

ERDOĞAN'S LONG ARM:

THE CASE OF NORWAY



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About Stockholm Center for Freedom

Stockholm Center for Freedom (SCF) is an advocacy organization that promotes the rule of law, democracy and fundamental rights and freedoms with a special focus on Turkey, a nation of 80 million that is facing significant backsliding in its parliamentary democracy under its autocratic leaders.

SCF, a non-profit organization, was set up by a group of journalists who have been forced to live in self-exile in Sweden against the backdrop of a massive crackdown on press freedom in Turkey.

SCF is committed to serving as a reference source by providing a broader picture of rights violations in Turkey, monitoring daily developments on fact-based investigative journalism and documenting individual cases of the infringement of fundamental rights. The founders of SCF are top-notch journalists who had managed national dailies in Turkey and worked for leading media outlets before they were forced to leave. They have the expertise, human resources and network on the ground to track events in Turkey despite serious challenges.

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INTRODUCTION

Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, rooted in political Islam and led by authoritarian President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has escalated its witch-hunt to persecute critics abroad through government institutions as well as by using NGOs as fronts. As a result, rights violations including abductions, physical attacks, profiling, discrimination, threats and hate crimes have gone beyond Turkish borders and have become a problem in intergovernmental affairs as the Turkish government has been found to be violating international treaties, interfering in other countries' affairs and violating their laws.

In this report, which takes Norway as a case study, SCF reveals controversial methods employed by the Turkish government in harassing, intimidating, threatening and profiling critics and opponents in the Nordic country. Although Turkey resorted to unlawful abductions in flawed democracies such as Pakistan and Malaysia,¹ where corruption is rampant and the rule of law problematic, it obviously cannot find a willing partner in well-developed democracies like Norway to spirit away critics and put them in jail where they will be tortured and abused.

Instead, Ankara employs others means and methods to expand to Norway the persecution it is pursuing at home against participants of the Gülen movement. At some times the Turkish government uses official institutions such as the embassy, while at others it has pro-Erdoğan NGOs harass and create a climate of fear for Turks who live in Norway. For example, journalist Engin Tenekeci, who resides in Norway and is critical of the Erdoğan government, received threats in what appeared to be part of a deliberate and systematic campaign by the Erdoğan government and its affiliates to intimidate Turks in Norway. Many have reported receiving death threats, while in one case a man vowed to burn down a school affiliated with the Gülen movement. A campaign of hatred, defamation and slander has been launched against not only people but also educational and other institutions that are believed to be affiliated with the movement.

Although critics from all walks of life including Kurds and Alevis are being targeted in general for stigmatization by the Turkish government, participants of the civ-

1] See SCF's report published in May 2017 titled "Erdoğan's Long Arm: The Case of Malaysia" <http://stockholmcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Erdogans-Long-Arms-The-Case-Of-Malaysia.pdf>

ic group called Hizmet, or the Gülen movement (which is inspired by US-based Turkish Muslim cleric Fethullah Gülen and is focused on science education, volunteerism, community involvement, social work and interfaith and intercultural dialogue), have borne the brunt of this unprecedented witch-hunt in Turkey and abroad. Turkish embassies and government agencies including intelligence and nongovernmental organizations affiliated with the AKP government are all involved in the profiling and harassment of Hizmet participants.

This study expands on SCF's February 2017 report titled "Erdogan's Long Arm in Europe," which mapped out the methods of the Turkish government's intimidation campaign targeting critics and dissidents abroad using the Netherlands as a case study. It exposes how Turkish diplomats, government-sponsored imams and other operatives working for Erdogan spy on expatriates, gather intelligence on critics and harass and threaten them. Hundreds of complaints were filed by victims with Dutch authorities over threats received, prompting the Dutch government to launch investigations that in several cases resulted in detentions.

The Turkish government's covert as well as overt operations abroad targeting vulnerable groups among Turkish expatriate communities that are not seen as supportive of Erdogan have led to threats and insults. For example, Zaman Vandaag newspaper editor Hakan Büyük, born and raised in the Netherlands, has received threats such as "You are going to be killed"; "We are going to shoot you in the head"; "Live your life always watching your back"; "You will fall into our hands. We will shed your blood"; "If we do not send our Çatlis² [referring to a notorious hitman] and get these bastards shot in the head in the middle of Europe, even the Netherlands will start standing up to us."³ He reported these threats to the police.

Unfortunately, in pursuit of his critics, Erdogan and his associates in the government have instrumentalized embassies and consulates, representation offices of public institutions and state-funded and/or controlled organizations and foundations that are disguised as nongovernmental organizations or independent groups. The government bodies that engage in profiling and witch-hunt activities include primarily the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), the Overseas Turks and Kin Communities Agency (YTB), the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA), the Religious Affairs Directorate (Diyanet), the Anadolu news agency, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), the Yunus Emre Institute and the Maarif (Education) Foundation.

2] Abdullah Çatlı, the most well-known mafia figure in Turkey, was recruited by elements of the Turkish state security services in the 1980s to carry out assassinations abroad, targeting members of an Armenian terrorist group called ASALA. Çatlı died in the controversial Susurluk car accident in 1993, yet he is still referred to as a hero by many nationalist groups, and his name is often invoked to threaten people who had to flee Turkey.

3] "Dutch-Turkish Journalist Faces Death Threats By Erdogan's Fanatics", SCF, 16 March 2017, <https://stockholmcf.org/dutch-turkish-journalist-faces-death-threats-by-erdogans-fanatics/>

A second group consists of parallel structures supported, funded or organized by entities attached to the Turkish government or the office of President Erdoğan. Organizations such as the Union of European Turkish Democrats (UETD) in Europe, and the Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) and the Turkish Heritage Organization in the US, among others, can be found in this group. In addition to their main areas of activity, these organizations perform such functions as advocating for the ruling party abroad, consolidating support for the AKP among Turkish expatriates and Muslim immigrant groups and occasionally working as an intelligence service to profile and collect information about Turkish dissidents or critics in their respective countries.

There is no doubt that Ankara's harassment and intimidation tactics abroad not only violate international treaties and conventions regulating intergovernmental relations but also infringe on the laws of the foreign countries in which these groups operate.

1. Erdoğan: Members of the Gülen Movement Have No Right to Life

The Turkish president made scandalous remarks in September 2016 when he said that “no country or region around the world will ever be a safe haven for FETÖ⁴ and its militants.”⁵ Erdoğan has persistently voiced threats against those who have been forced to leave the country due to persecution; at public rallies broadcast live and attended by tens of thousands of his die-hard fans he has vowed to hunt down Gülen movement participants and kill them.

In a speech delivered at his palace on October 19, 2017, he said: “We will never leave alone those who fled abroad; we will chase them until they are punished like they deserve. Those who betrayed Turkey and the Turkish nation will not be comfortable for the rest of their lives whether in Turkey or abroad.”⁶

In another speech Erdoğan said: “They are the elements of dissension inside us, like cancer cells. A comprehensive cleanup is required so that not the slightest trace of it is left behind. And that's what we are doing right now. ... Those who fled abroad in the murky atmosphere of the coup d'état should never feel safe.

4] The government started referring to the peaceful civic group Hizmet as a terrorist organization (namely, the Gülenist Terror Group, or FETÖ) following major corruption investigations in December 2013 that implicated Erdoğan and his family members. Gülen has been a vocal critic of corruption in the Turkish government and has opposed Erdoğan's aiding and abetting of radical jihadist groups in Syria since the civil war broke out in 2011. Erdoğan started targeting Gülen and the movement openly after the corruption was exposed and even accused Hizmet of being behind the failed coup of July 15, 2016. Mr. Gülen, however, rejects the accusations and has called for an independent international commission to be set up to investigate the failed coup. The Turkish government has failed to present any direct evidence linking the cleric or the movement to the abortive coup.

5] “Hiçbir ülke FETÖ için güvenli sığınak değildir”, TRT Haber, 19 September 2016, <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/hicbir-ulke-feto-icin-guvenli-siginak-degildir-272161.html>

6] “Kaçan FETÖcüler de kurtulamayacak” (Fugitive FETÖ members will not get away with it), Yeni Akit, 19 October 2017, <http://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/kacan-fetoculer-de-kurtulamayacak-386626.html>

... We are currently working on a new initiative. We are calling on those who went [abroad] to return. A deadline will be given to them. If they don't return, we will do whatever is needed. Indeed, the children of this country should return and tell whatever they know to the relevant authorities. If they don't, they'll pay for it. At any rate, we won't support them as our citizens. ... We will take due action when they are apprehended.”⁷

At a joint press conference with President Hashim Thaçi of Kosovo in Ankara on December 29, 2016, Erdoğan said: “Our crackdown on them both at home and abroad is under way and will continue in the future. Wherever they flee, we will be hot on the heels of the chiefs and militants of terrorist organizations.”⁸

Speaking at a rally in the Black Sea province of Zonguldak on April 4, 2017, Erdoğan said: “We are purging every Gülenist in the army, in the police and in state institutions. And we will continue cleansing [these organizations of] them because we will eradicate this cancer from the body of this country and the state. They will not enjoy the right to life. ... Our fight against them will continue until the end. We won't leave them merely wounded.”⁹

These quotes are only a small part of what Erdoğan has long been voicing as part of his campaign of fear that vilifies opponents and critics. This has led to physical attacks on the lives and properties of critics abroad, calls for boycotts of their businesses, death threats and punishment of their relatives back in Turkey. He uses every opportunity to exert pressure on ambassadors and employs similar propaganda with the heads of state or government he meets.

2. Open Threats to Turks in Exile by the Turkish Government

Erdoğan's provocative statements signaling his intent to assassinate his critics, especially Hizmet participants in foreign countries, were also confirmed by similar remarks from other government officials as well as by Erdoğan's loyalists and propagandists in the pro-government media. For example, Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu said on April 4, 2017: “We will not stop chasing after them [Gülen movement participants] at home and abroad. We are breathing down their necks. We won't give these traitors and dishonorable people room to breathe. We'll hold them to account.”¹⁰

7] “Erdoğan: Türkiye istediğin zaman gelen istediğin zaman çıkan bir ülke değil” (Erdoğan: Turkey is not a country you can come in and go out of at will), Milliyet, 14 October 2016, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Erdoğan-dan-onemli-aciklamalar--siyaset-2327388/>

8] “Erdoğan-Taçi Ortak Basın Toplantısı” (Joint press conference of Erdoğan and Thaçi), Milliyet, 12 December 2016, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Erdoğan-taci-ortak-basin-toplantisi-ankara-yerelhaber-1745175/>

9] “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'dan İKBY'ye bayrak tepkisi”, TRT Haber, 4 April 2017, <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/cumhurbaskani-erdoganErdoğan-dan-ikbyye-bayrak-tepkisi-307472.html>

10] Dışişleri Bakanı Çavuşoğlu böyle karşılandı, Milliyet, 4 April 2017, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/disisleri-bakani-cavusoglu-boyle-siyaset-2407598/>



**Robert
Mueller**

In a public speech delivered on March 8, 2017, Interior Minister Süleyman Soyly revealed that the government was plotting to do something abroad to critics from the Gülen movement: “They think they can go and flee to Germany. ... One day, these FETÖ terrorists may be shocked to see where they are located, you know. I’m telling you from here, it is not that easy. ... Both the security and strategy of this country [Turkey] have now changed. We won’t leave those who betrayed Turkey alone wherever they may be around the world.”¹¹ This statement suggested that the Turkish government was planning to use mafia-style clandestine operations to target Gülen movement participants in foreign countries.

The Wall Street Journal¹² has exposed how in September 2016 Turkish government officials discussed with retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn the illegal removal from the United States of Turkish Islamic cleric Fethullah Gülen and his extrajudicial return to Turkey, while Flynn was serving as an advisor to the Trump presidential campaign. (Flynn has since been ousted as national security advisor of the new administration.) Details of the discussion in New York were learned from James Woolsey, former director of the CIA, who was in attendance, and from others who were briefed on the meeting. Also in attendance at the meeting were Berat Albayrak, energy minister of Turkey and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s son-in-law, and Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, according to foreign lobbying disclosure documents filed by Flynn with the Justice Department in March 2017.

Woolsey arrived at the meeting on September 19 in the middle of discussions about the cleric and found the topic “startling and the actions being discussed possibly illegal,” he told the WSJ, adding that the idea was “a covert step in the dead of night to whisk this guy away.” Woolsey said specific tactics for removing Gülen were not discussed, but if they had been, he “would have spoken up and questioned their legality.”

Special counsel Robert Mueller is reportedly investigating an alleged plan that Michael Flynn discussed with Turkish representatives to forcibly remove Gülen.¹³ According to an article that appeared in The Wall Street Journal and was sourced with “people with knowledge of discussions” between Flynn and the Turkish representatives, Flynn and his son, Michael Flynn Jr., were to be paid as much as \$15 million to deliver Gülen to the Turkish government.

If Turkey dares to plan abductions even from the US, it can also plan similar kidnappings and assassinations in other countries including those in Europe.

[1] “Bir de başımıza Almanya çıktı”, Hürriyet, 8 March, 2017, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bir-de-basimiza-almanya-cikti-40388917>

[2] “Ex-CIA Director: Mike Flynn and Turkish Officials Discussed Removal of Erdoğan foe From U.S.” 24 March 2017, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/ex-cia-director-mike-flynn-and-turkish-officials-discussed-removal-of-erdogan-foe-from-u-s-1490380426?emailTo=JRryd/FyZX6VhNU9bMwxxBgjb6BNB%2B6TS1jLK2qPP0nPuTnbpOnweA8gdfyvX61Rkdh55UD4WA%2BTjzYhHEvUM6Kk-KNkilqoPmNQq5ba2AnOPUqekVSGeuUVsOzb%2BSQs4LNcH01NJ8NWhB2p6UKI9owFRA%3D%3D>

[3] “Mueller Probes Flynn’s Role in Alleged Plan to Deliver Cleric to Turkey”, 10 November 2017, Wall Street Journal, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/mueller-probes-flynn-s-role-in-alleged-plan-to-deliver-cleric-to-turkey-1510309982?mg=prod/accounts-wsj>

Berat Albayrak, minister of energy and natural resources and son-in-law of President Erdoğan, delivered the following scandalous remarks to Turks living abroad: “How can you stand it? If I were you, I would have strangled them [members of the Gülen movement].”¹⁴ “This group of traitors is all over the world now. In order to defame this country, nation and religion, in order to betray, they spread their poison and betrayal abroad every day by means of their disgusting diaspora network. You must see them in the countries you are going to. If I were you I would not have been able to restrain myself, I would have strangled them wherever I saw them. ... These fugitives, stateless traitors, live very normal lives,” he added.¹⁵

İbrahim Kalın, spokesperson for the presidency, admitted that the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) has been pursuing participants of the Gülen movement who sought asylum in other countries. “In general, MİT is in contact with various countries about people who are abroad as fugitives and have requested asylum. We demand that they be captured and extradited to Turkey,” Kalın stated at a press conference on August 17, 2017.¹⁶

3. Turkish Government Propagandists Amplify Threats

Picking up on Turkish officials’ threatening remarks, Erdoğan’s propagandists in the pro-government media openly entertain unlawful acts such as murders and abductions without any repercussions or criminal liability. For example, after Russian Ambassador Andrei Karlov was brazenly assassinated in Ankara on December 19, 2016, staunchly pro-Erdoğan journalist Cem Küçük said Turkey’s agenda was now to kill “FETÖ” militants abroad.

Ersoy Dede, another AKP spin doctor, referred to the 1980s, when Turkey’s “deep state” assassinated ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] militants abroad.¹⁷ “I saw how this company finished off ASALA. I saw how [PKK leader Abdullah] Öcalan was kicked to the curb,” he said. He made these remarks during a live broadcast with another pro-AKP journalist, Hikmet Genç, on Kanal 24 on

¹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYWmX3ASWCs> accessed 30 August 2017.

¹⁵ “Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanı Albayrak: Gördüğüm yerde boğazlarım” (Berat Albayrak, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources: I will choke them wherever I see them), CNN Türk, 18 August 2017, <https://www.cnnturk.com/ekonomi/enerji-ve-tabii-kaynaklar-bakani-albayrak-gordugum-yerde-bogazlarim>

¹⁶ “Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sözcüsü Kalın: Darbeciler Türkiye’ye gelseydi Almanya ne yapardı?” spokesperson of Presidency Kalın: What would Germany do if putschists come to Turkey?, Akşam, 17 August 2017, <http://www.aksam.com.tr/siyaset/cumhurbaskanligi-sozcusu-kalindan-gundeme-iliskin-aciklamalar/haber-652480>

¹⁷ The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) conducted attacks against Turkish diplomats between 1975 and 1985. It undertook assassinations and carried out attacks on civilian targets other than Turks. Listed as a terrorist organization by the US in those years, ASALA killed 42 Turkish diplomats. In response, Turkey adopted the tactic of combating non-state organizations. A ‘deep’ network, masterminded by the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), used ultranationalists to attack ASALA militants.

**Ersoy
Dede and
Hikmet
Genç.**



August 10, 2016¹⁸ while talking about Hizmet-affiliated people who were forced to flee abroad.

In the program they talk about the advice Tuncay Opçin, a journalist in the US, gave on Twitter for sympathizers of the Hizmet movement who sought to go abroad. “One day, we will wake up to meet the scoundrels who were caught with false passports in the International Arrivals Terminal of Sabiha Gökçen Airport in Istanbul as they try to enter

Turkey. The news bulletins will report it as ‘Tuncay Opçin, Ekrem Dumanlı, etc., were caught as they tried to enter the country with false passports in order to say goodbye to their families.’ This will be Opçin and Dumanlı’s reaction: ‘Where are we now? What is this place? How come we ended up here?’ ... Can you get what I am trying to say?”¹⁹ Then, his discussion partner, Genç, said, “If you explain this by citing ASALA, I will listen to it from a different perspective...” Later, Dede said the Gülen movement could be finished off similar to how the Turkish Republic finished off ASALA. “That is, they should not sleep soundly. Tuncay should not sleep safe and sound in his bed tonight,” he vowed. Genç added, “Emre Uslu should not sleep soundly. This is my call to them. Tuncay Opçin should not sleep safe and sound. Ekrem Dumanlı should not think that he has fled and gotten away.”²⁰ (Ekrem Dumanlı and Emre Uslu are Turkish journalists in exile.)

Doğu Perinçek, leader of the neo-nationalist Vatan (Homeland) Party, which is an ally of Erdoğan, said the members of the Gülen movement must be wiped out even if they are not criminals or were not involved with the failed coup. He went even further by saying that the purge should include anybody who is associated with the group or shares the same goals or is aligned ideologically with them.²¹ Sabahattin Önkibar, a member of the Vatan Party and writer for the neo-nationalist newspaper *Aydınlık*,²² stated that people close to the movement should be destroyed all together. Önkibar claimed that Ottoman Sultan Fatih Sultan Mehmet burnt alive thousands of people from a community named “Hurufis” to save the empire. “If he had not burned the Hurufis alive with no questions asked, the Sublime State [Ottoman Empire] would have ended. Disappeared.” He added: “Now you will ask me if should we

18] “Pro-gov’t columnist issues death threat to dissident journos”, turkeypurge.com, 8 December 2016 <http://turkeypurge.com/pro-govt-columnist-issues-death-threat-to-dissident-journos>

19] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1W6H2oDZl8o>

20] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1W6H2oDZl8o>

21] “Perinçek’ten, Hizmete yönelik soykırım itirafı: Suçlu olmalarına gerek yok, hepsini temizlemeliyiz!”, 29 October 2017, <http://ro-manyahaber.com/2017/10/29/perincekten-hizmete-yonelik-soykirim-itirafi-suclu-olmalarina-gerek-yok-hepsini-temizlemeliyiz/>

22] “Ultranationalist Columnist Says Turkey Must Get Rid Of Gülen Followers, Hints At Mass Burning”, SCF, 11 September 2017, <https://stockholmcf.org/ultranationalist-columnist-says-turkey-must-get-rid-of-gulen-followers-hints-at-mass-burning/>



**Sabahattin
Önkibar**

burn Fethullahists²³ like this? No, I wouldn't say that, but something should be done to them. The prisons don't do enough."

Journalist Cem Küçük, a staunch supporter of Erdoğan, suggested during a live TV program on Dec.11, 2017 that Turkish intelligence should kill family members of jailed Gülen followers in order to turn the inmates into informants for the Erdoğan regime. Speaking with his program partner journalist Fuat Uğur, Küçük said Israeli intelligence agency MOSSAD had killed family members of Palestinian, Jordanian and Egyptian inmates to turn them into MOSSAD assets.

Suggesting that Turkish intelligence should adopt similar techniques to use on followers of the Gülen movement, Küçük also gave the names of former police chief Ali Fuat Yılmaz, former general Mehmet Partigöç and former Zaman daily owner Alaaddin Kaya, who might be useful for the government to acquire more information about the Gülen movement. He also talked about excuses about probable deaths of Gülen followers such as traffic accidents, suicides, mass suicides, death from excessive alcohol use, death from overdose, jumped off a bridge after he couldn't take the pressure of debt and health problems. He said Israel would kill 15-20 Gülen followers all around the world if its government was targeted by a graft probe or a coup attempt.²⁴

4. Witch Hunt Against the Gülen Movement

Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) government started targeting the Gülen movement when AKP Chairman and then-Prime Minister Erdoğan was incriminated in the nation's largest corruption investigation, revealed in December 2013. The scandal led to the resignation of four Cabinet ministers, but Erdoğan managed to hush up the probe after sacking members of the judiciary and law enforcement agencies that exposed his graft network. He immediately blamed the investigation on the movement as part of his efforts to shift the blame and avoid accountability. He branded the probe as tantamount to a coup and launched a witch-hunt against Gülen movement members.

Things went from bad to worse in the aftermath of the July 15, 2016 failed coup,²⁵ which Erdoğan again accused the movement of staging with no evidence presented to support his claim. He described the military attempt as "major blessing from the God" and intensified the crackdown and purge he had launched two years earlier. "Thank God with this coup attempt we now have the ability and opportunity to do things that

^{23]} Some anti-Gülen people call followers of Fethullah Gülen 'Fethullahist,' a demeaning and derogatory term to refer movement members.

^{24]} "Televizyonda cemaat üyelerine soykırım çağrısı: Ailelerini de öldürelim; intihar görünümünde toplu katliamlar yapilsin..."TR724, 23 December 2017, <http://www.tr724.com/televizyonda-cemaat-uyelerine-soykirim-cagrisi-ailelerini-de-oldurelim-intihar-gorunumunde-toplu-katliamlar-yapilsin/>

^{25]} The Stockholm Center for Freedom (SCF) believes that the 15 July coup attempt was designed to fail from the start and that it was a false flag operation orchestrated by Erdoğan to consolidate more power. For more information see SCF's report titled 'July 15: Erdoğan's Coup' published in July 2017. http://stockholmcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/15_July_Erdogans_Coup_13.07.2017.pdf

we would not have been able to do in normal times,”²⁶ Erdoğan was quoted as saying. A year later Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım admitted accusing the movement at the time without any evidence. “I made up my mind on my own. I consulted, talked to our president, and we agreed that it was an insurrection by FETÖ²⁷ members in the military. ... At the time, it could have been right or wrong.”²⁸

According to Ministry of Justice statistics at the time this report was being written, legal action has been initiated against 169,013 people in total, most in the form of detention.²⁹ Over 55,000 of them were formally arrested pending trial. Among those imprisoned are thousands of teachers, academics, businesspeople, journalists, doctors, civil society workers, lawyers and human rights defenders. More than 17,000 of them are women.³⁰ Moreover, detention warrants are outstanding for 8,087 people who remain at large in Turkey or have fled abroad.³¹

The Erdoğan government has continued to rule Turkey under emergency powers that have been extended five times since the failed coup, with government decree-laws effectively sidelining the Turkish Parliament in passing legislation.

According to data provided by Turkish Minister Numan Kurtulmuş on July 17, 2017, 111,240 civil servants had been dismissed under these decree-laws without any administrative or judicial investigation.³² Kurtulmuş also said 966 companies in 43 cities had been seized.³³ A report issued by the main opposition Republican People’s Party (CHP) confirmed this data.³⁴ According to the report, the teaching licenses of 33,000 teachers from the public sector and 21,000 from the private sector were cancelled. A total

26] “Erdoğan: OHAL ile normal zamanlarda yapamayacağımız şeyleri yapabilme gücüne sahip olduk!” (Erdoğan: Thank God with this coup attempt we now have the ability and opportunity to do things that we would not have been able to do in normal times) t24.com, 22 September 2016, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/erdogan-normal-zamanlarda-yapamayacagimiz-seyleri-yapabilme-gucune-sahip-olduk.361194>

27] FETÖ is an acronym for the concept of “Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü,” which the AKP government invented when it launched a witch-hunt against the Gülen movement.

28] “Başbakana MİT söylemediyse kim söyledi darbeyi?” (If it is not MİT, who reported the coup to the Prime Minister?) Murat Yetkin, *Hürriyet*, 19 July 2017, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/basbakana-mit-soylemediyse-kim-soyledi-darbeyi-40524357>

29] “FETÖ soruşturmalarında 169 bin 13 şüpheli hakkında işlem yapıldı” (Judicial process started against 169,013 suspects for FETÖ investigations), *Anadolu Ajansı*, 13 July 2017, <http://aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/feto-sorusturmalarinda-169-bin-13-supheli-hakkinda-islem-yapildi/860654>

30] SCF’s report titled “Jailing Women In Turkey: Systematic Campaign of Persecution and Fear”, April 2017, <http://stockholmcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Jailing-women-in-Turkey.pdf>

31] “FETÖ soruşturmalarında 169 bin 13 şüpheli hakkında işlem yapıldı” (Judicial process started against 169,013 suspects for FETÖ investigations), *Anadolu Ajansı*, 13 July 2017, <http://aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/feto-sorusturmalarinda-169-bin-13-supheli-hakkinda-islem-yapildi/860654>

32] “Hükümet Sözcüsü: KHK’lar ile 111 bin 240 kişi ihraç edildi, OHAL Komisyonu ilk gününde 3 binden fazla başvuru aldı” (Government Spokesperson: 111,240 civil servants have been dismissed with these decrees; on the first day of State of Emergency Commission operations, more than 3,000 applications were received), *t24.com*, 17 July 2017, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/hukmet-sozcusu-khklar-ile-111-bin-240-kisi-ihrac-edildi-ohal-komisyonu-ilk-gununde-3-binden-fazla-basvuru-aldi,414870>

33] “966 şirkete el konuldu” (966 companies are seized), *CNN Türk*, 17 July 2017, <https://www.cnnturk.com/video/turkiye/kurtulmus-966-baglanti-sirkete-el-konuldu>

34] “CHP’den 1. yılında OHAL raporu: 50 bin tutuklu, 111 bin ihraç” (CHP’s Report at the first year of coup: 50,000 people were arrested), *Cumhuriyet*, 20 July 2017, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/785737/CHP_den_1_yilinda_OHAL_raporu__50_bin_tutuklu__111_bin_ihrac.html

of 11,301 teachers were laid off on accusations of supporting a terrorist organization; 9,843 of these teachers were members of the Eğitim-Sen union under KESK. Thus, the purge was not limited to the Gülen movement and but had escalated to include other critical groups as well.

Again, according to the report written by the CHP, 6,383 academics and 1,200 university personnel have been dismissed by decree. Twenty-six of the academics returned to their jobs. Moreover, 5,295 academics became unemployed because a number of universities were shut down. A total of 1,424 educational organizations including 1,064 schools were shut down in the private sector.³⁵

In total 4,238 judges and public prosecutors were dismissed, two-thirds of them right after the coup attempt.³⁶ Their salaries and bank accounts were frozen; their licenses were cancelled. Efkân Ala, the then-interior minister, revealed that since December 2013, 35,000 police officers had been dismissed.³⁷ More than 10,000 military personnel were dismissed as well.³⁸

The witch-hunt is not limited to arrests and purges. Torture and ill treatment in detention and prisons have become widespread, systematic and deliberate to stoke further fears in Turkish society. Images and videos of torture from police stations, prisons and black sites used as unofficial detention centers were circulated after the July 15 events by official state news agency AA and pro-government social media accounts. Thousands of people fled Turkey for fear of arrest and torture, while thousands could not leave because the government had cancelled the passports of well over 100,000 people and had imposed a travel ban on many more. Many had to resort to illegal migration routes to escape persecution in Turkey.



5. **Erdoğan's Long Arm in Norway**

So far there have been no violent incidents reported in Norway in which dissident Turks faced physical attack that could be traced to the Turkish government or its operatives. This may be partially attributed to the Norwegian government's clear stand on vulnerable group the Gülen movement, its opposition to importing divisions from Turkey, its democratic culture and demographic composition,

^{35]} 15 Temmuz sonrasında, hangi kurum ne oranda FETÖ mensubunu ihraç etti (How many civil servants are dismissed in which institution after July 15), memurlar.net, 18.10.2017 <http://www.memurlar.net/haber/640039/>

^{36]} "15 Temmuz'dan sonra 4 bin 238 hakim ve savcı ihraç edildi" (4,238 judges and public prosecutors were dismissed after July 15), Milliyet, 11 May 2017, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/15-temmuz-dan-sonra-4-bin-238-gundem-2448679/>

^{37]} TBMM 15 Temmuz Araştırma Komisyonu tutanakları, (Reports of Turkish Parliament Council for July 15) 18.10.2016, https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/komisyon_tutanaklari.goruntule?pTutanakId=1743

^{38]} "FETÖ Tutuklu Sayısı! Kaç Asker Kaç Sivil Var" (Number of the people arrested from FETÖ! How many military personnel and civilians there are), Milliyet, 6 May 2017, <https://www.haber24.com/gundem/feto-tutuklu-sayisi-kac-asker-kac-sivil-var-h621178.html>

among other factors. There are approximately 17,000 Turks living in this Scandinavian country.³⁹ The results of the constitutional referendum of April 16, 2017, which allowed Erdoğan to amass more power by turning Turkey into a one-man regime,⁴⁰ show that more than half of this expatriate community are Erdoğan supporters. Out of 8,481 eligible voters, 3,869 people went to the polls. Of them, 57 percent voted “Yes” for the constitutional changes, whereas 43 percent voted “No.”⁴¹

5.1. Gülen Movement in Norway

There are three elementary schools and one kindergarten in Norway that are believed to be affiliated with the Hizmet movement. The first of these schools is the Drammen Montessoriskole, which opened in 2013. The Northern Lights International School was launched in 2015, and the Montessoriskolen in Stavanger was opened in 2016. A kindergarten in Drammen, Montessoribarnhage, has been active since 2013. All of these schools are registered under a company named Norlights Education (former name Norlights Invest). Another association that was established by people close to the Gülen movement is Mangfoldhuset (Diversity House) with branches in five cities.

A news article published in the Morgenbladet newspaper under the headline “Peace or Treason -- Meet Norwegian Followers of Gülen” provides some background about the presence of the movement in Norway.⁴² It underlined that the polarization in Turkey had been transmitted to Turkish communities all over the world including in Norway. The newspaper described the movement as active in education and intercultural dialogue and said it had organized cultural programs in 160 countries. “According to information, they number 6 million and they have thousands of schools, media organizations and businesses and organize cultural events in 160 countries. ... It is difficult to guess their number in Norway as they explain they do not have any membership registration. But the Hareket [movement], or Hizmet, has opened schools and education and culture

39] Statistic is from 2013. “Norveç’te Vatandaşlarımız” (Our citizens living in Norway), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı, https://ytb.gov.tr/ulke_detay.php?detay=9

40] A referendum was held on 16 April 2017 for a constitutional change concerning the system Erdoğan defined as a ‘Turkish style presidency’. With the constitutional change Turkey shifted to a presidential system allowing presidents to be affiliated with a party. The opposition parties were criticizing the constitutional change as it consolidates legislation, execution and the judiciary in the hands of a party-affiliated president, which could shift the country towards a ‘one man regime’ and ‘dictatorship’. Erdoğan campaigned for the constitutional change whereas opposition parties campaigned against it. The referendum was held under the state of emergency (OHAL) and results were 51.4 percent for the constitutional change and 48.6 against. See: <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/content/conn/YSKUCM/path/Contribution%20Folders/SecmenIslemleri/Secimler/2017HO/2017HO-Ornek135.pdf>. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe announced that the results were manipulated and therefore unfair. “AGİT gözlemcisi: Referandumda kullanılan 2.5 milyon oy şaibeli” (Observer from OSCE: “2.5 million votes are dubious”) , [diken.com.tr](http://www.diken.com.tr/), 18th April 2017, <http://www.diken.com.tr/agit-gozlemcisi-referandumda-kullanilan-2-5-milyon-oy-saibeli/>; “Avrupa Konseyi Gözlemcisi: 2,5 Milyon Oy Manipüle Edilmiş Olabilir” (Observer from Council of Europe: “2.5 million votes might have been manipulated”, [bianet.org](http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/185623-avrupa-konseyi-gozlemcisi-2-5-milyon-oy-manipule-edilmis-olabilir), 18th April 2017, <https://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/185623-avrupa-konseyi-gozlemcisi-2-5-milyon-oy-manipule-edilmis-olabilir>

41] Türkiye Gazetesi, <http://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/2017-referandum-sonuclari/norvec-ulke-referandum-sonuclari>

42] “Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere”, Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>

centers here. ... Creating a platform for dialog and discussion of social problems without concern for religious, racial or sexual differences is their aim,” the report said.

Morgenbladet emphasized that the lives of Gülen followers changed dramatically after the failed coup on July 15, 2016, which the Turkish government claimed Gülen was behind, although it failed to present any evidence to that effect. Gülen strongly denied any association with the coup and demanded an international probe into the July 15 events. “A document published by the Turkish government is being distributed among Turkish communities across Europe. There is a call to report people in this document and a hotline for this as well as an email address. As a result, people inspired by Gülen are being reported and threatened,” it noted.

The paper pointed out that the developments in Turkey had caused violent incidents abroad as well “Many culture centers have been set on fire in France, the Netherlands and Belgium,” it said. An interview with Erdogan sympathizers that took place in Grønland, Oslo, was mentioned in the article as well. Turks there playing billiards and watching TV suggested that Gülen sympathizers must be punished. On the other hand, Ramazan Ay, who was the general manager of Mangfoldhuset at the time, was quoted as saying: “The [Turkish] Consulate claims that we are terrorists. People threaten us with death. The people closest to us both here and in Turkey see us as terrorists. We can no longer go to mosques because of people’s attitudes towards us.”

The newspaper described the activities of the Gülen movement and some of the events organized by Mangfoldhuset. These activities were listed as: “Guitar lessons, language courses, football nights, dialog meetings, Turkish cooking courses, concerts, art courses and trips on Sundays. They have both Christmas and Ramadan activities. They bring the public together with politicians: Olemic Thommessen, Odd Einar Dørum, Khamshajiny Gunaratnam and others ...” Ay told the newspaper that “we do these activities to present different points of view, to present new perspectives. We aim to create a platform between local people and politicians.”

5.2. The Turkish Embassy

Turkish embassies and consulates have played a central role in extending Erdoğan’s long arm by exporting his campaign of fear and intimidation abroad, with the notorious Turkish intelligence MİT pulling the strings under the cover of diplomatic immunity. The physical attacks against critics at times were encouraged by Turkish diplomatic missions. In addition to the unlawful profiling of unsuspecting Turks among the diaspora, many faced hate speech and hate crimes and were subjected to harassment, threats, boycotts, insults, slander, social exclusion and isolation. In the worst cases, physical attacks took place in some European countries such as arson attempts, stonings and beatings.

Likewise, Turkish embassy and consulate staff members working at the mission in Oslo have engaged in activities that are seen as hardly compatible with the mandate



**The Turkish
Embassy's
then-Deputy
Chief of Mis-
sion Ülkü
Kocaefe**

provided in international conventions. Diplomatic missions are supposed to safeguard the interests of their countries and citizens in their respective countries. This right has been guaranteed by a number of international conventions. In listing the functions of a diplomatic mission, Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961 reads "... Protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending State and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law."

Similarly, under the Vienna Convention, diplomatic missions are required to comply with the laws of the countries receiving them and not meddle in their internal affairs. Despite this, Turkish diplomatic missions in many countries are faced with accusations of interfering in the internal affairs of the countries concerned.

SCF researchers have received multiple reports indicating that Turkish embassy and consular officers in Oslo treated Turks who are suspected of being participants of the Gülen movement as "terrorists." The abuse also extended to those who are believed to be associates of or in affiliation with members of the movement or its organizations. Many reports suggested unlawful profiling, harassment and threats targeting Turks deemed to be critical of the Erdoğan government.

The Turkish Embassy's then-Deputy Chief of Mission Ülkü Kocaefe's commentary to Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet is seen as encouraging ordinary AKP sympathizers to attack the Gülen movement. Describing the movement as "an organization with a secret agenda," she claimed that their schools were opened to train members for the organization.⁴³ Kocaefe claimed that all the education and intercultural dialogue activities -- music, sports and dance courses; trips; activities for elderly people and children; and seminars -- were a mask. When asked whether she actually claims that "Drammen Montessori just recruits students for the Gülen movement," she stated: "Yes, of course. Their activities may look to the outside world like integration activities, but it is actually totally different. It is a secretive cult."

Morgenbladet's story included a commentary by Jon Terje Bjørke, chairman of the Norway Montessori Foundation, who emphasized that he did not have the impression of the school having any agenda other than Montessori. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway only made a short statement, saying that their communication with the Turkish Embassy is "as usual."

Fatih Mehmet Deveci, chairman of the umbrella organization for the schools, Norlights Education, and rector of Northern Lights International School, described the accusations by the Turkish Embassy diplomat as nonsense. "Training members for the movement? How is it that even possible? It is nothing but nonsense. Our institution is operating according to the law, and we have a certificate from the state. We are inspected,

^{43]} "Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere", Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>

observed and receive support from the state. We follow Montessori regulations. We have an active parents' committee. We have a Norwegian rector, and let me draw your attention to the fact that most of our teachers are Norwegians.”⁴⁴

Businessman Kemalettin Süslü, who is known for being close to the movement, stated that his family has received death threats in both Turkey and Norway. Süslü maintained that the Turkish Embassy in Oslo secretly started monitoring people linked to the Gülen movement in Norway. He told Norwegian state TV channel NRK on April 2, 2017 that the embassy aims to draw sympathizers away from the movement inspired by Gülen.⁴⁵ He added that they were asked to give reports about members of the Gülen movement in Norway and also share such information on social media.

5.3. Turkish Government-linked Mosques

The Norwegian Islamist religious organizations that are affiliated with the Turkish government and its Religious Affairs Directorate (Diyanet) are reportedly involved in unlawful profiling of unsuspecting people of Turkish origin across Norway as well. This represents part of a pattern seen across Europe where several countries such as Germany, the Netherlands and Austria reacted by launching investigations in response to reports of espionage and profiling by mosques and their staff. Briefing members of Parliament on activities of Turkish imams abroad, Turkey's Directorate of Religious Affairs submitted an official report confirming how imams gathered intelligence on the Gülen movement in 38 countries including Norway.⁴⁶ The documents revealed which imam gathered intel on the movement in which mosque in various countries.

Yusuf Yüksel, general secretary of the Oslo-based Den Tyrkisk Islamske Union (Turkish Islamic Union), has publicly called for spying on members of the Gülen movement. In a message that was shared with norsk-tyrkere (Norwegian Turks) on Facebook, Yüksel wrote, “Inform on FETO terrorists who you know,” adding a link to his message that showed hotlines set up by Erdoğan's office in the Turkish capital. The message was shared on July 31, 2016.⁴⁷

Musa Gelici, the Turkish imam of the Oslo Tyrkisk Islamske Union, an affiliate of Norsk Tyrkia Islamske Stiftelse (Norway Turkish Islamic Foundation), also called Gülen followers FETÖ terrorist militants in a Facebook message he shared on July 16, 2016.⁴⁸

Mustafa Samed Çetintaş, the communications officer of the Islamic Community Na-

44] Ibid.

45] “Tyrkere forteller om trusler og trakassering i Norge”, NRK, 2 April 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/norge/tyrkere-forteller-om-trusler-og-trakassering-i-norge-1.13455005>

46] “Diyanet MİT gibi”, Cumhuriyet, 8 December 2016, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/641909/Diyanet_MiT_gibi.html

47] “Scandal Over Turkish Spy Imams In Europe Reaches To Norway”, stockholmcf.org, 17 February 2017, <https://stockholmcf.org/scandal-over-turkish-spy-imams-in-europe-reaches-to-norway/>

48] Ibid.

tional View (ISMG or in Norwegian Islamske Samfunn Milli Görüş), shared a post on Facebook that began with “Dishonored FETÖ members in Norway” and warned his friends not to post “official posts” and added, “We will be careful about these devils.” Çetintaş gave some contacts for the Turkish government and said: “Do not be inactive. Whoever you know to be members of FETÖ in Norway or Turkey, report their names.”⁴⁹

Norwegian state channel NRK covered these posts on April 2, 2017 and criticized them. The network pointed out that Yüksel was calling on people to be informers. The news underlined that the mosque is linked to the Turkish regime via Turkish religious authority Diyanet.

NRK stated that Yüksel and the chairman of the Kutluca Mosque Association refused their request for an interview. Instead, Kutluca made a short statement about Yüksel’s post, stating that “it is his personal Facebook account.” Turkish Embassy officials in Oslo also rejected an interview request by the network, and instead the embassy sent an email to NRK denying allegations that the embassy encouraged people to be informers.

5.4. Campaign of Hatred by Pro-Erdoğan Media

Most media outlets in Turkey have been controlled and manipulated by the government directly or indirectly since a massive crackdown on press freedom that led to the closure of some 180 media outlets and the jailing of over 250 journalists. They have been used as tools of intimidation, defamation and slander by the government, with fabricated stories often appearing in media outlets. The few remaining critical outlets were also compelled to toe the line with the government on many issues. As a result, people, organizations and associations affiliated with the Gülen movement in Norway also received their share of slander and harassment from this campaign. Some of the publications appear to have been fed with information unlawfully gathered in Norway as part of the Turkish government’s profiling activities on foreign soil.

5.4.1. Slanders by Café Siyaset

An obscure pro-government news website called Café Siyaset published stories about Norway that give the impression of an intelligence operation based on conspiracy theories and accusations without any evidence to back up allegations. For instance, four days after Morgenbladet ran its detailed article on August 19, 2016, this website published what it called an exclusive story with the headline “FETÖ is restructuring.”⁵⁰ The story, written by Pinar Aydın, stated the following:

⁴⁹ “Diyanet casusluğu Norveç’e sıçradı”, Medium, 20 February 2017, <https://medium.com/tr724/diyanet-casuslugu-norvece-sicradi-8a798ca37560>

⁵⁰ “FETÖ yeniden yapılıyor” (FETÖ is restructuring), cafesiyaset.com, 23 August 2016, http://www.cafesiyaset.com.tr/fe-to-yeniden-yapiliyor_474644.html

“It was thought that the Norwegian government was not supporting the Fethullah Terror Organization; however, it has been revealed that Norway gave the Fethullah Gülen-owned Montessori school and association permission to operate. The school reportedly has a branch in Turkey as well. It was revealed that these schools have a foundation and that one of the staff members is Maxim Mukhamodeev, a CIA agent who leaked the Oslo process⁵¹ and that he manages FETÖ’s affairs.

“The name of the foundation opened in Norway linked to the Fethullah Terror Organization is Mangfoldhuset! Its meaning is ‘diversity house.’ The association even has a newspaper named Mangfoldhuset. Maxim Mukhamodeev is a CIA agent, and he has two passports. He is both a Russian and a Norwegian citizen, so he has dual citizenship. Although it is known that he is an agent, he has been to Turkey a few times, and it has attracted attention that the only post he shared on his social media account about our country concerns maklube!⁵² He is known to live in a luxurious flat; that he organizes meetings with Turkish and foreign businessmen in his [apartment]; and that Mukhamodeev rents cars to take the visiting businessmen on city tours. When the CIA agent Mukhamodeev described this school and foundation to a local Norwegian newspaper, he praised the Fethullah Terror Organization’s leader Gülen and claimed that he has been threatened by Norwegians for supporting Gülen’s organizations. However, it was reported to our newspaper that in fact people who are against Gülen schools are being threatened by [the movement] and that the Turkish Embassy and Consulates have not done anything regarding the issue.

“Some of the people who are on the team working with CIA agent Mukhamodeev have been identified. One of them is Mehmet Veysi, a man of Kurdish origin who is responsible for turning Kurds in Norway into enemies of the Turkish government and recruiting them into FETÖ. Mehmet Veysi, listed in the lower echelon of FETÖ, brain-washes people to make them enemies of the Turkish state and in this way, recruits them into FETÖ.

...“It is understood that the Norwegian government chose this innocent education tactic in order to not attract any attention and that it supported FETÖ.

“This is the list of FETÖ members working in the Montessori school!

- İbrahim Aydın
- Abdurrahman Öztürkoğlu
- Harun Arayıcı
- Zeynep Göçmen
- Şeref Bozdoğan

51] The secret meeting between Turkish intelligence service MİT and the outlawed PKK, listed as terrorist organization by Turkey, the US and the EU, was held in Oslo in 2009, which was also the start of the peace process. When the meeting was leaked to the media in 2012, it stirred controversy and damaged the peace process.

52] A dish of Arabic origin made of rice with meat in the middle and surrounded yogurt and salad. As the dish is preferred by many in the Gülen movement, it is presented as a ritual dish by anti-Gülen people.

“The schools are claimed to have a Turkey branch as well. According to the claims, in some cities in Turkey the organization is being restructured under the names of kindergartens. These schools guarantee the education of children based on Montessori.”⁵³

As is seen in the long quote above, Mukhamodeev is accused of being a CIA agent without any proof over and over throughout the article. For one thing, one needs to have US citizenship to be a CIA agent, something Mukhamodeev does not possess. The author of this poorly written piece that is full of allegations and conspiracies without any evidence is Pinar Aydın, a figure known for being staunchly anti-Gülen. Aydın, who lives in Turkey, often posts messages on social media to smear people affiliated with the movement in Norway. For example, in a message she shared in the aftermath of the July 15 events, she again targeted the movement.

“WARNING! It has been documented that the Norwegian government supports Fethullah Gülen. And Gülen opened two schools in Norway. The names of people who work at the schools are hidden, but I found the document. People in Norway who do not want Gülen schools organized a signature campaign, but Gülenists sued those who signed the petition with the help of the Norwegian government and threatened them! That is the list of people working in Gülen schools in Norway.” And she shared the list of names under this post.

Another smear article published by Café Siyaset on September 3, 2016 was titled “FETÖ’s İmam⁵⁴ in Norway: Ömer Fevzi İpek.”⁵⁵ Again, it featured Pinar Aydın’s name in the byline and stated the following:

“The FETÖ mystery in Norway is being revealed day by day. In our previous news, we exposed the managers of the Montessori school in Norway, stated that one of their staff is a CIA agent named Maxim Mukhamodeev, who also leaked the Oslo process, and mentioned his praise of Gülen in the [Norwegian] media.

“It has become clear that Ömer Fevzi İpek is the imam of Norway and that Fethullahist Mehmet Fatih Deveci is the general manager of this restructured school named Norway Montessori. They are understood to have played a role in the Turkish [language] Olympics, organize events and aim to infiltrate the Norwegian state in this way.

“They opened both a primary school and a kindergarten in the town of Drammen and Fatih Mehmet Deveci is the general manager of both. In addition, it has been revealed that in the same town a student was pushed from the stairs by one of their teachers. According to Norwegian law, schools are shut down if such violent incidents occur;

53] “FETÖ yeniden yapılıyor” (FETÖ is restructuring), cafesiyaset.com, 23 August 2016, http://www.cafesiyaset.com.tr/feto-yeniden-yapiliyor_474644.html

54] AKP claims that Gülen movement manages regions with the managers called ‘imam’ they appointed. And this imams carry out the movement’s activities in the region.

55] “FETÖ’nün Norveç imamı: Ömer Fevzi İpek” (FETÖ’s imam in Norway: Ömer Fevzi İpek), cafesiyaset.com, 03 September 2016, http://www.cafesiyaset.com.tr/feto-nun-norvec-imami-omer-fevzi-ipek_475163.html

however, despite a complaint by 20 families, Norway did not shut down the Fethullahist schools, proof that the Norwegian government supports FETÖ.

“It has become clear that the person who manages the Barnahaig kindergarten in Drammen is the agent we mentioned in our previous news, Maxim Mukhamodeev.”⁵⁶

5.4.2. Radical Islamist Akit TV

On September 4, 2016 the most fanatic AKP partisan media organization, Akit, joined the slander campaign. Akit TV, owned by radical Islamist daily Akit, aired news titled “FETÖ’s restructuring in Norway,” actually a broadcast version of what Café Siyaset ran on its website. The news was announced with the introduction “According to reporter Pınar Aydın from Café Siyaset,” with a photo of Ms. Aydın taken with Cem Küçük, a symbolic figure among Erdoğanist journalists. He is known as the “journalist hunter”⁵⁷ because of death threats issued to critical journalists and for involvement in a campaign to fire critical journalists from their jobs. He is also the writer of a book titled “Cehennem Köpekleri FETÖ” (Dogs of Hell FETÖ),⁵⁸ full of hate speech, defamation and accusations without evidence leveled against the Gülen movement.

The news Akit TV presented with Küçük’s photograph with Aydın from Café Siyaset stated: “FETÖ opened a school in Norway named Montessori. The general manager of the school is Fethullahist terrorist Mehmet Fatih Deveci. At the same time FETÖ is involved in various dirty jobs in the country with the foundation it established called Mangfoldhuset, which means ‘Diversity.’ The organization also has a newspaper of the same name.

“The so-called staff of the foundation are linked to [the leak of] the Oslo process! ... One of the staff members of the foundation is CIA agent Maxim Mukhamodeev, who leaked the Oslo process and carries out FETÖ activities. Agent Maxim Mukhamodeev is both a Russian and a Norwegian citizen, holding two passports. Maxim entered Turkey many times. When CIA agent Mukhamodeev came to Turkey, he stayed in a luxurious flat and organized meetings with Turkish and foreign businessmen there.

⁵⁶] “FETÖ’nün Norveç imamı: Ömer Fevzi İpek” (FETÖ’s imam in Norway: Ömer Fevzi İpek), cafesiyaset.com, 03 September 2016, http://www.cafesiyaset.com.tr/feto-nun-norvec-imami-omer-fevzi-ipek_475163.html

⁵⁷] “Turkiet rasar mot inställt möte i Sverige: ”En attack”, Svenska Dagbladet, 14 October 2016, <https://www.svd.se/turkiet-rasar-mot-installt-mote-i-sverige-en-attack>

⁵⁸] <http://www.idefix.com/Kitap/Cehennem-Kopekleri/Cem-Kucuk/Arastirma-Tarih/Politika-Arastirma/Turkiye-Politika-/urun-no=0000000709977>

“On the other hand, one person on Mukhamodeev’s team, Mehmet Veysi, has attracted attention. Mehmet Veysi is accused of recruiting Kurds in Norway into FETÖ and making them enemies of Turkey by way of various activities. It is said that CIA agents in this organization are hidden as they are portrayed as teachers and staff at these schools and foundations. It has been recorded that the following Turkish citizens work in these schools as well: İbrahim Aydın, Abdurrahman Öztürkoğlu, Harun Arayıcı, Zeynep Göçmen and Şeref Bozdoğan. That is FETÖ’s head in Norway! ... It is claimed that Ömer Fevzi İpek is FETÖ’s head in Norway.”⁵⁹

In this news piece people in Norway are accused of being “CIA agents” and “terrorists” without any evidence. It is falsely claimed that the Mangfoldhuset foundation is involved in “dirty jobs,” and its legal activities are presented as crimes. The names of the staff members of these organizations are openly declared and targeted.

5.4.3. Targeted Norwegians Take the Case to Court

Some Norwegian citizens who were targeted, harassed and threatened by the smear and slander campaign run by people and entities affiliated with the Erdoğan government in Turkey decided to take their complaints to Norway’s justice system.

In an article posted on September 5, 2016, Café Siyaset reacted to the legal actions taken by Fatih Mehmet Deveci, the chairman of Norlights Education, who filed a lawsuit against those who called for a boycott.⁶⁰ The news, titled “We obtained legal complaints against people who called for a boycott of FETÖ in Norway!” stated:

“In Germany, the Stuttgart Attorney General’s Office launched investigations into people who called for a boycott of Gülen-related companies. The same day we revealed that it was announced in Norway that a campaign would be organized for FETÖ’s Montessori school and that legal action would be taken against people. Café Siyaset obtained one of these complaints.

“We announced that a Montessori school in Norway sued people who called for a boycott of the Gülen movement on the Internet after the July 15 failed coup attempt. We shared with you before that legal action will be taken against those who called for a boycott of Montessori Gülen schools and foundations in Norway via social media. It is stated that legal action will be withdrawn if the perpetrators share a message of apology.

“Under the orders of Mehmet Fatih Deveci, the manager of a Gülen school in Oslo,

⁵⁹] “FETÖ’nün yeni Norveç yapılanması” (FETÖ’s new structure in Norway), Akit TV, 4 September 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G6QGwLWTVog>, Son görüntüleme tarihi: 16 July 2017

⁶⁰] “Norveç’te FETÖ’ye boykot çağrısı yapanlara gönderilen dava dilekçelerine ulaştık!” (We obtained legal complaints against people who called a boycott of FETÖ in Norway!), cafesiyaset.com, 05 September 2016, http://www.cafesiyaset.com.tr/index.php/kulis/norvec-te-feto-ye-boykot-cagrisi-yapanlara-gonderilen-dava-dilekcelerine-ulastik_475202.html

Norway, named Montessori,⁶¹ eight people were sued for 35,000-75,000 [Turkish lira] in damages including lawyer's fees with an interest rate of 8.75 percent. It is suggested that the complaint will be withdrawn if the perpetrators apologize and share a post admitting they aimed to defame.”

5.4.4. Slander Campaign Intensifies

On November 29, 2016 Akit TV ran another story titled “FETÖ’s Lair in Norway!”⁶² which was similar to their previous piece with some more names mentioned. In this news, again some names are announced and accused of being CIA agents.

“Akit Haber reveals FETÖ’s Norway structure with documents. FETÖ opened a school in 2013 called Montessori, which also has a branch in Turkey. The school building was bought from the Norwegian government for 23 million krone (NOK).”

It also targeted a woman of Turkish descent and a philanthropist family:

“That is FETÖ’s Women’s Association! One of FETÖ’s most important associations in Norway is the Ebru Dialog Culture women’s association. Pınar Günaydın is at the top of the association. We are revealing the Süslüs! On the other hand, the Süslü family from Ankara, living in Norway, is the most important sponsor of FETÖ in Norway. The Süslü brothers, Kemalettin, Fahri and Selahattin, are busy with the production and sales of bags and leather shoes. They raise money by organizing ‘himmet’⁶³ and donate a serious part of their revenue to the organization.”⁶⁴

The news appears to be drawn from notes of intelligence reports that are based on the profiling of critics in Norway, and as such it gives clues about how the Erdoğan regime perceives democracy, civil society activities and education. Education activities based on the world-known Montessori education method, opening schools and associations and donating money to charities are presented as terrorist acts or clandestine operations. It is believed that the names mentioned in the news piece and details about their private lives were collected via the Turkish Embassy in Norway, MIT personnel and AKP representatives in Norway, often mixed with conspiratorial allegations that lack evidence.

61] The slanderous article was full of factual mistakes including claiming that Montessori is a school run by the Gülen movement. It is child-centered teaching and educational method that was developed by Maria Montessori, whose ideas have been used across the world by many schools. Three schools affiliated with the Gülen movement also employ the same methods.

62] When Erdoğan started the witch-hunt against the Gülen movement he stated, “We are going to raid all of their lairs” which he later repeated over and over. When the schools and companies linked to the movement were seized, he stated that they had raided the lairs. Akit TV’s heading refers to Erdoğan’s this statement.

63] Himmet means fundraising campaign.

64] “FETÖ’nün Norveç İni” (FETÖ’s Norway Lair), Akit TV, 29 November 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/akitv/vid-eos/1747452142244387/>, Son görüntüleme tarihi: 16 July 2017

5.5. Turkish Government-linked Partisan NGOs

Two pro-Turkish government organizations in Norway appear to have been involved in the smear campaign against members of the Gülen movement. One is the Turkish-Norwegian Association (Tyrkiske Foreningers Hovedorganisasjon i Norge), and other is the Islamic Community National View (Islamske Samfunn Milli Görüş, or ISMG).

Hatice Lük Elmacıoğlu, the chairperson of the Turkish-Norwegian Association, openly declared that she profiled people linked to the movement. She admitted that she reported Gülen sympathizers in her posts dated August 29-30, 2016 on Facebook. A user named Mustafa Sak commented on her post, saying: “If you know the enemy of Turkey, FETÖ, why do not you report them to the state? Why do you still avoid commenting on the cleric in Pennsylvania [referring to Fethullah Gülen, who resides in the US state of Pennsylvania)?” In response to this post she confessed doing it: “How do you know that I did not do it?”⁶⁵ and added, “We reported everything to the state that needed to be reported.”⁶⁶

In response to a comment from pro-government journalist Pınar Aydın, who is mentioned above, stating: “I expect proof from you. What did you do for the fight against FETÖ?” Elmacıoğlu said, “Do not worry, our state is aware of everything we have done.”⁶⁷ It can be understood from these posts that the association Elmacıoğlu heads profiles critics and sends reports to Ankara about Norwegian citizens of Turkish descent.

The Islamic Community National View, a political Islamist organization that has traditionally harbored hostility and antipathy towards the Gülen movement due to the movement’s apolitical standing and staunch opposition of exploiting religion for political purposes, is another entity that targeted members of the Gülen movement in this period. The radical posts of Mustafa Samed Çetintaş, communications officer of the association, drew the ire of many in Norway.

Çetintaş, who lives in Stavanger, has been observed actively participating in anti-Gülen movement campaigns in Norway. In a social media post dated July 20, 2016 he recalled Turkish President Erdoğan’s statement that “we will raid their lairs,” refer-

65] “Turkey’s Autocratic President Erdoğan’s Spying, Profiling Expands In Norway”, stockholmcf.org, 1 April 2017, <https://stockholmcf.org/turkeys-autocratic-president-erdogans-spying-profiling-expands-in-norway/>

66] Ibid.

67] Ibid.

**Calls for profiling
by Mustafa Samed
Çetintaş.**

ring to organizations of the Gülen movement. Çetintaş claimed that the social media accounts of people linked to the Hizmet movement are part of these lairs and said: “That is raiding the lairs! Not only putschists but also people supporting the coup on Twitter and Facebook are going to be held accountable.”

After the July 15 coup attempt, Çetintaş stated on his Facebook page: “Be careful about these devils!! Do not be inactive. Whoever you know as members of FETÖ in Norway or Turkey, report their names. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS that person being regretful or giving up... Everyone who continued supporting this organization after December 17 [2013] is guilty. THESE ARE THE EMAIL ADDRESSES TO REPORT TO.” Under this post he gave contact details, the addresses of the Turkish National Police and the cybercrimes unit of the Ankara and Istanbul provincial police departments.

In another post Çetintaş stated, “For your information, this is the publicly accessible list of board members of the Montessori School in Norway,” and shared a web link. In this way he pointed to the people on the list as targets.

5.6. Erdoğan Fanatics in Norway

For the last one-and-a-half years, Erdoğan supporters and fanatics have been pursuing a campaign of hatred, slander and defamation against people and associations linked with the Gülen movement. As seen in many other countries where a sizable Turkish diaspora exists, such campaigns were at times discreetly aided and abetted by Turkish intelligence and embassy officials. In Norway, where a boycott campaign targeting schools affiliated with the movement was waged, some parents were contacted by pro-Erdoğan fanatics who encouraged them to take their children out of these schools due to the Turkish government’s witch-hunt. This campaign can be seen in the social media accounts of pro-Turkish-government people. The school management confirmed this pressure when SCF investigators contacted them.

Social media posts on Facebook and other Internet platforms appear to fall within the definition of hate speech that may potentially lead to a hate crime. The managers of organizations linked to the Gülen movement, such as Salim Öndeş, Fatih Mehmet Deveci, Ömer Fevzi İpek and Mustafa Ocak, are systematically targeted. Calls were made to inform the Turkish government about Norwegian citizens of Turkish descent who are sympathetic to the Gülen movement.

For instance, a Facebook user named Halime Aydın Özdemir stated, “Do not be idle, my brothers in exile, report these traitors.” Another user named Emek Günyüzlü commented on this, giving the name “Drammen Montessoriskole” and including this school as among the campaign’s targets.

A user named Mehtap Emir Katrancı posted: “Friends, there are three names. I need to prove somehow that these people are interrelated,” and listed the names of Salim

Öndeş, Fatih Mehmet Deveci, Ömer Fevzi İpek and Mustafa Ocak. She said she already knew about Salim Öndeş but needed detailed information on the other three. In the same post she also asked: “These three are founders of Norlights Invest. Even though they deny it, we know they are members of FETÖ, but we need proof. Is there anyone who knows them and can provide information?” Katrancı shared similar posts about Montessoriskolen in Stavanger as well. In a post on July 17, 2016 she stated, “We should not send our children to this school and raise them as FETÖ members!!”

Mustafa Samed Çetintaş, who was mentioned earlier, made a Facebook post about Gülen sympathizers in this period. Çetintaş accused everyone linked with the movement of being “criminal” and shared email addresses to contact for informing on them. He announced the names of staff working at the Montessori schools and asked for them to be reported to Turkey. He also stated, “Not only putschists but also people supporting the coup on Twitter and Facebook are going to be held accountable for it.”

People who share positive messages about the movement are also profiled and accused of supporting the coup. For instance, a Facebook group named Friends of AKP in Norway (Norveç AK Parti Dostları) asks that any post seen to be sympathetic towards the Gülen movement be reported to the Turkish National Police’s email address. The following post was shared on this Facebook account: “Our dear followers who love their homeland more than they love themselves. If there is anyone around you who praises the coup, defends the FETÖ terrorist organization or insults our president on their social media accounts, please copy their page and report it to siber@egm.gov.tr.” The call for reporting social media accounts to Turkish authorities is repeated on a Facebook account named AKP Friends in Scandinavia (İskandinavya AK Dostlar), and the addresses for informing on them are shared.

5.6.1. ‘I Will Burn Down This School’

The campaign of hatred towards Norwegians who are seen as sympathetic to the movement has even reached a level of incitement to violence. A pro-Erdoğan partisan user named Yasin Duman posted a message on Facebook on July 22, 2016 saying, “I will burn down this school.” He was referring to the school run by people affiliated with the movement. The campaigns were organized to force Northern Lights International School and Drammen Montessoriskole to shut down as well. A user named Birgül Yaşar stated on Facebook that “we should get all of them shut down.” She called Fethullah Gülen a terrorist in her post on July 20, 2016 and asked families not to send their children to schools linked to the movement.

A user named “Hayat Hoş” with Erdoğan as a profile picture made the following call: “I think everyone should react to people

Mustafa Samed Çetintaş <http://www.aftenbladet.no/.../Det-blir-ja-til-Montessori...>

Det blir ja til Montessori-skole i Stavanger
Formannskapet i Stavanger kommer torsdag den 13. novembers til å gå inn for at det etableres en ny...
AFTENBLADET.NO

Liker · Svar · 17. juli kl. 13:23

Enes Zaza Ercin Organizasyonların demek istedim, partilerin demek istemedim
Se oversettelse
Liker · Svar · 17. juli kl. 14:20

Hilal Erdogan Kocaguzel Bu zihniyetin ideolojisini henüz anlayamadığım dönemde abla diye tabir edilen bir bayanın konuşması halen aklımda. Hz Muhammed karikatürleri yayınladığı zaman merkezde protestoya davet edilmiş ve etmistik. Ve bayan protestoyla hic birsey elde edilemeyecegini çok daha ileriye donuk yatirimlarla bu islerin hal olacagini soylemistti. Örneğinde aynen şu kardeşlerim Allah şahid kulaklarım şahid " öyle bir gençlik yetistirelimki o Aftenbladet mudur olsun ki buna cesaret edilemesin, doktorlar avukatlar vs. yetistirelimki guc bizde olsun. Biz "safiz" ya bu sohbeti o anki psikolojiyle ve islam peygamber aşkıyla dinledik. Haa doğru ya dedik. Elhamdulillah uzun sumedi UYANDIK. Ülkemede aynen bu ideolojiyle plan kurup saldırdi bunlar. Norvecede başına bela edecek. Se oversettelse
Liker · Svar · 17. juli kl. 13:46

Yasin Duman Ben bu okulu yakarım
Se oversettelse
Liker · Svar · 22. juli kl. 15:52

Ben bu okulu yakarım

Yasin Duman threatens with burning down the school

who opened these schools and work there.” A user named Emek Günyüzlü commented under this post stating: “Do not sent your children to these traitors. If you know anyone studying at these schools, withdraw them immediately.”

5.7. School Defends Itself Against Slander

Fatih Mehmet Deveci, the chairman of Norlights Education, the umbrella organization for the schools, and rector of the Northern Lights International School, commented to Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet, saying, “The aim of these attacks is to break the backs of the owners of the school.” He pointed out that these attacks may very well hurt the children studying there. And he added: “We saw recently that both parents and staff have made us feel stronger. Parents show that we are meeting their expectations. But this news is harmful for the study environment of the children; thus, I wish it hadn’t happened. We are only interested in education. But I must say these incidents are very unfortunate, both the coup attempt that I condemned and the developments in its aftermath. However, as a result of this, you cannot threaten people without any evidence or isolate a group of people. This attitude is unacceptable.”⁶⁸

Asked by SCF to comment on the negative campaign targeting schools, Deveci said: “All this oppression and these accusations are based on nothing but a lie and defamation.” He added: “They are trying to make these schools shut down out of greed and vengeance without any proof. There are some people who are trying to export AKP politics and discourse to Norway. They accused us of raising terrorists. Our educational institutions were established with the approval and permission of Norway. Accusing of these organizations and their staff of terrorism or of attempting to take over the country [Norway] means belittling Norway. Our only aim is to provide the best education to Norway and Norwegian society. We sent a statement to Norwegian authorities and said, ‘These schools are yours.’ We invited them for inspections to clear up these accusations. The authorities did not find any proof in the inspections that would confirm any of these false accusations. They did not find any wrongdoing on our part. But those who attempted to defame us devalued themselves when their lies became clear. The state, the local authorities where the schools are located and Norwegian families supported and backed up our organizations.”

Deveci also commented on the recent status of the school: “Most of the parents of our students are Norwegian; thus, our schools have become stronger and more well known. Our student numbers have increased. Our parents came together and said, ‘These are our organizations; we will not let anyone finish them off.’ There are still a few people here trying to fight with us, but it seems the storm has passed. Yet, we will carry on transparently as always. We are ready for anything.”

He also stated that they had launched a legal process against people organizing the

⁶⁸] “Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere”, Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>

hate campaign and defaming the school and added: “Each of our organizations filed legal complaints with the local police in their respective cities. One person was called in by the police to make a statement, and this person apologized to the school and later dropped his accusations. But then they continued attacking us on social media. Our lawyers sent warning letters to those threatening us, defaming us and waging a campaign to shut down our institutions. Oppression and defamation have increased since the letters were sent. But when the perpetrators noticed that the Norwegian government and Norwegian people would not tolerate such acts and that they would get into trouble, they stopped threatening and defaming us.”

During this period four Turkish families that support the AKP took their children out of the schools linked to the movement. All these students were studying at the school in Drammen. There were nine Turkish students at the school, meaning half of them left. It is seen as an advantage that the majority of students are Norwegian, not of Turkish origin. Therefore, school officials believe the hate campaign did not target financial loss because of the few children of Turkish descent enrolled in the schools but rather aimed to defame the schools by portraying their administrators and staff as terrorists.

5.8. Attacks Targeting Individuals

The hate campaign in Norway singled out several people associated with the Gülen movement in particular and led to harassment and death threats.

5.8.1. The Case of Fatih Mehmet Deveci

Deveci is the person who has been threatened the most and profiled as one of the main targets in this period because of his position as chairman of the umbrella organization for the schools, Norlights Education. Deveci told SCF investigators about the terrible ordeal he has faced in Norway as a result of profiling and harassment by pro-Erdoğan people.

“A month after July 15, 2016 I was followed by a black van for three to four weeks. I reported it to the police and then it stopped. But the threats continued. On Facebook, unknown and fake accounts asked me ‘Are you a member of FETÖ?’ and they called me ‘traitor’ and ‘terrorist.’ They sent me videos of Akit TV. An arrest warrant was issued for me in Turkey. I am not allowed to go to Turkey. They raided the house of my parents. Akit TV pointed to me as a target in some news. All of our schools are being defamed. They made false allegations about us to

Mehmet Deveci has been harassed



the police without any evidence. But police closed these files as they were only defamation.”

Deveci stated that his family has been living in Norway for more than 30 years and said that they have been affected by the fabricated news run against them by Akit TV and other media outlets in Turkey. He added: “My family has been pressured both here and in Turkey. They were dismayed by the news that all of a sudden their son is portrayed as a ‘terrorist’ without any proof. We are not in contact with most of our relatives as they are AKP supporters. When my father went to Turkey, the police interrogated him, took a statement and released him. However, police raided their houses in Konya and Antalya to find me. Because of these incidents my family reacted negatively towards me and our relationship has deteriorated. They did not speak with me for a while. Luckily, it has started getting better lately.”

On November 19, 2017 Deveci’s father Hilmi Deveci passed away at the age of 57. His son could not go to Turkey to attend to his funeral and felt terrible for not being able to do so.

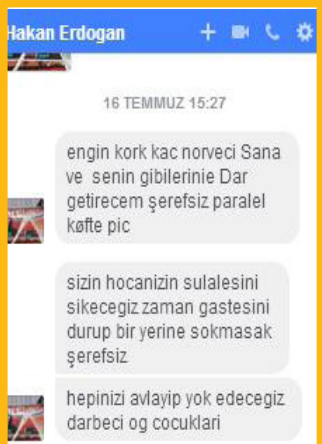
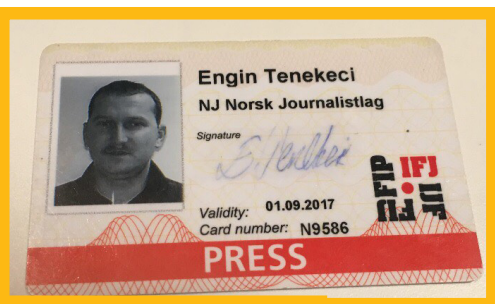
5.8.2. The Case of Engin Tenekeci

Engin Tenekeci (39), who worked as a reporter for the Zaman newspaper, Turkey’s one-time largest circulating paper with 1.2 million copies sold on a daily basis, has been threatened by AKP thugs via his social media account. Tenekeci, a member of the Norwegian Union of Journalists, had to go through a difficult time because of these threats and pressures. A user called Hakan Erdoğan messaged Tenekeci on July 26, 2016, saying: “Engin, be afraid and run. I will make Norway unbearable for you and people like you, you undignified bastard.” He swore at Tenekeci and Gülen and said: “We will hunt all of you and eliminate you.

Putschist sons of bitches.”

Tenekeci went to the police station in Oslo on August 2, 2016 and filed a report. Oslo police launched an investigation into the alleged perpetrator and referred the case for prosecution. Erdoğan admitted to having sent the message, and the case is still pending in court. The incident was also reported to the Norwegian Union of Journalists (NJ). The association reported the case to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs along with other journalist associations in Norway. The ministry suggested the case be reported to the police. Hege Iren Frantzen sent an email to Tenekeci on behalf of NJ that included the correspondence between the ministry and NJ.

The Turkish journalist narrated these threats and assaults in an interview with Morgenbladet.⁶⁹ “Journalist Engin Tenekeci says he received a message on Facebook



**“Hunt you
down and
destroy
you all”,**

⁶⁹ “Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere”, Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>

the day after the coup. The person said he was going to find and kill him. He learned about Mr. Gülen when he met with the managers of the education center when he came to Norway 12 years ago. He was impressed with him when he saw him on TV.

- 'I listened to him without knowing who he was. He was very humble, and he opened his arms to everyone, which fit my personality, so I liked him.'

"Then Mr. Tenekeci read 80 books Mr. Gülen wrote and listened to his sermons every Monday. According to him Mr. Gülen is a mentor and a nominee for the peace prize.

- 'I learned about respecting other cultures and faiths from him. He advocates everyone having the right to freedom of religion. He does not have a secret agenda. He does not have any property and lives off the income of his books. He has an in-depth knowledge about the Western world.'

"Mr. Tenekeci is a member of Mangfoldhuset and volunteers for the Zaman newspaper, the most significant newspaper of the Hizmet movement with its many branches in various European countries.

"He displays the death threat messages and says he knows the person who sent them. He reported it to the police and is waiting for the court proceedings.

- 'I am not able to enter Turkish restaurants; they are saying terrible things about us. I wonder whether they would beat me up or kill me if I were to go in.'

"He is not able to go to the Turkish Embassy, either, and he cannot risk going to Turkey to visit his family.

- 'I worry that they will arrest me with accusations of membership in a terrorist organization. But do you know, I don't even have a knife. People who claim I'm a terrorist must prove their allegations'. Norwegian TV channel NRK reported the threats to Tenekeci in a news bulletin under the title "Spying on Turks critical of Erdoğan."⁷⁰ In addition, the story was published on the station's website with a headline reading "We will hunt all of you and eliminate you."⁷¹ The news was presented with an uncensored screenshot of the Facebook message sent to Tenekeci.

Tenekeci told SCF the following: "The case is in court. I had two options -- to settle or take it to court. I wanted to go to court, and the case is in court now. The person who threatened me said, "I did not mean it, it is mistranslated." I found a certified translator and sent his translation to court. I have three children. He said, 'I will hunt you and eliminate you.' How would you feel about that? I naturally feel uneasy about it. You worry whether you locked the door when going to bed. I went to the police and told them 'I worry, I have a wife and three children.' You fear whether they are going to attack your house because there was a physical threat."

⁷⁰] <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/dagsrevyen/NNFA03040217/02-04-2017>, accessed on 13 September 2017

⁷¹] "Tyrkere forteller om trusler og trakassering i Norge", NRK, 2 April 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/norge/tyrkere-forteller-om-trusler-og-trakassering-i-norge-1.13455005>

5.8.3. The Case of Mustafa Ocak

Mustafa Ocak, a member of the board of Norden Light Education, was profiled by the Turkish Religious Foundation of Norway and reported to Turkey. Ocak narrated his experience to SCF:

“Towards the middle of August 2016 Ahmet Aydoğdu, former president of the Turkish Religious Foundation of Norway, rang me and said he was going on pilgrimage the coming week and asked for my blessing.⁷² And then he mentioned that many things would not remain the same in Turkey after the coup attempt, that it is impossible to deny presence of the FETÖ organization and that it was behind the coup. He must have researched me well, he knew my role in Hizmet-linked organizations. He asked me to confirm my role as a member of the board of Norden Light Education and whether I was a shareholder in the kindergarten or not. He said it would be best for me to quit these positions as soon as possible. He said he was writing up a list of Hizmet-linked organizations, the people supporting them and working there. He added if I did not quit these positions, my name would be put on this list and reported to Turkey.”

He went on, saying that he knew me and my family personally, so he wanted to warn me. I asked him why he was writing such a list. He said it was not him drawing up the list but someone else. I asked him, ‘You know that we are good and patriotic people, why are you making up such a list?’ He repeated that it was not him making the list but someone else. He gave us one week’s notice to quit our positions in these organizations and said the list would be sent to Turkey when he came back from pilgrimage. My impression after this phone call was that he was very active in the team compiling this list and maybe even their leader. Giving us a week to quit our positions, guaranteeing to us that our names would not be on the list if we quit and the fact that the list would be sent to Turkey after he came back from pilgrimage support my impression.”

5.8.4. The Case of Ramazan Ay

Ramazan Ay, the former general manager of Mangfoldhuset, stated that he received death threats. He commented to Morgenbladet: “The consulate claims that we are terrorists. People threaten us with death. The people closest to us both here and in Turkey see us as terrorists. We can no longer go to mosques because of people’s attitudes towards us.”⁷³

5.8.5. The Case of Maxim Mukhamodeev

Maxim Mukhamodeev (31), project manager at Mangfoldhuset, has often been target-

⁷² It is a tradition among Muslims to call people they know and ask their blessings before going to Mecca for pilgrimage.

⁷³ “Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere”, Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>



ed by the partisan AKP media. He was accused of being a CIA agent and leaking secret talks in Oslo to end the Kurdish conflict without any evidence to support such accusations.

He is originally from the Ural region of Russia. He completed his secondary education in Russia at a school linked to the Gülen movement, and that is how he got to know the movement. He told of his dedication of the teachers at this school: “In the beginning I did not know this school was linked to the movement. I noticed that these teachers could have been working in Turkey in better conditions and positions. But instead they preferred to go around the world

and work for the benefit of human beings. Because of their effort I received a good education. The movement influenced me.”⁷⁴

Mukhamodeev denied the accusations of the partisan AKP media in his statement to SCF: “All of them are lies. Not related to reality at all. I do not even know what the Oslo meetings are. I only learned about them after I read the accusations in the news. ‘CIA agent’ et cetera... I find them very absurd. In addition, I do not have dual citizenship, I am only a Russian citizen. They said, ‘He stays in the same hotel.’ I have no idea how they came up with this. In fact, I do not often stay in hotels, I have many friends there, and I stay at their houses. I have not stayed in a luxury hotel. I have no idea where all these stories came from. It is a very absurd claim, I do not know how they fabricate these lies and defamations. Totally baseless.”

Mukhamodeev stated that he went to the Norwegian police to complain. “I showed the news in Turkish media to the police. It was July 2016; at that time a number of Turks were physically attacked in some European countries. I said I worry that similar incidents might be happening here. The police said: ‘We cannot deal with this, we do not have a procedure regarding this issue. But if there is any more information, report it to us.’ Luckily, the attacks did not continue.”

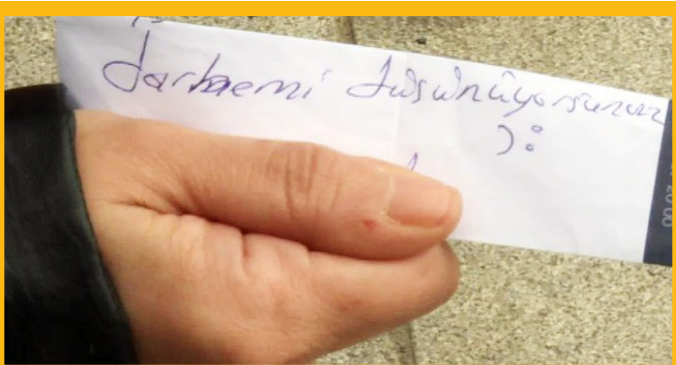
Mukhamodeev, a father of two, explained how he was affected by the news. “My wife is Turkish. We used to go to Turkey often. But after December 17, 2013, long before July 15, 2016, I felt uneasy about visiting Turkey. After this news I can’t go there at all. We are seriously disturbed by this news as a family. I have had problems in Norway for a while. My friends warned me that people were talking about me and that I should not be around for a while and not go near Turkish coffeehouses. Other than that, I did not get any other direct comment from anyone, thank God. Our biggest problem is not being able to go to Turkey. There are big accusations concerning

⁷⁴] “Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere”, Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>

me. We do not talk about these issues with my wife's family. They have probably heard about them but did not say anything to us, so we don't mention it."

5.8.6. The Case of Kemalettin Süslü

Another person targeted by the AKP's propaganda machine is businessman Kemalettin Süslü, who works with his brothers in Norway. He said his family is receiving death threats in both Turkey and Norway. Süslü claimed that the Turkish Embassy in Oslo started secretly monitoring people linked to the Gülen movement in Norway. He said it is aimed at drawing sympathizers away from Gülen. He added that they were asked to provide reports about members of the movement in Norway and share them on social media.⁷⁵



Hand-written harassment note passed to client at Restaurant

5.8.7. The Case of Derya Kaya

The hate campaign against Gülen followers is not limited to schools, mosques and social media platforms.

For instance, Derya Kaya experienced harassment at a Turkish restaurant when she asked for the bill. The waiter brought the bill along with a note that stated: "Are you planning to carry out a coup at this restaurant as well?"⁷⁶ Kaya shared the incident with NRK TV and stated that she also received messages on social media telling her that she would be arrested at the airport when she sets foot in Turkey.⁷⁷ Kaya declined to respond to SCF's questions because of the uneasiness she experienced after these incidents.

6. The Norwegian Government's Approach

6.1. Promise to Protect Gülen Sympathizers

On October 12, 2017 the Norwegian government issued a circular on asylum seekers who cite the risk of persecution due to real or alleged links to the Gülen network and

75] "Tyrkere forteller om trusler og trakassering i Norge", NRK, 2 April 2017, <https://www.nrk.no/norge/tyrkere-forteller-om-trusler-og-trakassering-i-norge-1.13455005>

76] Ibid.

77] Ibid.

concluded that they would be entitled to protection under the Immigration Act.⁷⁸ The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security made the official announcement based on a report drafted by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI), which is the institution that decides on the immigration and residence applications of foreign citizens. The ministry referenced UDI's proposal dated July 5, 2017 on the establishment of practices in the Gülen cases and said, "The Ministry concurs with the Directorate's assessment that asylum seekers from Turkey with credible indications of involvement within the Gülen movement, or who can show that the Turkish authorities allege such an involvement, and who on this basis risk persecution by the authorities, will be entitled to protection under the Immigration Act, section 28." Section 28 deals with residence permits for foreign nationals in need of protection, in other words, asylum cases.⁷⁹

The UDI's proposal was that "applicants with credible indications of involvement within the Gülen movement, or applicants who can show that the domestic authorities in their country of origin have alleged such involvement, and where the actual or alleged involvement may trigger persecution by the authorities, shall be entitled to protection under the Immigration Act, section 28, first paragraph, letter a." The UDI also ruled out the possibility of internal displacement in Turkey citing that "the Turkish authorities control the whole country."⁸⁰

The UDI acknowledged that the worsening human rights situation in Turkey has led to a new group of applicants seeking protection in Norway. "These are persons who cite the risk of persecution based on links, or alleged links, to the Fethullah Gülen network/movement. The Directorate writes that these applicants can risk arrest, imprisonment, torture and conviction and will be entitled to protection under the Immigration Act, section 28, first paragraph, letter a, and that in some cases also family members of active Gülen affiliates may be entitled to protection."⁸¹

The UDI noted that the majority who have sought protection in Norway to date have been professors at, or have some other professional connections to, Gülen schools and colleges at home and abroad. "At the beginning of May 2017, the Directorate had 89 asylum applications on file from Turkish nationals, but the number of refugees in this

78] "GI-15/2017 – Instruks om praktisering av utlendingsloven § 28 – asylsøkere som anfører risiko for forfølgelse på grunn av (tillagt) tilknytning til Gülen-nettverket", regjeringen.no, 12 October 2017
<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/gi-152017--instruks-om-praktisering-av-utlendingsloven--28--asylsokere-som-anforer-risiko-for-forfolgelse-pa-grunn-av-tillagt-tilknytning-til-gulen-nettverket/id2575439/?q=Gülen>

79] The relevant section reads: "A foreign national who is in the realm or at the Norwegian border shall, upon application, be recognised as a refugee if the foreign national
(a) has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of ethnicity, origin, skin colour, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or for reasons of political opinion, and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of his or her country of origin, see Article 1 A of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951 and the Protocol of 31 January 1967".

80] "GI-15/2017 – Instruks om praktisering av utlendingsloven § 28 – asylsøkere som anfører risiko for forfølgelse på grunn av (tillagt) tilknytning til Gülen-nettverket", [regjeringen.no](https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/gi-152017--instruks-om-praktisering-av-utlendingsloven--28--asylsokere-som-anforer-risiko-for-forfolgelse-pa-grunn-av-tillagt-tilknytning-til-gulen-nettverket/id2575439/?q=Gülen), 12 October 2017
<https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/gi-152017--instruks-om-praktisering-av-utlendingsloven--28--asylsokere-som-anforer-risiko-for-forfolgelse-pa-grunn-av-tillagt-tilknytning-til-gulen-nettverket/id2575439/?q=Gülen>

81] Ibid.

category could increase, depending in part on the Directorate's future practices," the UDI underlined. It emphasized that applications would be evaluated individually.⁸²

6.2. Meetings Between Gülen Followers and Norwegian Authorities

Norwegian authorities are aware of the reports on profiling, intimidation and harassment of members of the Gülen movement, and they appear to be keen on investigating any credible allegation that merits further scrutiny provided that they can be substantiated. It may be easier said than done considering the evidentiary threshold under the law for such cases.

Trond Hugubakken, communications director for the Norwegian Police Security Service, said the following in his comments on the Morgenbladet story: "Many countries use spies to identify their opponents living in Norway. They threaten the opponents and their families living in Norway. They try to restrict opponents' freedom of speech."⁸³ In response to a question as to whether embassies can carry out such spying, he said: "There are not many laws for its punishment. We have received 10 to 20 such complaints, and there are probably more. They are difficult to investigate."

Deveci provided detailed information to SCF about the movement's contacts with Norwegian authorities during this period and described the general approach as he understood it. "During this turmoil, we met with representatives of various ministries. We responded openly to all the accusations and defamation. In short they said as long as you obey Norwegian laws, forget Erdoğan. No one can shut down your institutions including the Norwegian

government. We work under this reassurance." On behalf of Norlights Education we had a meeting with the Ministry of Education on August 2, 2016. We mentioned that teachers were fired and students left without schools in Turkey. We said we were receiving requests from these people to continue their education in Norway and said we were open to these requests.

"We met with representatives from Norsk Montessoriforbund [Norwegian Montessori Federation] on August 17, 2016. They gave us a letter of support for the Drammen Montessoriskole, which was affected the most at that time. They stated that they view



**Fatih
Mehmet
Deveci**

⁸²] Ibid.

⁸³] "Fred eller forræderi: Et møte med norske Gülen-følgere", Morgenbladet, 19 August 2016, <https://morgenbladet.no/aktuelt/2016/08/fred-eller-forraederi-et-mote-med-norske-gulen-folgere>

us like any other Montessori school. They acknowledged that we were trying to make our school better.

“Representatives from Fylkesmannen [the county governor] visited Drammen Montessoriskole on August 30, 2016 upon the school’s invitation. We requested that they support us against the pressures we were experiencing.

“Letters were sent from Norlights Education to the Norwegian Police Security Service [PST] and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Utenriksdepartementet] on August 30, 2016. We explained that developments in Turkey affect us as a Norwegian institution. We stated that we found ourselves in a political debate we do not want to be a part of. We complained about the incidents and requested a meeting. They did not agree to our request at first and recommended that we contact the ministry of education and county governor. We stressed the importance of the case, and then the board of our foundation invited them to a meeting on October 18, 2016 with the relevant department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was the Southeast European Section [Sørøsteuropeisk seksjon]. In this meeting they acknowledged our problems and said the information we provided would be recorded. They reassured us that as long as we observed education regulations, we would not have a problem.

“The boards of Montessoriskolen i Stavanger, Drammen Montessoriskole and Northern Lights International School in Oslo sent letters to the local police. The period, incidents and concerns were stated and help was requested.

“On September 1, 2016 we told the Ministry of Education [UDIR] how serious the situation was and requested a meeting. They initially said the issue was beyond their authority. But on January 9, 2017 they invited us to the ministry for a meeting. We told them about ourselves and asked for help.

“We sent an email to the Montessori Federation [NMF] on October 7, 2016 and asked them not to believe the accusations in the media and gave our response to the accusations.

“On November 21, 2016 we requested statements from our organizations’ independent accountants. The statement explained that our organizations’ finances were legally managed and that there were no illegal transactions. We shared this statement with the relevant authorities.

“We sent statements from the boards of our organizations to all the authorities mentioned above on January 10, 2017. We explained to them the aims and objectives of the people who helped launch these institutions and said a group of people including supporters of the Gülen movement initiated this in order to be active in the area of education. We emphasized that there was nothing illegal among these activities and that we did not have a secret agenda. We reminded them that the Ministry of Education gave us the necessary permits and that they provided us with financial aid. We explained the positive environment that our international students and parents enjoy. We said we reject and condemn all the defamation and accusations. We told them that our doors are always open and that they can inspect us at any time.

“In summary, we told every institution and authority we met that:

“Our education organizations were opened with the permission and support of the Norwegian authorities. They are supported by the state and the federation of the pedagogy we follow in our organizations [Montessori and International Baccalaureate (IB)]. The financial aid received from the state is not used anywhere but for the needs of students and schools. We deny the accusations and attacks on our students, parents, staff and managers based on the political tension and developments in another country. There is a big Turkish population in Norway. They tried to impose their political views on us with the help and support of the Turkish Embassy. They told this to the Norwegian media as well. They claimed to have ‘warned’ everyone about us and accused us of having a secret agenda.’ We stated on behalf of our organizations that we do not want to be involved in any political tension; we are only interested in educational activities, and that is why we are asking for support from Norwegian state institutions as well as pedagogy organizations. We stated that in Turkey high-ranking national authorities were behind these attacks and that it is very difficult for us to protect ourselves from them. We mentioned the negative impacts of these incidents on us in Norway. We said that it is becoming more difficult to attract new students because of this defamation. We detailed our concerns for the security of the people in our organizations because of the threats. We said the parents of our students were very satisfied with us and support us. These parents took the initiative and contacted newspapers and radio stations to advocate for our organizations.”

CONCLUSION

With a population of less than 20,000 Turkish expatriates, Norway is not among the countries that have been severely affected by the political and social crisis in Turkey. But it has received its fair share of division and polarization deliberately exported by the Turkish government and its proxies.

The fact that a little over half the Turkish community in Norway are Erdoğan supporters who are ready to resort to any method including physical violence upsets the people who are affiliated with the Gülen movement and who respect Europe's democratic values. As in other European countries, the Turkish community in Norway suffers from integration problems to some degree, and this paves the way for the creation of a withdrawn and closed culture, i.e., a hotbed of religious radicalism and nationalism.

Unlike the cases reported from countries such as the Netherlands, where a sizable Turkish community exists, thankfully Norway neither experienced physical attacks against Gülen movement members nor saw other violent acts such as beatings or arson. However, the movement faced slander, defamation, calls for boycott, threats and insults. The schools were not much impacted by the boycott calls that led to lawsuits filed by the managers of the institutions.

The Norwegian government has taken strong and visible actions to address complaints of harassment and threats, while regional and local officials have scrambled to ensure the safety of citizens irrespective of origin. The immigration authority classified the movement as being persecuted in Turkey and as such concluded that their members may be eligible for political asylum, with each case assessed on its individual merits. The government's uncompromising approach to hate crimes and it coming up with measures to deal with them provided great relief to anxious members of the movement.

SCF urges the Turkish government and its affiliates to jettison this hate speech that breeds hate crime, slander and threats and intimidates innocent people. It is essential that freedom of thought, the rule of law and the individuality of crime are principles that must be urgently embraced by the ruling AKP. It is unacceptable for Turkey to stigmatize its own citizens as potential terrorists, criminals or coup perpetrators, hunt for them, order institutions, organizations and ordinary citizens to profile other people, harass people who are close to the Gülen movement in their respective countries, manufacture collective crimes without providing any evidence and move to destroy all members of a specific group. The ruling AKP must respect universal values.

Embassies and consulates must refrain from committing acts that are defined as crimes in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and in international law. Likewise, the official or unofficial institutions that act as extensions of the AKP

must refrain from complying with instructions that amount to crime and ensure full compliance with the laws of their respective countries and international conventions.

The responsibility of the people who are linked to the Gülen movement is to be aware of their rights and record all crimes targeting them and file complaints with judicial and administrative authorities in connection with them. A significant portion of the people who are close to the movement appears to be reluctant to seek legal redress or file official complaints about their victimization. This could be primarily attributable to the fear factor. The main cause of this fear is the ruling AKP and the unlawful form of government currently in place in Turkey. These people live outside Turkey, but they are still connected to Turkey as it is their homeland. Some of their family members and a majority of their relatives live in Turkey. They visit Turkey for funerals, weddings and other important events and generally spend their holidays in their homeland.

Due to the profiling activities in question, many Turkish expatriates in Europe are afraid of being taken into custody or arrested if they return to Turkey. Numerous sympathizers of the movement have decided not to go to their homeland for an indefinite period of time. They are even concerned that their family members and relatives may be victimized because of them. There have been dozens of cases where the Turkish government punished relatives and family members of Gülen movement participants who live abroad. SCF calls on all citizens of the Turkish Republic living abroad to record discriminatory practices and hate crimes they have faced and report them to the relevant authorities.

ANNEX 1:

BACKGROUND NOTE ON THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

The Gülen movement is inspired by US-based Turkish Muslim intellectual Fethullah Gülen, who advocates science education, poverty reduction, community contribution and interfaith and intercultural dialogue. The movement promotes a moderate version of Islam with a heavy emphasis on public service and volunteer work for the community. It remains staunchly opposed to any violence or terrorism in the name of religion or nationalism. The movement runs schools, universities and other institutions in 180 countries.

Gülen has been a vocal critic of the Turkish government and Turkey's autocratic President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan over massive corruption in the government as well as Turkey's aiding and abetting of radical groups in Syria and other places. Erdoğan launched an unprecedented persecution against Gülen and his followers in December 2013 immediately after a major corruption probe went public and incriminated Erdoğan's family members.

Turkey's ruling AKP's Islamist leaders have labeled the movement as "FETÖ," a terrorist organization, although Gülen, a 75-year-old cleric, and his followers have never advocated violence but rather have remained firmly opposed to any violence, radicalism or terror in the name of religion for decades. Gülen has been an outspoken cleric condemning al-Qaeda, the Islamic State (IS), Boko Haram and other violent radical Islamist groups.

Erdoğan, who described the botched military coup attempt of July 15, 2016 that killed 249 people as "a gift from God," immediately pinned the blame on the Gülen movement despite the lack of any evidence to that effect. Although the Gülen movement strongly denies having any role in the putsch, Erdoğan escalated a witch-hunt against the group that had been under way since the revelation of corruption in December 2013. The government initiated a widespread purge aimed at cleansing sympathizers of the movement from within state institutions, dehumanizing its popular figures and putting them in custody.

Contrary to claims made by Erdoğan and the Turkish government, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the UK Parliament has concluded that Fethullah Gülen and the movement he inspires as a whole were not behind the failed coup in Turkey on July 15. The head of Germany's Federal Intelligence Service (BND), Bruno Kahl, says Turkey could not convince them that US-based Turkish-Islamic scholar Gülen was behind the coup attempt. Similarly, Devin Nunes, chairman of the US House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, said he had not seen any evidence showing Gülen's involvement in the putsch.

During a hearing at the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (US Helsinki Commission) on September 14, 2017 Senator Thom Tillis said, "Mr. Gülen - a

Muslim leader teaching a tolerant, outward approach to Islam - is yet another individual who the Turkish government has decided to indict with almost no evidence.” He added that “though the Turkish government submitted a formal request for the extradition of Mr. Gülen, neither the State Department nor the Justice Department has received any information that would cause the United States to comply with this request.”

Gilles de Kerchove, the European Union’s counterterrorism coordinator, has also said the EU does not share Turkey’s view that the Gülen movement is a terrorist organization. “We don’t see it [the movement] as a terrorist organization, and I don’t believe the EU is likely to change its position soon,” Kerchove said. German intelligence expert and author Erich Schmidt-Eenboom said Erdogan was behind the failed coup attempt based on intelligence reports from the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the BND.

Turkey has suspended or dismissed more than 150,000 judges, teachers, doctors, police and civil servants since July 15, 2016. Turkey’s Justice Ministry announced on July 13, 2017 that 50,510 people have been arrested and 169,013 have been the subject of legal proceedings on coup charges since the failed coup. Turkish Interior Minister Süleyman Soylu said on December 12, 2017 that 55,665 people have been jailed.

The government has seized at least 1,068 companies and 4,888 properties as part of a witch-hunt targeting the Gülen movement.



**ERDOĞAN'S
LONG ARM:**

THE CASE OF NORWAY



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