the sake of the religion.

Frightening 'Intimidation': the threatening and intimidation in their terrible forms from the torment of hell to those who do not believe in Islam are mentioned generally in the Quranic verses and the horrors are overwhelmingly found in the early coming verses. For example, the verses twelfth and the thirteen of the Surah al-

Muzzammil stipulate “Verily, with us are fetters, and a raging fire. And a food that chokes, and a painful torment”.

Sometimes the Quranic verses state that God will punish also in this world those who do not believe in Islam. As example the story of ‘Paradise companions’ of Surah al-Qalam. In many verses, the Quran tells us that God watches the people very closely, which intensifies the fear in the Muslim people.

Elimination of the mind: the elimination of the mind is considered one of the basic principles of Islam. Islam makes it imperative for the people to believe in its world and punishes those who do not believe. Noting that the Islamic world do not base on any scientific rules and the logic is absent in Islam teachings. Moreover, Islam does not accept the discussion of its teachings at all, even though these teachings interfere in all aspects of the life of the people. The forth verse of Surah Ghafir (al-Mumin) stipulates, "None disputes in the Ayat of Allah but those who are infidel", as well as in the verse thirty five of Surah al-Shura “And those who dispute as regards Our Ayat may know that there is no place of refuge for them”. There are prophet speeches (al-Ahadith) that consider those who debate in the Quran as infidel and as those whose faith is incomplete.

Elimination of the will: the eradication of the human will, actually its distortion in favor of the religion, is another basic rule in Islam and are constantly mentioned in Quran and in many forms. For example, that God is the one who gave the man all what he belongs, and all that people learns are from God, and that the money and the children are from God. God confirms his giving to people repeatedly, and threatens or blames by these giving those who do not believe in Islam.

As for examples of the Quranic verses that make people abandon his will, the verse one hundred and twenty-three of Surah Hud "And to Allah belongs the Ghaib (unseen) of the heavens and the earth, and to him return all affairs. So worship him and put your trust in him", and the verse fifth of Surat al-Fatiha is "You we worship, and You we ask for help".

The Quranic verses, which are repeated for many times, and nullifies the human will are the verse thirty of Surah al-Insan "But you cannot will, unless Allah will" and that which completely abolishes the will of human being such as the verse thirty-one of Surah al-Muddathir "Thus Allah leads astray whom He wills ". Praying and worship in Islam is considered type of disregard for human will.

In other words, the terrible intimidation, the glorification of God and the diminution of people to force them to believe in Islam dominate the Quranic verses that were revealed at the beginning. Under these conditions, people are prepared to accept whatever are given to them as commands from God.

As for the relationship of the Islamic religion with the administration of the state, Islam appeared in the Arabian Peninsula in a tribal society that lacked the simplest administration. There was no state and even the smallest administrative unit, therefore, the Islamic religion could be considered as a basis for establishing the state by the Arab. Although the Quran is devoid of the word of the state or any call to establish it, but its teachings impose strongly the establishment of state on the individuals and society. Islamic doctrines are not only aimed building of a society solely on Islamic laws and rules, but aim to establish a world subjected to the Islamic doctrines.

The submission and obedience in the Islamic doctrines can be considered another factor which made the Islamic teachings govern the community as a state.

The obligation to believe in Islam and the punishment of non-believers, which are generally mentioned in the Quranic verses and in particular in the verses that were revealed at the beginning, can be considered another important indicators of the emergence of a state after the spread of Islam.

Establishment of the teachings of Islam was the duty of all with the caliph in the beginning, the spread of Islam to wide regions necessitated progress of administration and led gradually to formation of institutions of state. The post of minister appeared for the first time in the first Abbasid period.

Then came the Islamic teachings which acted as the authority of a state in the maintenance of Islamic rules and laws and carried every Muslim responsibility for the application of Islamic teachings in society. One of those most important Islami teachings which is considered the sixth pillar in Islam and mentioned eight times in the Quran is the statement 'Command for al-Ma'ruf and forbid from al-Munkar'. The number of Quranic verses that are interpreted in the same sense is more than thirty verses. This statement is first mentioned in the Surah al-A'raf, which is the thirty-seventh Surah in the chronological order of the descent and which was before the al-Hegira. As the concept of this statement was mentioned in many of the Prophet's Hadiths, one of those most important Hadiths is al-Hadith al-Sharif 'Whoever of you sees a Munkar, let him change it with his hand; ...'. This Hadith is addressed constantly in the Islamic world to enforce every Muslim individual to be responsible form application of Islamic teachings in the community. In other words, this Islamic rule gives any

Muslim the authority to impose the Islamic religion in the community and to punish those who break the Islamic teachings.

The other two basic rules that also play important role in the administration of the state in Islam are the necessity to spread the Islam and not to accept any non-Muslim administration. There are many Quranic verses that require the spread of Islam by force. However, the spread of Islam by force became a fundamental Islamic rule after the revelation of the Quranic verses that legislated the Jihad, which allowed Muslims to annex vast regions of the world under the administration of the Islamic state. By some authorities Jihad is considered the sixth pillar of Islam.

Jihad was mentioned in the Qur'an for the first time in Surah al-Furqan, which is the Surah forty in the chronological descent of the pieces of Qur'an, revealed before the Hegira. The emphasis on jihad comes in the late Quranic verses. Although Islam does not force the believers of the other heavenly faiths to believe in Islam, it does not equal them with Muslim in the administration, such as the application of the tribute to non-Muslims and refusal of non-Muslim's administration. This is the reason why the non-Muslim staffs were absent in the Islamic caliphates. As for those who returned from Islam and atheists, Islam judge them by death.

With the emergence of the state in Islam, institutions were created under different names to impose the Islamic teachings. According to this Islamic rule, there is a police directorate in Saudi Arabia to apply the Islamic rule 'Command for al-Ma'ruf and forbid from al-Munkar', and a similar directorate in Iran.

The prohibition of discussion in the Quran and the bass of the Islamic religion plays another important role in the absence of criticism of the administration of the state and the maintenance

of Islamic rule. The strictness of Islamic teachings and the non-logic interpretation of Quranic verses have helped Islamic rulers and governments easily find excuses to eliminate any threat to religion and statehood.

There are many factors that will help people to claim their rights sooner or later by peaceful or non-peaceful means. For example all the countries adopted the principles of the human rights, the peoples will be informed about the democratic system in the developed countries, the inevitable corruption of non-elected rulers in non-democratic countries and the economic problems experienced by many countries. Most of these conditions are available in the Islamic countries.

As the Islamic religion dictates religious leadership and religious rule in the administration of the state, there is no doubt that the political Islam will be the largest force that will emerge in the political arena in the Islamic countries, because of the ease organization, the strength of the motivation and the large number.

Muslims can be categorically divided in terms of degree of commitment to religion and application of its pillars to six categories:

1. Muslims who are committed to the religion and do apply all the pillars of the religion
2. Muslims who are committed to the religion and do apply some of the pillars of religion
3. Muslims who are familiar with the religion and do not commit to it and do not apply its pillars
4. Muslims who are not familiar with the religion and do not commit to it and do not apply its pillars
5. Muslims who doubt in the religion

6. Muslims who do not believe in the religion

The first category includes the extremist Muslims and can be divided into activists and non-activists. The activists who are the majority in this group are working according to the Koranic rule 'Command for al-Ma'ruf and forbid from al-Munkar' or according to al-Hadith al-Sharif 'Whoever of you sees a Munkar, let him change it with his hand, and if he is not able by his tongue ...'. The activists are divided into official authorities, Sufi groups and as individuals, the official authorities are found in Iran of Khomeini, Turkey of Erdogan and Saudi Arabia, and the examples of Sufi groups are Salafists, Gülen group and Muslim brothers group. While the extremist non-activists are mostly individuals and not groups, they do not work to impose Islam on others, and applies to most of them the last part of al-Hadith al-Sharif 'if he is not able by his heart'.

Muslims who are committed to the religion and do apply some of the pillars of the religion are either only praying, fasting, praying only Friday pray or practicing another pillar in addition to these pillars.

In the third category, Muslims are familiar with the Islamic religion in details or in short and are not committed to any pillar of Islam other than the word of al-Shahada.

The fourth category includes Muslims who are not familiar with the religion and are not committed to any of its pillars other than the word of al-Shahada, and the non-commitment may be throughout the life or have committed to certain pillars of religion at certain periods of their life. The parents of the members of this category are often of the same class.

The fifth category includes Muslims who doubt in the religion, and most of the members of this category do not speak their doubts.

Those who are not believing in the religion can be considered in the sixth category. The members of this group are either activists or non-activists. The activists are usually members of socialist, communist or other secular parties or as individuals, as they do not hesitate to criticize the religion and little of them show their activity in writing, and the majority of the non-activists do not show their non-believe in the religion.

As for the transition from one category to another, it is most probably to occur from the non-activists of the first category and the second and the third groups to the previous ones. This will particularly happens when the individuals or the societies face social or psychological challenges or in the case of appearance of auxiliary religious political environment. The recourse to religion and to God in distress is strongly found in the Islamic culture. The members of the fourth, fifth and sixth categories do rarely turn into the former categories. Schooling and education may reduce the severity of commitment in religion and extremism, but the intellectual who severely commit to religion will be more extreme than his peers.

Except the first category, the members of all the categories can be found to practice some of the behaviors that are in contrary to the Islamic rules, such as drinking wine, gambling and leaving the cover for women.

It is not possible to guess the percentage of these groups in the Islamic countries because of the different degrees of adherence to religion and fear of expressing their belief, particularly by the extremists, those who suspect in religion and non-believers in

order to avoid being subjected to attacks, legal accountability, loss of job or loss of social status. To know the size of these categories requires statistics, accurate survey, and field study, which will face many difficulties by governments, religious bodies and individual Muslims.

Since the goal of life in Islam is to work to raise the word of God to win the paradise and salvation from the fire, which dictates the blind obedience to the Muslim, the establishment of Islamic rule is considered from the sacred and basic goals of life of the activists group in the first category of this classification. The non-religious ambitions decrease by the extremist Muslims. For the same reasons, it is easy to organize them and they derive their motivation from fear of hell and winning of the paradise, and they maintain secrecy easily and do not hesitate to self-sacrifice, pay wealth or efforts in the way of God. The sixth category of Muslims is the largest and most powerful obstacle in front of establishment of democracy and the application of human rights principles in the Islamic countries. Their obligation to work on the application and dissemination of religion and rejection of the tutelage of non-Muslims make the extremist Muslims not to stick to the borders of his country and interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

In addition to the religious teachings, many traditions, values and social norms in Muslim societies are another important obstacle to adopt the democratic systems.

In such a religious ultra-orthodox closed society, the school curricula should be avoid of religious materials. Furthermore, the absence of logic in the religious

teachings and its contradiction with democratic principles should be taught, and the Islamic societies should be informed about the prosperity and welfare of democratic countries, and the field should be open for scientific discussion of all the principles and bases of the Islamic religion. The illiteracy should be eliminated and the education should be disseminated.

The Gulen movement is not considered an independent phenomenon by itself, but is part of the developments of the political Islam (Islamic Politics) in the modern era and is in line with the political events in other Muslim countries. Those developments that occurred as a reaction of the Islamic religion to the emergence of both the capitalist democratic system and the communist socialist system of state administration, which have gained international acceptance and spread in many countries and are beginning to invade Islamic countries and at the same time opposed to Islamic rules and principles.

The economic developments of the democratic and socialist system and the failure of the Islamic regime to develop a new economic philosophy is considered another factor in destabilizing the Islamic countries and shaking the foundations of their administrative and political systems. This led to the intensification of the conflict between political Islam and the supporters of the two new systems in Islamic societies.

The intimidation and threat by terrible methods of torture in the doomsday overwhelms the Islamic teachings and paralyzes the will of the believer for change. Additionally, the presence of many safety valves in those teachings that

keep the application of the Islamic religion, are enough to make the Muslim and Muslim communities to desist in adhering to the Islamic religion and reject any political or social change, away from the Islam, even the simplest changes in the laws and the Civil Status Code. These elements have helped and will help the rise of political Islam in all Muslim countries and triumph in some of them.

Not to mention that Islam impels Muslims to use force not only in maintaining the application of Islamic teachings but also in spreading of that teachings and in rejecting the commandment of non-Muslims. There is no doubt that such strict and extremist teachings play an important role in provoking of religious (inter-religious), sectarian (inter-doctrinal), and ideological (any ideology not subject to Islam) fighting.

The Octopus Fethullah Gülen

While the civilized societies began to organize their lives and educate their generations on the scientific data based on research and analysis, the Islamic world continued to live on the values and traditions that were formed 1500 years ago. Those values and traditions appeared with the emergence of Islam, which organize the Muslim's life on religious teachings that are not subject to any scientific rules or examination or analysis.

That is the environment in which Muslim societies live and that is the mentality by which the nations are governed. The religious lifestyle that the citizens depend on in their day-to-day affairs has led to the appearance of religious leaders who lack the most basic culture and take advantage of the religious orientation and the simplicity of their surrender to religion.

This mentality made the religious man Fethullah Gülen who does not have even a primary school certificate a Gul, to whom subordinated hundreds of thousands of disciples, who comply with any orders issued by him and execute them without hesitations. Gülen followers include thousands of university graduates, wealthy people, senior state officials and military commanders.

As it is known at the Sufi and Dervish sects that there are two groups of religious authorities. The first group, those who are from the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad and called Sada, the second group, those who studied religion and gained higher degrees and called Imams. The relationship of the disciples and the followers with their Sada and Imams is submissive to the degree of sanctification.

Therefore, we see that kissing the hands and feet of Gülen is a kind of worship for his followers, and they gather to collect his nails after being cut to be considered blessed. They hold his handkerchief to considering it brings luck, and his followers gather his hair from the ground after shaving because it is a sacred which cannot be remained underfoot. When Gülen sits in a board among his followers, his seat must be higher than the others.

Being obedience is recognized as one of the most important basics of the Islamic religion, the spread of Sufi sects are prevalent in Muslim world until today. Gülen and his group is considered the largest Sufi sect of Islam in modern history.

Gülen took advantage of the afore-mentioned religious characteristics and obligations, used his proficiency in religious public speaking, his organizing skill and used his position as a cleric in one of the largest mosques in the Turkish province of Izmir teaching the Koran for young and old. He started in the middle of 1960s to organize the religious youth and students who were submissive and obedient. He paid particular attention to the poor students who did not have enough family income and no university in their cities, especially residents of villages and districts.

Gülen started the organizational stage of his movement in the late-sixties of the last century by renting houses called the Houses of Light (Işık Evleri) putting 3 or 4 followers, who meet his requirements, in each house.

The prohibition of religious movements in Turkey at that time made Gülen to keep his movement secret for decades. The strict laws against the religious movements and close government monitoring of any religious movement or grouping added another

factor to maintain the secrecy. When the movement grew and expanded to the degree that secrecy was not possible, Gülen called his movement as an only service-providing movement that targeted needy students. The other factor that made Gülen to hide his movement is that the Muslim by nature is subject to the duties and requirements of the Islamic religion, and the establishment of religious rule in the country is one of the most important requirements of the Islamic religion, which was severely punished.

The predominant religious character of the Turkish society helped Gülen to find easily sympathizers from those who were cheated that his movement was only service providing and from those who believed in the religious rule of the state. Gülen was able to find a large number of supporters from the officials in all parts of the state, at the same time he planted and fixed large numbers of his followers in the state, particularly, those of the Houses of Light. Gülen worked with determination and steadfastness in both directions, in winning followers and in establishing them in the state. Since the Islamic faith dictates the building of a religious state, Gülen seemed to have planned from the outset to control the government in Turkey, which made him target the security services in his first step to invade the state departments, and then carried out to sensitive military centers and the army. Although Gülen began to organize the primary and secondary school teachers before the security services and military and army institutions, it was not of such magnitude and momentum.

Accusation of the former security leaders to have been members of the movement of Gülen, for example Kahli Osman Kahya, Mustafa Sağlam and Raman Ak Yürek, who joined the police academy in 1974, may indicate that Gülen's incursion into the state security services had begun to that early years. However,

there are more predictable possibilities that these security leaders joined the Gülen movement in advanced years, especially after the group controlled the state security apparatus and tightened the grip on non-members of the movement, so that they had no choice but to join the movement or to distance themselves from the job. Mustapha Sağlam also drunk alcohol and did not pray until the early 1980s.

Accusing of fictitious numbers of the security leaders of the state of belonging to Gülen movement is that Erdogan's authoritarian commitment to take power in Turkey and his primitive religious tradition of reviving an Islamic empire made him exploit all the organs of the state, especially the judicial institutions, to remove everyone who stands in front of his ambitions.

According to Zübeyir Kindıra, who joined the high school at the police academy in Ankara in 1978, he was taken to the Houses of Light of Gülen in his first week of joining. Students and associates at the academy spoke among themselves about students visiting certain houses in the city. Kindıra says that at that time Gülen followers had little to do with police commissioners and very few teachers were from Gülen followers. Kindıra added that after 1980s, Gülen followers had increased significantly in all the departments of academy. For example, four police commissioners were appointed in 1980, all of whom were belonged to Gülen. To control the security system, the Gülenists used all means to deport or expel those who did not belong to them from the security institutions. Note that Kindıra was expelled from the Police Academy in 1984.

As for how Gülen invaded these offices, Kindıra said that they were initially stationed in the personnel management sections, as they controlled appointments and transfers. Their first

appointments were in the Intelligence Department, then the Finance and Public Security Division, then the Organized Crime Division, and then they were deployed in all the security services.

Shortly after Recep Tayyip Erdogan came to power in 2003, Gülen took control of all the security institutions and was able to carry out any operation in any part in Turkey they wanted. For example, the Şamdinli operation, Zirve House, Hırant Dink, Van 100. University, killing of Hablemitoğlu, and the large liquidation operations in the Turkish army, and hence he began to influence the administration of the state.

There is no doubt that controlling a country and dominating the will of a people begin with the control of the security and intelligence institutions, while the secret of penetration and the continuation of management of these institutions in secret, will strengthen the control and complicate its treatment. That is how the Islamic religious person Fethullah Gülen, who lacks school education, has succeeded in controlling the administration of Turkish state and influencing the fate of the Turkish people.

In a follow-up to the history of Gülen's control of Turkish security institutions, former security Director Birol Aydın, who joined the police college in 1974, says that the total number of high school students at the time was 100, of whom only three were religious and closed in between themselves.

Another former security director who joined to the police college in 1975, Rüştü Yetkinbal says that there was a group of religious students the relationship between them was strong.

However, both the security directors do not mention what Kırdıra talked about in 1978 saying that the name Gülen was known in college and there was a group of students visiting certain houses

in Ankara. The question is whether the mid-seventies was the secret period for Gülen, or was it natural for religious students to close themselves down? Noting that there are always in Turkey dozens of Sufi groups that try to penetrate the state offices.

Given that Gülen began his movement in the mid-1960s, adding that his right-arm Nürettin Veren says that Gülen took allegiance by a religious oath from a group of his followers who formed the nucleus of his movement in 1970, and the number of houses of Light at that year was 15 houses, living in each house 5 to 6 students, subsequently Gülen's installation of three students at a police college in 1974 was possible.

Yavuz Elbirler is a former intelligence director graduated from the Police Academy (Polis institution at that time) in 1971. He says that the appearance of clear signs of Gülen's presence in the police college and public talk of his houses and the visit of college's students to these houses was in the late 1970s attributed to the three Nationalist Front Governments, which were formed between 1975 and 1980. The religious Milli Selamet party, from which Gülen took most of his disciples, participated in those three governments.

In this period, Gülen started to be known as one of the opinion leaders of the community, and recognized by the political arena, as for educating a generation of idealist students who are successful in their studies, respecting their families and religious teachings, loving their country, and have no bad habits.

At that time, this majestic Gülen's reputation, ruthless right-left conflict and degeneration in the political field, had been enough to open the door until the end in the 1980s for Gülen to infiltrate all the state institutions of Turkey. Thus, the simple existence of

Gülen in the security institutions in the late 1970s increased dramatically in the 1980s, and began to infiltrate the institutions of the Turkish army.

It seems that the chaos caused by the fighting between the right and the left in the 1970s, made the putschists of 1980 to support the religion against the extension of the leftists and communists to save the country from a civil war. Thus, the leader of the putschists, Kenan Evren says in one of his early speeches after the coup 'We believe in the same god, our prophet is the same, we read the same Quran and we pray with the same Quranic verses'.

The confidence of the putschists in Gülen seems to have resulted from their superficial knowledge of his activities and his good reputation in the society that he built by his services in the field of education and successfully hiding the real goals of his movement. Additionally, there was no other choice than relying on cadres rejecting violence not polarized by the conflicting parties. In addition to these qualities, Gülen's followers were educated and efficient. Possibly, because of these accreditations, the military commander, who assumed the post of director of the police college after the coup, appointed four police commissars who were well known with their association with Gülen. For his part, Gülen supported the military coup.

The director of the capital Ankara, who wrote the most extensive government report on Gülen movement Cevdet Saral says that Gülen Followers have dominated the police academy since 1980.

The period of the coup followed by another period of support for the growth of Gülen movement. That was the period of the Turgut Özal government, which began in January 1983 and was one of the most important periods in which Gülen movement greatly

grew, while the right arm of Gülen at that time, Nurettin Veren, says that they received no direct support from Özal.

Ümit Güney, a former security director, talks about the police college in 1985 and says 'The number of students in our group was 36 students, in a recreation picnic for the group, the administration invited 32 students and left four students, who were democratic and republican minded, out of the activity. There were students, who got other expenses as well as their salaries, and there were student who were brought to school at mornings by religiously dressed people. The former security directors Murat Nemutlu and Olcay Tok, who speak about the same period, say that the police commissaries hated the students who were not joined to their religious group, and the commissaries were creating simple excuses to hardly punish those students, and students were openly visiting the Light Houses of Gülen.

The decision to open the "Private Class" in the police academy by Özal Government in 1986 was one of the most important means of Gülen to penetrate Turkish state's security system. While the academy was taking the students from the police college only, this decision opened the door for students from other secondary schools and universities to join the academy. Many graduates from sharia faculties joined the private class. In addition to those facilities, students of the private class graduated within 9 months instead of four years and at a higher degree. Furthermore, their promotion as second-to-first class police chiefs became every three years instead of four years. The first class police chiefs were eligible for appointment as the directors of the Security offices. Thus, Gülen started to occupy these important positions in the police system shortly after opening of the 'Private Class'.

One of the clear evidence of the early penetration into the state's security apparatus by Gülen is the confession of Hanefi Avcı, a former security director that he remained in the lighthouses of Gülen when he was a student at the Police Academy (Police institution formerly) from which he graduated in 1976.

Many sources attribute the rapid growth of Gülen movement at the beginning of its foundation to the role of the religious party established in the early 1970s. Many of the founders of the Milli Nizam partisi (MNP) were disciples of Nursi groups of Said al-Nursi, of whom Gülen leads a branch. The Milli Selamet partisi (MSP), which was founded after banning of Milli Nizam Partisi, participated in several Turkish governments in the 1970s.

The supporting remarks for Gülen made by the president of the MSP, Necmettin Erbakan, after receiving the party's chair in 1973, helped Gülen to expand range of his work. A prominent member of MSP, Ismail Müftüoğlu, says that they have allowed Gülen to launch all his activities and they facilitated his works at that time. It should be noted that the Ministry of the Interior affairs was assigned to the MSP and represented by Oğuzhan Asiltürk, who was then known to belong to the Nursi groups. Asiltürk was minister of interior in 1974 and then from March 1975 to April 1977. Müftüoğlu was minister of justice in 1976 and entered into sharp discussions with the state prosecutor when the latter published an official correspondence stating that the activities of the Nursi groups of Said al-Nursi were considered an offence by the constitution. Muftuoglu collected those correspondences.

The scandal of the 'Hidden bag' at the police academy in 1991 illustrates the extent of twisted methods which Gülen was ready to use and confirms that he has been ready to use any deviant method to appoint his followers to sensitive security posts in the state's security system. During the lot to distribute the graduate

students of the police academy to the state's security system. A 'Hidden bag' was found inside the lot bag. The 'Hidden bag' contained the important posts. For the graduates who were from the disciples of Gülen the lot was drawn from the 'Hidden bag' and from the large bag for other students.

After the 'Hidden bag' incident, the head of the intelligence office at the Turkish General Security Directorate issued the first expanded report on Gülen movement on 10 March 1992, which accused directly the movement of threatening the existence of the Turkish Republic. Three senior officers of the Police Academy were dismissed from the police force, and two police officers were penalized with disciplinary punishments, but the administrative court decided to return the dismissed police officers to their jobs.

The afore-mentioned first detailed government report on Gülen movement stated that half of the students of the police college were Gülen's followers and his associates in the early 1990s. Cevdet Saral, the director of the security directorate of the capital Ankara, who wrote the second expanded government report on Gülen's movement in 1999, says that the police college was known as the Gülen's college in the nineties.

Murat Çelik, a former security director appointed to the academy after discovering the 'Hidden bag' scandal, says that in a late night (2 to 3 o'clock) he found three police commissars with twenty students were organizing a religious ceremony in the academy's mosque (Mescit). When he prevented these ceremonies, the pro-Gülen media started targeting him by spreading false and provocative news that praying has been banned at the academy and that police commissars are beating those who pray. A short while later, Çelik was sent away from the academy.

Director of the general security directorate, Unal Erkan personally supervised the uncovering of the hidden bag scandal at the police academy. Because of his direct inquiries, he found that Gülen's followers had occupied important posts in the security institutions as a result of the looting by the hidden bag operation, such as the departments of Intelligence, Smuggling and personnel appointment and other posts in the general security directorate. He immediately stopped the looting process ordering to start investigation about the process both juridical and administratively. Erkan ordered to raid one of the Lighthouses of Gülen in the Karshi Yaka district, where Gülen's followers from the police academy were meeting. There the police found several books of Gülen and video films containing his speeches.

After investigation three senior officials of the Academy, who were directly supervising the looting, were removed from the police force, two police officers were punished with disciplinary penalties, and several changes were made in security directorates in many provinces. One of the observations that emerged during the investigation is that 90 percent of those for whom the looting were done from the hidden bag were not from the original students of the police college, but from the private classes, which were founded by Prime Minister Turgut Ozal in 1986, and joined to academy directly without following the formal curriculum.

In the midst of these investigations, Erkan was removed from the general security directorate and appointed as governor of the state of emergency zone. A short time later, the administrative court of Ankara pardoned the three senior officials who were removed from the post and returned them to their posts.

One of the most ironic paradoxes in the case of the hidden bag, which Ahmet Shik mentions in his book "The Army of the Imam"

is that a group of security directors at the time signed a document to hand the police academy to the Gülen movement.

In the same month (September 1991) in addition to the hidden bag incident, another incident occurred. On 24 September 1991, a senior student in the police academy called Rafet Yilmaz made a complaint to the Administrative Court of Ankara to suspend execution of his dismissal from the Police Academy, accusing Gülen and his followers to stand behind it. In this complaint, he presented his confessions to the investigators at the general security directorate. Yilmaz was one of the active members of the Gülen movement, he disagreed with them in a personal issue, and left the group. Then the group's revenge came by dismissing him from the academy at a day before his graduation. During the investigation in the general security directorate, Yilmaz gave detailed information about the Gülen movement and presented an eight-page handwritten report containing the information he had provided at the Security Directorate. In the report, the movement's goals to change the state's regime were presented, the movement's organizational structure was detailed, and he presented a list of 102 names. In addition to Gülen, the list included names of thirty advanced members of the movement, and teachers, police directors and students. Yilmaz mentioned that the movement aims to eliminate democracy, secular rule and rule of law to establish sharia law in Turkey.

Upon instructions from the investigation commission of the general security directorate, an extensive investigation into Yilmaz's allegations was carried out. Inspectors completed the first extensive report on the Gülen movement on 10 March 1992 entitled "Illegal activities of some police officers".

The report confirmed the accuracy of most of the information contained in Yilmaz's confessions, and the details, which he gave about the movement's organizational structure at that time, are the same uncovered recently. The report said that the Gülen Movement is growing at light speed and must be monitored constantly.

The report also accused Gülen movement of being an illegal movement aiming to change the system of the state and to establish the state of Sharia. It spread throughout Turkey, particularly in the police academy and high schools and in the other educational and training institutions of the state. As for those who do not belong to this movement or who leave it, are exposed to threats, such as disciplinary sanctions and dismissal from work. They also prepare false documents and documents based on slanders against their superiors who are not affiliated with the movement. The main purpose of the movement is to penetrate into the security institutions and to occupy the important positions in the state. They work systematically beginning from selection of students of the police college and at all levels in the security services of the state. The report also stated that half of the police school students are followers of Gülen or his associates.

The inspectors, who prepared the report, requested the removal of about 90 police personnel, including nine teaching staff and several senior officials. The report also requested that a complaint to be made to the State Security Court on the case.

However, although the State Security Court did not acquit those who were found guilty, decided to stop the trial on October 14, 1992, basing its decision on a law enacted on April 12, 1991. The law stated that "Any activities carried out by persons in religious

areas are under the guarantee of law, providing that these activities are within legal limits". While Gülen's activities were clearly not within legal limits. The former law was as follows: "The establishment of any association to adapt the social, economic, political and legal systems of the state with religious principles is a misdemeanor."

Despite the existence of an organization with goals that violate the Constitution, and work to control the state security apparatus in a way that is contravened with the law, and the fact that the accused peoples occupied very important posts in the security institutions, and despite that all these offenses were approved by investigations by official bodies, no investigation, even disciplinary, has been conducted against the Gülen movement.

The investigation began again on a report entitled "Students of the cleric Fethullah Gülen" received by the general security directorate on September 28, 1992, despite the basic trial was closed on 14 October 1992. The minutes, which was prepared by the general security directorate confirmed that "The Gülen movement is working to change the foundations on which the Turkish Republic was built and exposes Turkey's existence to danger." It also included the names of several teaching staff, lecturers, security directors and ninety police commissars at various levels. However, the decision on this second trial was issued six years later and the state security court made the same decision on 20 March 1998 by suspending the trial.

The offenses, which were committed by Fathullah Gülen against the state during the decades of his secret systematic activities, were clear, serious and not only threatened the regime of Turkey, but rather changing the democratic state to the state of Sharia. Furthermore, the simplicity of his invasion into the higher

governmental institutions and misrepresentation of the decisions of those institutions in favor of himself, and the cancelation of the lawsuits against him in State's courts, are not only points to the Gülen's extraordinary capacity, but also to the fault in Islamic religious mentality which he used to achieve his own illegal purposes. This situation also points to a flaw in the logic and mentality of staff in administration of the state.

These characteristics of that time does not preclude that the transfer of Unal Erkan on 21 February 1992 from his post as director of the general security directorate to the Governor of the state of Emergency Zone, to be part of the plan to remove him (Erkan) from supervising the investigations of the both hidden bag and Yilmaz confessions cases. It happened in the midst of investigations of those cases, and Erkan had placed his weight on both cases and personally supervised the investigations in both cases. Additionally, the term for the governors of the state of emergency zone was two to three years, but the governor who proceeded Erkan was only five months.

Gulen escaped the punishment for both crimes, hidden bag and infiltration into the security institutions, which threatens the security of the state, without any losses, even from his presence in the state. Both of these incidents proved that Gulen had taken over the top posts of several intelligence and personnel affairs offices of the Turkish national security institutions at that period.

In 1991, the fall of the Soviet Union opened in front of Gulen a wide door towards outside Turkey and globalization. Gulen initially began to open educational institutions in the Turkish-speaking countries liberated from the Soviet Union. The Turkish language began to be

studied in those institutions and the Turkish flag fluttered over its buildings. Gulen took advantage of these achievements to launch large campaigns in Turkey to demonstrate his great role in introduction of Turkey to the international community. Thus, Gulen became a national hero and won the love and respect of all segments of Turkish society and the Turkish governments and the prime ministers.

In 1996, a police guard was allocated to Gulen by the state. Gulen's openness to outside Turkey and his achievements have played a major role in evading punishment from the two previous crimes.

This stage paved the way for Gulen to expand greatly his presence in state institutions, especially in the security and military fields. He was not opposed by anyone, and those who opposed him did not find anyone listening to them, or faced many problems.

At that period, any institution or security officer who investigated Gulen's infiltration into security institutions was severely punished. Many of these researchers were slandered and brought to passive posts. On April 21, 1999, the Ankara police chief and his three deputies, who drafted the second largest report on the Gulen movement, were dismissed and sent to court on a wiretapped conspiracy.

In 1996 and 1997, although the names of nine students from the police academy were sent to the general security directorate as religious extremists, they were appointed to important positions in the National Security Service.

In that period, Gulen began to transfer his followers, who were in non-vital positions in security institutions to sensitive jobs, which were devoted to whatever reason, as it happened in 1996 at the police school in the province of Elazig.

Following the discovery of the hidden bag scandal in the police academy in 1991, the office of the personnel affairs department of the general security directorate oversaw the looting process until 1997. Then the Gulen group came back and took control of the looting process.

In 1997 and 1998, after the movement gathered information about staff who were not wanted by the movement and who obstructed their decisions, they were appointed to marginal jobs in undesirable locations, and members of the movement were appointed instead.

In the 70th issue of the Intelligence Magazine dated July 1998, an article was published giving the impression of sympathizing with Gülen criticizing his opponents.

When Abdulkadir Aksu, known for his relation with Gulen from the early 1970s, was interior minister, he sent 41 of the lecturers at the police academy to study master or doctorate in England and the expenses were paid fully by the state for five years.

The report of the National Intelligence Service on the famous Susurluk accident in 1996 included the name of Gulen with the businesspersons, nationalists, security men, intelligence and military personnel who were named

during the investigation into the accident. No investigation was carried out with Gulen.

Cevdet Saral says, "Since 1993, Gulen has been removed from the list of organizations that threaten the state and has been listed as a traditional religious organization that works against uncivilized system and support civilization".

Although the first largest report on the Gulen movement in 1992 had warned that the movement was growing at speed of the light and that it should be constantly monitored, both recommendations were neglected because of Gulen's reputation abroad, and the Gulen group grew at more than the speed of light across Turkey. In this period, Gulen entered the economic and media fields.

The period of February 28, 1997, which is sometimes called the postmodern coup, was one of the most important stages in the fight against religious extremism by the Turkish Republic, which witnessed the most severe governmental measures against the civilizational movements in Turkey in both the civil and military fields. The Turkish military considered the intransigent religious movements more dangerous than the PKK.

For his part, Gulen supported with many statements the period of 28 February, and its harsh measures against religious movements, at March 29, 1997, Gulen said in a television program "the military wanted to solve problems through democratic methods".

Gulen also criticized Necmettin Erbakan, head of the ruling religious party at that time, saying, "You failed to run the state" "You have to leave the government, so that things do not get tenser in the country." Erbakan's government fell four months later on June 30 of the same year.

Although many reports and documents were circulated about the seriousness of the Gulen movement in the reports of senior military leaders and at the highest levels of government in the period of 28 February, Gulen was not subjected to any annoyance and no action was taken against his movement.

These favorable conditions for Gulen continued for most of the last decade of the last century from 1992 after his control of the lawsuits opened against him about the hidden bag and the confessions of Rafet Yilmaz, until January 10, 1999.

On 10 January 1999, the famous article of the Aydinlik newspaper titled "Fethullah took over the security institutions", included detailed information about the serious infiltration of Gulen the State's security institutions, and caused severe restlessness and open a fierce debate in the government and community.

The article detailed with examples and clarifications how Gulen infiltrated the security directorates and how he installed his men in those directorates, especially in the personnel affairs Departments. The article explained the activities carried out by Gulen in the general security directorate, in the police academy, in the police college

and in police schools and security offices in the provinces. The article gave many names with explanations.

The incident of the Adatape village of Canakkale province, which took place on July 23, 1986, and was recently unveiled, shows the extent to which the Gulen movement spread in the mid-1980s. On the aforementioned date, a Turkish gendarme force stormed a house in that village, after a citizen complained of hearing the sounds of religious rites of a large group of people in the house, and arrested 34 people, of whom 31 were between 17-18 years of age. They were listening to the religious speeches of Fathullah Gulen, with them books of Said Nursi and Fathallah Gulan, which were published under assumed names. Although the case was transferred to the state security court, the public prosecutor decided to discontinue the lawsuit on 8 August 1985.

Among the group were five students from Police College and a student from the faculty of law at the University of Ankara. The university student joined the police academy as a master student in 1989, and became assistant professor in 1997, and in 2011, he became assistant of the director of the institute of security sciences. One of the 5 students became director of a security office. The second student worked as director of personnel affairs in Security offices in several provinces. The third reached to position of assistant of the director of the general security directorate; the fourth was arrested when he was director of security office of the Beykoz neighborhood in Istanbul and the fifth was expelled from the police academy in 1986 without declaration of the reason.

In the context of purging of the State's security institutions from non-members and opponents of the Gulen Community, which with whom the physical punishments and deprivation of weekends and home leaves did not helped, 22 police academy graduates were punished in 1988 by being appointed as regular police instead of assistant commissar.

The Dragon organization and the committed misdemeanors

To understand, how easily the Islamic religion can be exploited and how the Turkish cleric Fethulla Gulen could terribly exploit the Islamic religion, some aspects of Gulen movement should be clarified, as the capabilities and some natures of the Islamic religious movements.

The capabilities of Fethullah Gulen

- Gulen's wealth and possessions,
- The degree to which Gulen could infiltrate the states institutions, the case of Turkey,
- The offences and the political plots of Gulen

Important characteristics of the Islamic religious movements:

- Gulen has even not completed the primary school education.
- Gulen benefits from the blind obedience of Muslims to the religion, which turns to the absolute obedience to the Islamic clerics
- Gulen himself closely oversees the administration of his giant religious community

Depending on the two preceding factors, the Gulen's name will be occasionally used as a synonym for Gulen Movement in this study.

- **Gulen's wealth and possessions**

Regarding the wealth of Gulen, David Goldman mentions in his book, 'How Civilizations Die: (And Why Islam is Dying Too)' published in 2011: "Gulen is financially heavyweight, controlling an unregulated and opaque budget estimated at \$ 25 billion".

According to other sources, Gulen's budget is much more than \$ 25 billion, in some cases it is increased even to 150 milliards.

Gulen could grew hugely in the fields of finance and economy in 1990s, possessing a bank called Bank Asya and 2.356 companies. The followings are some of the conglomerate holdings of Gulen movement, which were confiscated by Erdogan government:

- Koza-Ipek holding,
Its budget was estimated to be about 30 milliards US Dollars
It included the following business entities: mining, energy, construction, logistics, aviation, food, tourism and insurances.
- Kaynak holding
Its budget was estimated to be 10 milliards US Dollars
It included 19 companies specialized in the fields of publishing, distribution, printing, paper, media, education tools, stationary, educational toys, school clothes, tourism, cargo, logistics and food sectors.
- Boydak holding,
This holding was operating in 8 sectors with 42 companies.
Its budget was 8.6 Milliards US Dollars
- Naksan holding
Naksan holding continued its activities in the fields of plastic, packaging, textile, logistics, energy, real estate and information processing.

According to some reliable sources, the number of the businessmen who were accused of having connection with Gulen and were arrested after the coup of July 2016, is estimated to be about 50 businessmen.

Regarding to the financial sources of Gulen movement, Gulen used several financial sources to build his Empire, depending

mainly on the religious means and state sources and authorities. Here are some of the sources, which Gulen used to amass his fortunes:

1. Himmet collection, which is defined by collecting donations to raise the word of the God (Islam), it belongs almost only to the Turkish religious groups.
It can be said that Gulen built his movement (Religious Empire) on the Himmet incomes, he collected millions of US dollars by constant organization of Himmet activities. Himmet was almost the only source of Gulen's finance source in the early decades of his movement.
2. The shares that are taken from peoples and companies, for whom Gulen arranges tenders, contracts and credits from the state.
3. Donations collected from peoples and companies, using Gulen's men whom he placed in the all institutions of the state

Regarding the institutions, which Gulen had belonged inside Turkey, the followings were closed by Erdogan's government directly after the failed coup of July 2016:

- health institutions	35
- schools	934
- dormitories	109
- foundations	104
- organizations (CSO)	1125
- Universities	15
- Syndicates and unions	35
- news agencies	3
- televisions	16
- radios	23
- newspapers	45
- magazines	15

- print & distribution companies 29

Erdogan's dictatorial governing style have certainly lead to inclusion of organizations other than that belonged to Gulen in the afore-mentioned list, but after perusal in the extent and history of expansion of the Gulen community in the states institutions, it can easily be concluded that the error rate in the afore-mentioned list is not much.

Regarding Gulen's schools out of Turkey, in 2016 the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reached to the following information:

- The Netherlands 11
- Nigeria 17 + university
- Kenya 7
- Iraq 37+ a university
- Kirgizia 21
- Tajikistan 6
- Kampuchea 3 + a university
- Indonesia 9
- Germany 14
- Tanzania 10
- Somalia 3
- Azerbaijan 11 + a university
- Pakistan 28
- Afghanistan 20
- Thailand 4
- Russia 147

It appears that the information, which is presented by BBC, is incomplete. it lacks information about a well-known presence of Gulen in countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. According to Wikipedia Turkish, Gulen schools operating in 160

countries and estimated to be more than 2,000 of all types of schools, from preschool to the universities.

In view of the harmfulness and the riskiness of the Erdogan's political mentality and administration, many of the western politicians, media and politicized research institutions are questioning the reliability of information presented on Gulen community.

Additionally, the conventions, which the western governments concluded with Gulen to benefit from his spread in almost all the countries in the world, makes them to tolerate the offenses and illegalities of Gulen organization.

- **Extent of penetration of Gulen in the state institutions**

The following is a paragraph from a speech of Fethullah Gulen broadcasted by the Turkish ATV television channel on 18 June 1999, which can be found on YouTube on internet. A short time before broadcasting of this speech on 21 March of the same year, Gulen traveled to the USA and did not returned to Turkey. The wide spread penetration of the security institutions of the Turkish state during that period by the Gulen movement indicates a high possibility that Gulen knew that his speech is going to be broadcasted.

"It is a matter of going too far, as wandering in their vital arteries, coming back without being injured or felt, without making discover of our presence. Whether in terms of their financial strength, in terms of power and resources supplies in their own country, in terms of scientists, in terms to reach to the large parts of the society who has this (our) feeling and this (our) thought, until to come to a certain point and constancy, it is imperative,

indispensable and necessary to continue serving in this (secret) way” Fethulla Gulen 1991

This speech of Gulen demonstrates the extent of the secrecy upon which he relied, and the extent of his insistence to infiltrate even the smallest institutions of the Turkish state. The facts that emerged after his attempted coup in 2016 prove that he had succeeded to a large degree in his goal. Erdogan, who during his administration helped Gulen to enlarge his movement more than 15 folds, started in early 2014 to remove Gulen’s men in the state’s institutions. After the afore-mentioned failed coup, which was organized by Gulan, Erdogan started to eradicate all type of Gulen presence in Turkey.

Since the disclosure of the major corruption operations of four ministers and Bilal Erdogan, the son of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, on December 17-25, 2013, and then the failed coup in 2016, Erdogan has dismissed directly by decree laws 125,678 government employees from state institutions. Another 5.150 staff could not be arrested. From those expelled staff, 41.326 were arrested and there was 902 in custody. There are still intermittent dismissal of staff from the state’s institutions. Distribution of the discharged staff according to ministries is as follows:

- The ministry for internal affairs	41.077
o Police officers	2.004
o Police chief	877
o Superintendent	293
o Polis commissioner	1.457
o Assistant commissioner	3.946
o Head of Police staff	631
o Governors	17
o Deputy governors	75
o District governors	100

○ Police	11.495
○ Others	
- The ministry for education	33.716
- The ministry for defense	13.410
○ Generals and Admirals	168
○ Officers	1.099
○ Petty officers	436
- The Higher education and universities	7.323
- The ministry for health	7.299
- The ministry of Justice	6.994
○ Judges and prosecutors	2.286
○ Members of supreme court	104
○ Members of council of state	39
○ Members of constitutional court	2
○ Members of high council of Judges and prosecutors	
3	
- The Prime minister office	4.384
- The ministry of finance	2.491

Gulen targeted initially centers in the state that can help him to spread and establish his men in the state's important institutions, so that the directorates responsible for appointments were among the first to be penetrated by Gulen.

According to the former Turkish minister for the internal affairs Efkân Ala, 75 of the 81 provincial police directors were found to be in connection with Gulen.

The aides are the closest officials to senior state officials in Turkey, such as the President and high-ranking military officers. The aides of many of the top staff of Turkish state were connected to Gulen. For example, four of the aides of the Prime Minister Erdoğan and the former aide of the chief of staff were associated with Gulen,

as well as the aides of the commander of the Aegean Army and the chief of intelligence of the General Staff were all members of the Gulen movement.

- **The offences and the political plots of Gulen**

Toward the end of the nineties of the last century, Fethullah Gulen was able to thwart any lawsuit against him in the institutions of the Turkey. As in that period Gulen:

- Had gained the trust of almost all the Turkish political leaders, mainly due to the spread to out of Turkey, establishing numerous educational institutions in many countries, and bringing the Turkish culture and Turkish language to those countries.
- Could infiltrate with large number of his men in to the important institutions of the state, particularly security and police system
- Could raise a large amount of money and possessed a large financial budget

A few years after Erdogan came to power, Gulen intensively infiltrated most of the Turkish state's institution, particularly, in the institutions of the security system and that of the ministry of justice, and he became able to:

- Make changes even in the constitution of Turkey
- Organize plots against any authorities in Turkey

In Turkey, where all kinds of organized religious activities have been banned and severely prohibited, the reasons that helped Gulen to perpetuate her intense religious activities continuing from 1965 to 2002 may be as follows:

- Gulen's policy of maintaining the confidentiality of his activities despite its immensity, which was facilitated by the Islamic religious mentality
- The widespread religious mentality in Turkey that protects religious activists and clerics from the government
- Success in hiding the true goals and objectives of his movement, and by presenting himself and his movement as neither religion nor opposing the secular system
- Success in deceiving the Turkish politicians, the Turkish government, and the Turkish people that his movement is a service institution of civil society

1. *Gulen overcomes obstacles and repels the state*

a. *Hidden bag scandal*

Despite that the presence of Gulen in the security system of the Turkish state observed very limitedly towards 1970s, the former chief of police Hanefi Avci confess that he remained in the lighthouses of Gulen when he was a student at the Police Academy. Being Avci joined to the police academy in 1973 and graduated in 1976, consequently, it can be said that Gulen was present in the police academy in before 1976.

Disclosure of the event of the 'Hidden bag' in the police academy in 1991, clarifies:

- How earlier and to which extent, Gulen had infiltrated the most important institutions of the state
- The methods by which Gulen was establishing his men in the critical positions in the state
- The easy with which Gulen could rid of the sanctions
- The extent of his control of the power centers of the Turkish state in that early period

In September 1991, through an operation supervised directly by the chief of the General Security Directorate, Unal Erkan, A small hidden bag has been revealed in a larger looting bag to distribute the graduated students of the Police College. The small bag contained the important vacant positions in the state's security system. The draw for Gulen's disciples was done from the hidden small bag and for the others from the large bag.

Erkan immediately cancelled the drawing of the lots, and ordered for start of investigations. Consequently, several senior and subsenior officials of the Academy were dismissed or punished with disciplinary penalties and Erkan made several changes in the security directorates of the several provinces.

In the midst of these investigations, when Erkan had placed his efforts on the case of the Hidden Bag and personally supervised the investigations, he was removed from the general security directorate. A short time later, the dismissed senior staff of the police academy, who were involved in the case of Hidden Bag, were returned to the job by court.

It is worth noting, that Ahmet Shik, the author of the book "The Army of the Imam" mentions that a group of police directors at that time signed a document to hand the police academy to the Gulen movement.

b. Islamic ceremonies at the bottom of the secular house of the Turkish Republic

There is no doubt that the security systems are among the main institutions in any country that maintains its ruling regime. It is also well known that secular government systems prohibit

religious activities that take place in the name of the government or through government institutions.

The Turkish republic was one of the countries with toughest polices against any kind of organized religious activities and political exploitation of religion, even until several years after the justice and development party and its leader Erdogan came to power in Turkey. In cooperation with the National Movement Party headed by Devlet Bahçeli, Erdogan has eliminated most features of secularism and the traditions of the democratic system in Turkey, and has become a dictator in recent years, mainly benefiting from the exploitation of religious sentiments of millions of poor Turks, particularly within Anatolia.

Nevertheless, and despite all of the afore-mentioned obstacles, Gulen managed to perpetuate his religious activities, but rather strengthened and expanded his movement and increased his penetration of the state institutions, especially those of the security ones. In this regard, Gulen benefited from the strict spiritual adherence of the majority of the Turkish people to the religion. The following incident illustrates the extent to which Gulen benefitted and exploited the Islamic region as Erdogan does, as Erdogan does.

A former security chief, Murat Celik, was appointed to the police academy as part of the change made by the head of the General Security Directorate, Unal Erkan, in the security system after discovering the Hidden Bag scandal.

Celik says that during one of his night shift at the police academy and around three o'clock at night, he heard the sounds of religious ceremonies from the mosque of the academy. After entering the mosque, he found that three of the police commissars with about

20 students from the academy organizing Islamic rituals, such as those organized in hospices. Celik had launched investigation in to the matter to take the necessary measures against those who involved in those activities prohibited inside the academy.

A few days after of the mosque incident, the pro Gulen media and other media of the other religious groups began attacking Celik in their headlines, accusing him of the anti-Islam person, who prevented students and staff of the police academy from performing their sacred religious duties.

Newspaper attacks on Celik continued for several days, including such headlines “Praying being banned at the academy” and “Prayers being beaten in the police academy”. Soon after, Celik was removed from his post in the police academy.

Hence, Gulen again escaped the penalties for two other crimes, the Hidden Bag and the anti-secular activities in a government institution and by state staff, without any losses.

It is evident from both of the afore-mentioned cases that Gulen had occupied many senior positions in the Turkish national security institutions at that early period.

After the Hiden Bag incident, the office of the personnel affairs department of the general security directorate supervised the drawing of lots in the police academy until 1997, after which the Gulen movement returned and took control of the lots again.

2. Gulen overcomes the security system of the Turkish state

There is no doubt that Gulen's infiltration of the sensitive state institutions is the first and major crime he committed.

On 18 March 1999, the most detailed security report on Gulen's movement, prepared by the former Ankara Police Chief, Cevdet Saral, was completed. The report included the following:

- Details of the distribution of Gulen's men in state institutions,
- Explanation of how easily and quickly Gulen's men graduated to senior positions in state institutions,
- mentioning that in almost all state security departments, decisions are made by Gulen's men
- The report accused Gulen of committing the largest crime according to the Turkish criminal law, which is an attempt to change the regime of the Turkish Republic.

Four days after the completion of the report, specifically on March 22, 1999, Gulen left Turkey for the United States. After several weeks, in the May, a fierce media campaign began in the central Turkish newspaper, led by Huriyet newspaper, against those who prepared the report, especially, against the chief of the Ankara security directorate, Cevdet Saral. The campaign continued without interruption, bringing various accusations them. The main accusation was that they listened secretly on the telephone of state's senior officials, even to the office of the president and the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey.

On 7 June 1999, those who prepared the report were removed from the work and lawsuits were filed against them, later on, they were acquitted.

During this press campaign, government authorities and citizens forgot the security report on Gulen that contained dangerous

threats to the Turkish community and Turkish state. Nothing was done against Gulen. Note that the same took place after the first report, which the Turkish security authorities prepared against Gulen in 1992.

On 22 August 2000, prosecutor of Ankara state security court, Nuh Mete Yuksel, filed the first lawsuit against Gulen, according to anti-terror Law. While Yuksel was still working on the case of Gulen, a sex cassette news was published as headline of the Huriyet newspaper on 22 October 2002.

In 2003, Erdogan's government made changes in the anti-terror Law, which facilitated acquitting Gulen. In March 2007, the 11th criminal court ruled that the violation of the anti-terror Law was not occurred, in the case of Gulen, and acquitted him. In June 2008, Gulen's acquittal was approved unanimously by the General assembly of the Supreme Court.

3. Murders

Since the 1990s, there were committed thousands cases of offenses with unknown perpetrators in Turkey, as assassinations and missing peoples, in addition to suspected suicide incidents. Being politically oriented issues that affect the national and patriotic reputation, the committers of those crimes remain uncovered, even the newest one that of the killing of Tahir Elci.

Exceptionally, the Justice and development party (AKP) government started to investigate those crimes with unknown perpetrators in the early years after coming to power in 2002. The party's goal was to take revenge from the secular rule of Turkey, which was prevalent in Turkey before the AKP came the power. The investigations of those crimes were stopped within a short

period of its commencement, without presenting any information that the state had reached.

The conflicting political ideologies of that period, of which the main ones that exist today, are as follows:

- The Turkish state with nationalist civil secular principles
- The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) with militant nationalist communist ideology, which is basically found in the south eastern Turkey
- Hezbollah with a militant religious ideology, which was found mainly in southeastern Turkey. According to some sources, there were two types of Hezbollah: Turkish Hezbollah and Kurdish Hezbollah. The Turkish Hezbollah was alleged to have tie to the security services. Other sources consider Hezbollah as only one chiefly Kurdish Islamist militant organization.
- Other groups such as Sufi religious movements, the Front of Revolutionary People's Liberation Party (DHKP-C) and the front of Islamic Great Eastern Raiders (IBDA-C)

The fact that Gulen succeeded in pursuing a policy of secrecy and hiding his systematic religious political activities and his true goal, made him able to escape the violent measures that the Turkish state was taking against religious organizations and religious activities. In addition, he managed to deceive the Turkish politicians and the Turkish people that he was supporting the secular system of the state.

Gulen could never establish a good relationship with any religious politician, party and organization outside his movement. On the contrary, he supported the Turkish army in important events. For example, he stood by the Turkish army when the latter issued a strongly worded memorandum in 1997 against the government of Necmettin Erbakan, the top representative of the Turkish religious

political community. Gulen even criticized Erbakan, saying “You failed to run the state”.

Gulen’s settlement in many institutions of the Turkish state, existing in the army, controlling the police and the security forces since 1990s, and his domination these forces after the Justice and Development Party (AKP) took power in 2002, put him and his movement in the accusation dock regarding to the large number of crimes with unknown perpetrators. There are cases, so the accusation fingers point directly to Gulen and others accuse him to have a role. The Islamic religion is considered one of the corner stones of the Turkish nationalism. This facilitated an inconsistent cooperation between the Turkish government, the nationalists and the Gulenists to eliminate any threat, which they thought threatening the religion and the homeland.

The largest number of those crimes of which the perpetrators remain unknown, occurred in 1990s in the southeastern Turkey, where there were state of emergency, removing the role of law, the freedom of speech and press and preventing the presence of international organizations. The victims were mainly from the sympathizers or members of the PKK, the religious party of Hezbollah and in a lower rate, the leftist politicians, high-ranking state’s staff and army offices and Journalists and writers. As for the powers that the fingers of accusation pointed to, were as follows: the deep state, the Counterterror authorities and the ideologies, which were conflicting between themselves.

Note that a semi-civil war was going on in Turkey between the conservatives (Religionist and Nationalist) on one side and leftists (Socialism and secularism) on the other side, throughout the 1970s. The squares of the fighting were the streets. There were killed people on both sides almost daily, and there were liberated

neighborhoods. That is to say, if one side controlled (liberated) a neighborhood, then no one from the other side could enter that neighborhood, or he will be killed. The Military Coup of 1980 put end to that semi-civil war. The Gulen movement can be considered one of the results of those clashes of 1970s, as Gulen was among the founders of the anti-communism Association in the province of Erzincan. It seems that the political assassinations and kidnappings that began after 1990, have replaced that semi-civil war between the right and the left in 1970s, as patriotism and nationalism became to play the primary role of the new situation.

The role of Gulen should also be investigated in the many assassinations, disappearances or suspected suicide cases that claimed the lives of a large number of high-ranking army officers, and secular politicians, academics and journalists, who were warning the community about the intentions of the Islamic religious movements in eliminating the secular state and establish a Sharia state, For example:

- Ugur Mumcu was a lawyer and investigative journalist, who was assassinated by exploding his private car near his home in January 1993. He wrote for the major national newspapers, as Milliyet and Cumhuriyet. Anti-secular religious ideologies were one of the major subjects of his researches and articles.
- Cetin Emec was a well-known Turkish journalist and columnist, who was assassinated in front of his home in March 1990. An Islamic militant was accused of killing Emec, who was sentenced to life in March 1996.
- Bahriya Ucok was ever first female teacher of theology in Turkey. She was historian, political scientist, leftist politician and columnist. Ucok was a teacher of theology at the University of Ankara. She was fluent in Arabic and Persian. She translated Quran in a modern way in Turkish language. In

a TV program, she defended that the veil is not obligatory in Islam, after which not a time longer she was assassinated by a mail bomb in October 1990.

- Ahmet Taner Kislali was a lawyer, politician, writer and an academician. He was a strong secularist and defending the separation of religion from the state and criticizing strongly the politically oriented religious movements. He was assassinated by an explosive bag on his car in front of his home in October 1999
- Esref Bitlis was an army General and commander-in-chief of the Turkish Gendarmerie from 1990 and 1993. Bitlis supported the peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey. He was killed in a suspected helicopter crash in February 1993.
- Seven senior officers who had served on General *Bitlis's team* were either assassinated or died in suspicious suicide incidents. The common feature of these officers was that they were defending a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem. These officers are as follows:
 - o Hulusi Sayin was a Lieutenant General, who was assassinated by a bullet shower in January 1991 in front of his home in Ankara. He was one of the commanders who harshly criticized the state's Kurdish policy.
 - o İsmail Selen was a Lieutenant General disagreed with the state in the policy against the PKK. He was asked to resign. After his retirement, he was killed by screening with gun in May 1991.
 - o Kemal Kayaçan was a Turkish admiral and politician who was assassinated in July 1992. He was known for his socialist democrat political view.
 - o Ahmet Cem Ersever was a major in the Turkish Gendarmerie, he was found dead in April 1993. Ersever was very close to Esref Bitlis, he resigned from the army

a month after the death of Bitlis. Before he die, he strongly criticized in press the state policy towards Kurdish problem and PKK. Ersever with his two friends, Neval Boz and Murat Demir, were found killed in three different corners of Ankara. It is worth noting that Ersever published a book called “Bench in Triangle”.

- Bahtiyar Aydin was a Turkish General and regional commander in Turkish gendarmerie, he was assassinated by a sniper in October 1993. Aydin was from the officers supporting the idea that the Kurdish problem will not be ended by violence.
- Kazim Cillioglu was a colonel in the Turkish army, he was found shot in the head in his residence in February 1994. The case was officially registered as a suicide, but the autopsy report of the forensic medicine suspected that the cause of the death was a suicide.
- Ridvan Ozden was an army colonel, who revealed that vehicles used to smuggle fuel were being kept in a facility of Gendarmerie. In another case, he uncovered drug smuggling by the PKK and one of the Gendarmerie factions. In November 1994, he managed to survive an assassination attempt. In August 1995, it was announced that he had died in a clash with the PKK, but his family did not accept this, claiming that Ozden’s death was suspicious.
- Memduh Unluturk was a Turkish major general associated with the Counter-Guerrilla and the anti-communist interrogations assassinated in April 1991.
- Adnan Ersoz was a Turkish General served at the highest positions in the Turkish army. He became head of the national intelligence organization after he retired from army between July 1978 and November 1979. Ersoz was assassinated in his home in October 1991.

- Temel Cingoz was a brigadier general in Turkish army, who was assassinated by screening with gun in May 1991. His approach to the Kurdish problem was known as hard. Dev-Sol (Gaint left) was accused of the assassination, while some other sources described the method of the assassination as exceeds the capabilities of the Dev-Sol.
- Journalists, which were killed in 1992, who were mainly working in the pro-Kurdish newspapers

<u>Namik Taranci</u>	in November 1992,
<u>Halit Gungen</u>	in February 1992
<u>Cengiz Altun</u>	in February 1992
<u>Izzet Kezer</u>	in March 1992
<u>Mecit Akgun</u>	in June 1992
<u>Afiz Akdemir</u>	in June 1992
<u>Cetin Ababay</u>	in July 1992
<u>Yahya Orhan</u>	in July 1992
<u>Huseyin Deniz</u>	in August 1992
<u>Musa Anter</u>	in September 1992
<u>Hatip Kapcak</u>	in November 1992
<u>Kemal Kilic</u>	in February 1993

As for the crimes that Fethullah Gulen was accused, either directly or indirectly, as to have role in the crime, are as follows:

a. *The disappearance of Cevzet Soysal*

Cevzet Soysal disappeared in 1998, in Batman province in southeastern Turkey, and no official information was heard about him from the state. The Turkish newspapers did not discuss the details of his disappearance for only a little, until Recep Tayyip Erdogan began to fight Gulen after 2011. Then, the newspapers loyal to Erdogan began to publish many news, accusing Gulen and his movement of kidnapping and killing Soysal.

In his book titled “In” Sabri Uzun, the former head of the intelligence department at the general security directorate provided some details about the disappearance of Soysal. Uzun says:

“The Gulenist policemen killed Soysal, and then they wanted to provide ‘False witnesses’ to accuse Turkish army officers as perpetrators of that crime. The aim was to discredit and defame the officers arrested in the case Ergenekon. The presentation of false witnesses by the police in Silopi to the Ergenekon case in Istanbul indicates that the operation run from a ‘common center’”

Three points must be noted here:

- The organization of false witnesses by Gulen is considered one of the essential characteristics of him and his movement. As he used it extensively in several plots organized by Gulen against the Turkish army after 2006, and many generals and high-ranking officers in the Turkish army went victim to these plots, including those who committed suicide, died in prison or imprisoned for many years.
- Recep Tayyip Erdogan provided absolute support to Fethullah Gulen in formulating, organizing and realization of those conspiracies against the Turkish army.
- The author of the book “In”, Sabri Uzun, works for one of the newspaper of the most important media institutions owned by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, which is Yeni Safak.

b. The assassination of Nacip Hablemitoglu

Hablemitoglu was a Turkish academician and republican historian assassinated in front of his home in Ankara on 18 December 2002.

Hablemitoglu appeared on two programs in Turkish ATV channel in 1999. The first was on 19 June in the program of Political Arena and the second was on 24 June in the program of 32nd Day. He unmasked Fethullah Gulen and his movement, describing them as an illegal movement practicing illegal activities. Hablemitoglu presented lawful evidences how they cannot be considered as civil society organizations, as well as by analyzing that their activities violate the Turkish laws. Hablemitoglu talked about the schools of Gulen in Russia as he had worked there as a staff in one of the United Nations institutions, and he emphasized that the state should carefully investigate Gulen's movement and their activities.

After about 3 months from Hablemitoglu's assassination, his wife published her husband's book on Gulen movement called "Kostebek", which means the Spy. The book was not completed, it presents information about the following aspects of Gulen and his movement giving official references:

- How the officials and the intellectuals face difficulties and being blocked when they investigate Gulen infiltration of the state's institutions
- To which degree Gulen control the state's institutions particularly, the security and police system and the intelligence institutions of the Turkish army
- Gulen's strategy to use the intelligence to realize the system of divine order
- Intelligence war between the republicans and the disciples of Gulen
- Examples of illegal operations which were organized by Gulen movement
- Publications from Turkish media, which accuse Gulen movement

Being one of the most important characteristics of Gulen and his movement, Gulen organized false witness and fabled story in the case of Hablemitoglu too. This was part of his activities to discredit and defame the Turkish army, and to keep the charge away from himself and his movement. In one of the trials of Ergenekon, a witness claimed that Osman Gurbuz is the killer of Hablemitoglu, who was motivated by Veli Kucuk (A Turkish General) and Muzaffer Tekin (Member of special warfare department).