

Is there a changing trend in the persecution of the (alleged) members of the Gülen movement?

Ghent, 21 January 2025

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Introduction

There is a tendency in the public opinion and in the decision making of the Western states that the persecution of the alleged members of the Gülen movement is slowing down. The recent decision of the Dutch and the Norwegian government to be much more critical towards persons linked to this movement while asking asylum is a clear example of this tendency.

The Dutch State Secretary Van der Burg informed the House of Representatives about the change in country policy for Turkey, in particular, regarding the situation of the (alleged) Gülen Movement members. This was prompted by the Foreign Minister's official report of 31 August 2023.¹

"The official report shows that with regard to Gülen supporters, criminal prosecution has decreased in intensity. ... As a result of these developments, it can be argued that the arbitrariness that was previously prominent in the criminal prosecution of Gülenists is not an issue to the same extent."²

Also, Norwegian authorities are using "a decrease in criminal persecution intensity" as a reason for their policy changes towards Gülen movement members, as well the opinion that recent judgments seem to lower down the level of persecution. In recent decisions about asylum applications the fact an important number of persons were released was upheld and in individual cases the fact that the person asking asylum was himself released was a motive for a refusal of the application.

The subject of this short report is to verify if this tendency is based on facts or not. First the decrease in numbers will be analyzed, thereafter the attitude of the judiciary will be analyzed ("chance of arbitrariness lower than before?") and the consequences of persecution, and the consequences of being prosecuted and afterwards being released will be documented. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn.

¹ <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2023/11/28/tk-landenbeleid-turkije>

² Parliament letter on amending country policy Turkey autumn 2023, <https://open.overheid.nl/documenten/dpc-668f245ca9cc0dbb20de69412f10054fe1bd0578/pdf>

The decrease in numbers

The persecution of the alleged members of the Gülen movement started immediately after the failed coup attempt.

Already on the night of 15 July while the coup attempt is still ongoing, the dismissal of 2475 judges and prosecutors was declared, and the next morning on 16 July, the state-funded news agency Anadolu Ajansi reported: "The Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office demanded the detention and investigation of 2,745 judges and prosecutors who are considered to be members of FETÖ."³

The Cross Border Jurists Association⁴ analyzed the official documents and publications in the Official Gazette relating to this collective dismissal. Over 4,500 members of the judiciary who were assessed by the HSYK (High Council of Judges and Prosecutors) to be related to FETO/PDY were suspended and dismissed from their positions. In this framework, the General Assembly of the HSYK, 2.847 judges and prosecutors on 24/8/2016, 543 on 31/8/2016, 66 on 4/10/2016, 203 on 15/11/2016, 227 on 13/2/2017, 202 on 17/3/2017 3/4/2017, 45 on 3/4/2017, and 107 on 5/5/2017 were expelled from the profession.

Hereunder we see an overview of the number of police operations and the detained persons during these police operations per 6 months/year⁵. This data is based on official announcements in the media. As not all of the actions are followed by a press announcement, the number by definition are lower than the reality.



Period 1: Police operations between 16 July (the day after the coup attempt) and 31 December, 2016.

³ <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi/-2-bin-745-hakim-ve-savci-hakkinda-gozalti-karari/609308>

⁴ The Cross Borders Jurists Association is a Germany/Cologne based association of jurists who were victims of the coup attempt measures.

⁵ Based on up-to-date database of Solidarity with Others, Brussels-based human rights NGO, <https://www.solidaritywithothers.com/mass-detentions>

Total Police Operations 824	Number of detentions 21.195	Average number of operations per day 3	Average number of detentions per day 50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2017 - 30 jun 20

Period 2: 1 January-30 June, 2017

Total Police Operations 742	Number of detentions 16.987	Average number of operations per day 3	Average number of detentions per day 50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2017 - 31 dec 20

Period 3: 1 July-31 December, 2017

Total Police Operations 650	Number of detentions 12.180	Average number of operations per day 3	Average number of detentions per day 50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2018 - 30 jun 20

Period 4: 1 January-30 June, 2018

Total Police Operations 551	Number of detentions 10.613	Average number of operations per day 3	Average number of detentions per day 50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2018 - 31 dec 20

Period 5: 1 July-31 December, 2018

Total Police Operations 363	Number of detentions 9.554	Average number of operations per day 3	Average number of detentions per day 50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2019 - 30 jun 20

Period 6: 1 January-30 June, 2019

Total Police Operations 277	Number of detentions 6.381	Average number of operations per day 3	Average number of detentions per day 50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2019 - 31 dec 20

Period 7: 1 July-31 December, 2019

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
152	3.966	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2020 - 30 jun 2020

Period 8: 1 January-30 June, 2020

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
240	4.631	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2020 - 31 dec 2020

Period 9: 1 July-31 December, 2020

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
333	6.456	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2021 - 30 jun 2021

Period 10: 1 January-30 June, 2021

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
283	4.856	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2021 - 31 dec 2021

Period 11: 1 July-31 December, 2021

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
287	4.120	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2022 - 30 jun 2022

Period 12: January 1-June 30, 2022

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
198	2.295	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2022 - 31 dec 2022

Period 13: 1 July-31 December, 2022

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
163	1.311	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2023 - 30 jun 2023

Period 14: 1 January-30 June, 2023

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
178	1.744	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2023 - 31 dec 2023

Period 15: 1 July-31 December, 2023

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
210	2.423	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jan 2024 - 30 jun 2024

Period 16: 1 January-30 June, 2024

Total Police Operations	Number of detentions	Average number of operations per day	Average number of detentions per day
163	1.855	3	50
Province	Month	Year	1 jul 2024 - 21 jan 2025

Period 17: 1 July, 2024-21 January 2025

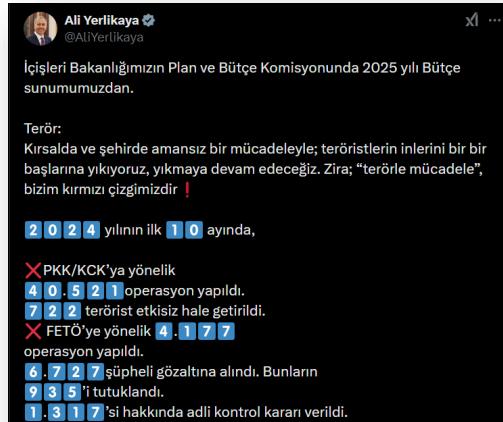
Based on the declarations of the Minister of Justice, 700 thousand persons were prosecuted and over 122 thousand persons were convicted for membership of a terrorist organization. According to the declaration of the current Minister of Justice Yilmaz Tunc in July 2023⁶:

“Until today, judicial proceedings have been carried out against 693 thousand 162 people. 67 thousand 893 people are still under investigation. 26 thousand 667 people are still in the first instance courts. When we look at the finalised decisions, 122 thousand 632 people were convicted. There are 33 thousand 983 people about other decisions. In addition, as a result of the investigations, 344 thousand 848 people were given a decision of non-prosecution and 97 thousand 139 people were acquitted. There are currently 12 thousand 108 convicts in penal institutions. There

⁶ Official website of Ministry of Justice, <https://www.adalet.gov.tr/bakan-tunc-15-temmuz-u-anlatti>

are 2 thousand 605 convicts and 826 detainees. A total of 15 thousand 539 detainees and convicts are FETÖ members in prisons.”

On 20 November 2024, The Minister of Interior Ali Yerlikaya posted some figures on his official X handle as part of 2025 Budget presentation at the Planning and Budgeting Commission within the Turkish Parliament. In his post minister Yerlikaya said in 2024, 4177 police operations were conducted against “FETO”. In these operations, 6727 individuals were detained, 935 arrested, 1317 were also taken under judicial control.⁷



On 31 December 2024, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan confirmed the conducted police operations against “FETO” in his official X account: President Erdogan said: “We conducted 4902 operations against FETO,” with a hashtag for the day’s social media campaign (#2024teNeYaptik: meaning “what we did in 2024”).⁸

The UK Government’s country policy and information note on the matter stated in October 2023⁹:

“Since the attempted coup, the government has carried out a crackdown on individuals and groups believed to have links with the Gülen movement, resulting in hundreds of thousands of arrests and detentions, over 117,000 convictions under anti-terrorism laws, the dismissal of over 130,000 public servants, the cancellation of over 230,000 passports, the closure of businesses and institutions and

⁷ Official X account of Minister of Interior: <https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1859236018144137601>

⁸ Official X account of President Erdogan: <https://x.com/RTErdogan/status/1874001041953587698>

⁹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/turkey-country-policy-and-information-notes/country-policy-and-information-note-gulenist-movement-turkey-february-2022-accessible-version>

subsequent seizure of assets, and the pursuit of Turkish nationals residing outside of Turkey.”

US Department of State sources also pointed out this controversial issue in their 2023 Turkey Report on Human Rights Practices¹⁰:

“The exact number of political prisoners was a subject of debate in the country. The Ministry of Justice announced 15,539 detainees remained in prisons on grounds of their alleged affiliation with the Gülen movement in July.”

These numerous judiciary actions were brought before the European Court of Human Rights in large numbers. The European Court of Human Right several times decided that the detentions were not based on reasonable grounds of suspicion. This was not followed by accurate action of the Turkish authorities. On 26 September 2023 the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights decided that the conviction of Mr. Yalçinkaya¹¹, which was based on his alleged use of the ByLock app, his membership of some social and cultural organizations/union and having an account in the Bank Asya was a violation of the Convention of Human Rights, more specifically: *nullum crimen sine lege* – no crime which is not defined by the law.

This judgement is nothing more or less than a clear condemnation of the persecution of the Gülen movement after the failed coup attempt.

Those who thought that the decision of the ECtHR on 26 September 2023 would change the attitude of the Turkish government, immediately were brought back to reality by the statement of the same day by Minister of Justice Yilmaz Tunc¹², who clearly stated that the decision would not be applied. The figures proof that this statement was indeed effectuated. Indeed, the continuation of the persecution is clearly documented by Solidarity with Others, a Brussels-based NGO.

According to the mass detentions database of Solidarity with Others, a total of **508 police operations** were carried out in the period from **September 2023 to 21 January 2025**, that is from after ECtHR's Yalçinkaya judgement until now. In these operations, **5801 people were detained** (<https://www.solidaritywithothers.com/mass-detentions>). Only during the period of the Ramadan in 2024, the rhythm of the operations was slowed down, most probably because of lack of operational capacity.

It should be strongly stressed that the operations have been going on at full speed even after ECtHR's September 2023 dated Yalçinkaya judgement.

¹⁰ <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/turkey/>

¹¹ See the ECtHR judgement:
[https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#\[%22tabview%22:\[%22document%22\],%22itemid%22:\[%22002-14187%22\]\]](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#[%22tabview%22:[%22document%22],%22itemid%22:[%22002-14187%22]])

¹² <https://x.com/yilmaztunc/status/1706691787002191985>

This tendency is confirmed by the Minister of Interior Ali Yerlikaya, who regularly announced on his X account a series of police operations are taking place: "KISKAÇ" operations.

"KISKAÇ" meaning "CLAMP" in Turkish has been the title of operations targeting the (alleged) Gulen Movement members in Turkey, especially after the appointment of Minister of Interior Ali Yerlikaya on 3 June 2023.

Under the administration of Minister Ali Yerlikaya so far, 35 such operations were conducted as of 21 January 2025. In his statements, the Minister lists the charges against the detained/arrested people; most commonly: activities for **restructuring**¹³ of the organization, propaganda of the organization on social media, ByLock app usage, providing humanitarian aid to the families of the imprisoned members of the organization. The minister regularly boasts about the operations on X where he posts videos of the operations produced with drone footage, thrilling background music.

Here as an example is a table detailing the KISKAÇ 29-35 operations dating from October 23, 2024 to 18 January 2025 (last three months):

Operation	Date	Stated Charges	Detained / Arrested	Link to the Ministry of Interior report and/or Minister's X post
KISKAÇ-35	18.01.2025	Carrying out activities for restructuring of the FETÖ terrorist organization, financing a terrorist organization, and, spreading FETÖ propaganda through his social media accounts.	47 apprehended, 33 arrested, 1 released with judicial control	https://www.icisleri.gov.tr/23-ilde-2-haftadir-jandarma-tarafindan-fetoye-yonelik-devam-eden-kiskac-35-operasyonlarimizda-47-supheli-yakalandi https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1880495287132635 437
KISKAÇ-34	14.01.2025	Carrying out activities within the "Academic Structure, Military Structure and Restructuring " of the organization, using organization's crypto communication program "ByLock".	110 apprehended	https://www.icisleri.gov.tr/23-ilde-fetoye-yonelik-son-1-haftadir-devam-eden-kiskac-34-operasyonlarinda-110-supheli-yakalandi https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1879112467084870036?ref_src=twsr%5Etfw

¹³ When indictments or court decisions are examined, the suspects accused of restructuring are found to be providing financial, humanitarian aid to the families of other imprisoned members, visiting each other in their homes, studying together, renting a shared flat together, making "FETO" propaganda on social media or even attending the funeral of a deceased member of Gulen Movement.

KISKAÇ-33	08.01.2025	Being a member of a terrorist organization, providing finance, and spreading FETÖ propaganda through social media accounts	63 apprehended, 36 arrested, 2 released with judicial control	<u>https://www.icsisleri.gov.tr/38-ilde-fetoye-yonelik-jandarma-tarafindan-son-2-haftadir-devam-eden-kiskac-33-operasyonlarinda-63-supheli-yakalandi</u> <u>https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1876854205648163_016?ref_src=twsr%5Etfw</u>
KISKAÇ-32	28.12.2024	Carrying out activities for the restructuring of the organization, witness testimonies, using organization's crypto communication program "ByLock".		<u>https://www.icsisleri.gov.tr/27-ilde-fetoye-yonelik-son-10-gundur-devam-eden-kiskac-32-operasyonlarinda-93-supheli-yakalandi</u> <u>https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1872923629731578_215?ref_src=twsr%5Etfw</u>
KISKAÇ-31	18.12.2024	Carrying out activities within the "Military and Secret Structure" of the organization, using organization's crypto communication program "ByLock".	41 apprehended	<u>https://www.icsisleri.gov.tr/9-ilde-fetoye-yonelik-duzenlenen-kiskac-31-operasyonlarinda-41-supheli-yakalandi</u> <u>https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1869243806001865_129</u>
KISKAÇ-30	19.11.2024	Carrying out activities for restructuring , Finance Structure, Student Structure, Police Structure, Military Structure, Judicial Structure and Various Professional Groups, making propaganda for the organization on social media platforms, using organization's crypto communication program "ByLock"	459 apprehended	<u>https://www.icsisleri.gov.tr/66-ilde-fetoye-yonelik-duzenlenen-kiskac-30-operasyonlarinda-459-supheli-yakalandi</u> <u>https://x.com/AliYerlikaya/status/1858764079688532_393?ref_src=twsr%5Etfw</u>

KISKAÇ-29	23.10.2024	Staying in houses with people from the organization, attending their religious conversations (<i>sohbet</i>) and gatherings, using organization's crypto communication program "ByLock", staying in the organization's houses for restructuring of the organization, sharing posts praising the ringleader of the organization on social media after the death of the ringleader of FETÖ Armed Terrorist Organization	15 apprehended	https://www.icisleri.gov.tr/3-ilde-fetoye-yonelik-duzenlenen-kiskac-29-operasyonlarinda-15-supheli-yakalandi https://x.com/TC_icisleri/status/184899288232722859?ref_src=twsr%5Etfw
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One specific police operation worth to mention at this point is the 7 May 2024 operation which targeted 48 people, among them 16 minor girls reportedly all at the age of 13-17. From 48 people detained, 28 were arrested, while the rest were released. According to opposition MP and leading human rights advocate Ömer Faruk Gergerlioğlu the minors were accused of disseminating terrorist propaganda, they were interrogated without a lawyer and were detained for 15 hours. As far as we know the accusation of disseminating terrorist propaganda was based mainly on the fact that the minors were given extra lessons for school, by persons allegedly linked to the Gülen movement.¹⁴

¹⁴ The Italian Federation for Human Rights (FIDU) published a report evaluating the first hearing of the Underage Girls Case from September 23-27, 2024. On 14 November 2024, the Interim Trial Monitoring Report, penned by FIDU President Prof. Dr. Antonio Stango, stated that the charges in the case were based on ordinary lawful activities such as tutoring, socializing and communicating through popular messaging apps. It said the indictment was based on vague police reports and intelligence notes without supporting evidence, criminalizing the use of digital platforms such as WhatsApp and Telegram, but without providing concrete content to support the allegation of criminal activity. Concern was expressed that children aged 13-17 were arrested in dawn raids, held without legal representation and forced under pressure to incriminate their peers and parents. It was noted that the presiding judge asked questions that lacked impartiality and implied guilt, that defense lawyers were prevented from presenting an effective defense, and that the conditions of the trial were inadequate. The detention of the defendants was prolonged without reasonable grounds. (<https://fidu.it/language/en/turkiye-interim-trial-monitoring-report-on-the-girls-case/>)

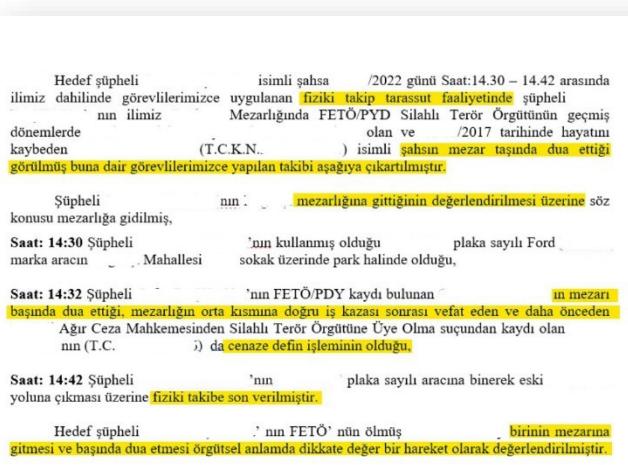
The mentioned data give a clear view of the situation.

After the massive persecution, the number of detentions by new judicial actions dropped. Per year some three to four thousand (3000 to 4000) persons are detained, based on the “accusation” of being linked with the Gülen movement. This diminution seems a logical evolution, as already a very important number of persons were prosecuted and because a very important number of persons left the country as refugee. However, this does not mean that the chances of persecution of those who were not yet victimized, are lower. There is no indication of such an evolution.

On the contrary, in this context it must be noted that continuously new persecutions are started against persons who materially or mentally are supporting families of persons who are imprisoned. This new form of persecution “against the restructuring of FETÖ” as it is catalogued by the authorities, has become more and more intensive. Also, persons who were convicted and released after executing their sentence, are subjected to such kind of (second) prosecution.

Here we can report some recent cases (for more, please see the ANNEX):

1. According to Turkish Minute report dated 14 January 2025¹⁵, a person identified as Cafer Başkaya was monitored during a visit to the Bağbaşı Cemetery in western Denizli province on July 28, 2022. Police observed Başkaya praying at the grave of Gültekin Payat, a teacher who died in 2017 after falling from a balcony while trying to evade police during a raid. Payat had been accused of ties to the Gülen movement and was reportedly in hiding at the time of the raid. Authorities concluded that the act of praying at the grave was “noteworthy” in the context of alleged terrorist activity, further justifying their ongoing monitoring of Başkaya. In the case of Başkaya, police documented his movements in minute detail. Surveillance reports indicate that Başkaya parked his vehicle near the cemetery at 14:30, prayed at the grave of Payat at 14:32 and left at 14:42.



Hedef şüpheli isimli şahsa /2022 günü Saat:14.30 – 14.42 arasında
ilimiz dahilinde görevlilerimizce uygulanan fiziki takip tarassut faaliyetinde şüpheli
nun ilimiz Mezarlığında FETÖ/PDY Silahlı Terör Örgütünün geçmiş
dönemlerde olan ve /2017 tarihinde hayatını
kaybeden (T.C.K.N.) isimli şahsin mezar taşında dua ettiği
görülmüş buna dair görevlilerimize yapılan takibi aşağıya çıkartılmıştır.

Şüpheli konusu mezarlığa gidilmiş,
Saat: 14:30 Şüpheli 'nın kullanılmış olduğu plaka sayılı Ford
marka aracın Mahallesi sokak üzerinde park halinde olduğu,

Saat: 14:32 Şüpheli 'nın FETÖ/PDY kaydi bulunan in mezarı
başında dua ettiği, mezarlığın orta kısmına doğru iş kazası sonrası vefat eden ve daha önceden
Agır Ceza Mahkemesinden Silahlı Terör Örgütüne Üye Olma suçundan kaydi olan
nun (T.C.) da cenaze defni işlemesinin olduğu,

Saat: 14:42 Şüpheli 'nın plaka sayılı aracına binerek eski
yoluna çökmesi fiziki takibe son verilmiştir.

Hedef şüpheli 'nın FETÖ' nün ölümüş birinin mezarına
gitmesi ve başında dua etmesi örgütsel anlamda dikkate değer bir hareket olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Excerpt from police surveillance records

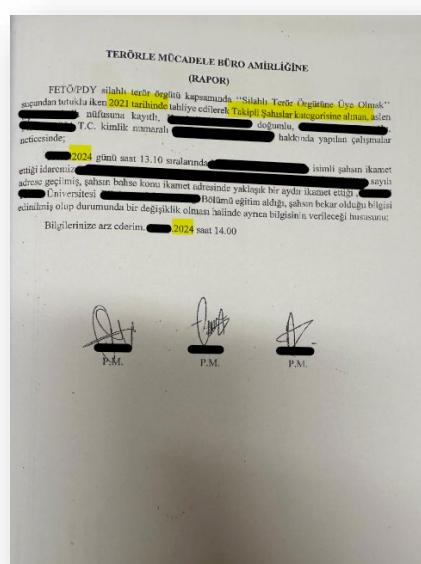
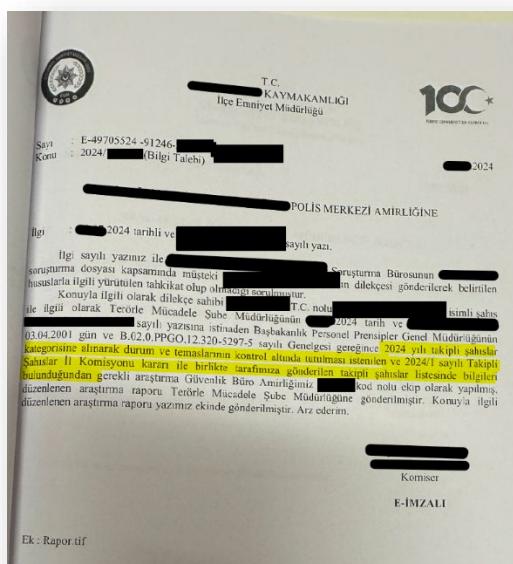
¹⁵ <https://www.turkishminute.com/2025/01/14/visiting-gravesites-seen-as-evidence-of-terrorist-ties-in-turkeys-war-on-gulen-movement/>

Turkish prosecutors in 2022 launched an investigation into a man for attending the funerals of Payat and Bülent Boya, another person accused of ties to the Gülen movement.

Prosecutors questioned the man's "purpose" for attending the funerals and cited the act as suspicious in the context of alleged terrorist activity.

2. An international criminal law expert Dr. Gökhan Güneş shared¹⁶ on his X account a case where a person arrested with "FETO" membership charges earlier released from prison is tracked and monitored outside without any legal basis. According to Dr. Güneş, regardless of whether these people are released from prison while under arrest, having completed the execution of their sentence, or are released on parole, they are being monitored.

As the documents show, a person released from prison in 2021 is regularly monitored even in 2024. Everything from whether the person is married or not, to how long he or she has been living in one place and where he or she has been studying, is investigated and the person is being labelled. In addition, these profiling reports are kept in an archive and there is no time limit for deleting them. Even if the person moves to another province, the follow-up is transferred to the police of that province.



Dr. Gökhan Güneş explains further the background of this profiling practice: "This unlawful practice is based on a **2001 Circular**. In a lawsuit filed on the issue, the court asked for the legal basis for this surveillance and profiling. **The answer is of course not surprising!** According to the Security Forces; "The subject of the lawsuit is of an intelligence nature, does not have legal consequences, does not constitute legal evidence and will not constitute grounds for judicial or administrative proceedings unless it is externally proven. In this

¹⁶ <https://x.com/drgokhangunes/status/1875226498191200669>

context, since the plaintiff's case is not an administrative action that can be subject to litigation, the lawsuit should be dismissed.””

3. İbrahim Güngör was working in one of the universities shut down with emergency decrees. He was dismissed and prosecuted, and as a result convicted. His story in the aftermath of his imprisonment has been posted on X by his daughter¹⁷:



“14 January 2025, 21:36

My father, İbrahim Güngör, was detained on 18 January 2019 and prosecuted while in custody for 10 months. He is 72 years old and suffers from Alzheimer’s disease, in addition to diabetes and prostate issues. In 2022, he underwent surgery due to hydrocephalus, and a shunt was implanted in his brain. As of 14 December 2024, his conviction was upheld by the Court of Cassation, and he was transferred to Buca Kırıklar No. 2 Type F prison to serve his sentence.

Despite the submission of the necessary medical reports and appeals to the relevant court, the postponement of the execution of his sentence was not granted. On 10 January, he was transferred to the Menemen Type R prison, deemed suitable by the committee. The facility where he is currently located operates on the basis of single-person cells.

My father is an Alzheimer’s patient. He cannot manage basic personal care tasks independently, such as bathing, using the toilet, cutting his nails, changing his clothes, or performing other daily care needs. His perception and cognitive abilities are weak due to his condition, preventing him from filing petitions to request anything he might need. It is not right for someone who cannot maintain their personal care, balance, or basic daily activities to remain alone in a single-person cell.

This situation is also inappropriate from a psychological perspective. It is essential that immediate changes be made, as patients suffering from this illness must not be left without someone to assist them.

¹⁷ <https://x.com/suedarlan>

We are desperate.

SUEDA GÜNGÖR"

Political Pressure and Foreign Minister's active role

As will be seen in the recent example cases of last three months reported below, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Hakan Fidan, former chief of Turkish intelligence MIT, plays an active role in the persecution against the Gulen Movement.

- a. On 21 January 2025, Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan hosted Swedish Justice Minister Gunnar Strömer at the Turkey-Sweden Security Mechanism meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara. One of Minister Fidan's main agendas was "fight against FETO" as he repeatedly stressed. In the joint press conference¹⁸ organised after the meeting, stating that Sweden has confirmed that it will fulfil all the commitments it has made to Turkey in Madrid (2022 NATO Madrid Summit) and Vilnius (2023 NATO Vilnius Summit), she said, "We have stated that we will not support the organisations described as YPG, PYD and FETO in Turkey in any way. As Sweden, we will continue to fight against crimes related to organised crime that affect both countries."
- b. On 2 January 2025, Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan held a joint press conference¹⁹ with Belgian Foreign Minister Bernard Quintin in Ankara. 'We conveyed to Belgian Minister our views on preventing FETÖ from finding a foothold in Belgium, expanding an area of abuse by taking advantage of the local law and political system there, and using this expanded area to the detriment of Turkey,' Minister Fidan said.
- c. On 21 October 2024 upon Gulen's death, Minister Hakan Fidan held a press conference²⁰ and vowed to continue fighting "FETO": "With this death, the spell over them should now be lifted, and I invite them to abandon the treacherous path they have taken and stop working against their state and nation," the Turkish diplomat said.

¹⁸ <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/isvec-disisleri-bakani-stenergard-turkiyede-ypg-pyd-ve-fetoye-destek-vermeyecegimizi-ifade-ettik/3458603>

¹⁹ <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/son-dakika-disisleri-bakani-fidandan-onemli-aciklamalar-42646386>

²⁰ <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkiye/turkiye-confirms-death-of-feto-terror-groups-ringleader-fetullah-gulen/3368975>

"This path is not a good path. The end of this path is not a good end. Our nation and state will continue to fight against all terrorist organizations, including this one. They should know to turn back while there is still time."

Human Rights Watch 2025 Report Turkey:

Human Rights Watch has published²¹ their 2025 World Report in January 2025. In Turkey chapter of the said report, HRW expressed that mass detentions against (alleged) Gulen followers is still taking place. According to the HRW report, the Turkish government does not implement ECtHR's Yalçınkaya decision to the date.

Freedoms of Association and Assembly

Thousands of people face detention, investigations, and unfair trials on terrorism charges for alleged links with the movement led by deceased US-based cleric Fethullah Gülen, which the government deems a terrorist organization responsible for the July 15, 2016 attempted military coup. Many have faced prolonged and arbitrary imprisonment with no effective remedy after mass removal from civil service jobs and the judiciary. The justice minister announced in July that 13,251 remanded and convicted persons alleged to be members of the movement remained in prison.

To date the Turkish authorities have failed to implement a key ruling of the ECtHR finding that the conviction on charges of "membership of a terrorist organization" of former teacher Yüksel Yalçınkaya, mainly for having a mobile phone application called ByLock allegedly used by Gülen followers, was an arbitrary application of the law that violated the principle of legality. The judgment also found violations of fair trial and freedom of association rights and ruled that Türkiye needed to implement general measures to address the violations. There were around 8,000 similar cases before the Strasbourg court at time of writing. In Yalçınkaya's September retrial, a local court disregarded the ECtHR and convicted him again on the same charges.

Torture and Ill-Treatment in Custody

In July, the UN Committee against Torture reviewed Türkiye for the first time since the marked rise in torture and ill-treatment that followed the 2016 attempted military coup. The committee's concluding observations raised concerns that allegations of torture and ill-treatment occur "in a generalized manner, notably

²¹ <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/turkiye>

in detention centres,” and that where prosecutions take place acts of torture are “frequently classified as other crimes.” Recommendations included ending the practice of reverse handcuffing widely used by the police, and ending “all extrajudicial extraditions and renditions, including of individuals with perceived or real affiliations” to the Gülen movement. The committee further recommended the abolition of the penalty of aggravated life imprisonment, entailing “de facto solitary confinement” and no prospect of release.

Persons asking asylum abroad are particularly vulnerable at this new evolution as they often have tried to help their friends and relatives who still are resident in Türkiye. Simply sending low amounts of money is qualified in the recent judicial actions as financially supporting terrorism. A person living abroad, sending money to his family can be accused of financing terrorism if he would be sent back to Türkiye.

Since October 2023 a large number of police operations against persons financially or morally supporting other persons, allegedly linked to the Gülen movement, has been conducted²². A closer description is given in annex 1 to this report. This description has been made by Solidarity with Others.

The conclusion is clear:

1. Naturally, after the massive persecution, the numbers dropped;
2. An average of 2000 – 3000 persons per year victimized still is a high number;
3. The chance that an alleged member of the Gülen movement who was not yet persecuted, will be confronted with a judicial action has not diminished;
4. A new form a persecution “against the **restructuring**” of the Gülen movement has been initiated and is executed in an intensive way.

The judgments

On 26 September 2023 the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights decided that the conviction of Mr. Yalçınkaya, which was based on his alleged use of the ByLock app, his membership of some social and cultural organizations/union and having an account in the

²² The 2020 annual report of the General Directorate of Security was published in March 2021. The report drew attention to the "restructuring" activities of the "FETO". It was stated that preventive activities were carried out in line with intelligence information and investigations including technical surveillance elements were carried out to identify cell houses where members of the organization were hiding. There onwards since March 2021, the so-called "restructuring of FETO" and "financing terrorism" operations were launched targeting people who shared food, clothes, cash with the alleged Gülen Movement members, convicted or not, or their family members. (<https://www.memurlar.net/haber/958053/emniyet-uyardi-feto-yeniden-yapilma-icinde.html>)

Bank Asya was a violation of the Convention of Human Rights, more specifically: *nullum crimen sine lege* – no crime which is not defined by the law.

This judgement is nothing more or less than a clear condemnation of the persecution of the Gülen movement after the failed coup attempt.

On the same day of the judgement Minister of Justice Yilmaz Tunc²³ made the following declaration:

"In its decision announced today, the ECtHR has issued a violation decision regarding the application of a person who was found to be a member of the FETO terrorist organization as a result of the trial conducted by the Turkish courts.

It is unacceptable for the ECtHR to overstep its jurisdiction and issue a judgement of violation by examining the evidence in a case where our judicial authorities at all levels, from the Court of First Instance to the Court of Appeal, from the Court of Cassation to the Constitutional Court, have deemed the evidence sufficient. The ECtHR is not a court of appeal, as stated in Moreira Ferreira v. Portugal (No. 2).

In fact, in Dulaurs v. France and Bochan v. Ukraine (No. 2), the ECtHR stated that the Convention does not apply to the admissibility of evidence or how evidence is to be assessed, which are matters of national law and the competence of national courts. Therefore, it had emphasized that the application and interpretation of the rules of law and the evaluation of evidence by national courts could not be the subject of its own examination.

However, in the Yalçınkaya judgement announced today, the ECtHR departed from this established case-law. The ECtHR has clearly exceeded its jurisdiction by making an evaluation of evidence and has made the application of the rules of law and the evaluation of evidence by national courts the subject of its review. Although the ECtHR has repeatedly stated in its jurisprudence that it is not authorized to evaluate evidence, it has resorted to evidence evaluation when it comes to FETÖ trials.

The ECtHR, which accepted a person with two separate arrest warrants issued by the Turkish judiciary on charges of FETÖ membership as the applicant's representative at the Grand Chamber hearing, even though he was informed in detail and objected by our government, has made a decision contrary to the law and the European Convention on Human Rights by making it clear from the very beginning that it will not conduct an impartial judgement.

Our country will continue its determination in its fight against terrorism in accordance with national legislation and international obligations."

²³ <https://x.com/yilmaztunc/status/1706691787002191985>

In his X post of 25 May 2024 (see above), the Minister of Interior Ali Yerlikaya commenting the police actions operated between 1 June 2023 and 15 May 2024, also cited use of ByLock and payphones among the charges against the detainees. As already explained such charges were considered to be in violation of the ECHR by the European Court of Human Rights in *Yalçinkaya v Turkey*²⁴. This statement also indicates that the prosecutors also continue their persecution based on the “proofs” rejected by the ECtHR.

Moreover, there are NO judgements, pronounced after the Yalçinkaya case that appear to follow the decision of the ECtHR. Not one. Even the President of the Constitutional Court clearly stated that the constitutional court would not execute this decision²⁵.

“They (ECtHR) made a decision different from our judgement. The ECtHR’s judgements are criticised a lot, especially its judgements on members of terrorist organisations. The decisions of the ECtHR are publicly known and discussed. The last (Yalçinkaya) decision is also discussed. But in the end, it will be the courts in Turkey to make the final decision. We will look at the retrial process. The case will come before us and then we will decide”.

In some analysis, reference is made to some judgments who supposedly confirm the fact that the judiciary is becoming less strict and opening room to more acquittals. These judgments however are nothing new and are existing since long time and were cited by the ECTHR in the *Yalçinkaya* case, paragraph 260:

“260. The Court also notes, however, that the act that is penalized under Article 314 § 2 of the Criminal Code in question is not mere connection with an allegedly criminal network, but membership of an armed terrorist organization, to the extent that such membership is established on the basis of the constituent – objective and subjective – elements set out in the law as noted in detail in paragraphs 245-248 above, and as confirmed in the Constitutional Court’s judgment in the Adnan Şen case (see paragraphs 184-187 above). Accordingly, and as pointed out by the Ankara Regional Appeal Court (see paragraph 83 above), only persons whose position within a terrorist organization had reached a level warranting their consideration as a “member” of that organization could be convicted under Article 314 § 2. It therefore falls to the Court to verify whether the relevant constituent elements, and in particular the subjective, or mental, element, were duly established in the applicant’s respect, in keeping with the requirements of the applicable law, and whether the assessment by the domestic courts of these constituent elements in the applicant’s case represented a foreseeable, and not an expansive, interpretation and application of the said criminal provision (...)”²⁶.

²⁴ See the judgement:

[https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#\[%22tabview%22:\[%22document%22\],%22itemid%22:\[%22002-14187%22\]\]](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#[%22tabview%22:[%22document%22],%22itemid%22:[%22002-14187%22]])

²⁵ <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/anayasa-mahkemesi-baskani-arslan-sorulari-yanitladi-799835.html>

²⁶ ECtHR, *Yalçinkaya v. Türkiye*, 29 September 2023, No. 15669/20, para 260.

So, the ECtHR refers to this jurisprudence, but comes to the conclusion that in the Yalçınkaya case and in very high number of case (of which “*over 8 000 applications are pending*” before the ECtHR²⁷) this theory was not applied. As mentioned, the President of the Constitutional Court himself, whose judgement is cited in the Yalçınkaya case by the ECtHR, declared not to execute the European judgment. The ECtHR analyses the persecution of the alleged members of the Gülen movement, it as a “*systemic*”²⁸ problem.

The answer to the question about the judicial approach is clear: the reasoning in the judgments cited recently in evaluations of the actual situation in Türkiye, are not new. They pronounce interesting judicial views, which however in the individual cases never were and until now never are applied. The use of By Lock, membership of unions, reading Zaman newspaper, staying in student dormitories, even using cell phones, ... were and still are taken as a proof of membership of a terrorist organization. Even in the Yalçınkaya case itself, the reopening of the court case in Türkiye has not given any result, while the case should be very simple. There are no indications that the arbitrariness in any way has diminished.

In a communication Landinfo (the Norwegian expertise center, used by the asylum authorities) states:

“It became clear that the legal settlement has entered a new phase and that the evidentiary requirements in Gülen cases are considerably stricter than after the coup attempt. One would then risk being convicted of some connection to the movement with just a simple ‘proof’, which could be having downloaded the ByLock app, having an account in Bank Asya, having children at the Gülen school and so on. Many of those who were convicted in such cases after the coup have now completed their sentences and been released”.

Our findings clearly contradict this opinion. The conclusion is clear and simple: until today there has been NO changes in the way the judiciary is deciding the cases of persons allegedly linked to the Gülen movement.

The consequences of the persecution

Nearly 8 years after the failed coup attempt, already an important number of alleged members of the Gülen movement were released. The routine punishment was 6 years and 3 months of imprisonment. Some possibilities exist also to be released earlier. The fact that an important number of persons were released thus is a logical evolution and does not say anything about the intensity of persecution of those who were not brought before the court yet are were not yet prosecuted (for instance because they were residing abroad). However, between 2021 and

²⁷ ECtHR, *Yalçınkaya v. Türkiye*, 29 September 2023, No. 15669/20, para 414.

²⁸ ECtHR, *Yalçınkaya v. Türkiye*, 29 September 2023, No. 15669/20, para 414.

2023 the release of a total of 384 prisoners eligible for parole was postponed, according to data from the independent Human Rights Association (İHD). Prisoners have reported to the İHD that the boards' decisions were heavily influenced by political bias and often involved demands for expressions of "remorse." Nuray Çevirmen, a member of the İHD's Central Executive Board, stated that nearly all rights of prisoners are now controlled by these prison boards. "Releases are being delayed for various periods: three months, six months, and even up to a year," Çevirmen said. The İHD also reported that the reasons cited by these boards for delaying releases often include trivial or arbitrary grounds such as not meeting with an imam, not consulting a psychologist, not borrowing books from the library, or not participating in social activities. "This is crucial because prison administrations do not facilitate these social activities, yet they use the lack of participation as a reason to extend an inmate's time in prison," she said.²⁹ Among the denied prisoners, there are judges, academics, journalists, teachers reported to be members of Gulen Movement.

Also, in case the convicted persons were released, the persecution did not stop after being released. The persons who are prosecuted in the majority of cases were dismissed from their jobs or the institutions they worked for were closed. For those persons, after the coup specific codes were introduced in the social security information of each of these persons: the codes 36 and 37. These codes have as a consequence that every employer is immediately informed about the fact that the person he perhaps would recruit is a "terrorist". No employer wants to take such a risk, knowing that he himself also could be accused. In addition, these codes restrict in an extreme way the access of the person labeled with such a code to the social security system. No health care system is accessible for them anymore, no school fees are given to them, schools avoid to allow children whose parents have such a code. The codes are accessible for all employers and official institutions. Landinfo does not take this in account, although it is the hard reality of every day and also explains why still after so long people are seeking asylum outside Türkiye. In all the stories they mention that it was, socially and financially, no longer possible to live in Türkiye due to this system of "social death". The persons convicted after executing their sentence, still have no access to healthcare, do not obtain fees for studying children, their children are banned from schools, etc. Being released does not stop the persecution. These persons do not go back to a normal societal life after their release.

This discriminatory treatment goes that far that it must be qualified as at least ill treatment as indicated in article 3 ECHR.

But there is more and this is also ignored by the opinions of the Norwegian and Dutch authorities. For persons who never were convicted, for persons who never were brought before the court and also for persons against whom only a police action was initiated without following detention or court case, but if they were dismissed or if the institutions, they worked for were closed, the same consequences are applicable with or without conviction. The same restrictions on getting a job, obtaining social allocations and scholar fees, are applied, even if the police action (ordered by the prosecutor) does not lead to further action.

²⁹ <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/518039/3-yilda-en-az-384-mahpusun-tahliyesi-engellendi>

In the same communication of Landinfo as mentioned above it is stated that;

"It's absolutely right that people accused of Gülen affiliation are constantly being charged and arrested, but I must remind you that it's a long way from an indictment to a conviction, including in Turkey".

First of all, this communication confirms that the persecution continues, even if not all cases are brought before the court. This comment seems to start from the idea that if a case is not brought before the court, nothing happens anymore. That is not in accordance with the (legal and societal) reality.

Everyone who was convicted as a member of the Gülen movement, everyone who ever was detained because he/she was suspected to be a member of the Gülen movement, everyone against whom a judicial action of persecution was started (and never led to any further action), is condemned to a social death. For most persons who read this text, it will look as an exaggeration. Unfortunately, it is not.

The conclusion is that the fact that more persons are now released is a normal consequence of the time that passed by after the failed coup, although discriminatory behavior concerning the release of members of the Gülen movement are reported. It does not indicate a lower degree of persecution and it does not mean the end of the persecution. Indeed, after executing their sentence, the codes 36 and code 37 still are applied, preventing them to find a job, of having access to health insurance or school fees, only to mention these.

Article 3 ECHR

It is settled case law of the ECHR that a state cannot expel a foreign citizen to his country of origin if it is realistic that the person in his country will be submitted to a violation of his fundamental rights, and more specifically to a violation of article 3 (ill treatment) and article 6 (fair trial).

The analysis made above makes it is more than reasonable to state that a person who allegedly is linked to the Gülen movement, still today, will be submitted to a judicial system that refuses to execute the judgements of the ECtHR, decided in cases similar as their own case and that the mere fact a judicial action would be started would submit him/her to discriminatory ill treatment, qualified by us as a "social death", excluding the person and his family from getting a job, healthcare, school fees, access to education.

Expelling such a person to Türkiye therefor must be seen as a violation of article 3 and 6 of the ECHR.

Conclusion

The conclusion drawn from the analysis of the data and events detailed in this report is unequivocal: there is **no substantial reduction in the persecution** of alleged members of the Gülen movement in Turkey. Despite claims from Western nations such as the Netherlands and Norway, which have adjusted their asylum policies based on perceived reductions in persecution intensity, the evidence points to a persistent and significant crackdown on these individuals. Of course, after the massive detentions and convictions, the overall number of new persecutions dropped, but still are at a level of three to four thousand a year. **Any person allegedly linked to the Gülen movement still today strongly risks a severe persecution**, with imprisonment of minimum 6 years and 3 months. On top of that, since several months a new kind of persecution has been put in place. Even persons already convicted, even minors of 13-14 years old, even persons only morally or financially helping friends who live in a family in which a person is imprisoned, are prosecuted on the accusation of “restructuring” of the Gülen movement. The lower intensity is not present on the field.

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) has repeatedly decided that the persecution of the Gülen movement was arbitrary and lacking reasonable grounds, most notably in the landmark Yalçınkaya judgment of September 2023, pronounced by the Grand Chamber.

However, Turkish government has consistently rejected these rulings. Moreover, as indicated, a new form of persecution started. Alleged members of the Gülen movement living abroad are specifically vulnerable for this new type of persecution, if they would be expelled to Türkiye. The statement that the arbitrariness of the judicial decisions or judicial actions is diminishing, is based on no evidence. Evidence of the contrary is documented in this report. **The arbitrariness did not diminish at all.** Indeed, in contradiction to what is stated by some Western authorities, an analysis of the jurisprudence after the Yalçınkaya judgement of 28 September 2023 and of the judicial actions, shows **no changing** in the way the judiciary (courts and prosecutors) are handling the cases of the persons allegedly linked to the Gülen movement. Prosecutors continue to detain persons on the same “proofs” that were refuted by the ECtHR, the president of the Constitutional Court clearly stated that his Court will **not apply** the doctrine of the ECtHR and **NO judgment** applying this European judgement has been taken until now. The information that is circulated related to this issue is not correct. More information can be found in the annex 2.

Finally, the **consequences** of a conviction, of a detention and even of a judicial action without any follow up, are extremely hard, once persons were dismissed or the institutions, they worked for were closed by decree. The person “accused” of being linked to the Gülen movement after executing his/her sentence of imprisonment , but also in the case such a person was detained as a consequence of a judicial action but afterwards not brought before the court and finally also such a person who was subjected to a judicial action but never was detained and never brought before the court, still has NO access to healthcare, has NO access to fees for studying children and has NO access to the regular job market, only to mention these. His/her children are banned from schools, there are subjected to discriminatory

treatment. The description of these consequences looks unreal for reasonable people, but are the reality of every day and cannot be ignored by any authority deciding about an asylum request.

Expelling a person, knowing that there is a reasonable chance he/she will be submitted to such or another way of persecution because of his alleged membership of the Gülen movement, therefor is not in accordance with the ECHR. Otherwise said: **such a decision by the Norwegian or any other authorities is very difficult to bring in accordance with article 3 of the ECHR.** Any governmental authority, expelling a person allegedly linked to the Gülen movement, reasonably must be aware that such an expulsion will cause an inhuman treatment to the person and his family and by that, would be in breach of article 3 ECHR.

Ghent, 21 January 2025

Prof. Em. Dr. Johan Vande Lanotte

ANNEX: Description of ongoing persecution of the (alleged) Gulen Movement members based on example cases

1. State-funded Anadolu News Agency claimed³⁰ on **30 March 2021** that the terminology included in a “FETÖ” indictment deciphered the organisation's **restructuring** efforts. The indictment was prepared by Ankara Chief Public Prosecutor's Office Terror Offences Investigation Bureau. According to the indictment, a man named Serdal Karakurt was involved in the **restructuring** of the organisation after the coup attempt. The indictment stated that the suspect was a member of the structure referred to as "muavenetçi" (meaning aid provider in Turkish), which provides financial aid to the arrested and convicted members of the organisation and their families, who are called "Yusuf" and "victim" in the terminology of the organisation.

2. State-funded TRT News outlet published³¹ a lengthy news article on **20 May 2022**:

“Details of FETÖ's new organisation have emerged. As the operations against the Fetullahist Terrorist Organisation continue, it is becoming clearer with each passing day that the organisation is trying to restructure.”

3. Sozcu news outlet cited³² the state-funded Anadolu News Agency on **12 January 2023**: “FETÖ's new structure was deciphered”

“In the 272-page indictment prepared by the Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, the establishment, structure and activities of FETÖ are described. The indictment stated that the organisation rolled up its sleeves to repair the heavy damage it had suffered and to rebuild its base. The indictment also stated that the current structure consisted of the sacrifice group, the student structure, the prison-victim families structure, the financial structure, the ghost structure, the serdengeçti group, the ibn-i erkam group, the chief sublime groups, and that they exchanged messages through a popular internet game. The indictment

³⁰ <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi/feto-iddianamesine-giren-terminoloji-orgutun-yeniden-yapilanma-calismalarini-desifre-etti/2192359>

³¹ <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/fetonun-yeni-yapilanmasina-dair-detaylor-ortaya-ciktig-681759.html>

³² <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/fetonun-yeni-yapilanmasi-desifre-edildi-wp7554595>

prepared against 11 defendants, 6 of whom are arrested, was approved by the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office and accepted by Istanbul 28th High Criminal Court."

4. On 16 January 2023, Yeni Akit reported³³ about the **restructuring** efforts of the organization in another province, Konya: "...The Turkish teacher, who was dismissed from his job after the July 15 coup attempt, stated that he was also involved in the new structure of the organisation and that he acted together with the members of the organisation, some of whom were abroad, and distributed money sent by the organisation to the family members of other members of the organisation who were convicted and detained in penal institutions upon the instructions of the organization."



5. State-funded Anadolu News Agency reported³⁴ on 13 July 2023:

"Istanbul Security Directorate teams are striking a blow to the re-organisation of FETÖ with the operations they carry out.

³³ <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/feto-yeniden-yapilaniyor-inanilmaz-mesajlar-1725060.html>

³⁴ <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/gundem/istanbul-polisi-fetonun-yeniden-yapilanmasina-gecit-vermedi/2944550>

Istanbul Security Directorate's intelligence, terror, organised, financial and smuggling branches, as well as other branches and district security directorates, continue their uninterrupted operations to prevent the terrorist organisation.

Trying to prevent the efforts of FETÖ, which was dealt a major blow and brought to the point of extinction with the operations organised, to get back on its feet, the police put all its technological and physical capabilities into action.

In this context, Istanbul police conducted 1394 operations against FETÖ last year and raided 698 addresses in the January-June period of this year.

While 281 suspects were arrested in last year's operations, 116 of the suspects arrested in the first 6 months of this year were arrested and sent to prison."

6. Atakan Irmak from Sabah Daily reported on **15 July 2023**, "within the scope of the operations carried out against the new structure of FETÖ, it was revealed that a business operating in Beylikdüzü district of Istanbul belonged to the organisation and that the charity money was collected and distributed to the current members of the organization via this business. The business was raided by the police. The suspect caught in the business was arrested and sent to prison, while a lawsuit was filed against him with a prison sentence of up to 12 years."

7. In the meantime, General Directorate Of Criminal Affairs within the Ministry of Justice announced³⁵ a coordination meeting had taken place on **20 July 2023**. According to the announcement, 15 specialised public prosecutors in charge of "Terrorism Financing" offences in Adana, Ankara, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, İstanbul, Kayseri, Konya, Mardin, Mersin, Sakarya, Samsun and Şanlıurfa Public Prosecutor's Offices participated in the meeting organised to prevent the financing of terrorism.

8. "In Kocaeli, 14 people were detained on **25 July 2023** in the 'Gazi Turgut Aslan Operation' carried out against those who provide financing to FETÖ/PDY and operate in the current structure of the terrorist organisation."³⁶

9. On **3 September 2023**, Yeni Asir news outlet announced³⁷ that the Council of Higher Education had warned the university managements against the so-called **restructuring** efforts of the organization: "It was revealed that FETÖ targeted high school and university students during its **restructuring** efforts. The organisation instructed university students to open organisation houses. Aware of these attempts, the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) warned universities about the issue."

³⁵ <https://cigm.adalet.gov.tr/Home/SayfaDetay/ii-terorizmin-finansmani-ve-suctan-kaynaklanan-mal-varligi-degerlerini-aklama-suclarıyla-mucadele-istisare-toplantisi-cevrimici28072023035346>

³⁶ <https://x.com/FetoGercekleri/status/1683838909648863233>

³⁷ <https://www.yeniasir.com.tr/gundem/2023/09/03/feto-gozunu-gencclere-dikti-yeniden-yapilanma-planlari-boyle-desifre-oldu>

10. Columnist Nedim Sener declared on his Hurriyet Daily column on **25 October 2023**, "more than 100,000 FETÖ members have been released from prisons and a significant number of them are working for **restructuring**." On October 18, 2022, the Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organised Crime dealt a heavy blow to the current structure of FETÖ, which was trying to regroup with the "Gazi Turgut Aslan" operation. A detention warrant was issued for 704 people who were trying to resurrect the "secret organisation" and 677 people, 18 of whom were active public employees, were detained. 222 secret couriers were arrested, 369 people were released with judicial control and 86 people were released by the prosecutor's office and the court.³⁸

11. In their strong declaration "Depositing Money to Prisoners' Accounts is Not a Crime! End Judicial Pressure!", IHD (Human Rights Association) stated³⁹ on **7 March 2024** that Judicial pressure on families, guardians, lawyers and relatives of prisoners who have been depositing money to prisoners in prisons for a long time under the Terrorism Financing Law continues. People are taken into custody, lawsuits are filed against them, sentences are imposed, and arrests continue with the accusation of "financing terrorism". However, depositing money to prisoners is done within the framework of the "Regulation on the Use of Personal Money of Convicts and Prisoners in Custody". According to Article 5 of the Regulation; "Money received by bank or post or deposited by visitors in the name and account of convicts and detainees shall be received and recorded by personnel to be assigned by the administration. In institutions where there is a manager, convicts and detainees cannot keep cash with them in any way."

12. TRT News announced⁴⁰ on **8 March 2024** that 12 people in Ankara were detained on grounds that they were involved in "FETO's finance structure" for providing financial support to the families of the imprisoned. Likewise, on **22 April 2024**, TRT News announced⁴¹ detention decision of 16 people charged with "**restructuring** involvement" by Ankara Public Prosecutor's Office.

13. Similar reports appeared on various local media outlets in other provinces. On **10 March 2024**, Gun Haber reported⁴² "FETÖ's **restructuring** in Antalya revealed":

"Within the scope of the investigation, it was determined that FETÖ militants gathered at a certain address. The investigation revealed that each call for gathering was communicated in code. It was revealed that the address in question was a shop run by B.D. with a "tailor" signboard.

³⁸ <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/nedim-sener/feto-ihonet-yapilanmasini-guncelliyor-42350972>

³⁹ <https://www.ihd.org.tr/mahpuslarin-hesaplarina-para-yatirilmasi-suc-degildir-yargi-baskisina-son-verilsin/>

⁴⁰ <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/fetonun-finans-yapilanmasina-yonelik-sorusturmada-12-gozalti-karari-842773.html>

⁴¹ <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/fetonun-guncel-finans-yapilanmasina-sorusturma-16-gozalti-karari-852397.html>

⁴² <https://www.gunhaber.com.tr/haber/FETO-nun-Antalya-daki-yeni-yapilanmasi-ortaya-ciktig/536220>

It was determined that the members of the organisation entered the address with clothing bags in order to provide justifications such as "I was having trousers tailored" or "I was having trousers sewn"."

14. In a very recent incident on **30 May 2024**, according to ODATV⁴³:

*"The **restructuring** efforts of the Fetullahist Terrorist Organisation (FETÖ) continue. This time, the organisation's money transfer was captured by security forces in Istanbul. According to the footage, it is seen that FETO members meet in a crowded area, talk for a short time and then one of them gives money in a bag to the other. Two people in the footage were detained.*

*Security units determined that the money changed hands for the rent of the organisation's houses. Houses were rented for **restructuring** purposes. The rents were secretly delivered to the house supervisors in public places by the assistant managers of the organisation. The delivery of the bag full of money with a 10-second hug showed the importance the organisation attaches to secrecy."*

In the video a woman is seen giving a bag to another on the street. Then a police officer is seen to have confiscated the bag and displaying the money from inside the bag. The news outlets published it as FETO's money transfer caught on camera.⁴⁴

⁴³ <https://www.odatv.com/guncel/saniye-saniye-feto-teroristlere-sucustu-yer-istanbul-120046264>

⁴⁴ <https://x.com/superhaber/status/1796117715565838701>