

the guardian

Imam who sponsored dialogue
between Christians and Muslims

BBC

known for promoting a tolerant Islam which
emphasised altruism, modesty and hard work

The New York Times

promoted a vision of Islam that was friendly
to the West and supported free markets,
science and interfaith dialogue

The Washington Post

He emphasized service, tolerance and dialogue

Newsweek

Known for promoting a philosophy that
blended Sufism, democracy, education, and
interfaith dialogue

The Telegraph

In contrast to what the Turkish President called
'reformed Islamism', Gülen advocated a tolerant,
secular state

Demon in human form



Hyena pack

Hürriyet

DEMON HAS DIED

Yeni Şafak

**TRAITOR OF THE CENTURY DIED
A pig's burial**

POSTA

MAY HE BURN IN HELL

**CNN
TÜRK**

**Terrorists gather for
corpse ritual**

DEHUMANIZING A LEGACY:

**How Fethullah Gülen's death triggered
a campaign of hate speech in Erdoğan's Turkey**



About the Stockholm Center for Freedom

The Stockholm Center for Freedom (SCF) is a non-profit advocacy organization that promotes the rule of law, democracy and human rights with a special focus on Turkey.

SCF was set up by a group of journalists who were 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, documenting individual cases of the infringement of fundamental rights and publishing comprehensive reports on human rights issues.

SCF is a member of the Alliance Against Genocide, an international coalition dedicated to creating the international institutions and the political will to prevent genocide.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report examines the surge of hate speech that erupted following the death of Fethullah Gülen, a US-based Muslim cleric whose followers have been systematically persecuted in Turkey for more than a decade. While providing a picture of a specific time period, it aims to demonstrate the extent of dehumanization Gülen's followers and sympathizers still have to face today.

The UN's Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech defines hate speech as "any kind of communication in speech, writing or behaviour, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colour, descent, gender or other identity factor."¹

Hate speech has far-reaching consequences, contributing to a toxic environment that fosters discrimination, violence and social unrest. By dehumanizing individuals and groups, hate speech erodes the foundations of inclusive and diverse societies, creating an "us versus them" mentality that can lead to devastating outcomes.

In fact, dehumanization is identified as the fourth stage of the "Ten Stages of Genocide" typology developed by Dr. Gregory H. Stanton to better equip citizens to identify the warning signs and stop the process from continuing.² When a group is perceived as "less than human," it becomes easier for those in power to justify and carry out acts of mass murder.

For instance, in the leadup to the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, radio station "Radio Télévision Libre de Mille Collines" (RTLM), allied with leaders of the government, had been inciting Hutus against the Tutsi minority, repeatedly describing the latter as *inyenzi*, or "cockroaches," and as *inzoka*, or "snakes."³

¹ [UN Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech](#), United Nations, May, 2019.

² [The Ten Stages of Genocide](#), Genocide Watch, 1996.

³ [In Rwanda, We Know All About Dehumanizing Language](#), The Atlantic, April 13, 2019.

In Nazi Germany, propaganda posters and films suggested Jews were “vermin,” comparing them to rats and insects, while new laws were passed to restrict all aspects of Jews' lives.⁴

This direct link between hate speech and various atrocity crimes shows the importance of documenting and combating hate speech. By recognizing and intervening in the early stages of dehumanization, societies can protect vulnerable groups from potential harm.

The report begins by providing background information on the Gülen movement and its persecution in Turkey, including the hate speech directed at its followers. It then offers a snapshot of the vile hate speech prevalent in the pro-government press in Turkey, contrasting this with global media's coverage of Gülen's death. The report also highlights how the government of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan initiated a spate of censorship following Gülen's death to suppress moderate voices and promote anti-Gülen hate speech as the dominant public discourse.

⁴ ['It started with words': Holocaust survivors recount how hate speech led to mass murder](#), Euronews April 8, 2021.

2. HATE SPEECH AGAINST THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

2.1. The Gülen Movement

The Gülen movement is a worldwide civic initiative rooted in the spiritual and humanistic tradition of Islam and inspired by the ideas and activism of Fethullah Gülen. It is known for its network of educational institutions and interfaith dialogue initiatives across the globe. After originating in Turkey as a grassroots community in the 1970s, the movement spread its activities to various regions worldwide, establishing schools, hospitals and charities in over 150 countries.



Gülen met with Pope Jean Paul II in 1998 as part of his interfaith dialogue initiatives. Other religious leaders he met with include the head of the Greek Orthodox Church and the chief rabbi of Israel.⁵

Self-designated as the “Hizmet movement” (“service” in Turkish), the group proclaims itself as a proponent of the ideals of human rights, equal opportunity, democracy, non-violence and the emphatic acceptance of religious and cultural diversity.⁶

⁵ [Gülen meets with Christian and Jewish leaders to advocate dialogue, tolerance](#) - The Journalists and Writers Foundation (JWF)

⁶ [“Hizmet Movement.”](#) Alliance for Shared Values.

The movement's activities depend on the countries and regions where it is present. For instance, it focuses on charity along with education in Africa, while its civic engagement in Western countries is more directed towards intercultural dialogue and the good integration of its members.

In Turkey, the group was present in almost every aspect of life from charities, schools and labor unions to print and broadcast media until it was outlawed by the government of President Erdoğan.

2.2. The Movement's Persecution in Turkey

In the 2010s, the group gradually ended up in the crosshairs of the Turkish government, led by then-prime minister and current President Erdoğan, who accused the movement of infiltrating state institutions and orchestrating the corruption investigations of December 17-25, 2013, which implicated Erdoğan, his family members and his inner circle.⁷

Dismissing the investigations as a Gülenist coup and conspiracy against his government, Erdoğan designated the movement as a terrorist organization and began to target its followers. Initially limited to the police and the judiciary, the government's crackdown on individuals with alleged links to the Gülen movement took a dramatic turn following a failed military coup on July 15, 2016, that Erdoğan and his government immediately accused the movement of orchestrating. Gülen and the movement strongly denied any involvement in the attempted coup or any terrorist activity.⁸

Some of the claims that were part of the corruption investigations were later substantiated in a New York court where Turkish banker Mehmet Hakan Atilla was sentenced to 32 months for conspiring to violate US sanctions against Iran and other offenses.⁹

Following the failed coup the Turkish government declared a state of emergency that lasted for two years and carried out a massive purge of state institutions under

⁷ ["Turkish ministers' sons arrested in corruption and bribery investigation."](#) The Guardian, December 17, 2013.

⁸ [U.S.-based cleric Gulen says 'categorically' denies coup role charges](#), Reuters, July 16, 2016.

⁹ [Turkish Banker Mehmet Hakan Atilla Sentenced to 32 Months for Conspiring to Violate U.S. Sanctions Against Iran and Other Offenses](#), United States Attorney's Office Southern District of New York, May 16, 2018.

the pretext of an anti-coup fight. More than 130,000 public servants, including 4,156 judges and prosecutors, as well as 24,706 members of the armed forces were summarily removed from their jobs for alleged membership in or relationships with “terrorist organizations” by emergency decree-laws subject to neither judicial nor parliamentary scrutiny.¹⁰

A total of 705,172 people were investigated on terrorism or coup-related charges due to their alleged links to the movement, according to statistics shared by Turkish Justice Minister Yılmaz Tunç in July 2024.¹¹

The Erdoğan government curtailed civic and political rights and shut down scores of Gülen-affiliated institutions such as media outlets, civil society organizations, private schools, universities, labor unions and charitable foundations.



A mob attacking the sign of the Gülen affiliated Yamanlar Middle School

¹⁰ [Erdoğan's rule by royal decree: Turkey's contempt for the rule of law](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, September 10, 2017.

¹¹ [Turkey has investigated more than 700K people over Gülen links since failed coup: minister](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, July 12, 2024.

The Turkish government also confiscated properties with an estimated value of \$50 billion from businesspeople accused of ties to the movement.¹² Other widely reported rights violations against the group included arbitrary detention, torture and enforced disappearance.¹³

The extent of the crackdown has been such that in different opinions the UN Human Rights Council's Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD) said widespread or systematic imprisonment or other severe deprivation of liberty in violation of the rules of international law of individuals with alleged links to the Gülen movement may constitute crimes against humanity.¹⁴

While this report is not intended to focus on the controversy related to the coup, it should be noted that the Turkish government's narrative on it has been met with skepticism around the world, particularly in the West where high-ranking officials have openly questioned or rejected it.

These officials included Gilles de Kerchove, the EU's counterterrorism coordinator, who declared¹⁵ that Brussels did not share Turkey's views on the movement and that it would need to see "substantive" evidence to change its position, as well as Bruno Kahl, the head of Germany's Federal Intelligence Service (BND), who said¹⁶ Turkey had failed to convince them about Fethullah Gülen's purported involvement in the July 2016 coup.

EU member states, along with countries like the US, the UK and Canada, have since 2016 granted asylum to thousands of Gülen followers in what can only be construed

¹² [Persecutory Confiscation Amounting to Crimes Against Humanity: Case of the Gülen Group](#), Institute, November 2023.

¹³ ["Turkey's Transnational Repression: Abduction, Rendition and Forcible Return of Erdoğan Critics,"](#) Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 21, 2021.

¹⁴ [Opinions adopted by the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention at its eighty-eighth session](#), 24–28 August 2020, United Nations Human Rights Council, September 25, 2020.

[Opinions adopted by the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention at its ninety-sixth session](#), 27 March–5 April 2023, United Nations Human Rights Council, September 25, 2020, May 3, 2023,

[Opinions adopted by the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention at its eighty-eighth session](#), 24–28 August 2020, September 18, 2020.

¹⁵ ["EU's de Kerchove: we do not see Gülen movement as a terrorist organization,"](#) Turkish Minute, November 30, 2017.

¹⁶ ["German intelligence head: we are not convinced Gülen is behind coup attempt,"](#) Turkish Minute, March 18, 2017.

as recognition of the movement's persecution in Turkey and a rejection of the Turkish authorities' terrorism-related charges against the Gülen-affiliated individuals seeking asylum.

2.3. Hate Speech Against the Gülen Movement in Turkey

Following the corruption investigations of 2013, Fethullah Gülen and his followers became the archenemy of President Erdoğan. They were accused of establishing a parallel state structure and conducting a judicial coup against the government. A flurry of hate speech followed. The movement was dubbed the “parallel treason gang.”

For instance, in different speeches in 2014, Erdoğan, who only six months prior had publicly praised teachings of Fethullah Gülen and the worldwide network of schools and charity organizations,¹⁷ called the movement “...vampires feeding on blood,” “the virus called parallel structure,” “blood sucking leeches” and “of a perverted faith.”¹⁸



¹⁷ [Başbakan, Türkçe olimpiyatlarında konuştu](#), 24 TV, June 17, 2013.

¹⁸ [“Erdoğan's Vile Campaign of Hate Speech Case Study: Targeting of The Gülen Movement.”](#) May 22, 2017.

In 2016, the Turkish government coined the derogatory term “FETÖ” to refer to the Gülen movement, which stands for “Fethullah(ist) Terrorist Organization.”

International organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union and the Council of Europe have refrained from using the term other than in direct quotes from the Turkish government, in apparent recognition of its derogatory nature.

Yet, in Turkey, the term has since been normalized in official government statements and the mainstream media, most of which, according to international media watchdogs, operate under the direct control of Erdoğan and the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) elite.

In addition to the widespread use of the term, Erdoğan and pro-government circles have engaged in other ways of inciting hatred against the movement, which were examined in SCF’s 2017 case study.¹⁹

The case study identified 240 such hateful slurs and insults that singled out the movement. As usual, Erdoğan took the lead in advancing the dehumanization, describing the movement’s members as “terrorists,” “traitors,” “tumors” and “viruses.” He also declared that members “had no right to life.”

As of the time of writing, hateful rhetoric against the group remains prevalent in Turkey, spanning politics, bureaucracy, courts, traditional media, social media and academia.

¹⁹ Ibid.

3. FLOOD OF HATE SPEECH IN THE WAKE OF GÜLEN'S PASSING

Fethullah Gülen, the Muslim cleric who inspired the movement, passed away in a hospital in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, on the night of October 20, 2024. His death was announced shortly after midnight.

In Turkey, the news unleashed a new wave of hateful rhetoric against him and the movement, epitomizing the climate of dehumanization that allowed for the large-scale and systematic persecution of the movement at the hands of the Turkish authorities, which in several human rights reports has been described as potentially amounting to crimes against humanity.²⁰

Over the years, Erdoğan has reshaped Turkey's media landscape to favor his interests through various strategies, including shutting down media outlets, facilitating the acquisition of media brands by pro-government conglomerates, using regulatory authorities to apply financial pressure and intimidating journalists through lawsuits and imprisonment.²¹

As a result, Turkish media coverage about Gülen and the movement often reflects the official stance of the Turkish government, which portrays them as traitors and terrorists.

In his first comments about the death of Gülen, Erdoğan called him and the followers of his faith-based movement "traitors" and vowed to target them in Turkey and beyond its borders.

"Those who turned this nation's children into mindless slaves under the guise of service and charity have ended up with a dishonorable death, like other demons in human form throughout history" Erdoğan told fellow members of his party in a televised address.

"These traitors managed to evade Turkish justice despite our efforts, and this was thanks to the aid of their superiors," he said, implying the United States. "The breath

²⁰ ["Concluding Opinion of the Turkey Tribunal."](#) Turkey Tribunal, September 24, 2021.

²¹ [MFRR report reveals widespread media freedom violations in Turkey in first half of 2023](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 26, 2023.

of all our state institutions will undoubtedly be on the necks of this FETÖ hyena pack, no matter if they are abroad or in the most remote corners of the world.”²²

²² [Erdogan: Fetullah Gülen'in ölümü, insan kılıklı iblisler gibi onursuz bir ölüm oldu](#), Demirören Haber Ajansı, October 22, 2024.

[Erdogan says the cleric accused of orchestrating a 2016 coup attempt had a 'dishonorable death.'](#) Associated Press News, October 22, 2024.

3.1. Print Media

Due to the time difference between the US and Turkey, the news was not picked up by Turkey's print media on October 21 but was the primary news item that dominated the front pages of a majority of newspapers on October 22.

Most of the headlines expressly used vile and insulting language. In the interest of brevity, this section has been limited to nationwide newspapers with significant readership.

Hürriyet

The Hürriyet newspaper, owned by the pro-government Demirören business group, appeared with the headline “The Demon has died,” in a manner mimicking the terminology Erdoğan used after Gülen’s death.²³

On the top right corner of the front page, the publication said, “He lived as a traitor and a stateless [person].”

While the word “stateless” is normally used as a neutral legal term to refer to individuals who are not nationals of any state, in Turkey’s highly jingoistic political discourse, it typically has a pejorative meaning similar to the word “traitor.”

In this case, the word “stateless” presumably refers to Gülen’s self-imposed exile in the US since 1999.



²³ <https://www.gazeteoku.com/gazeteler/2024-10-22/hurriyet-gazetesi-manseti>

ÖZEL DERSLERE TALEPTE REKOR ARTIŞ
LGS HAZIRLIK VE YABANCI DİL İLK-SINIF

BİR GECE MASALI
a tv

EVLİLİK TEKLİFİ
GÜNAYDIN

Türkiye'nin en iyi gazetesi

SABAH

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HOLDİNG
ERDAL Özyağcılar, Tuğba Sunguroğlu, Caner Topcu ve Mustafa Üstündağ gibi birçok ünlü ismin yer aldığı dizide iş dünyasının acımasız kuralları içerisinde kendini bulmaya çalışan bir genç kızın hikâyesi anlatılıyor.

MUTFAK ATIKLARI CÖP DEĞİL GÜBRE OLACAK
EMİNE Erdoğan'ın öncülük ettiği Sınır Atık Hareketi kapsamında mutfağın atıkları gübreye dönüşüyor. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Külliyesi'ndeki çiçekler, atıklardan oluşan kompost gübreye hayat buluyor. 2'DE

VATANSIZ HAININ İBRET LİK SONU
Yıllarca halkın dini duygularını istismar etti. Kurduğu cinayet şebekesiyle istihbarat örgütlerinin masası oldu. **15 Temmuz ihanetinin elebaşı Gülen, 1999'da sığındığı ABD'de bir vatan haini olarak öldü**

ADEN BEBEK YENİ YUVASINDA BÜYÜYECEK
OSMANİYE'DE asrın felaketinde evleri yıkılan Çalış ailesi, TOKİ'nin yaptığı köy evine yerleşmenin mutluluğunu yaşıyor. Anne Betül Çalış, bir ay önce bebeği Aden'in doğumunun ardından taşındıklarını belirterek, "İki mutluluğu bir arada yaşadık" dedi. 2'DE

6 AYLIK BEBEGİ 'YENİDOĞAN' YAPTILAR
YENİDOĞAN Çetesi'nin korkunç skandallarını bitmiyor. 6 aylık bebek SGK'dan para almak için yenidoğanın yoğun bakıma yatırıldı. Doktor bulunmayan serviste kötü koşullarda yaşam mücadelesi veren bebek hayatını yitirdi. 8'DE

Kadim topraklar
MEZOPOTAMYA'DA, kara altın diyarıydık. Gün geçtikçe gelişen Batman'da tarım, hayvancılık ve turizm her geçen gün büyüyor. İnsanlar sokakta huzurun tadını çıkarıyor. 13'TE

TERÖRİSTBAŞI ÖLDÜ, ÖRGÜTTE GÜÇ SAVASI KIZIŞTI
251 NO'LU ODADA ÖLDÜ
Millî iradeyi savan vatan haini Gülen, Pen-silvanya'da öldü. Vatansız ölen milli irade düş-manının cesedi ABD'de gömülecek.

YÜREĞİMİZE SU SERPİLDİ
FETÖ elebaşının ölüm haberi 15 Temmuz şehit yakınlarını ve gazilerini sevince boğdu
Özel hareketçi şehit Gülşah Güler'in babası Hüseyin Güler: 251 şehidimizin eli mahşerde onun yakasın-da olacak. Gazî Vahide Selkatioglu: Her şehit için Allah ona bin azap versin inşallah. O kadar insanı baba-sız, annesiz, ailesiz, anneleri evlat-sız bıraktı. İkiz şehit polisler Ahmet ve Mehmet Oruç'un babası Ali Oruç: Hesap zamanı hesap veremeyenler-den olacak. Ateşlerde yansın. 10'DA

HEPSİ HESAP VERECEK
TERÖR örgütü elebaşı Gülen'in ölü-münün ardından Ankara'dan FETÖ ile mücadelenin hız kesmeyeceği ve karartılıkla süreci mesajı verildi. Güvenlik kaynaklarının açıkla-masında, rehavete kapılmadan milli iradeye savaşı açan bu sebekenin her bireyinin adalet önünde hesap vereceği vurgulandı. 11'DE

REHAVETE KAPILMADAN FETÖ İLE MÜCADELEYE DEVAM
OKAN MUDERRİSOĞLU YAZDI 4'TE

O ARTIK CEHENNEMİN ODUNU ÖLDÜ
HİLAL KAPLAN YAZDI 8'DE

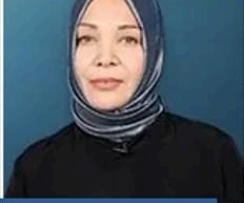
FETÖ'DE SİMDİ NELER YASANACAK?
MAHMUT ÖVÜR YAZDI 12'DE

The Sabah newspaper, owned by the Turkuvaz Media Group, whose CEO has family ties to President Erdoğan, published the headline “The exemplary end of a stateless traitor.”²⁴

Once again, the legal term “stateless” was used to convey a highly pejorative meaning to the Turkish-speaking reader.

²⁴ <https://www.gazeteoku.com/gazeteler/2024-10-22/sabah-gazetesi-manseti>

Hilal Kaplan, a columnist for the daily, published an article²⁵ titled “He has now become firewood for hell.”



HİLAL KAPLAN
Cehennem odunu

22 Ekim 2024, Salı

İletişim Bilgileri ▼



FETÖ elebaşı **cehenneme odun oldu**. Rahmetli **Kadir Mısıroğlu**'nun ta 1995'te dediği gibi, "**Bir avuç vatan toprağı nasip olmadan**" can verdi.

Mevlüt Tezel, another columnist, wrote²⁶ that “the world has gotten rid of a dirtbag.”



MEVLÜT TEZEL
Geberdi!

22 Ekim 2024, Salı

İletişim Bilgileri ▼



8 3 yaşındaki FETÖ lideri Fetullah Gülen, 1999'dan beri yaşadığı ABD'de geberdi. Dünya bir pislikten kurtulmuş oldu.

Türk halkına yaptığı kötülükleri düşününce bu pisiğin cezasını çekmeden, 83 yaşına kadar itina ile bakılarak, sıcak yatağında ölmesi hiç de adil olmadı.

²⁵ “[Cehennem odunu.](#)” Hilal Kaplan, Sabah, October 22, 2024.

²⁶ “[Geberdi!](#)” Mevlüt Tezel, Sabah, October 22, 2024.

The newspaper's columnists appeared eager to spread hate speech in their articles. In an opinion piece²⁹ published on October 22, columnist Tamer Korkmaz described Gülen as “a servant of the CIA, a secret cardinal of the Vatican, a lodge master for Freemasonry.”



Another columnist, İsmail Kılıçarslan, published an article³⁰ titled “Dajjals³¹ do not die, they change forms” on October 22 in which he referred to Gülen as a “pig” and a “dog of America.” He continued his hateful vitriol in another article³² that appeared on October 25, after Gülen’s funeral in Pennsylvania, where he referred to the ceremony as “A pig’s burial.”

²⁹ [“Kardinal Locaefendi: Mort!”](#) Tamer Korkmaz, Yeni Şafak, October 22, 2024.

³⁰ [“Deccaller ölmez, biçim değiştirirler.”](#) İsmail Kılıçarslan, Yeni Şafak, October 22, 2024.

³¹ Dajjal: the Islamic equivalent of the Christian Antichrist. a false messianic figure in Islamic eschatology foretold to come forth and reign before the end of time.

³² [“Bir domuzun çukur merasimi.”](#) İsmail Kılıçarslan, Yeni Şafak, October 26, 2024.

Eski Mourinho ARANIYOR
Fenerbahçe'ye büyük beklentilerle gelen Portekizli çalıştırıcı Jose Mourinho, Samsun beraberliğinin ardından hem demecileri hem ilk 11 tercihleriyle sorgulanmaya başladı. Lider Galatasaray'ın 8 puan gerisinde kalınması taraftarlarda hayal kırıklığı yarattı. Mourinho, etkisiz futbolcu çare bulamadığı, kadroyu çok fazla değiştirmedikleri yönünde eleştiriliyor. 20 SİYAH DOK SAN' da

Ses hızını aştı
Türk Havacılık ve Uzay Sanayii AŞ tarafından geliştirilen HÜRJET, Ankara'da ses hızı üzerinde ilk uçuşunu başarıyla gerçekleştirdi. Test uçuşunda HÜRJET'e bir adet F-16 savaş uçağı eşlik etti. 20 12' de

'Kadınlar Alya'yla bağ kuracak'
Cekimlerine Martin'de başlanan Kanal D'nin yeni dizisi 'Uzak Şehir' ile ekrana gelmeye hazırlanan Sinem Ünsal, canlandıracığı Alya karakterini anlattı: "Kariyer sahibi çocuğu uğruna Albora gibi bir aileye karşı durmaya cüret edebilecek kadar sağlam, güçlü ve saygısal bir kadın. Kadınlar Alya'yla bağ kuracak." 20 12' de

Savunma SAHA'ya indi
Tüm dünyada ürettiği veri ve milli ürünlerle adından söz ettiren Türk Savunma Sanayii, bu yıl en büyük sektörel buluşmasına hazırlanıyor. Sektörün dünyaya açılan kapısından biri olan Uluslararası Savunma, Havacılık ve Uzay Sanayi Fuarı-SAHF EXPO, 22-26 Ekim tarihleri arasında İstanbul Fuar Merkezi'nde ziyaretçilerini ağırlayacak. 20 13-14-16' da

www.milliyet.com.tr
22 Ekim 2024 Salı
Satış fiyatı 8 TL

BAŞIN SAĞ OLSUN
Asrın haini ÖLDÜ
T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı İstihbarat Başkanlığı
CIA
Türkiye topraklarının gelmiş geçmiş en büyük haini, FETÖ elebaşı Fetullah Gülen öldü. CIA bağlantısı birçok rapora yansıyan Gülen'in ölüm haberi terör örgütünde panik yarattı

Sert kavgalar yaşanabilir
Örgütteki güç savaşları hızlandı. Avrupa ayagını yöneten Abdullah Aymaz'ın, ABD ayagını yöneten Türkiye ve Mustafa Özcan'ın etkisini kırmak için yoğun çaba harcadığı ve "Avrupa ayagı olarak örgütün ayrılma" tehdidinde bulunduğu belirtiliyor. Güvenlik kaynakları, "Güçlü elinde tutmak isteyenler arasında suikastlara kadar varacak sert kavgalar yaşanabileceğini" değerlendiriyor. 20 10' da

Hepsi cinayet mahallinde
Türkiye'yi
Diyarbakır Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'na hazırlanan iddialar

Ekonomik dev için TÜRKİYE DOPİNGİ
»Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan katılacak
Dünya nüfusunun yüzde 40'ını ve GSYİH'sinin yüzde 25'ini oluşturan ülkeleri bir araya getiren BRICS grubu, Türkiye'nin de katılımıyla büyümeye hazırlanıyor. Kazan'da 22-24 Ekim tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilecek olan zirvede Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'ın üyelik başvurularının ele alınması bekleniyor. Zirvenin uluslararası siyasette büyük ses getirmesi beklenirken, Cumhurbaşkanı Tayyip Erdoğan da Rusya'nın davetlisi olarak Kazan'daki toplantıya katılıyor. 20 10' da

Toplumsal barışı hep birlikte sağlayacağız
CHP lideri Özal, eski HDP Eş Genel Başkanı Selahattin Demirtaş'ı cezaevinde ziyaret etti. Özal, "İlk 100 yılda hatalarımız, eksiklerimiz varsa hepsini hep birlikte onaracağız ve toplumsal barışı hep birlikte sağlayacağız" dedi. FETÖ elebaşının ölümüne ilişkin ise Özal, "Bu tehlike bitti" gibi bir

Hamilik etti ve kullandı
● MIT'in 1991 tarihli çalışmasında Türkiye'deki CIA ajanlarına, FETÖ üyelerinin yardım ettiği bilgisi yer alıyordu.
● MIT Dış İstihbarat Daire Başkanı Nuri Güneş, 2010 tarihli kitabında, FETÖ'nün Türk Cumhuriyetleri'ndeki okullarında diplomatik pasaportlu CIA ajanlarına İngilizce öğretmekle görevlendirildiğini yazdı.
● Global Research'in 2017 tarihli raporunda, örgütün 1982 yılından beri CIA ile ilgili içinde olduğu ilişkiyi eleştirdi.
● Gülen'in ABD'de oturması için açtığı dava dosyasına konan referans mektuplarından 4'ü, CIA'nın üst düzey görevlilerine ait. 20 10' da

Siyasilerden 'Mücadele süreci' vurgusu

Milliyet, another pro-government newspaper owned by the Demirören group, came out with the headline "Condolences, CIA," echoing the conspiracy theory according to which Gülen and the movement are an intelligence apparatus designed to infiltrate and subvert Turkey on behalf of American interests.³³

³³ <https://www.gazeteoku.com/gazeteler/2024-10-22/milliyet-gazetesi-manseti>



Yeni Akit, a daily known for its ultraconservative line, published the headline "Traitor dead."³⁴ The front page of the newspaper featured commentary accusing Gülen of "befriending Jews and Christians," presumably referring to the movement's interfaith dialogue activities.

Yeni Akit's columnists also wrote pieces that condemned Gülen's dialogue with non-Muslims as well as his past initiatives to bridge the gaps between secular individuals and the religious in Turkey.

³⁴ <https://www.gazeteoku.com/gazeteler/2024-10-22/yeni-akit-gazetesi-manseti>

Türkiye'yi ve insanları çok seviyoruz

POSTA

TÜRKİYEİN EN SEVİLEN GAZETESİ

22 EKİM 2024 SALI HER GÜN 15 TL

RUHLARI ŞAD OLSUN

15 Temmuz 2016 akşamı yaşanan darbe girişiminde FETÖ'cü Tuğgeneral Semih Terzi, Ankara'da Özel Kurvetler Komutanlığı'na ele geçirmeye çalışmıştı. Astsubay Ömer Halis Demir, kaptan girişiminde Semih Terzi'yi öldürmüştü, kendisi de açılan ateşe sehit olmuştur. Darbenin seyrini değiştiren bu kahramanlık sonrası FETÖ'cüler geri çekilmek zorunda kalmıştı. Darbecilerin uçaklarla bombaladığı Polis Özel Harekat Merkezi'nde de Cennet Yiğit ve Kübra Doğanay sehit olmuştur.

ATEŞİ BOL OLSUN

Hakkında hazırlanan iddianamede "Bütün terör örgütlerinden daha tehlikeli bir yapı" olduğu belirtilen FETÖ'nün elebaşı Fetullah Gülen, Amerika'da öldü. Dini duyguları sömürerek milyarlarca dolar elde eden, devleti ele geçirme planıyla 15 Temmuz darbe girişiminde 252 vatandaşımızın canına kast eden Gülen'in ölümünün ardından herkes aynı şeyi söyledi: ATEŞİ BOL OLSUN

45 AYRI DAVANIN 1 NÜMARALI SANIĞI

Türkiye, 1999 yılında ABD'ye kaçan ve 'kırmızı' kategoride aranan Fetullah Gülen'in idaresi için 7 kez habsuruda bulunmuştur. Gülen, 15 Temmuz darbe girişimi bosta olmak üzere 45 davada 1 numaralı sanıktı.

DEMOKRASİ NÖBETLERİ

15 Temmuz 2016 darbe girişiminin ardından halk sokaklara çıkıp ve FETÖ'cülerle canları pahasına mücadele etmişti. 252 kişinin sehit olduğu o geceden sonra halk uzun süre meydanlarda, demokrasi nöbeti tutmuştu. O zamanki adıyla Bogazici Köprüsü'nde çekilen bu fotoğraf da nöbetlerin sembolü olmuştur.

FETÖ İLE MÜCADELE KESİNTİSİZ SÜRECEK

İçişleri Bakanı Ali Yerlikaya sosyal medyadan açıkladığı yazdı, Yerlikaya, "Milletimizin iradesine darbe vurmaya kalkışan hükümetin üzerine ateş açan FETÖ ile mücadelemiz aza ve kararlılıkla devam edecektir. 15 Temmuz 2016'dan bugüne kadar FETÖ'ye yönelik 178 bin 406 operasyon gerçekleştirildi. Bu demyapacağız, duraksanmayacağız. Eşi kati FETÖ'yle mücadelemiz aza sürdüreceğiz" dedi.

KARANLIK ÖRGÜTÜN LİDERİ ÖLMÜŞTÜR

Düşleri Bakanı Hakan Fidan, "FETÖ örgütü elebaşının ölümü istihbarat kaynaklarımızda da doğrulandı. Bu karanlık örgütün lideri ölmüştür" dedi. Fidan, "Bu örgüt, bilerece geçimizi kutsal değerler adına kandanlık ortaya koymuştur. Bu ölüm vesilesiyle artık onların üzerindeki büyüyen kalkanın olması lazım ve kendilerini gittikleri ihanet dolu bu yanlış yoldan vazgeçmeye davet ediyoruz" diye konuştu.

20 EKİM'DE ÖLDÜ

Türkiye'den kaçtığı 1999 yılından beri ABD'nin Pensilvanya eyaletinde yaşayan Fetullah Gülen'in sağlık durumunun kötü olduğu biliniyordu. Gülen'in, "Ölüm Cennet'i bekliyor. Kara kurtuldu" diye Cennet Türkiye'ye, örgüte para yardımlarının kesilmesi için Gülen'in daha önce çekilen videolarını yayınlamış gibi yayımladığı ortaya çıktı. Türkiye, hem Gülen'i hem de örgütün parasını yönetebilmek için örgüt elebaşını Pensilvanya'daki çiftlikten kaçırıp, damadının evine götürmüştü.

CENAZE KAÇIRILABİLİR

Gülen'in ölümü örgüt içinde kaos yarattı. Halen Pensilvanya St. Luke Hastanesi'nde tutulan cenazenin az sayıda insanın katılması ile Cennet Türkiye'nin damadının evinin araziye demedilmesi planlanıyor. Cennet Türkiye'ye, cenazenin kendi kontrolünde bir an önce defnedilmesini istersen, örgütün yasaları Avrupa'da gelecek kişilerin beklenmesini istedi. Cennet Türkiye'nin, bu yüzden göstermelik bir cenaze töreni düzenleyip, cenazeyi kaçıracağı konusunda haberler de ortaya atıldı.

ÖRGÜTTE SUİKAST KORKUSU

Gülen ölünce kimin başa geçeceği, örgütün sahip olduğu parayı kimin yöneteceği ile ilgili büyük kavgalar yaşandığı daha önce ortaya çıkmıştı. Paranın büyük bölümünün kontrolünde, Cennet Türkiye'ye olduğu ifade edildi. Örgütün Avrupa yaygını yöneten Abdullah Aymaz'ın, ABD yaygını yöneten Cennet Türkiye'ye ve yamındaki Mustafa Öcalan'ın etkisini kurmak için yoğun çaba sarf ettiği belirtildi. Örgüt içinde suikastlara kadar varacak sert kavgalar beklendiği kaydedildi. ■ 8'de

YENİDOĞAN ÇETESİ EYEMEN ALI'NIN DE HAYATINI KARARTTI

57 GÜN YOĞUN BAKIM

İstanbul Esenyurt'ta yaşayan Ayşe K. (34), 2020'de doğum sancısı tuturca ambulansa edilen alını. Eve yakın iki devlet hastanesi yerine "Yenidoğan Çetesi'nin meskeni tuttuğu Özel Reyap Hastanesi'ne götürüldü. Prematüre olarak doğan oğlu Eyemen Ali, bu hastanede 57 gün yoğun bakımda tutuldu, entübe edildi.

BAKIMSIZLIK VE İHMAL

Eyemen Ali, hastanede tam dört ay kaldı. Taburcu edildiğinde yüzde 90 engelliydi. Ayşe K., "Çetemin elebaşı Fatma baba hergiz hatas oluyorsa söyler. Çocuğumu bir an önce hastaneden göndermek istiyordum. Ama şimdi anıyorum ki bakımsızlık ve ihmalden dolayı Eyemen'in hayatını kararttı" dedi.

BASLARI YİNE DERTTE

"Kara para aklama, 'süt' örgütü kurma, 'vergi kaama' suçlarından 9 ay hapis gattıktan sonra ağır hasta tahliye edilen Dilan Polat ile kardeşi Sıla Doğu'nun bir ağıncı mekanda vesetiler buldu. Doğru poz bastırma dert oldu. Sivilce, Polat ve Doğu hastanede 'hayatısa hareketler' suçundan soruşturma başladı. Dün gıtaaltına alınan iki kardeş, sevk edildikleri mahkemeye, aili kontrol partisi soruşt. bekledi.

O HASTANELER ARTIK HİZMET VERMEYECEK

"Yenidoğan Çetesi'ne çalışan ve fahası iptal edilen hastanelerden 7'sinin yatan hastaların sevk edilmesinin ardından hizmetlerine son verildi. Bu hastaneler mübirlendi, tabelaları indirildi. Özel Reyap İstanbul Hastanesi ile Özel Birinci Hastanesi de nakli mümkün olmayan bazı yoğun bakım hastalarının tedavilerinin tamamlanmasından ardından mübalececek.

251 NÜMARALI ODADA ÖLDÜ

Fetullah Gülen, durumu ağırlaşınca Pensilvanya St. Luke Hastanesi'ne kaldırıldı. Bu hastanenin 251 numaralı odasında kaldı. Gülen'in hastanede kaldığı süreç yamında değişimi refakatçilerin bulunduğu öğrenildi. Birçok kişi de bu refakatçileri görmeye geldi. Cenaze hastanenin morgunda tutuluyor. Ziyaretçilerin morga girmesine izin verilmiyor. Fetullah Gülen'in bir araç içindeki son fotoğrafının da bu hastaneye gıtılarken çekildiği sanılıyor.

Bu fotoğraf geçen ay çekilmişti.

SURİYELİLERE YIKACAKLARDI

Diyanet'te 21 Ağustos'ta kaybolan ve 8 Eylül'de derede cansız bedenine ulaşılan 8 yaşındaki Nare Gülen'in öldürülmesine ilişkin soruşturmada, iddianame tamamlandı. İddianamede, Nare'nin kurstun dönüşü saatte evde öldürülen belirtilen tutuklu emca Salim, anne Yücel ve ağabey Enes Gülen ile İbrahim Bahtıyar hakkında 'istihbarat kullama' suçundan ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis istendi.

FIKİR VE EYLEM BİRLİĞİ

İddianamede, sanıkların fikir ve eylem birlikteliği içerisinde Nare'nin boğarak öldürüldüğü ve olayın aydınlatılmasında engellemeye çalıştıkları vurgulandı. İddianamede, ailenin soruşturmayı cadra yaşayan Suriyelilere yönlendirmeye çalıştıkları ifade edildi. Ayrıca anne Gülen'in henüz ceset bulunamamış olmasına rağmen kızını öldürdünden edere emin olduğu ve oğlu Enes'i koruma çabası içinde bulunduğu tespitine yer verildi.

Posta, a newspaper owned by the pro-government Demirören group, broke the news with a headline that can be translated as "May he burn in hell."³⁵

³⁵ The original Turkish of the sentence is "Ateşi bol olsun" which literally translates as "May his flames be abundant." This sentence, which is frequently seen in the section about social media posts, has been translated into English as "May he burn in hell" for clarity.

Zalimler de ölü! Hangi tıp çetesi? İşte, Fetullah Gülen'in vasiyeti! İstihbarat raporundaki FETÖ! Filistin'e makyaj malzemesi mi?

Rahmi TURAN yazdı, 11'de Soner YALÇIN yazdı, 10'da Saygı ÖZTÜRK yazdı, 12'de Aytaç ERKİN yazdı, 14'te Murat MURATOĞLU yazdı, 7'de

SÖZCÜ'DEN 4 SAYFA KİTAP EKİ...
YÜZYILLARIN LİDERİ ATATÜRK
Gazeteci Mustafa Balbay'ın kaleminden Avustralya: Çanakkale unutulmaz ve Amerikan Büyükelçisi'nin gözünden Çanakkale ve Atatürk'ü soluksuz okuyacaksınız. Kaçırmayın...
4'ÜNCÜ SAYI BUGÜN SÖZCÜ'DE...

YIL: 18 SAYI: 6345 22 EKİM 2024 SALI 15 TL

#SÖZCÜ SUSARSA TÜRKİYE SUSAR

Hem iktidar ortağıyken, hem sonrasında ülkeye kötülük yaptı
HAINDİ, HAMİSİNİN KUÇAĞINDA ÖLDÜ
Adı; Fetullah Gülen. Temiz duyguları sömürüp palazlandı, devlete sızdı ABD'nin kullanışlı aparatı oldu. Kumpaslar kurdu. Hesap vermeden gitti

1999'da Türkiye'den ABD'ye kaçtı. İhanet bebeklerini Pensilvanya'daki bu malikâneden yönetti.

15 Temmuz 2016'da en kanlı hamlesini yaptı. Hainler milletlin tankını, uçlarını millete karşı kullandı.

Ergenekon kumpasının mimarıydı. O kumpasın ilk duruşması 20 Ekim 2008'de görüldü. Hain Feto, adeta ilahi bir işaret gibi 16 yıl sonra aynı gün son nefesini verdi.

İHANET örgütü FETÖ'nün temelini 1964'te Edirne'de attı, İzmir'de büyüttü. Eğitime el attı. Topladığı bağışlarla karanlık yapıyı örgüte çevirdi. Sümkü mendiini öpen beyri yıkanmış elemanları emniyet, yargı ve orduya sızdı. AKP'nin ilk yıllarında balayı yaşadı.

251 ŞEHİDİN KANI ELİNDE
İKTİDAR desteğini arkasına alıp milli orduya kumpas kurdu. Referandum sonrası yargıyı ele geçirdi. 17-25 Aralık'ta savcı-polis darbesiyle iktidarla ortaklığı bitirdi. 15 Temmuz'daki hain kalkışmayla Meclis'i bombaladı, memleketi kan gölüne çevirdi.

NEFRETLE ANILACAK...
TÜRKİYE'ye tarihinin en acı günlerini yaşatırken, Amerika'da sefa sürüyordu. Son bir yılda sağlığı bozuldu. Önceki gün organ yetmezliğinden 83 yaşında öldü. İşlediği onca suç rağmen ABD'den bir türlü alınmadı, hesap da sorulmadı. Örgütü hâlâ tehlike...

Tanık İŞİK'ın haberi 9'da

SÖZCÜ, BU MANŞETLERLE UYARDI, İKTİDAR DUYMADI

FETHULLAH DÜĞMEYE BASTI
TARİHİ: 23 MART 2008
uz bahane!

Ergenekon soruşturmasının ardında Fethullah var
TARİHİ: 20 KASIM 2008
DA MİLLETİ DİNLEYİN

TSK'nın komuta kademesinde FETÜ'cü paşalar var
TARİHİ: 3 MAYIS 2016
Alıhevi beraatı

10 yıl önce siz Fethullah'a 'Hocafendi' derken biz, 'FETÖ' diyorduk!
TARİHİ: 21 TEMMUZ 2016
APO FETÖ İTİFAKI!

Yayın hayatımıza başladığımız ilk günden bu yana FETÖ tehdidinesine sürekli dikkat ettik. F Tipi Yapılanma, Fetullahçılar, cemaat diyerek emniyete, eğitime, yargıya ve orduya sızdıklarını yazdık. Belgelerini ortaya koyduk. Ancak ülkeyi yönetenler, "Hocafendi" diyerek haline övgü yağdırdı. Ne istediye verdi. Göz göre göre gelen ihaneti görmedi. FETÖ ile etkin mücadele geç başladı, ağır bedel ödendi.

Siyasi ayak 8 yıldır ortaya çıkarılmadı!
2016'daki ihanetten sonra her kademe de operasyon yapıldı. FETÖ'cüler ayıklandı. Sadece siyasilere dokunulmadı. Öyle ki, Meclis Komisyonu'nun darbe raporu bile görüşülmedi.

Başak KAYA'nın haberi 9'da

Hateful rhetoric was not limited to government-controlled newspapers. It was also used by publications known for their editorial lines critical of the government such as the Sözcü newspaper, whose headline read "He was a traitor, he died on his protector's lap."³⁶

By protector, the daily presumably referred to the US, where Gülen had resided since 1999.

A subheading read "He will be remembered with hatred."

³⁶ <https://www.gazeteoku.com/gazeteler/2024-10-22/sozcu-gazetesi-manseti>

ULUS DEVLET YURTTAŞLIK VE DİL BİRLİĞİ
MUSTAFA HÜSNÜ BOZKURT 2'de

Cumhuriyet
SALI 22 EKİM 2024 100. YIL SAYI: 38172 KURUCUSU YUNUS NADİ (1804-1945) BAŞYAZARLARI NADİR NADİ (1945-1991) İLHAN SELÇUK (1992-2010) FİYAT 16 TL

BU YIL KIŞ YİNE ZOR GEÇECEK: ZAM FIRTINASI
9'da

Cumhuriyet düşmanı FETÖ lideri Gülen, tarihin karanlık sayfalarında yerini aldı

Tehlike geçmedi

DEVLETE SIZDI, KANA BULADI
DİNİ kullanarak Cumhuriyeti yıkmak amacıyla devlet kurumlarına sızan, AKP'yi iktidara taşıyıp ortaklık yapan, kumpaslarla aydınları ve yurtseverleri katleden, 15 Temmuz darbe girişimiyle ülkeyi kana bulayan FETÖ elebaşı Fethullah Gülen, 1999'da kaçtığı ABD'de öldü.

■ **Özgür Özet:** Bu sinsi örgüte karşı herkes tetikte olmalı. Yargıya hesap vermesini istedik.
■ **İlhan Cihaner:** ABD'nin ajandasına uygun çalıştı. Örgüt dağılıp yaklaşımları iyimser olur.
■ **Sadettin Tantani:** Ülkeye yararlı olabilecek çok sayıda genci yok ettiler.
■ **Yankı Bağcıoğlu:** Önce TSK'yi daha sonra devleti ele geçirmeyi amaçladılar.
■ **Barış Terkoğlu:** Gülen'in altında yönetimi sürdüren bir konsey var.
■ **Mine Kırıkkanat:** Vatikan'ın "mızrak ucu" diye tanımlanan Opus Dei örgütünün kopyası.
» ÇAĞDAŞ BAYRAKTAR / TAYLAN GÜLKANAT 4-5'te

CUMHURİYETİ KORUDULAR
Türkan Saylan, İlhan Selçuk, Ali Tatar

ÖRGÜT Ergenekon, Balyoz, İstanbul ve İzmir Askeri Casusluk, 28 Şubat, ÇYDD, İnternet Andıcı, Poyrazköy, Kafes gibi kumpaslarını ve son olarak da 15 Temmuz darbe girişimini düzenledi. FETÖ, başta gazetemizin başyazarı İlhan Selçuk ve Türkan Saylan olmak üzere Ali Tatar, Cem Aziz Çakmak, Kuddusi Okkır'ın yaşamını yitirmesinin sorumlusuydu. » 4'te

FETHULLAH ÖLDÜ; FETÖ/PDY YAŞIYOR!
EMPERYALİZMİN, din ve mezhep öğelerinin Türkiye ve Türk/İslam dünyasındaki temsilcisi dışarıdan ilkokul diplomalı vaiz Gülen öldü... Ama kurduğu dinsel/mezhepsel nitelikli FETÖ/PDY, etkinliğini sürdürüyor.
» EMRE KONGAR 2'de

SOĞUK SAVAŞ AYGITI...
GÜLEN'İN adını ilk olarak Komünizmle Mücadele Derneği'nde görürüz. Bu dernek; ABD egemenliği'nin Türkiye'de kökleştirilmesi, sosyal uyanışın önüne geçilmesi için oluşturulmuş karanlık gladyo örgütünün bir ayağı sayılabilir.
» İŞİK KANSU 4'te

50 YILLIK İKTİDAR SEVDASININ SONU
ASLINDA bugün bal gibi ülkeyi birlikte yönetiyor olabildikleri. Aralana iktidarı kim olacak nifakı girmeseydi. Oraya kimin oturacağı konusu şüphesiz zamana gelince ancak şiddet kullanılarak çözümlenebilirdi. Nitekim öyle de oldu.
» ORHAN BURSALI 6'da

TERÖR, OPERASYON, CASUSLUK ÖRGÜTÜ!
1990'LI yıllarda art arda Atatürkçü aydınların öldürülmesi 2000'li yılların iktidarı içindi. BOP operasyon ayağı FETÖ, siyasi ayağı AKP idi. BOP sürüyor mu? Evet... O zaman FETÖ'nün yerine konacak örgüte gereksinim de sürüyor!
» MUSTAFA BALBAY 5'te

SEVGİLİSİYDİ, ŞEYTAN OLDU
NAKŞİBENDİ Saidi Kürdi'nin öğrencileri arasında siyasete yönelttilen, devleti ele geçirmek için kodlanan Gülen, amacı için siyaseti ve siyasetçileri de kullandı. Siyasette de "takıyye"nin yanı sıra kendisini olduğundan farklı, sevimli göstermenin adiydi Gülen... » SERTAÇ EŞ 4'te

Cumhuriyet, another daily with a relatively government-critical and secular nationalist readership, appeared with the headline "The danger is not over," presumably referring to the idea that Gülen's sympathizers are still present in Turkish society, in an apparent call for the continuation of their persecution.³⁷

The paper's front page also featured a quote from columnist Mine Kırıkkanat, who described the Gülen movement as "a copy of the Opus Dei, which is a spearhead of the Vatican."³⁸ This representation of the movement as an entity secretly serving the interests of the Vatican is widespread in Turkey's current political climate, amounting to a two-pronged demonization targeting the movement as well as Christians, who are a considerable minority in the country.

³⁷ <https://www.gazeteoku.com/gazeteler/2024-10-22/cumhuriyet-gazetesi-manseti>

³⁸ [Gazetemiz ABD'de ölen terör örgütü lideri Gülen tehlikesine yıllarca dikkat çekti: Cumhuriyet 'FETÖ' dedi](#), Cumhuriyet, October 22, 2024.

3.2. TV Channels

TV stations echoed the print media's vile language in their coverage of Gülen's death. As with newspapers, the hateful rhetoric was not limited to pro-government channels.



Cansu Canan Özgen, a news anchor for the tv100 channel, used³⁹ the words “May he burn in hell.” Ece Üner, a news anchor for the government-critical Halk TV, repeated the same commentary.⁴⁰

The remarks made on Turkey's news programs drew criticism from journalists Dimitris Ikononou and Akis Pavlopoulos in neighboring Greece who accused⁴¹ their Turkish colleagues of having lost professional integrity by disregarding the ethical principles of journalism.

The radical tone adopted by the pro-government media was even in stark contrast to that of a sworn enemy of Gülen, leader of the left-wing nationalist Patriotic Party Doğu Perinçek, a government ally in the post-coup crackdown.

³⁹ [“tv100 programcısı Cansu Canan Özgen, FETÖ elebaşının ölümünü böyle duyurdu: ‘ateşi bol olsun’.”](#) tv100, October 21, 2024.

⁴⁰ [“Ece Üner Fethullah Gülen’i övenleri açıkladı.”](#) Halk TV, October 21, 2024.

⁴¹ [“Yunan gazeteciler, ekranda Ece Üner’le dalga geçti: ‘ne fena, ne kötü...’.”](#) Vele News, October 23, 2024.

When asked on live TV, Perinçek refrained from using hateful language, saying, "May Allah forgive his shortcomings, may Allah forgive his sins."

Shocked at the response she received, news anchor Kübra Par interrupted him to say, "We say may he burn in hell but you say the opposite." Perinçek didn't change his position and replied, "I cannot say [otherwise] because we do not have the authority to send someone to hell."

The hateful rhetoric continued during the coverage of Gülen's funeral on October 24.



CNN Türk, the Turkish offshoot of CNN International and owned by the pro-government Demirören group, referred⁴² to the funeral as a "corpse [burying] ritual," using the Turkish equivalent of the word "ritual" in a way that implies heresy.

The coverage sparked protests on social media, where users, including Turkish journalists, academics and human rights advocates, voiced outrage over the insensitivity of CNN Türk's language.⁴³

Professor Mehmet Efe Çaman, one of the thousands of academics who were fired from their jobs in Turkey by government decrees in the aftermath of the abortive

⁴² ["FETÖ'cülerin ceset ayını."](#) CNN Türk, October 24, 2024.

⁴³ ["Outrage erupts over CNN Türk's coverage of Gülen funeral for crossing ethical boundaries,"](#) Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 26, 2024.

putsch in 2016, said on X that CNN Türk's language was "not only biased and propagandist but also pathologically insensitive."

Lawyer Osman Zerey also condemned the coverage, saying it demonstrated "hostility toward religious people" and criticized the station for disregarding "the sacredness of funeral rites in Islam."

Others called on CNN International to hold its Turkish affiliate accountable, arguing that the content violated journalistic ethics.

A chorus of voices from critical media in exile and online commentators pointed out that CNN Türk's framing of the funeral appeared to even go beyond the government's longstanding narrative on Gülen.

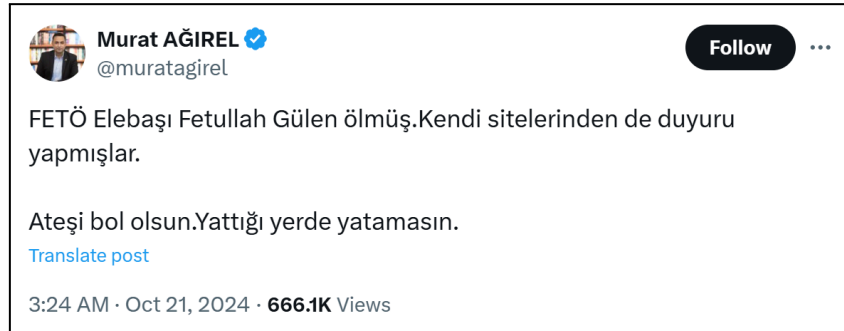
Critics also pointed out that CNN Türk's coverage appeared to target not only Gülen but also the broader Turkish society's religious sentiments.

Calls mounted for CNN's parent company in the United States to address the actions of its Turkish affiliate. Social media users reached out to CNN International, asking it to either revoke the Turkish franchise's license or issue a formal rebuke. So far, CNN International has not responded publicly to the incident.

3.3. Social Media

Gülen's death also unleashed a wave of hateful remarks on Turkish social media. This report will limit itself to comments posted by prominent public figures for brevity and relevance.

Government-critical journalist Murat Ağirel wrote "May he burn in hell."⁴⁴



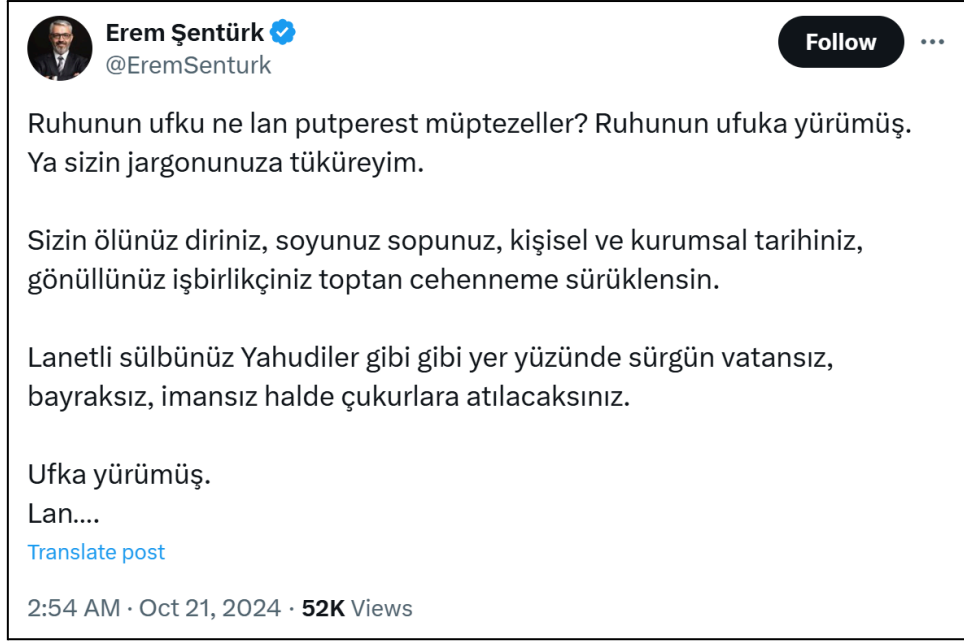
Journalist Erem Şentürk posted a message⁴⁵ calling Gülen "the Netanyahu of Turkey" and "pagan bastard." In another post he said,⁴⁶ "Just like your cursed Jewish lineage, you will be thrown into pits as stateless, flagless and faithless exiles," adding antisemitism to his hate speech against the movement.



⁴⁴ <https://x.com/muratagirel/status/1848264033188696147>

⁴⁵ <https://x.com/EremSenturk/status/1848634472888979689>

⁴⁶ <https://x.com/EremSenturk/status/1848256566056681535>



Another comment conflating Gülen and Israel was made by pro-government journalist Taha Hüseyin Karagöz, who wrote a post mentioning Israeli cabinet minister Israel Katz and said, “Come get your murderous and terrorist friend.”⁴⁷

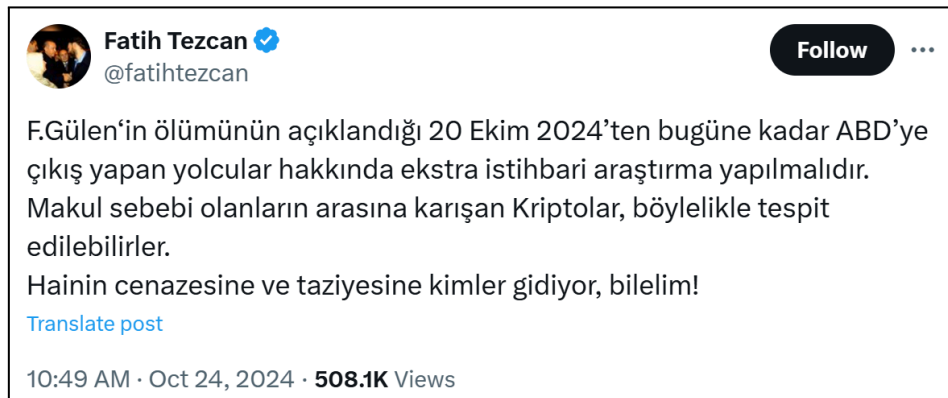


⁴⁷ <https://x.com/thhsynkrgz/status/1848280237349523903>

Another journalist, Nisa Çaydan, called⁴⁸ Gülen “a servant and a stooge of the CIA.”



On October 24, radical conservative commentator Fatih Tezcan wrote,⁴⁹ “There should be an intelligence probe into those who have traveled to the US since Gülen’s death was announced on October 20, 2024. That way, the hidden [Gülen followers] can be smoked out by discounting those with a legitimate reason to travel. Let us find out who is going to the traitor's funeral!”



⁴⁸ <https://x.com/Nisanurcaydan/status/1848322791528866168>

⁴⁹ <https://x.com/fatihtezcan/status/1849463194546241760>

During the funeral service, which was held in New Jersey's Skylands Stadium, Tezcan addressed Turkey's intelligence chief, İbrahim Kalın, and said, "Are we not involved in this? They say that the stands have weak supports. They all should pass away together," in a thinly veiled call for a deadly intelligence operation in the stadium.⁵⁰



Journalist Furkan Bölükbaşı shared⁵¹ a picture from Gülen's funeral with the caption: "A pit to hell has been dug for Fetullah Gülen's funeral."



⁵⁰ <https://x.com/fatihtezcan/status/1849506297667797321>

⁵¹ <https://x.com/furkancerkes/status/1849393257949597711>

3.4. Government Pressure on Moderate Voices

Gülen's death triggered a new wave of censorship by Erdoğan's government, aimed at silencing any commentary that deviated from the official narrative. Ebubekir Şahin, president of Turkey's Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), said media outlets' broadcasts about Gülen were being closely followed, warning that they could face sanctions if they praised the late cleric.⁵²

"No outlet can air broadcasts that praise terrorism or terrorists," he said.



Journalist Aysin Komitgan

Aysin Komitgan, editor-in-chief of the Bursa'da Bugün news website, was detained and subsequently fired from her job after she conveyed condolences for Turkish-Islamic scholar Fethullah Gülen during a live broadcast on the outlet's YouTube channel. "What can we say? May he rest in heaven," she said. Her comments prompted the Bursa Chief Public Prosecutor's Office to launch an investigation into Komitgan on accusations of "disseminating terrorist propaganda."⁵³

Following Komitgan's remarks RTÜK imposed a fine on the news website amounting to 5 percent of their monthly revenue.⁵⁴

Similarly, journalist Kazım Güleçyüz, the editor-in-chief of the Yeni Asya newspaper, was arrested in late October on accusations of disseminating terrorist propaganda for conveying condolences for Gülen.⁵⁵ Even though Güleçyüz's social media

⁵² [Islamic scholar's death triggers new wave of online censorship in Turkey](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 23, 2024.

⁵³ [Turkish journalist detained, fired from job after expression of condolences for Gülen on TV](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 22, 2024.

⁵⁴ [RTÜK fines media outlet over Gülen condolence message](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, November 8, 2024.

⁵⁵ ["Editor-in-Chief of Turkish daily arrested for Gülen condolence message."](#) Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 25, 2024.

message did not contain any praise of Gülen, his avoidance of using pejorative language and echoing the Turkish government narrative against the cleric sufficed to trigger terrorism-related accusations against him.



"The reckoning for the accusations against him will now take place in the hereafter," Güleçyüz's message read. "Once again, we express our hope that the injustices committed under the pretext of these accusations, which have caused the suffering of so many people, will come to an end. May Allah treat him with mercy and justice. Our condolences to the community."

On October 22, Interior Minister Ali Yerlikaya announced on X that the cybercrime department of the Turkish National Police identified and was investigating 177 social media users who allegedly spread propaganda for "FETÖ" or shared posts praising Gülen or his movement following the cleric's death.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ <https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1848666754228076880>



Ali Yerlikaya ✓

@AliYerlikaya



Siber Suçlarla Mücadele Daire Başkanlığımızca; FETÖ elebaşının ölümü sonrası sosyal medya platformlarında FETÖ propagandası yapan, övücü nitelikte paylaşımda bulunan ve taziye niteliğinde paylaşımlar yaptığı değerlendirilen 177 sosyal medya hesap yöneticisi tespit edilmiştir.

Siber Suçlarla Mücadele, Terörle Mücadele ve Güvenlik Daire Başkanlıklarımızca bu hesap yöneticileri hakkında işlem başlatılmıştır.

Siber suç ve suçlularla mücadele için 7/24 sanal devriyelerimiz görevinin başında !

[#TürkiyeninHuzuru](#) 🇹🇷

[Translate post](#)

6:04 AM · Oct 22, 2024 · 1.2M Views

Although the minister did not reveal the list of social media users who were being investigated due to their messages about Gülen, his announcement came on the same day that some 200 Turks, mostly journalists, and a number of news outlets found their X accounts blocked in Turkey.

Some of these outlets and people were journalists in exile, known for their critical reporting on the Turkish government, such as Cevheri Güven, Sevinç Özarslan, Adem Yavuz Arslan and Emre Uslu; the Bold Medya news website, established by journalists in exile; journalist Amberin Zaman; former national footballer Hakan Şükür; and the news website of the Islamist Yeni Asya newspaper.

Some of these accounts posted messages of condolence for Gülen or praise for his movement following the cleric's death, but others did not.

Güven and Özarslan, who both had to flee Turkey to avoid government persecution in the aftermath of the coup attempt, told the Turkish Minute news website that they had received letters from X on Tuesday informing them about the blocking of their accounts in Turkey in line with a decision from an Ankara court and based on a request from the Turkish Telecommunications Authority (BTK).

The journalists said unlike previous notifications when they were informed of court decisions related to their X accounts, there were no details about the court rulings as to why their accounts were being blocked.

“As far as I can see, they blocked [the accounts of] everyone who avoided using the term ‘FETÖ’ or did not swear [at Gülen] over his death,” Güven said.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ [Islamic scholar's death triggers new wave of online censorship in Turkey](#), Stockholm Center for Freedom, October 23, 2024.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF HATE SPEECH AGAINST THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

Based on the hate speech that followed Gülen's death alone, it is possible to identify certain patterns that characterize the wider climate of hatred targeting the movement in Turkey.

4.1. Vile Language and Dehumanization

Much of the coverage and commentary used vile language and adopted stances that denied Gülen and his sympathizers basic human dignity.

For instance, some media outlets even refused to refer to Gülen's funeral as what it was and instead insisted on presenting it as some sort of heretical ritual.

The language used was typically pejorative and insulting, with most of the comments including words such as "hell," "demon," "traitor" and "stateless."

As in many other cases of hate speech paving the way to atrocities, these remarks reinforced the prevailing climate of dehumanization that since 2016 has helped justify the Turkish state authorities' widespread and systematic mistreatment of the members of the Gülen movement.

4.2. Association with Other Identities Subject to Common Prejudice

As has been the case since the 2016 coup attempt, Gülen and his followers were widely associated with other groups of people or institutions routinely vilified in Turkish public opinion.

Jews and Christians were frequently brought up, typically by conservative and right-wing media outlets and prominent figures close to the government, to represent Gülen and his sympathizers as heretics for having initiated dialogue projects with non-Muslims.

The English edition of pro-government Sabah daily claimed, for instance, that Gülen's funeral "was conducted in line with Protestant customs and traditions, even

though the deceased had claimed to lead a Muslim community of followers.”⁵⁸ This, of course, is blatantly false as the funeral was conducted in line with Islamic customs and televised live.

The movement was also associated with the US, where Gülen had resided in self-imposed exile for the last quarter century, as well as Israel, a country that is typically unpopular and suspected of engaging in espionage in Turkey. These comments echoed conspiracy theories accusing the movement of acting on behalf of American or Israeli interests.

For the Turkish government and pro-government circles, these associations often serve as a way of fostering and sustaining prejudices towards the movement within the religious segments of Turkish society and securing their silence in the face of rights abuses, which have presumably had a direct impact on at least one member of most Turkish religiously conservative families in the last 10 years.

4.3. Pervasiveness

Although spearheaded by the government and pro-government media, hate speech against the Gülen movement in Turkey is by no means limited to a single segment of the political spectrum.

The country’s secular opposition is often eager to adopt and perpetuate hateful rhetoric against the group, as evidenced by the coverage in newspapers such as *Sözcü* and *Cumhuriyet* as well as TV channels such as Halk TV.

While the ruling party’s conservative base is often incited to hatred against the movement by way of conspiracy theories involving supposed collusion with foreign and non-Muslim power centers, the hateful rhetoric disseminated by opposition groups typically arises from an ideological prejudice that is widespread among Turkey’s secularists towards any form of community organized and motivated around religion.

⁵⁸ [FETÖ leader Gülen buried in line with Protestant traditions: sources](#), Daily Sabah, November 8, 2024.

5. WESTERN MEDIA'S COVERAGE OF FETHULLAH GÜLEN'S DEATH

Unlike the hate speech and derogatory comments that marred the coverage of Fethullah Gulen's passing in the Turkish media, prominent Western outlets maintained a markedly different, more objective tone in their coverage.

In their reporting, Western media outlets focused on Gülen's broader influence and the principles that guided his movement. They highlighted his commitment to education, interfaith dialogue and democracy as well as his influence on millions of followers worldwide. Across these outlets, Gülen was often described as a spiritual leader who espoused a philosophy blending Sufism, a mystical form of Islam, with values such as altruism, modesty and hard work.



Notably, the Western media's approach instead situated Gülen's legacy within the context of his complex interactions with Turkish politics and his global influence. For instance, The Associated Press⁵⁹ and The Times⁶⁰ described him as a "reclusive

⁵⁹ [Self-exiled Turkish spiritual leader Fethullah Gülen dies in the US](#), Associated Press News, October 22, 2024.

⁶⁰ [Fethullah Gulen obituary: charismatic Turkish leader of Hizmet Movement](#), The Times, October 24, 2024.

but quietly charismatic leader” while also acknowledging the unproven allegations linking him to the 2016 coup attempt.



A subheading of The Guardian’s Gülen obituary defined him as an “Imam who sponsored dialogue between Christians and Muslims but [was] accused of terrorism by the president of Turkey.”⁶¹

“To his admirers, including US members of Congress and Christian theologians, Gülen remained a virtual saint, a Muslim cleric on friendly terms with the western world,” The Guardian’s piece read. “In Turkey, among many Turks other than his

⁶¹ [Fethullah Gülen obituary](#), The Guardian, November 5, 2024.

own following, Gülen was a deeply sinister figure whose efforts to capture the state culminated in 2016 in a botched military coup in which more than 200 people died.”



The Washington Post’s obituary said, “He emphasized service, tolerance and dialogue, principles that form the bedrock of what his followers describe as a kind of ‘civic Islam’ compatible with modernity and scientific inquiry. Not unlike an American evangelist, he extolled enterprise and the creation of wealth as virtues.”⁶²

The New York Times highlighted the global influence of the movement that Gülen inspired. “At its height, Hizmet ran schools in Turkey, Central Asia, Africa and elsewhere and promoted a vision of Islam that was friendly to the West and

⁶² [Fethullah Gülen, Muslim cleric and target of Turkey's Erdogan is dead](#), The Washington Post, October 21, 2024.

supported free markets, science and interfaith dialogue,” Ben Hubbard’s piece read.

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BBC said, “He became known for promoting a tolerant Islam which emphasised altruism, modesty and hard work.”⁶⁴



The Telegraph’s obituary contrasted Erdoğan’s Islamism versus Gülen’s version of Islam. “This was a clash between two kinds of Islam, the first espousing what the president called reformed Islamism, which became increasingly nationalistic, the second influenced by Sufism and advocating a tolerant, secular state.”⁶⁵

⁶³ [Fethullah Gülen, Turkish cleric and Erdoğan rival, dies at 83](#), The New York Times, October 21, 2024.

⁶⁴ [Turkish cleric accused of planning failed 2016 coup dies](#), BBC, October 21, 2024.

⁶⁵ [Fethullah Gülen, Turkish spiritual leader who fled into exile and became an enemy of President Erdoğan](#), The Telegraph, October 27, 2024.

Newsweek underscored his promotion of a modern, civic-oriented Islam, saying Gülen advocated “for a blend of Islam, science and Western values”⁶⁶

“Gülen built a powerful Islamic movement in Turkey and beyond,” Al Jazeera said, “but spent his later years accused of orchestrating an attempted coup against Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, accusations which he denied.”⁶⁷

Overall, Western outlets focused on providing factual information about Gülen's life, work and legacy without resorting to sensationalism or emotional appeals.

⁶⁶ [Turkish spiritual leader Fethullah Gülen dies in U.S.](#), Newsweek, October 21, 2024.

⁶⁷ [US-based cleric Fethullah Gülen, accused of Turkey coup attempt dies at 83](#), Aljazeera, October 21, 2024.

6. CONCLUSION

Characteristics of hate speech against Fethullah Gülen and his followers in the wake of his death, combined with the Erdoğan government's suppression of moderate voices, offer important insights into the systematic persecution of the Gülen movement in Turkey.

Eleven years after the corruption investigations that marked the beginning of Erdoğan's open campaign against Gülen, and eight years since the movement was declared a terrorist organization, the repression and hate speech against this once integral part of Turkish society continue unabated.

Taking the cue from Erdoğan's own hateful rhetoric, pro-government media relentlessly used hate speech dehumanizing and demonizing Gülen and his followers. Some opposition outlets also joined this chorus, reflecting their historic distrust and hostility toward religious movements in Turkey.

The hateful and inflammatory rhetoric is especially striking for Islamist publications since in Islam speaking ill of the dead was openly discouraged by the Prophet Muhammed and is considered inappropriate.⁶⁸

Turkish media's coverage diverged sharply with the measured and objective tone of Western outlets, which highlighted Gülen's global influence and his advocacy for education and interfaith dialogue and civic Islam while also acknowledging the unproven allegations linking him to the 2016 coup attempt.

Hate speech must be opposed not merely because it is rude or offensive, but because of its profound real-world consequences, as seen in historic tragedies such as the Holocaust and the Rwandan Genocide. Against the Gülen movement, hate speech has been a calculated and systematic effort by the Erdoğan government to delegitimize and marginalize a mainstream religious and social group, turning it into a national scapegoat.

The climate of hate and dehumanization has led many in the Turkish society to turn a blind eye to the widespread arbitrary detention, mistreatment and unfair

⁶⁸ "Do not curse the dead, for they have arrived at what they put forward." (Sahih al-Bukhari, Hadith 1393)

"Do not vilify the dead (and) by that harm the living." (Sunan al-Tirmidhi 1982)

trials inflicted on members of the movement, even when it has directly impacted their own friends or relatives.

The persecution of the Gülen movement exemplifies the dangerous link between hate speech and atrocity crimes, as it has been frequently described as amounting to crimes against humanity. Addressing and combating such dehumanizing rhetoric is essential to upholding human rights and preventing further harm.