

HATE SPEECH

ERDOĞAN'S CAMPAIGN OF HATE SPEECH
CASE OF TARGETING THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

2013-2017



Traitor and
terrorist

**Blood
sucking
leech**

**We will boil
them down to
their molecules
Perverted**

**Charlatan
Evil
Virus
Vampires**

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center for
freedom

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

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

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

ERDOĞAN'S VILE CAMPAIGN OF HATE SPEECH CASE STUDY: TARGETING OF THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

Introduction

Turkey has seen an unprecedented rise in xenophobic, intolerant and hateful speech by the nation's political rulers, driven primarily by the outspoken president of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who uses incessant and vile speech inciting hostility, deepening divisions and expanding polarization in the 80-million-strong nation for short-term political gains.

This has negatively impacted the social cohesiveness, pluralism and integrity in Turkish society, threatened fundamental human rights and liberties and politicized state institutions including the judiciary. Today, invoking hate speech that stigmatizes millions among vulnerable social groups, minorities and others represents an important routine on the part of the autocratic regime of President Erdoğan.

Unfortunately, many opposition parties in Turkey either go along with the divisive ideology of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and President Erdoğan, parrot the same line or display no political will to act and combat intolerant and hateful speech as well as discriminatory actions that undermine democracy.

Moreover, this alarming pattern of hatred among the leadership has expanded and is further amplified with government-directed or controlled media outlets, NGOs and educational institutions sowing intolerant ideas across all segments of society.

This is not only a threat to Turkey but also carries the risk of spillover elsewhere, already witnessed in many countries, especially in Europe, where sizable Turkish communities exist. President Erdoğan's vile, non-stop remarks bashing his domestic critics and opponents such as members of the Gülen movement, Alevis and Kurds extend beyond Turkish borders. The West in general and Christians and Jews in particular have not at times been spared the hateful speech of Turkey's leaders, either.

The Stockholm Center for Freedom, a monitoring group that tracks rights violations in Turkey, has been documenting cases of hate speech and hate crime that represent a threat to diversity and pluralism in Turkey. As a case study in this report, SCF picked Erdoğan's hate speech pattern demonizing members of the Gülen movement, which has borne the brunt of incessant vicious attacks by Erdoğan and his associates in the government that resulted in a mass persecution and witch-hunt, unparalleled to anything in modern Turkish history. This campaign has been so severe that even the opposition parties have adopted the oppressors' language instead of defying and resisting it, in the hope of deflecting Erdoğan's wrath and partially shifting the blame to the victims.



Turkish
President
Recep Tayyip
Erdoğan.

Although there is no universally accepted definition of what hate speech means, there are a number of guidelines that Turkey should and must follow, such as those issued by Council of Europe bodies. In fact, to a certain extent, Turkey has already done so by criminalizing hate speech, in 2014. However, the application has been quite disappointing, to say the least, because in many cases prosecutors simply decline to pursue criminal complaints, especially when filed against government officials, particularly Erdoğan, and in some cases have turned the complaints into fresh probes into plaintiffs and victims.

Erdoğan, who has consolidated his grip on the judiciary with the new constitutional amendments of April 16 that gave him ultimate power to shape the top judicial bodies, effectively enjoys absolute immunity when using incessant hate speech against his critics and opponents. On the other hand, Erdoğan's lawyers bring thousands of defamation cases against people who have legitimately criticized the president, slapping critics with hefty fines and jail sentences.

That pattern confirms the view that simple criminalization of hate speech did not provide the solution in the Turkish case as the real problem originates from the lack of respect for equality, diversity and pluralism in the true sense among the current cadre of Turkish leaders, whose ideology is rooted in xenophobic Islamism and nationalism. Adding insult to injury, Erdoğan and other leaders in Turkey go further by encouraging hate speech, disregard human rights and fundamental problems and revise educational and social policies to institutionalize this dangerously combustible, hateful narrative.

By doing so, however, Turkey has been violating first and foremost the articles of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which are binding on Turkey. The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has clearly stated that “tolerance and respect for the equal dignity of all human beings constitute the foundations of a democratic, pluralistic society. That being so, as a matter of principle it may be considered necessary in certain democratic societies to sanction or even prevent all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance.”¹

1] *Erbakan v. Turkey*, (2006, July 6), <http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-76232>



The
International
Festival of
Language
and Culture
(IFLC).

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) also laid out the guidelines on combatting hate speech in its general policy recommendation No.15, which was adopted on December 8, 2015.² In that, the ECRI acknowledged that politicians and other leaders “have a particularly important responsibility” in preventing hate speech “because of their capacity to exercise influence over a wide audience.”

In the Turkish case, Erdoğan is doing the complete opposite. As a result, what the ECRI warned about in saying “the use of hate speech may be intended to incite, or reasonably expected to have the effect of inciting others to commit, acts of violence, intimidation, hostility or discrimination against those who are targeted by it and that this is an especially serious form of such speech” has come to pass in Turkey. Mass torture and ill-treatment of jailed members of the Gülen movement at the hands of police and prison officials as well as vigilante crimes against them are believed to be encouraged by the very hate speech employed by Erdoğan and other Turkish leaders against the group.

Turkey also appears to be in breach of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which it finally ratified in 2002, 30 years after it was signed. Turkey will most likely be cited to that effect in the upcoming reports by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which monitors the implementation of the convention. Similarly, as a member of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Turkey agreed in Copenhagen in 1990 that participating states should “guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground.”³

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR) monitors Turkey on hate crimes. Yet, the office itself came under an unwarranted attack by Erdoğan during and after the campaign for the April 16 referendum, which boosted the president’s powers without checks and balances in what was considered to be an unfair and unfree campaign. Erdoğan called the OSCE election observers “terrorists,” vowed not to recognize their reports and directed his

2] ECRI General Policy Recommendation no. 15 on Combating Hate Speech, CRI(2016)15, (2015, December 8), http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/GPR/EN/Recommendation_N15/REC-15-2016-015-ENG.pdf

3] Bias against other groups, <http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/bias-against-other-groups>

media to run a smear campaign against individual observers by plastering their pictures on the front pages of pro-government dailies.

As Swedish lawmaker Jonas Gunnarsson made clear in his 2014 report titled “A strategy to prevent racism and intolerance in Europe,” which was approved by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), politicians bear a special responsibility to remain vigilant in the face of rising hate speech, urging them to firmly reject racism, hatred and violence. “Unfortunately, all too often, politicians indulge in populist and intolerant discourse, even when they are from mainstream parties,” he concluded.⁴ That is especially true in Erdoğan’s case.

In this research study, the decoded hate speech template Erdoğan used against members of the Gülen movement could very well have been applied to others in varying degrees and intensity, including at one time or another the Kurdish political movement and Alevis as well as international organizations such as the European Union, and International Monetary Fund and individual countries such as the United States, Germany and the Netherlands. SCF is tracking all these hate speech patterns and plans to compile them in separate reports in the future.

ERDOĞAN’S STIGMATIZATION OF THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

“They are grave robbers! They are body snatchers. They are characterized by lies, deceit, subterfuge, dissension, conspiracy and slander. It is a treacherous terrorist organization. They have no morality! They have no decency! They have no love for the homeland, nation or flag! What an impostor he is! They are slanderous! They are so lowly, so treacherous...”⁵

This is a compilation of quotes from the insults and hate speech uttered by President Erdoğan against a social group, called Hizmet (“service” in English), or popularly known as the Gülen movement as it was inspired by US-based Turkish-Islamic scholar Fethullah

4] A strategy to prevent racism and intolerance in Europe, (January 13, 2014), <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=20337&lang=en>

5] Excerpts from various speeches by Turkey’s president that were documented in detail in the annex later in this report.

The Gülen movement’s signature event globally celebrating cultural and linguistic diversity.



Gülen. The insults and hate speech started to crop up in the wake of graft and bribery investigations that went public in December 2013 implicating Erdoğan and some Cabinet members. Judges and prosecutors who conducted corruption investigations concerning billions of dollars were the scapegoats as Erdogan accused them of being affiliated with the Gülen movement in order to discredit the probe.

The unprecedented process of vilifying and demonizing the Gülen movement was hurriedly kicked off by Erdoğan, who blatantly said, “Yes, it is a witch-hunt, and we are the ones who are conducting it.” As a result, thousands of people had to leave the country for their own safety, almost 150,000 were dismissed from the civil service without any effective judicial or administrative probe, and some 50,000 had been arrested as of May 1, 2017. There were over 100,000 cases of detention in which hundreds of torture complaints were made by the UN and other credible nongovernmental organizations, and more than 60 people died under suspicious circumstances.⁶

The gross insults and hate speech frequently employed by Erdoğan do not target the Hizmet movement alone, of course. All individuals, social groups and even countries perceived by the president as being critical of him have had their share of insults. Yet, in terms of intensity, frequency and magnitude of rage, Erdoğan’s insults against the Hizmet movement rank first by a long shot.

December 21, 2013 can be considered the date on which Erdoğan publicly started to target the Hizmet movement with his hate speech, although his animosity towards the group dated back as early as the 1990s, when he was the mayor of Istanbul. He kept his hostility toward the group for years private and even enlisted the help of members of Hizmet and other groups when he needed support for belated political and economic reforms. When he was implicated and his family members incriminated in graft probes, Erdoğan expressed the anger he had been bottling up for years against Hizmet. Since December 2013, Erdoğan has gradually stepped up the dose of vile and hateful speech against Gülen and the Hizmet movement.

The research done by SCF found that Erdoğan has uttered 240 different derogatory phrases that amount to hate speech against the Hizmet movement in a little over three years. Given the fact that each derogatory phrase and instance of hate speech has been voiced by Erdoğan dozens and even hundreds of times in various public speeches, the horrendous nature of Erdoğan’s onslaught against the Hizmet movement is worse than it appears at first glance. He entrenches the hateful narrative by repeatedly employing it in public speeches.

Considering further that the media outlets directly or indirectly controlled by Erdoğan frequently and pervasively parroted the same rhetoric, the intensity of the insults and hate speech targeting the Hizmet movement can be better understood. As an example of how Erdoğan’s insults and hate speech have dominated the media scene in Turkey, a simple search for the derogatory phrase “FETÖ” -- an acronym for the Gülenist Terror Organization frequently used by Erdoğan and pro-Erdoğan media networks -- on Google produced more than 62 million results on May 18, 2017.⁷

6] ‘Cadı aviysa cadı avı’ (Yes, it is a witch hunt) haberturk.com.tr (2014, May 11) <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/947328-cadi-aviysa-cadi-avi->

7] Google (2017, May 17), https://www.google.se/search?site=&source=hp&q=FET%C3%96&oq=FET%C3%96&gs_l=hp.3..0l10.787.1726.0.2750.4.4.0.0.0.221.509.2j1j1.4.0....0...1.1.64.hp..0.4.509...46j0i46k1.5THBOzndP0g



Erdogan brandishing Qur'an in rallies to spin his hate speech as a political tool.

The lack of punishment for such rhetoric and hate speech that trigger physical assaults, boycotts, lynching, torture and many other hate crimes as well as the impunity of those who wield them constitute another aspect of the problem. Not only can those who spew hate speech easily escape punishment, but also those who file criminal complaints as victims of such speech are treated as criminals.

On the other hand, the most stringently prosecuted type of crime in Turkey is currently insulting the president and defaming his family members. Thousands of people including veteran journalist Hasan Cemal, pianist Dengin Ceylan, the tea-maker of the Cumhuriyet newspaper and high school students are currently standing trial on charges of insulting Erdoğan. As of March 2, 2016, investigations into 1,845 people had been completed and their prosecutions commenced. It is estimated that the number of people who are currently under investigation is several times higher than this figure.

The exact figure is not known, as the Justice Ministry has not made any other announcement about the total number since then. However, it is known that the number of such cases skyrocketed in 2016, and it is very likely this figure will soar exponentially. It should be noted that suspects are usually arrested pending trial although the charges do not merit detention. Murat Aydın, a judge in Karşıyaka and the vice president of the Judges and Prosecutors Association (YARSAV), was reassigned and exiled to Trabzon after he applied to the Constitutional Court for the annulment of the legal article concerning “insulting the president.”⁸

YARSAV, the only legal association in Turkey with international accreditation, was shut down and its president, Judge Murat Aslan, was arrested since YARSAV was the greatest rival to the pro-Erdoğan Unity in the Judiciary Platform (YBP) through which the government controls the judiciary.⁹

But what is the reason for Erdoğan’s unadulterated hatred and antagonism towards the Hizmet movement? Why had Erdoğan never uttered a single word of insult publicly or hate speech against the Hizmet movement until December 21, 2013, but abruptly started a barrage of intense defamation of the movement after that date? In fact on November 20, 2013, a month before he suddenly changed his narrative, he had appeared on a TV program where he referred to the Hizmet movement as his sisters and brothers in the Community. “We find it odd for our sisters and brothers in the Community [Hizmet] to attack us with

8] ‘Cumhurbaşkanı’na hakareti AYM’ye götüren hakim sürüldü. (2016, June 6) <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/cumhurbaskanina-hakareti-aymye-goturen-hakim-suruldu-1263330/>

9] YARSAV Eski Başkanı Murat Arslan FETÖ’den tutuklandı (2016, October 26) <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1315712-yarsav-eski-baskanina-fetoden-tutuklandi>



Erdoğan often appears angry, lashing out and bullying his critics.

the Gülen movement has always distanced itself from politics and staunchly opposed using religion for political gains. Erdoğan, coming from a political Islamist background, has used religion for both political goals and personal enrichment. Erdoğan's hostility towards the West, kept on the backburners for years before he felt he had consolidated enough power in his hands, ran contrary to interfaith and intercultural dialogue efforts by the Gülen movement, which has advocated them for decades. The two parted ways when the Arab revolutions started in 2011 during which Erdoğan funded, armed and supported jihadists for regime change in Arab countries. The Gülen movement strongly opposed the use of force and arms for such blatant interventions into other countries' affairs.

MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE BETWEEN GÜLEN AND THE AKP

When the AKP was founded by Erdoğan and his colleagues on August 14, 2001, its democratic, inclusive, anti-military and anti-tutelary discourse that advocated the rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms had garnered considerable support from all democratic and liberal segments of the society. Despite its political Islamist roots (National View, or Milli Görüş), the AKP had promised to pursue mainstream policies and managed to attract politicians from diverse political affiliations and made practical moves to reinforce these inclusive policies. Thus, it secured the support not only of different social groups but also members of the Gülen movement.

Just like international organizations including the European Union and the Council of Europe and other democratic and pro-freedom social groups, the members of the Gülen movement lent support -- via their media outlets and civil society organizations -- to the ruling AKP during its first two terms in office due to its efforts, primarily reforms with regard to European Union membership talks and the Council of Europe (CoE) monitoring process. The Gülen movement joined the coalition of the democratic base in supporting the AKP's steps to better align with trans-Atlantic values, to resolve problematic foreign policy areas such as the Cyprus issue and relations with Armenia as part of the zero-problem-

their media outlets, with false claims. Why should this [ban on prep schools, i.e., private institutions that offer preparatory classes] target the Community? Their language is not a language of the heart. We will maintain our language of the heart. I want the opposing party to use the language of the heart as well," he had said.¹⁰

Although the corruption probe that implicated Erdoğan appears to be a milestone in turning him against Hizmet, the track record between Erdoğan and the movement suggests the two have never gone along with each other on fundamental questions. For one,

10] "Erdoğan: Dershanelerde geri adım yok, cemaat bize saldırıyı durdursun!" (Erdoğan: No stepping back with prep schools, let the Community stop attacking us!) (2013, November 11), <http://t24.com.tr/haber/Erdoğan-di-yarbakir-sonrasi-gazetecilerin-sorularini-yanitliyor,244443>

with-neighbors policy and to expand rights and freedoms at the expense of the military and bureaucratic tutelage that had held Turkey back for years.

Nevertheless, the Gülen movement has never given unconditional or blind support to the AKP. Whenever the AKP exhibited the intention of moving away from democratic principles, the rule of law, human rights and freedoms and other fundamental principles as well as peaceful foreign policy ideals, the Hizmet movement voiced its criticism and opposition. Strong opposition was exhibited by media outlets and civil society organizations affiliated with the Gülen movement to the antidemocratic articles of the new counterterrorism bill the AKP was trying to pass in 2005. Likewise, during the Mavi Marmara crisis,¹¹ the Gülen movement refrained from jumping on the AKP bandwagon. Instead, it insisted that diplomatic and peaceful efforts be maintained and urged aid groups to work with Israel and Palestine to deliver humanitarian assistance.

While Erdoğan and the AKP openly backed the Mavi Marmara campaign and used its consequences to further their domestic policy interests, Gülen publicly criticized the government's stance.¹² These criticisms led to a rift between the AKP and the movement but did not evolve into an open conflict or crisis. However, the Mavi Marmara incident came to be known as the most obvious example showing the difference between the Islamic democratic system of thought, represented by Gülen, and the ideology of the AKP, which by then had started to exhibit signs of efforts to return to its political Islamist roots.

Despite the different stances over the Mavi Marmara incident, members of the Hizmet movement largely lent support to the AKP during the general elections of 2011 as they believed that the AKP would further contribute to the country's democratization and EU membership bid and draft a democratic, pluralistic and civic constitution. Securing the highest-ever electoral backing with 49.83 percent of the general vote in the parliamentary elections of June 12, 2011, Erdoğan emerged stronger and further consolidated his power. Erdoğan felt confident enough to ditch the support of liberal groups, the Hizmet movement and other democratic social groups, which he never liked, and a parting of the ways would soon occur.

The first obvious sign that indicated the AKP would jettison its democratic and liberal orientation to return to its political Islamist aspirations came on April 1, 2013 from Aziz Babuşçu, an Erdoğan loyalist who was entrusted with running the party organization in Istanbul as the provincial head before becoming a lawmaker. In a statement Babuşçu had said: "Those who have been our stakeholders during the last decade of our time in office will not be our stakeholders over the next 10 years.

Indeed, during the last 10 years, we have had partners in accomplishing what we did in justice, the rule of law, freedoms and cleaning up the state. They say liberal groups had

11] The vessel Mavi Marmara set out accompanied with a group of ships to carry humanitarian aid to Gaza, which was under Israel's blockade, under a campaign masterminded by the Humanitarian Aid Foundation (IHH) and Free Gaza Movement. The campaign failed to complete its mission as troops from the Israeli army boarded the vessel in international waters near Gaza on May 31, 2010. As a result of the attack, 10 activists aboard the vessel died and 60 were wounded.

12] Reclusive Turkish Imam Criticizes Gaza Flotilla, (2010, June 4), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704025304575284721280274694>

somehow been stakeholders in this process although they could hardly tolerate us. But the future will be a time of rebuilding. This period will not comply with their wishes. Therefore, those stakeholders will not be with us. Those who walked with us for one reason or another in the past will be stakeholders of those who are against us tomorrow. This is because the Turkey that will be built and the future that will be revived will displease them. Therefore, our task will be a harder one.”¹³

The Arab uprisings of 2011 were what accelerated Erdoğan and the AKP’s return to their political Islamist roots. As the AKP availed itself of the opportunity to meddle in internal affairs of other countries, namely Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Syria, steer away from the ideals of the rule of law and democracy, concomitantly with a rise in graft allegations, the members of the Hizmet movement stepped up their criticism and scaled back their support for the AKP.

A book store, owned by Turkey’s largest retail bookstore Gülen-linked NT, was vandalized by gov’t supporters.



Erdoğan and the AKP responded to this by removing from office public officials whom they believed to be affiliated with the Gülen movement through unlawful profiling and purges. “With one prosecutor and three police officers, I can declare you to be a terrorist organization,” Erdoğan had said, referring to the Gülen movement, at that time.¹⁴ This was the end of the road.

On November 14, 2013, with the intention of penalizing the Gülen movement, Erdoğan decided to shut down the prep schools which used to provide supplementary tutoring for students who compete in nationally held high school and university exams. This was because members of the Gülen movement were major players (roughly one-third of the market) in Turkey’s prep school sector. Tens of thousands of young people preferred prep schools run by members of the movement for their quality training and proven track record of success. Erdoğan’s daughter Esra Erdoğan was among those who attended these prep schools. With his decision to close down prep schools without examining its potential impact on education, Erdoğan dealt a major blow to the movement and undermined the Turkish national education system, which is based on competitive examinations.

13] “Babuşçu: Gelecek 10 yıl, liberaller gibi eski paydaşlarımızın arzuladığı gibi olmayacak” (Babuşçu: The next 10 years will not be as our old stakeholders like liberals would desire to be) t24.com.tr (2013, January 4), <http://t24.com.tr/haber/babuscu-onumuzdeki-10-yil-liberaller-gibi-eski-paydaslarimizin-kabullenecegi-gibi-olmayacak,226892>

14] Journalist Mehmet Baransu, who is still in prison, had claimed that Erdoğan made those remarks in 2012. This claim was neither denied nor accepted by Erdoğan.

Thugs brings down the name plate for Gülen-affiliated Yamanlar school after government shut it down.



The relationship between Erdoğan/AKP and the Hizmet movement turned into one of antagonism in the wake of the graft and bribery operations of December 17/25, 2013,¹⁵ which exposed to the light of day the shady web of graft, black money and bribery on a national and international scale as well as the involvement of government officials including Erdoğan. To shift the blame and deflect criticism, Erdoğan immediately claimed that the movement was behind the graft investigation. Fethullah Gülen denied the allegation, and the government failed to come up with evidence to substantiate it.

Anti-graft and anti-bribery reports by media outlets that were known to be close to the movement further exacerbated the hostility. Making use of the widespread and largely monopolistic media network he controlled, Erdoğan managed to convince AKP voters that the graft and bribery scandals that went public on December 17, 2013 were actually a coup attempt against him and the government. And the “witch-hunt,” as Erdoğan put it, against the movement started after this date.

Addressing his supporters in a public rally in Ordu’s Cumhuriyet Square on December 21, 2013, i.e., only four days following the revelation of the graft and bribery operations, Erdoğan said: “Those who seek to establish a parallel structure within the state must know that we will come into your lairs even if you settle firmly there. ... We will search every nook and cranny and expose these organizations nested within the state to the light of day. ... We will combat the organizations that act as sub-contractors for international organizations in the same way we have fought the gangs to date. This is ignominy, immorality and dishonesty. This collusion, this conspiracy, has been masterminded abroad and subcontracted to pawns in Turkey. This is blatant treason. We will make those who are behind this treason and espionage pay for this.”¹⁶

Then, Erdoğan started to hold rallies everywhere across the country and appear on TV programs to otherize, antagonize and demonize the movement with a barrage of hate speech, insults, curses and humiliations. The hate speech that targeted the Gülen movement soon

15] Investigation of December 17, 2013. The investigation that was initiated as a result of a number of denunciations in September 2012 and February 2013 and which became public on December 17, 2013 as Public Prosecutor Celal Kara’s detention instructions and relevant courts’ search warrants were implemented, and which were conducted by teams from İstanbul Police Department Organized Crime and Financial Crimes branches, with charges of “bribery, misconduct, bid rigging and smuggling” raised against businessmen, bureaucrats, a bank director and public officials, four ministers and the children of three ministers.

Investigation of December 25, 2013. The investigation launched by Prosecutor Muammer Akkaş into 96 people including Bilal Erdoğan, the son of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on charges of “establishing and leading an organization with the purpose of committing crimes, bid rigging and bribery.”

Over time, both investigations were covered up and the members of the judiciary and the police force who took part in these investigations were first dismissed and then imprisoned.

16] “Erdoğan: İninize gireceğiz didik didik edeceğiz” (We will come into your lairs and we will search every nook and cranny) [cnnturk.com](http://www.cnnturk.com) (2013, December 22) <http://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/erdogan-ininize-girecegiz-didik-didik-edecemiz>

acquired unprecedented dimensions in a way and with an intensity never before seen in the history of the republic.

ERDOĞAN’S RATCHETED-UP INSULTS AND HATE SPEECH

The rich pattern of hate speech by which Erdoğan wielded insults was remarkable. SCF identified 240 insults hurled by Erdoğan against the movement during the 44 months between December 21, 2013 and May 1, 2017.

His favorite set of insults includes: “Ignoble, traitors, scoundrels, Hashashin,¹⁷ blood-sucking vampires, false preacher, tomb raiders, malignant tumor, impostors, mean.” Examining the insults and hate speech Erdoğan started to use in late 2013, when he was prime minister, one gets the impression that he had difficulty in defining the Gülen movement. Carefully avoiding the phrases “Hizmet movement” or “Community,” Erdoğan apparently went to great lengths to manufacture new concepts and coin new phrases in his speeches and ordered others to do so as well.

The phrase “parallel structure” or “parallel state structure” is indubitably the first fruit of these systematic efforts. With “parallel structure,” Erdoğan was referring to government employees who were allegedly close to the movement, in a bid to undermine the corruption investigations that were being pursued by investigators in the judiciary and police force. Although he had urged four Cabinet ministers to resign in an effort to fend off pressure from the government, he did not give his approval to the trial of those ministers.

Fearing that the investigative process might eventually extend to himself as well, he opted for redefining the graft investigations as a veiled attempt to overthrow his party. His first attempt was to blame then-US Ambassador Frank Ricciardone for the graft probe that also involved state-lender Halkbank, whose officials laundered Iranian state funds in exchange for bribes. Erdoğan had the US envoy’s picture plastered on the front pages of five dailies the same day. However, when his attempt to drag the US into his pool of troubles backfired after a harsh rebuke from the US in private communications, Erdoğan turned his fury on the Gülen movement. He alleged that the prosecutors, judges and police chiefs who conducted the said investigations were actually ordered by Fethullah Gülen to do so. Gülen strongly denied any role and dared Erdoğan to present evidence to substantiate claims, something the government failed to do.

Erdoğan’s blatant interventions in the graft investigations were criticized in a number of international documents, including the European Union’s progress reports and the US State Department’s annual reports. His moves were described as steps that hinder transparency and anti-corruption



Anti-terror teams raided even kindergartens to terrorize Gülen-affiliated schools and intimidate critics.

^{17]} The term is derived from the Arabic word for “assassin” and refers to the Hashishi, an 11th-century order that posed a strong threat to the Sunni Seljuk Empire.



Zaman reporter Emre Şencan was attacked by police while he was trying to cover a protest.

efforts. The “parallel structure” is the phrase he coined to refer to the police chiefs and members of the judiciary who took part in the graft operations. He used this expression for the first time when he addressed a crowd in Ordu on December 21, 2013: “Those who seek to establish a parallel structure within the state must know that we will come into your lairs even if you settle firmly there ...”¹⁸

As Erdoğan became president in 2014, he and the AKP, which he controlled in breach of the Constitution, had one primary agenda item: to deal with the so-called “parallel structure.” On January 2, 2015, when presiding over the National Security Council (MGK), he managed to make the council pass a decision to include the phrase “Parallel State Structure” (PDY) into the National Security Policy Document, or the “Red Book” in popular parlance, which used to

be considered the “secret constitution” of Turkey.¹⁹ It was a political statement to discredit the Gülen movement.

It did not stop there. Erdoğan strove to come up with new derogatory concepts. On November 30, 2015, he coined a new phrase to defame the movement on a TV program aired on ATV: “illegal structure in legal disguise.” “Now, all their religious guises, etc., have gone away. This is nothing but an organization. It is an illegal organization in legal disguise that threatens our national security. This is an international, global network of treason.”²⁰ Erdoğan started to use the phrase “illegal structure in legal disguise” often in addition to “parallel structure” to refer to the movement in his speeches for a certain period of time. But this, too, wore out in his public discourse. He was determined to declare the movement a “terrorist organization” despite the fact that members of the Gülen movement had not been investigated for any act of violence or terrorism in 40 years in the 40 years of its existence?

In fact, the movement is very critical of violent groups that use terror to achieve their goals. Gülen has been staunchly opposed to any violence throughout his career and often came out with strong statements to condemn any violence perpetrated on behalf of Islam.

18] “Erdoğan: İninize gireceğiz didik didik edeceğiz” (We will come into your lairs and we will search every nook and cranny) cnnturk.com 22.12.2013 <http://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/Erdoğan-ininize-girecegiz-didik-didik-edecemiz>

19] “Ve Paralel Yapı Kırmızı Kitapta” (And the Parallel is in the Red Book) Sabah newspaper 02.01.2015 <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/01/02/ve-paralel-yapi-kirmizi-kitapta>

20] “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, ATV-A Haber Ortak Yayınına Katıldı.” (President Erdoğan attends a program co-aired by ATV and A Haber TV.) Website of the Presidency of the Turkish Republic. 30.10.2015 <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/35814/cumhurbaskani-Erdoğan-atv-a-haber-ortak-yayinina-katildi.html>



Wonderful,
innocent kids
were targeted
in a hate
speech.

Despite the movement's proven track record of a peaceful and pacifist approach, Erdoğan ensured that on May 30, 2016 the Cabinet passed a resolution defining the movement as the “Fetullahist Terror Organization” (FETÖ), the last in a series of aspersions starting with the “parallel state structure” and continuing with the “illegal structure in legal disguise.” On May 27, 2016, President Erdoğan said at a public rally in Kırşehir: “We took a new resolution yesterday. We defined it [the Gülen movement] as an illegal structure in legal disguise. We passed a recommended resolution referring to it as the Gülenist Terrorist Organization This is even different from above. Need to decide on one phrase and stick with it. We sent it to the government and are now waiting for a Cabinet decision. We will eventually ensure that they are recognized as a terrorist organization. They will be tried in the same category with the Democratic Union Party (PYD) and the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK).”²¹

Thus, the Hizmet movement would be labeled as a “terrorist organization” in Turkey, and this label would be parroted mainly by Erdoğan-controlled media outlets, resulting in 56 million citations in a Google search on May 1, 2017.

INSULTS AND SLURS IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT

Perhaps it is necessary to give some background to better explain certain insults and hate speech terms used by Erdoğan in the Turkish context.

Erdoğan: Hey! It is your preacher who caused my daughter to remove her headscarf. He is playing into the hands of the enemies of the headscarf.²²

The headscarf has been one of the symbolic problems in secular Turkey. Young girls who wore the Islamic headscarf were not allowed to attend schools, including universities, or work in government offices for years. This ban created great discontent among the pious

21] “Erdoğan açıkladı: MGK Fethullah Gülen için karar aldı.” (MGK took a decision regarding Gülen, Erdoğan says) Hürriyet Gazetesi (2016, May 27) <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/Erdoğandan-chpye-cok-sert-hakaret-tepki-si-40109914>

22] “Erdoğan’dan STV’ye Şefkat Tepe ve Peygamber tepkisi”. (Erdoğan lambastes STV for Şefkat Tepe and the Prophet) Gazeteciler.com (2014, February 15), <http://www.gazeteciler.com/haber/erdoandan-stvye-efkat-tepe-ve-peygamber-tepkisi/230984>

people of the country. Unfortunately, the Islamic headscarf was used as a political tool by both secular and Islamist politicians to further their political aspirations in Turkey.

The headscarf ban had been one of the hot agenda items when the Turkish military forced the coalition government led by the now-defunct, conservative Welfare Party (RP) out of power, citing alleged rising religious fundamentalism in the country, on February 28, 1997, marking the inception of what was later termed the “February 28 process.” The tension between secular and non-secular groups was on the rise, and there were signs that a military coup was imminent. At that time, the RP – of which Erdoğan was a senior leader -- opted for confrontation, while Fethullah Gülen declared that the headscarf was not an Islamic symbol and that the injunction to wear the headscarf could be considered as ancillary to the fundamental principles of Islam, and if young girls decide to remove their headscarves in order to attend university, they could choose to do so. With these remarks on the Islamic view on the headscarf, Gülen sought to defuse tension in the society and ward off a potential coup d’état that might derail democracy in the country.

However, these remarks were enough to make Gülen an enemy of the headscarf in the eyes of Erdoğan and his Islamist associates.

Erdoğan: The behind-the-scenes of the Gezi Park protests are coming to light. They were directly involved in the Gezi Park protests. They resorted to all sorts of hideousness.²³

The anti-government Gezi Park protests took place between May 28 and August 30, 2013. When Erdoğan wanted to proceed with a plan to construct high-rise buildings in place of a green space in Istanbul’s historic Taksim district, protests broke out and soon spread across the country in the form of anti-Erdoğan and anti-government rallies. The Gezi Park protests have constituted the most important popular challenge against Erdoğan and the ruling AKP to date. It was also unique in that diverse groups with conflicting views that are hard to reconcile were united in opposition to Erdoğan.

Erdoğan dubbed the Gezi Park protests as a coup d’état against him and claimed it was devised by the West. As Erdoğan employed a pro-violence rhetoric and ordered the police to harshly suppress the protests, this led to a high death toll and numerous casualties. Seven civilians and one police superintendent died, 8,163 people were injured and 126 people were arrested.

The AKP’s voters had very negative perceptions about the Gezi Park protests. “The behind-the-scenes of the Gezi Park protests are coming to light. They were directly involved in the Gezi Park protests. They resorted to all sorts of hideousness,” Erdoğan said with the intention of turning his supporters’ hatred of the Gezi Park protests onto the Hizmet movement.

Erdoğan: We see new Lawrences disguised as preachers, Hizmet members, journalists or columnists working against us.²⁴

23] “Başbakan Kocaeli’nde Konuştu” (PM addresses the public in Kocaeli) Hürriyet newspaper. (2014, March 23), <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/basbakan-kocaelide-konustu-26067557>

24] “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’dan Lawrence çıkışı”. (President Erdoğan’s Lawrence outburst) Sabah Newspaper. (2014, October 13), <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2014/10/13/cumhurbaskani-Erdoğan-konusuyor#>

T. E. Lawrence, who played a major role in the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire, the incidents in the Sinai Peninsula and Palestine and the eventual withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Arab geography, was perceived not only by AKP voters but also the wider public in Turkey as a symbolic “enemy.” By likening Fethullah Gülen and the Hizmet movement to Lawrence, Erdoğan intended to channel this historical anger against them. Parallel Treason Gang (PİÇ)²⁵

Police used rubber bullets, gas and pressurized water to crackdown on peaceful readers who gathered to protest government's unlawful takeover of Zaman daily.

The phrase “Parallel Treason Gang” is quite ubiquitous in Erdoğan’s discourse. The media outlets that act in tandem with Erdoğan tended to use the Turkish acronym “PİÇ” in place of this phrase, which is sadly indicative of their moral debasement. Indeed, “piç” means “bastard” in Turkish. It is a gross insult amounting hate speech.

Erdoğan: They receive orders from the Mastermind; they are the pawns of the Mastermind.²⁶

With this discourse, Erdoğan builds upon the existing anti-Western sentiments of AKP voters. By saying “They receive orders from the Mastermind; they are the pawns of the Mastermind,” he loosely refers to the Western world in general and the US and Israel in particular. In the same context, he also refers to Fethullah Gülen as “transatlantic” and “Pennsylvania.”

“Preacher’s lobby”²⁷

The “Preacher’s lobby” is a phrase by which Erdoğan refers to Fethullah Gülen. Gülen had served as a preacher at the Religious Affairs Directorate for several years. He coins the Turkish words “vaiz” (preacher) and “lobi” (lobby) to remind people of his previous coinage, “faiz lobisi” (interest rate lobby). In Erdoğan’s parlance, the “interest rate lobby” is a West-centered formation that seeks to undermine Turkey’s economy.

Erdoğan: They are the pineapple-people!²⁸

The pineapple was one of the symbols of the witch-hunt that ensued after graft and



25] “Başkan Yılmaz: İddianemede ‘PDY’ örgütünün ismi Paralel İhanet Çetesi olsun”. (President Yılmaz: Let the name of the PDY organization be Parallel Treason Gang in the indictment) Hürriyet Newspaper (2016, July 21), <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/baskan-yilmaz-iddianemede-pdy-orgutunun-ismi-paralel-ihonet-cetesi-olsun-37313013>

26] “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: FETÖ tam bir maşa, onun üstünde üst akıl var.” (President Erdoğan: FETÖ is a stooge, there is a mastermind over it.” Haber10.com (2016, July 31), http://www.haber10.com/cumhurbaskani/cumhurbaskani_Erdoğan_feto_tam_bir_masa_onun_ustunde_ust_akil_var-645517

27] “Başbakan Erdoğan: Vaiz lobisinden emir alanlar ihanet içinde, örgüt CHP’yi de ele geçirdi.” (Prime Minister Erdoğan: Those who receive orders from the preacher lobby are in betrayal; the organization has captured the CHP.” T24.com.tr (2014, February 1), <http://t24.com.tr/haber/basbakan-Erdoğan-orgut-chpyi-ele-gecirdi,249962>

28] “Erdoğan: Bunların terör örgütünden hiçbir farkı yok” (Erdoğan: They are no different from a terrorist organization) Internethaber.com (2015, October 25), <http://www.internethaber.com/Erdoğan-bunlarin-teror-orgutunden-hicbir-farki-yok-652602h.htm>

bribery scandals went public on December 17, 2013. Then-Prime Minister Erdoğan accused the movement of being behind the graft operations, referring to it as the “Parallel State Structure.”

On January 13, 2014, a voice recording that allegedly belonged to Mustafa Günay, the secretary-general of the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), a business association established by individuals who were close to Fethullah Gülen and the movement, was posted on the Internet. In this conversation which was apparently illegally recorded, Günay told Gülen: “Things like pineapples had been sent as gifts to these friends of ours. And I had conveyed those gifts to them. Koç [referring to the deceased Mustafa Koç, who was chairman of the executive board of Koç Holding] sent a letter of thanks today.” The next day, pro-AKP media outlets ran headlines about this conversation highlighting the word “pineapple.”

In virtually all the speeches he delivered in those days, Erdoğan made references to “pineapple.” For Erdoğan and pro-Erdoğan media outlets, “pineapple” was not simply a fruit, but a sort of code. It was code for public tenders to be awarded in favor of certain people or about gold carried from Africa to Turkey, they argued. “No, it was the fruit, pineapple. It was presented to certain businessmen as gifts,” TUSKON said when denying the accusations in a written statement. Koç also confirmed that he received a pineapple as a gift from Africa. Nevertheless, Erdoğan continued to voice the same allegations for months to come. He used “pineapple” as a metaphor for “wealth,” “Ponzi scheme” or “pecuniary web of relations.” On January 24, 2014, he said in a public rally: “Pineapples come and go. It is not the pineapple as you know it! You get it. Pineapple is a code name; it is code.” Yet he failed to produce any evidence for this claim.

Erdoğan: We will boil them down to their molecules.²⁹

This is one of the most shocking examples of Erdoğan’s hate speech against the Hizmet movement. The president publicly threatening a social group with “disintegrating them into molecules by boiling” as if sterilizing milk necessarily brings to mind the practices of Nazi Germany. This hate speech paved the way for acts of lynching, killing, confiscation of property, torture and many other hate crimes against the movement.

HATE SPEECH AND IMPUNITY

For Turkish judges, Erdoğan’s remarks such as “rascal,” “villain” or “traitor” can be considered normal within the natural course of life. In a country where it is a crime to put a newspaper page containing Erdoğan’s photo on the ground or where high school students are arrested for Facebook posts that are critical of Erdoğan, the Turkish judiciary tends to treat the battery of insults and hate speech against his opponents as falling within the framework of freedom of speech.

The latest example of this double standard occurred on February 22, 2017. President

29] “Başbakan Erdoğan: Moleküllerine ayıracağız” (Prime Minister Erdoğan: We will disintegrate them into their molecules) Posta newspaper 11.05.2014 <http://www.posta.com.tr/basbakan-erdogan-molekullerine-ayiracagiz-haberi-227581>



Kimse Yok Mu, was the largest charity in Turkey until it was shut down by government.

Erdoğan targeted a group of academics who undersigned the “Peace Declaration,” also known as the We-Will-Not-Take-Part-in-this-Crime declaration,³⁰ labeling them as “rascals, villains, traitors, immoral, as black as pitch, ignorant, disgusting, lumpen, pawns of the terrorist organization, remnants of the pro-mandate system, defiled souls, etc.”

When Professor Baskin Oran, one of these academics, brought a libel suit against Erdoğan, the court made a controversial decision in favor of Erdoğan, maintaining that Erdoğan’s “remarks should be considered as part of his enjoyment of the right to express criticism and opposing views” and that his insults are “normal within the natural course of life.”³¹ With this odd decision, the Turkish judiciary gave a green light for Erdoğan to target anyone with insults and hate speech without restraint.

On February 11, 2014, 21 people including artisans, teachers and headmen had launched legal action against Erdoğan at the Antalya Court of First Instance, arguing that Erdoğan insulted them when he said, referring to the Gülen movement, “We will enter their lairs.” These people had claimed compensation. However, police officers from the counterterrorism department simultaneously raided their houses. Nine of them were arrested on charges of membership in a terrorist organization, while detention warrants were issued for 12 of them.³² In such a setting, it is nearly impossible for any victim to launch any action against Erdoğan for his insults and hate speech.

ACCEPTANCE OF HATE SPEECH IN TURKISH SOCIETY

How should one explain the fact that Turkish society kept silent -- and even gave its consent -- when thousands of teachers who had worked at educational institutions that were believed to be linked to the movement first lost their jobs and then their licenses to teach, and some of them were eventually arrested and even tortured in custody? What explanation can be provided for the widespread social endorsement for the imprisonment of businessmen who had sponsored the establishment and operation of the successful

30] “Academics for Peace Declaration,” also known as the We-Will-Not-Take-Part-In-This-Crime declaration, called for the end of the curfew, bans and violence that accompanied clashes and operations as part of the Turkey-PKK conflict in 2015-2016 in Turkey. It was undersigned by 1,128 academics and published on January 11, 2016. The declaration drew the ire of political authorities, particularly including the 64th Turkish government, and pro-government media outlets. Administrative investigations were launched against many of the signatory academics and they were dismissed from their jobs and three were arrested. Later, more signatories were dismissed from academia by being included in the post-coup purges.

31] “Erdoğan’a açılan hakaret davasının ret gerekçesi: ‘Alçak, cahil, ahlaksız’ eleştirmiş”. (Grounds for rejection of the suit for libel against Erdoğan: ‘rascals, villains, traitors, immoral’ are criticism) [diken.com.tr](http://www.diken.com.tr) 22.02.2017 <http://www.diken.com.tr/Erdoğana-acilan-hakaret-davasinda-gerekce-alcak-cahil-tiksinti-verici-hain-estiridir/>

32] “Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’a Dava Açan 21 Kişiye Fetö Operasyonu”. (FETÖ operation against 21 people who brought an action against President Erdoğan) [Sondakika.com](http://www.sondakika.com/), (2017, January 1), <http://www.sondakika.com/haber/haber-cumhurbaskani-Erdoğan-a-dava-acan-21-kisiye-feto-9149756/>

educational institutions in question, accompanied by the confiscation of their property? This is particularly striking given the fact that an overwhelming majority of the society, including Erdoğan, had wanted to ensure that their children could attend those educational institutions until only a few years ago.

Evidently, the role of the insults and hate speech persistently employed by Erdoğan and the media outlets controlled by him for the last three years cannot be denied in this process. It can very well be argued that the systematic hate speech targeting participants of the Gülen movement also served as a motivation for human rights abusers and torturers who abused victims in detention centers and prisons. The many cases of torture that were verified by reputable human rights organization indicated that Erdoğan's demonizing of the movement had a cascading impact on the mindset of law enforcement agencies.

The insults and hate speech targeting the Gülen movement constituted the very first phase and psychological construct of the "witch-hunt" publicly declared by Erdoğan. In particular, AKP voters easily fell for the insults such as "leeches, spies, traitors, sold-out, ignoble, Hashashin," which their leader uttered about the movement. And this process culminated in some stores hanging signs reading "'Parallels' [referring to members of the Gülen movement] are not allowed to shop here" in the same way the Jews were treated in Nazi Germany. People who are suspected of being linked to the movement are not hired for jobs in the public sector as well as in the private sector, and they are isolated from the society.

No strong objection is raised against these oppressive practices from the society at large. The lack of objection does not mean that everyone in the society has given consent to this discourse and practice. This can largely be attributed to the atmosphere of fear created by the Erdoğan regime. And Erdoğan continually nurtures this atmosphere of fear with his threatening remarks, wave of arrests and seizure of the assets of opponents and critics. "Those who suggest that FETÖ members are victimized are in treachery,"³³ he said to this end when he was addressing some local officials at the presidential palace on November 26, 2016.

Given the fact that anything Erdoğan says is deemed to be an order by many, this statement of his has put even those who raise the slightest objection to the ongoing systematic human rights violations against the movement into the category of "traitors." At the same time, resorting to hate speech against the movement has emerged as a "convenient shield" for those who seek protection against Erdoğan's evil acts in today's Turkey. This in turn contributes to the proliferation of this hateful discourse in Turkish society.

Another interesting point to note is that the insults and hate speech wielded by Erdoğan are readily accepted by AKP voters, his traditional base. This can be explained by Erdoğan's influence over his voters or the "identification" of voters with Erdoğan. Broad social groups who have been otherized and denigrated by the ultra-secular and Kemalist regime since the establishment of the republic constitute a significant portion of

33] "Mağdur edebiyatı yapanlar ihanet içinde" (Those who suggest that the FETÖ members are victimized are in a state of betrayal) Hürriyet Newspaper (2016, October 26), <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/magdur-edebiyati-yapanlar-ihanet-icinde-40259964>

Erdoğan's supporters. Indeed, Erdoğan himself emerged from this social class. He grew up in the slums. He attended an imam-hatip high school -- a type of secondary school with a religious curriculum along with the standard curriculum. He began his work life at a municipality.

His supporters saw him as a "messiah" who would save them from long-lasting humiliation, and they were attached to him with fanatical devotion as they believed him to be the "savior" who was one of them. Corruption in the order of billions of dollars, wiretapped confessions of bribery and the host of concrete evidence that became manifest during the graft and bribery scandals that went public on December 17, 2013 had no effect on these supporters. This was because for them, opposing Erdoğan would mean opposing their dreams and expectations regardless of what Erdoğan did. For these masses, the Gülen movement committed the gross sin of lending public support to the graft and bribery investigations of December 17 and 25, 2013 and dared to criticize their "savior." Thus, the Hizmet movement has become a hate figure for most of Erdoğan's supporters.

HATE SPEECH ABROAD

The rights violations including physical attacks, profiling, discrimination, threats and hate crimes have gone beyond Turkish borders and have become a problem in intergovernmental relations when the Turkish government was found to be interfering other countries' affairs, infringing on international treaties and violating their national laws. Turkish embassies and government agencies including intelligence and nongovernmental organizations affiliated with the AKP government have all been involved in the profiling and harassment of movement members.

SCF has already mapped out ways and methods of the Turkish government's intimidation campaign targeting critics and dissidents abroad using the Netherlands as a case study in a February report titled "Erdoğan's Long Arm in Europe." It exposed how Turkish diplomats, imams and other operatives working for Erdoğan spied on expatriates, gathered intelligence on critics and harassed and threatened them. Hundreds of complaints were filed by critics with Dutch authorities over threats and the use of hate speech, prompting the Dutch government to launch investigations into claims that resulted in detentions in several cases.

In pursuit of his critics, Erdoğan and his associates in the government have instrumentalized embassies and consulates, representation offices of public institutions and state-funded and/or controlled organizations and foundations that are disguised as nongovernmental organizations or independent groups. No doubt that Ankara's harassment and intimidation tactics abroad violate not only international treaties and conventions regulating intergovernmental relations but also infringe on the national laws of the foreign countries in which these groups operate.

At the spring session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) during which Turkey was placed under a formal monitoring mechanism for rights violations, Norwegian lawmaker Lise Christoffersen complained about the spillover of Turkish government's hateful campaign in Norway, specifically in her home town of Drammen, where a sizable Turkish community lives. "A very sad fact, though, is that we are now seeing very worrying signs that the conflict in Turkey is spreading to the Turkish diaspora in Norway, as well as in other countries. People tell us about serious conflicts,

Turkey's one-time largest charity group Kimse Yok Mu, linked to Gülen movement, was vandalized by government thugs.



even within families and between friends, involving both children and adolescents. People worry about family members in Turkey, but are afraid to visit them for fear of having their passports revoked. The Turkish authorities encourage Turks abroad to report on Erdoğan opponents. Norwegian Turks have seen their names and pictures exposed in the Turkish media, being described as terrorists. This is threatening to undermine all our integration efforts and the peaceful coexistence in our local communities.”³⁴

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SYSTEMATIC INSULTS AND HATE SPEECH

Erdoğan and the media outlets under his control have gradually and systematically rolled out hate speech to otherize, demonize and antagonize a social group known as the Gülen movement. In this way, diverse social segments have been deprived of their potential to raise objections to rights violations and unlawful acts, and this is followed by a process of collective punishment and mass persecution of the major social group in Turkey. Perhaps one can even argue that this is tantamount to an attempt to commit genocide and annihilation of the social group.

In this process, 75 people have committed suicide or have died under suspicious circumstances or have been executed after losing their jobs while they were being detained or after they were released post-detention or post-arrest or while they were in custody or in prison. The society has kept silent and has been unable to raise any objection even to these deaths.

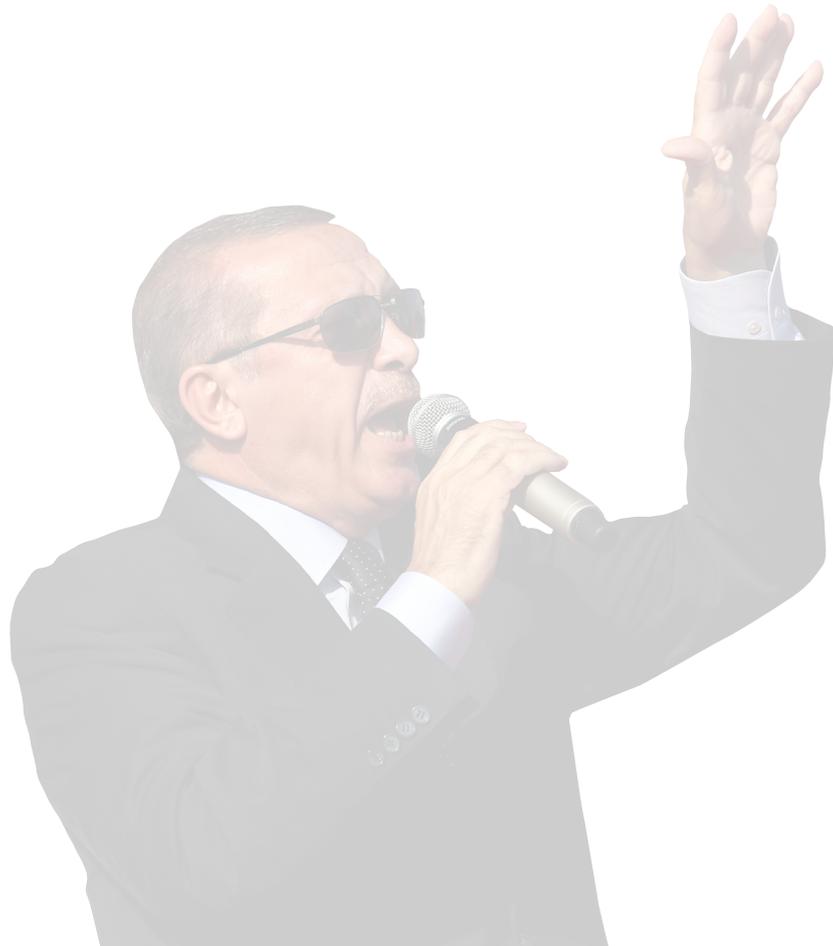
In this process, over 135,000 people, including 4,272 judges and prosecutors, have been purged from state jobs due to alleged connections to the Gülen movement. Over 2,000 schools including the nation’s best performing science schools and student dormitories and

34] Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Spring Session, (2017, April 25), <http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/Records/2017/E/1704251000ADD1E.htm>

15 universities have been shut down due to alleged links to the Gülen movement. Some 28,000 teachers have been dismissed from public schools, and 21,000 teachers at private schools have lost not only their jobs but also their teaching certification by government decrees under emergency rule in Turkey. According to a statement by Interior Minister Süleyman Soylu on released on April 2, a total of 113,260 people have been detained, and 47,155 people including 10,732 police officers, 7,631 military officers, 2,575 judges and prosecutors and 208 local administrative officials have been arrested as part of investigations into the Gülen movement.³⁵

Furthermore, some 200 media outlets have been closed down and 235 journalists have been jailed, and detention orders have been issued for over 100 journalists. Dozens of them have had to leave the country and live abroad, and the assets of many of them have been confiscated by the state without conviction or even a trial.

Likewise, approximately 1,000 companies worth \$10 billion have been seized, and hundreds of businessmen have been arrested and their assets confiscated. Let alone raising any objection, the overwhelming majority of society lent support to these practices. The silence or support can be explained not only by the atmosphere of fear created but also by the insults and hate speech targeting the Hizmet movement and its members.



35] Süleyman Soylu toplam rakamı açıkladı, (2017, April 2), <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suleyman-soylu-toplam-rakami-acikladi-40415050>

CONCLUSION

The damage done by this process of systematically targeting the Gülen movement and its members with hate speech, slurs and gross insults of gradually increasing intensity has so far led to irreparable harm to human rights. It's no surprise that most victims of massive torture and abuse practices in Turkey's jails and detention centers are members of the Gülen movement. When Erdoğan demonized the group, this had a cascading impact on all government employees all the way down to police officers and prison guards, who started treating movement members as if they were not human and were undeserving of human dignity.

In fact, Erdoğan went to the extreme by declaring that movement members do not have a right to life and often entertained the idea of re-establishing the death penalty specifically for these people. Speaking at a rally in the Black Sea province of Zonguldak on April 4, 2017, Erdoğan said: "We are purging every Gülenist in the army, in the police and in state institutions. And we will continue cleansing [these organizations of] them because we will eradicate this cancer from the body of this country and the state. They will not enjoy the right to life. ... Our fight against them will continue until the end. We will not leave them wounded."³⁶

The frequent attacks against members of the Gülen movement at home and abroad confirm that Erdoğan has unfortunately stimulated a not so subtle societal shift that made hatred and anti-Gülen behavior acceptable to millions of people, paving the way for even physical assaults on individual members of the movement. The hateful expression of the movement and its members by perpetrators is seen acceptable at the highest level of Turkey's leadership.

SCF believes that people who are thought to be associated with the Gülen movement today represent the most vulnerable group in Turkey. There must be a new awareness and recognition of this growing anti-Gülenist phenomenon in Turkey and beyond as a serious social, political and psychological problem for the world to face at all levels and in all of its forms. It must be tackled head on and combatted by the systematic efforts of all stakeholders who believe in fundamental human rights.

Erdoğan's campaign of stigmatization targeting the Gülen movement is a template that he has deployed against other vulnerable groups, most specifically against Kurds and Alevis. This campaign of hatred may have victimized members of the Gülen movement the most but surely will never stop there. As seen in the crisis with the Netherlands government over Erdoğan's insistence on holding political rallies, Erdoğan targeted the whole Dutch nation with a hateful narrative that listed three dozen slurs, from being an enemy of Islam to descendants of those who buried their baby girls alive on the Arabian Peninsula. In a similar pattern of the hateful campaign, Erdoğan also targeted the Vatican specifically in his anti-

36] Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'dan İKBY'ye bayrak tepkisi, TRT Haber, (2017, April 4), <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/cumhurbaskani-Erdoğandan-ikbyye-bayrak-tepkisi-307472.html>

Christian drive and criticized Pope Francis when he and EU leaders gathered to mark the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. He repeatedly declared all 28 nations as a single group of infidels and enemies of Islam.

Therefore, Erdoğan and his ilk in the Turkish government must be confronted and made aware that he and his associates in the government cannot simply get away with what they are doing by feeding prejudice, intolerance and racism in people's minds. Erdoğan's evolution over three years from first using coded language to disseminate hatred toward members of the Gülen movement to public outbursts openly stigmatizing and vilifying the whole social group shows the seriousness of the danger the modern world is facing today.

This history is full of lessons on how hatred was a significant contributing factor in perpetrating crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocides. If Erdoğan's unrelenting bigotry and campaign of hatred is left unchecked, it may lead to another mass crime against humanity in the 21st century. The fact that some 50,000 people from among members of the Gülen movement have been arrested on trumped-up charges in the last nine months alone, coupled with the closure of thousands of institutions and businesses that are affiliated with the movement and the seizure of assets, shows that the situation has already been escalated to a level that may be enough to call it a crime against humanity.

● ANNEX 1:

GLOSSARY OF ERDOĞAN'S HATE SPEECH AGAINST THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

December 21, 2013 - May 20, 2017

1. *No forgiveness*
2. *Immoral*
3. *Spy*
4. *Rascals*
5. *Pull a trick under the disguise of a scholar*
6. *Wearing a scholar's mask*
7. *They have exploited God.*
8. *Pineapple is its code name.*
9. *Pineapple alliance*
10. *So lowly as to separate a mother from her child*
11. *They stab their friends in the back.*
12. *He is playing into the hands of the enemies of the headscarf.*
13. *They are the ill-wishers.*
14. *Hey! It is your preacher who caused my daughter to remove her headscarf.*
15. *The organization that sold the labor of thousands of people to shady networks*
16. *Separatist (working for the division of the Ummah)*
17. *This is ignominy.*
18. *This nation will make you pay the price.*
19. *They are in the same category as the Democratic Union Party (PYD), and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).*
20. *No water will be given to them.*
21. *They have no morality!*
22. *They have no honor!*
23. *They have no love for homeland, nation or flag!*
24. *We will sterilize them.*



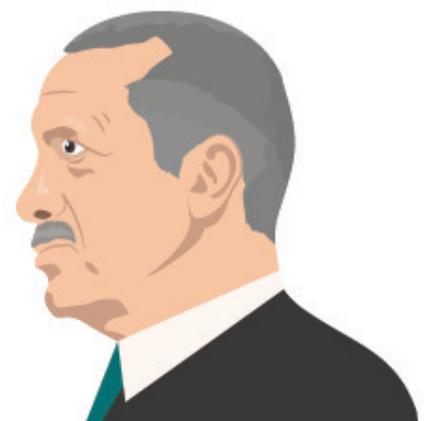
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25. *Their tears are fake.*
 26. *Boycott their publications.*
 27. *Do not ever buy their publications.*
 28. *Yes, it is a witch-hunt, and we the ones are conducting it.*
 29. *Spy*
 30. *The espionage organization*
 31. *Deserving of Hell*
 32. *They may sell Paradise or Hell.*
 33. *Gang*
 34. *Gang leader*
 35. *Gang of self-seekers*
 36. *Self-seeker*
 37. *Decadent*
 38. *Sycophant*
 39. *Coup perpetrator*
 40. *Subversive terrorist*
 41. *They are impertinent.*
 42. *They are the pawns within the state*
 43. *We will clear out the gang nested within the state.*
 44. *Traitors who are disguised as scholars*
 45. *Exploiter of religion*
 46. *Agent of external forces*
 47. *Master of dubbing*
 48. *An earthly person who succumbed to worldly desires*
 49. *Enemy (The water sleeps, but FETÖ does not – a play on the Turkish proverb “The water sleeps, but the enemy does not.”)*
 50. *More ignoble than the enemy*
 51. *Indecent*
 52. *Hypnotized*
 53. *They try to infiltrate in the guise of Volunteers of Education*
 54. *Bloodthirsty murderers*
 55. *There’s blood on their hands.*
 56. *It is you who commit the biggest treason against this homeland.*

57. *F-type*
58. *Mischief maker*
59. *Gülenist Terror Organization (FETÖ)*
60. *FETO*
61. *FETÖ the treasonous gang*
62. *FETÖ is a terrorist organization like the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), Daesh [Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant] and the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C).*
63. *We will deprive FETÖ members of citizenship*
64. *We will enter FETÖ's lair*
65. *FETÖŞ (a homophobic pejorative in Turkish)*
66. *Mischief movement*
67. *They have dissension projects.*
68. *Seditious*
69. *They were involved in the Gezi Park protests.*
70. *Their eyes are blinded by money.*
71. *His eyes are blinded by greed.*
72. *Malignant tumor*
73. *Traitor*
74. *Treacherous organization*
75. *Treacherous parallel structure*
76. *Treacherous structure*
77. *They have betrayed Turkey and they have smiled at the oppressor.*
78. *They racketeer.*
79. *Hassan-i Sabbah*
80. *Those who follow in the footsteps of Hassan-i Sabbah*
81. *Hashashin*
82. *Hashashin were better than they are.*
83. *The Hashashin organization*
84. *The lunatics like Hassan-i Sabbah*
85. *They target our flag, our independence and our homeland [to destroy them].*
86. *They commit all sorts of slander.*
87. *The subcontracting organization disguised as Hizmet*



- 
88. *They work for the interests of foreign countries.*
 89. *Thief*
 90. *The guy who is poised as a preacher*
 91. *The preacher-looking jester*
 92. *The preacher-looking Lawrence*
 93. *So he is a preacher; you're kidding; he is nothing close to a preacher.*
 94. *Hollow*
 95. *Hollow so-called scholar*
 96. *Slanderer*
 97. *Treason*
 98. *They are in the swamp of treason.*
 99. *Treasonous gang*
 100. *Treasonous Organization*
 101. *Treasonous network*
 102. *Treasonous system*
 103. *No traitor can get away with treason.*
 104. *Hypocrite*
 105. *Those who hide behind the mask of science*
 106. *I am doubtful of their faith.*
 107. *We have entered their lairs, and we will continue to do so.*
 108. *He has nothing to do with humanity.*
 109. *Revenge squad*
 110. *Racist*
 111. *Non-Islamic, perverted sect*
 112. *They collude with the enemies of Islam and shady lobbies.*
 113. *Have you ever seen him criticize Israel? No, he cannot criticize it as he cannot criticize his Master, who holds his rope.*
 114. *The pawns of intelligence organizations*
 115. *They are of a perverted faith.*
 116. *Empty-hearted*
 117. *Blood-sucking leech*
 118. *Bloodsuckers*
 119. *Blood lobby*

- 120. Cancer cell
- 121. *Chaos gang*
- 122. *If you see a copy of the Zaman newspaper in front of your door, do not take it: Throw it away.*
- 123. *Haunting like a black cloud*
- 124. Shadowy headquarters
- 125. *Shadowy center*
- 126. Shadowy axis
- 127. *Tape recorders*
- 128. We will boil them down to their molecules.
- 129. *They have pointed a gun at their own country*
- 130. They have even been involved in murky murders and unsolved murders
- 131. *Subcontractor of shady businesses*
- 132. Pawns of a shady conspiracy
- 133. *Vicious center*
- 134. They have carried out a ruse
- 135. *Vicious structure*
- 136. Characterless robots
- 137. *Rotten*
- 138. Conspirator
- 139. *Global network of treason*
- 140. They have exploited sacred values.
- 141. *An illegal organization in legal disguise*
- 142. Masked scholars
- 143. *They have exploited the nation.*
- 144. They have robbed the nation.
- 145. *They have wasted public funds.*
- 146. Modern Yazidi
- 147. *Montage-maker*
- 148. Mossad collaborator
- 149. *Dishonorable*
- 150. Ungrateful
- 151. *They have all sorts of evil and wiles.*





- 152. Grave robbers, they are body snatchers.
- 153. *Transatlantic*
- 154. He is a poor excuse for a preacher.
- 155. *They are not religious.*
- 156. They are not a religious movement.
- 157. *Organization lobby*
- 158. *Parallel religion*
- 159. *Parallel Treason Gang (PiÇ)*
- 160. *Parallel treason network*
- 161. *Parallel lobby*
- 162. *Parallel Structure*
- 163. *Parallel Structure Virus*
- 164. *Pennsylvania gang*
- 165. *Pennsylvania treason gang*
- 166. *Pennsylvania treason network*
- 167. *Pennsylvania is an organization.*
- 168. *Pennsylvania organization*
- 169. *Pennsylvania network*
- 170. *Pennsylvania and its treacherous extensions here*
- 171. *Network of slander and dissension in Pennsylvania*
- 172. *Charlatan in Pennsylvania*
- 173. *The mask of the guy in Pennsylvania*
- 174. *Pennsylvania's Hashashin*
- 175. *Pennsylvania's pawns*
- 176. *Pennsylvania's stooges*
- 177. *We will teach Pennsylvania a lesson.*
- 178. *They abuse the Prophet for their nefarious works.*
- 179. *Rentier*
- 180. *Pharisee*
- 181. *Soulless*
- 182. *They have sold their souls to someone else.*
- 183. *Selling their souls*
- 184. *Fake dervish*
- 185. *Fake religious guide*

- 186. Fake pious person
- 187. Fake saint
- 188. Fake preacher
- 189. Fake Mahdi
- 190. Impostor
- 191. Blackmail network
- 192. Blackmailer
- 193. They are perverted.
- 194. Charlatans / Charlatan
- 195. Evil alliances
- 196. They leave the Shia out in the dust.
- 197. Sly
- 198. Those who set traps insidiously and indecently
- 199. Insidious treason network
- 200. Insidious terrorist organization
- 201. Sly virus
- 202. Robbers
- 203. Leach
- 204. Leeches are more virtuous than them.
- 205. They have sucked like leeches.
- 206. Sewage that taints the milk
- 207. Subterfuge performer
- 208. A full-fledged pawn
- 209. The subcontracting organization that stabs in the back
- 210. Who pursues threats and blackmail
- 211. Dangerous organization
- 212. Terrorist organization
- 213. Terror organization
- 214. Terrorist nest
- 215. Terrorist
- 216. Chief of terrorists
- 217. Terrorist hooligans
- 218. Pawns of Turkey's enemies
- 219. They collude with anti-Turkey lobbies.





- 220. *They strive to undermine and destroy Turkey.*
- 221. *Attempt to assassinate Turkey*
- 222. *Those who set traps*
- 223. *The scholar who betrays his country*
- 224. *The parallel structure that poses a threat to national security*
- 225. *Pawn of international centers*
- 226. *Subcontractor of international organizations*
- 227. *They have made the Ummah enemies of each other*
- 228. *They receive orders from the Mastermind.*
- 229. *Pawns of the Mastermind*
- 230. *Preacher's lobby*
- 231. *Vampires*
- 232. *Traitors*
- 233. *The traitorous structure will be purged and called to account in the judiciary.*
- 234. *Treason network*
- 235. *Your homeland was attacked; your flag was attacked; your honor was attacked.*
- 236. *The virus that entered the body and infested it*
- 237. *Liar*
- 238. *The organization that receives instructions from abroad*
- 239. *Mankurt (unthinking slave)*
- 240. *Militants of FETÖ*

QUOTES IN WHICH ERDOĞAN INVOKED HATE SPEECH TARGETING GÜLEN AND THE MOVEMENT

December 21, 2013 – May 20, 2017

► **2013**

Date: December 21, 2013
Place: Cumhuriyet Square, Ordu

“Those who seek to establish a parallel structure within the state must know that we will come into your lairs even if you settle firmly there. ... We will search every nook and cranny. ... We will combat the organizations which act as sub-contractors for the international organizations in the same way we have fought the gangs to date.

“This is ignominy, abjection, and dishonesty. This collusion, this conspiracy, has been masterminded abroad and subcontracted to the pawns in Turkey. This is blatant treason. We will make those who are behind this treason pay for this espionage. No one, group or shady center can conduct an operation in my country.”

► **2014**

Date: January 1, 2014
Place: Ankara - Speech evaluating the year 2013

“An organization that has nested within the state organs, particularly including the judiciary and the police department, has attempted to assassinate Turkey’s stability, its atmosphere of security, its growing economy and its fraternity with the instructions it receives from abroad.”

Date: January 14, 2014
Place: AKP parliamentary group meeting

“Centuries ago, the raving covert organization called the Hashashin tried to capture the state and collaborated with the enemy in the Great Seljuk State. The virus has entered the body, settled and multiplied slyly, is moving to capture the body.

“The ongoing decadence will turn up. The virus has entered the body, and spread and slyly multiplied. Yet this is not a weak body that will easily surrender itself to sly, insidious viruses. We saw this in history as well. We saw how the organization called the Hashashin tried to capture the state’s body. Our state has not given way to such infiltration, and it won’t do so in the future.”

Date: January 26, 2014
Place: Halic Congress Center - Century’s
Islam Culture and Service Honor and
Service Awards Ceremony

“This is such a great civilization that it has rejected false prophets, false saints, hollow, empty-hearted, empty-minded so-called scholars and sent them to the dustbin of history just as the body rejects viruses.”





Date: February 15, 2014
Place: Istanbul - Marmaray opening ceremony

“My chaste people have nothing to do with the people who are so impertinent as to abuse our dear Prophet for their nefarious works. My Anatolian people have no business with those people who are impertinent enough to describe Heaven and Hell and even Azrael on TV.

“Yesterday, the courts made decisions on release pending trial or non-prosecution concerning the December 17 sweeps. This made some uneasy. Who was so disturbed? The mouthpieces of the Parallel Structure have been troubled by it. So what do they say? ‘The judiciary is dead.’ ‘The headscarf is a matter of secondary importance [in Islam],’ someone had said in the most difficult of times. Today, he is playing into the hands of the enemies of the headscarf.”

Date: February 22, 2014
Place: Rally in Sivas

“They are vampires that feed on blood.
“They don’t know anything about having a family or children. He does not care about such things. We know what having children means.” (a reference to Fethullah Gülen not being married)

Date: February 28, 2014
Place: Rally in Burdur

“Now the virus called the ‘parallel structure’ has emerged to divide our unity.”

Date: March 2, 2014
Place: Rally in Muğla

“You know this Parallel Structure! They are blood-sucking leeches.”

Date: March 3, 2014
Place: Rally in Niğde

“They have sucked our nation like leeches. Leeches are more virtuous than them. Leeches suck dirty blood, but they sucked clean blood. ... See with whom they collaborate and into whose hands they play.”

Date: March 3, 2014
Place: Rally in Osmaniye

“Now, they have their own imams; by the way, they may sell Paradise or Hell. They make our dear Prophet descend from the Ascension, and then they make him get on a truck. Oh, my God, what kind of business is this? They are of a perverted faith. This parallel structure may have prep schools and schools in Osmaniye as well. This is what I say: Take your children out of these prep schools. ... They are full-fledged Hashashin and they are fully Hashashin and you must not give them any credit.”

Date: March 4, 2014
Place: Rally in Adiyaman

“They tried to slander us. In three months, their knees knocked together. Their masks were dropped down. ... The network of slander and dissension in Pennsylvania first redesigned the CHP [Republican People’s Party].”

Date: March 10, 2014
Place: Rally in Mus

“They are perverse. They are ‘tape recorders’ [who blackmail others with secret recordings], montage-makers, tweet posters; they have all sorts of evil and wiles.”

Date: March 17, 2014
Place: Istanbul - Opening ceremony

“A person who sends pineapples, awards tenders, engages in espionage, is curious about people’s private lives, threatens or blackmails other people, establishes holdings and banks cannot be a recluse; he is not a recluse. This is a person who has succumbed to worldly desires.”

Date: March 17, 2014
Place: Rally in Kahramanmaras

“You don’t have to cover your head,’ they said; ‘Remove your headscarf to attend university,’ they said. So he is a preacher; you’re kidding; he is nothing close to a preacher.”

Date: March 20, 2014
Place: Rally in Sakarya

“There is an attack against our Turkey, our nation and our national security using these Pennsylvania pawns. They have no morality! They have nothing close to integrity. They have nothing to do with humanity. Are you are a Hodjaefendi [honorable teacher] or an intelligence chief? Well, they are a blackmail network.”





“... We won’t let them get away with this. We will come into their lairs. They have sinister and seditious plans, and they turn people against each other.”

Date: March 22, 2014
Place: Rally in Hatay

“They are montage-makers; they are masters at dubbing; they are impostors; they are Hashashin; they are a gang, a network and an organization. ... They got our money from him; they robbed us. ... ‘Enough is enough,’ you must tell them from now on. We won’t even give them water.”

Date: March 22, 2014
Place: Rally in Etlik, Ankara

“They are blackmailers; they have their data stores. They may produce anything from anywhere, and they set up schemes around people’s houses; they are such a treacherous organization. Currently, it is a treacherous terrorist organization. It is a terrorist organization. ... ‘Prime Minister, isn’t Hashashin a serious insult?’ some ask. Hashashin are better than them. ... They have all sorts of tricks up their sleeves. I can’t tell you what I know.”

Date: March 23, 2014
Place: Rally in Kocaeli

“The behind-the-scenes of the Gezi Park protests are coming to light. They were directly involved in the Gezi Park protests. They resorted to all sorts of hideousness.”

Date: March 24, 2014
Place: Rally in İstanbul

“You know Pennsylvania; we will teach Pennsylvania the most important lesson. Leeches suck the harmful blood. They spoiled what is halal [religiously permissible] to us. They spoiled what is halal to us. ...

“Now, this Pennsylvania is deprived of morality in the first place. After December 17, they attacked Turkey with their gangs in the judiciary and the police department. We stood tall. We gave them the riposte they deserved. Then they attacked me, my family and my friends immorally and shamelessly with tapes, doctored cassettes and dubbing. They have used the CHP and the MHP [Nationalist Movement Party] for these dirty, immoral and nefarious attacks. They are still attacking. They are still on immoral and shameless plans. They are telling one lie after another and flinging one piece of dirt after another.”

Date: March 25, 2014
Place: Rally in Kastamonu

“I will tell you one by one what tricks this Pennsylvania is pulling under the disguise of a scholar. ... We will certainly come into the lairs of the leaders of this terrorist organization after March 30.

“They are not a [religious] community, but a terrorist organization. Are they any different from a terrorist organization? What they did was done by the terrorist organization.”

Date: March 31, 2014
Place: Ankara - Speech delivered on election victory at AKP headquarters

“We will never let this soil that was watered by the blood of martyrs fall into the hands of Pennsylvania and its treacherous extensions here. ... As I said before, we will start to come into their lairs. They will pay for it; they will pay the price. ... The pawns of Turkey’s enemies have now been disappointed. The subcontractors who have emerged from this nation but betrayed it have seen once again how glorious, noble and heroic this nation is. The nation has crushed the forces attacking its independence in the election. The nation foiled the insidious and indecent traps.”

Date: April 11, 2014
Place: Istanbul Congress Center - Lawyers Week Event

“How long will our judges and prosecutors remain unresponsive to this parallel structure? I call on the stouthearted judges and prosecutors who represent the courage of this country. You should crush the representatives of this parallel structure with your courage.”

Date: April 22 2014
Place: Ankara - AKP parliamentary group meeting

“They have no honor! Even the enemy would not act so dishonorably. ... As I said before, even the enemy would not act so dishonorably. But they did!”

Date: May 11, 2014
Place: Afyon - AKP consultation meeting

“They frequently claim that the struggle against the parallel structure has turned into a witch-hunt. If reassigning individuals who betray this country is called a witch-hunt, then yes, we will carry out this witch-hunt. ... You will always report their identities and actions. I tell this to all of my citizens: You will report, and we will take action against them. We will sterilize the dirty water that has contaminated the milk either by boiling the milk or separating the molecules in the mixture.





Date: June 3, 2014
Place: Ankara - AKP parliamentary group

“We had said that we would come into their lairs, and we did. We exposed all their wiles to the light of day. We will take those who are in charge out of their lairs.”

Date: June 2, 2014
Place: France

“Now, they have launched another sabotage attempt with that nefarious attack against our flag in Lice. The Pennsylvania gang is behind some of these treacherous sabotage attempts. Once again, Pennsylvania is behind those who sabotaged the solution via the attacks against our flag.”

Date: June 30, 2014
Place: Independent Industrialists and Businessmen’s Association’s (MÜSIAD) fast-breaking dinner

“As you see, that traitorous parallel structure is doing everything to disturb the service-oriented foundations, associations and NGOs in Turkey even during this sacred month of Ramadan. They fling all sorts of dirt and they tell lies. This is because they have the habit of stalking. They have the practice of lying and slandering. ‘They have done this to us today, and they will do the same to you in the future,’ they say in a nefarious defamation campaign. For one thing, let them know that no group or no service-oriented movement will indulge in the quagmire of treason or be the pawns of international actors or international organizations like them.”

Date: July 7, 2014
Place: Rally in Erzurum

“On March 21, we had noted that Erzurum would distinguish true spiritual people from fake ones with their glorious wisdom. We had stated that Erzurum would realize who sows seeds of strife in the country and make a distinction between true scholars and those who hide behind the mask of a scholar with their unerring perspicacity.”

Date: July 8, 2014
Place: Ankara - AKP parliamentary group meeting

“Those who are tolerant of this treasonous network know that this is noted by both us and our nation.”

Date: July 9, 2014
Place: Rally in Tokat

“Do not support their media outlets. If the Zaman newspaper comes to your door, reject it and throw it away.”

Date: July 17, 2014
Place: Istanbul - Foundation of Youth and Education in Turkey (TÜRGEV) fast-breaking dinner

“If Pennsylvania’s Hashashin attack you, then you are on the right path.”

Date: July 19, 2014
Place: Rally in Ordu

“He was weeping for Israeli children and conveyed condolences for Israeli children while criticizing the Mavi Marmara’s voyage to Gaza. Who? He, the guy in Pennsylvania. What is he doing now? Have you ever seen him cry for Gazan children? Have you heard him send condolences for Gazan children? Have you seen him criticize Israel? No, he cannot do it as he cannot criticize his Master, who holds his rope.”

Date: July 7, 2014
Place: Ankara - Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodities Exchanges (TOBB) Turkey Trade and Industry Council Meeting

“Blackmail and conspiracies are being devised. Businessmen are forced to pay tribute. With the strategy ‘The enemy of my enemy is my friend,’ the CHP and MHP collude with these traitors. ‘They stabbed us in the back in the past. They will stab their fellow companions in the back when they get the chance in the future. They got deputies from the CHP and the MHP on tape and wiretapped them and blackmailed them. ... Collaborating with this treasonous network is self-betrayal. ... You have to get your place in the front ranks of the fight against this parallel treason network.”

Date: August 14, 2014
Place: Ankara - AKP extended meeting of provincial organization heads

“... They sought to make everyone kneel down through blackmail. They wiretapped everyone. They thoroughly exploited an innocent mass both materially and spiritually with their talk of service and self-sacrifice. They tried to use the power they mustered from this exploitation against the interests of this country. They couldn’t attack us openly. They sought to intimidate us using the most nefarious methods such as taping people covertly or doctoring





existing tapes or wiretapping them sneakily. Some here and abroad may pay no attention to this ignominy. ... I remind them once more: This parallel treason network does not target Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, his family, his colleagues or fellow companions only. They also target our independence, our flag, our homeland and our nation.”

Date: August 27, 2014
Place: Ankara - AKP congress

“The legal system cannot be allowed to surrender to the blackmail of a handful of Hashashin. We know for whom Pennsylvania works, and Pennsylvania cannot issue orders or instructions to the legal system. It cannot be a toy for the likes of Hassan-i Sabbah. Patriotic judges and prosecutors will clean up the Hashashin among themselves, and the legal system will disperse the shadows over it.”

Date: September 22, 2014
Place: US - CFR meeting

“We have started to take measures against the parallel structure that poses a threat to national security. We see that this dangerous organization is being used as a convenient subcontractor by our opponents both in Turkey and abroad, particularly the US. We see that certain media outlets and think tanks in the US are under the influence of the ‘Parallel Structure.’ The organization in question is capable of backstabbing even those who use it. It is a very dangerous organization, and the leader of the organization is the person who is undermining the integrity and unity of our country.”

Date: October 13, 2014
Place: Istanbul - Marmara University’s academic year opening ceremony

“We see new Lawrences disguised as the preachers, Hizmet members, journalists and columnists work against us. Some make Sykes-Picot agreements while promoting service, press freedom, a war of independence or a holy war.”

Date: November 21, 2014
Place: Equatorial Guinea - Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit

“We see and carefully monitor how various dangerous formations disguised as civil society organizations or education volunteers are trying to infiltrate the relationship between certain African countries and Turkey. We hope that our friends in heads of state and government act more sensitively against these organizations, which secretly organized in virtually all countries where they operate and whose acts of espionage have become more obvious. I must stress that we are ready to exchange all sorts of information about, and engage in a joint struggle against, this organization or organizations, disguised as education

and humanitarian aid volunteers, posing a serious threat to the very countries where they operate, including Turkey.”

Date: December 2, 2014
Place: Antalya - 12th National Education Council meeting

When you try to eliminate this tyranny, you encounter certain treasonous networks that seek to preserve their own treacherous conspiracies and that are blinded by greed. Here you see what they have done so far, and a group has shown that it will do everything and burn the country down in order to secure their prep schools. Why? It was because by using those prep schools, they had been collecting money and recruits to their treasonous system.”

Date: December 8, 2014
Place: Ankara - 5th Religion Council meeting

“The quest by fake preachers and false pious people to poison the society has unfortunately found backing in this country. ... The charlatans who are disguised as clerics and who have set up a treasonous network have been able to secure national or international incentives. Those who seek to strip the religion of its very essence and soul and insidiously distort it for the sake of their self-interest have used the media to further their interests in this country.”

Date: December 12, 2014
Place: Ankara - Reception of TOBB delegation at the Presidential Palace

“Today we see that a structure which advertised education, services and philanthropy had been involved in certain nefarious murders and unsolved murders.”

Date: December 15, 2015
Place: Kocaeli - Türksat 6A Communication Satellite Project signing ceremony

“The parallel structure does not have the intelligence, experience and skills to design and implement this set-up alone. There is a mastermind that uses them as a pawn,’ I had said. Did you remember it? That mastermind is now making a fuss along with them. Of course, there are also extensions of that mastermind. All of them step in. They work for international organizations.”

Date: December 17, 2015
Place: Konya - High - Speed Train Project opening

“We have entered their lairs, and we will continue to do so. We have detected the treason, and we will detect a lot more of it. We have foiled the conspiracy at the police department, and we



will save the judiciary from blackmail and threats. We have called those who attempted to overthrow us with the slander of corruption to account for their crimes, and we will continue to do so. ... We will not let Turkey fall into the hands of buffoons disguised as preachers.”

Date: December 17, 2015
Place: Konya - 741st Anniversary of Rumi's Reunion commemoration event

“... This saintly nation has always been protected against likes of Hassan-i Sabbah, fake prophets, fake messiahs, false saints and dervishes and modern Yazidi.”

Date: December 18, 2014
Place: Konya - Rumi's Night of Union program opening

“There are some impostors who advertise them as scholars, but they and their followers give themselves away while they are alive. As those masqueraders disgrace themselves, those who follow them paying no heed to Rumi's warnings are disappointed. Those who look to those masked scholars and hire them for their prosperity, lucre or seditious projects get equally disappointed.”

Date: December 20, 2014
Place: Wyndham Hotel, Istanbul -- Foreign Economic Relations Council (DEİK) General Assembly

“The Hashashin organization that referred to me as ‘then-Prime Minister’ will hopefully not be remembered by anyone in a short time, and those who remember it anyway will not hold its memory in high esteem.”

▶ 2015

Date: January 31, 2015
Place: Ankara - All Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜMSİAD) General Assembly

“The frank people who innocently support the parallel structure should see and question with whom this structure colludes. It is a pity if they still fail to see this structure's collaboration with Mossad.”

Date: May 28, 2015
Place: Ankara - AKP parliamentary group meeting

“This organization has unfortunately opted for being a stooge for international circles. It sold the labor of thousands of people to shady international networks.”

Date: November 22, 2015
Place: Ankara - Labor Confederation (Hak-İş) General Assembly

“This structure is more insidious, more dangerous and more destructive than others as it exploits the nation’s sacred values. FETÖ is layered as pious supporters at the bottom, money grubbers in the middle and traitors at the top.”

Date: November 31, 2015
Place: ATV

“Now, their religious guises, etc., have gone away. This is nothing but an organization. It is an illegal organization in legal disguise that threatens our national security. This is an international, global network of treason.”

► 2016

Date: February 27, 2016
Place: Istanbul - Halic Congress Center

“Another structure has been introduced that grows like a malignant tumor which has spread to all areas including education, business, bureaucracy and politics by exploiting the nation’s feelings of charity and benefaction for years. Who are they? The Parallel State Structure. This treasonous gang.”

Date: April 3, 2016
Place: Maryland, US - Turkish-American Culture and Civilization Center opening

“We witness that the Parallel Structure has been collaborating with every lobby or country that is against Turkey for the last three years. This organization is waging intensive slander and defamation campaigns against our country in the US, where it has certain capabilities. They collude with the enemies of Islam and shady lobbies for the sake of their organizational interests.”

Date: May 30, 2016
Place: TÜRGEV’s 20th anniversary event and general assembly opening speech

“In particular, the parallel treason gang has become the source of all sorts of slander against TÜRGEV.”

Date: May 27, 2016
Place: Kırşehir - Ahi Order festivities

“We made a new resolution yesterday. We defined it as the illegal structure in legal disguise. We sent it to the government, and we are now waiting for the Cabinet decision. We will eventually





ensure that they are recognized as a terrorist organization. They will be tried in the same category as the Democratic Union Party [PYD], and the Kurdistan Workers' Party [PKK].”

Date: May 28, 2016
Place: Kırşehir - Ahi Evran Tomb, Ahi Culture Week celebration

“They are blood suckers; we are waiting for the Cabinet decision. We will ensure that they are recognized as a terrorist organization.”

Date: June 30, 2016
Place: Istanbul - Dissemination of Science Society opening

“If you are not local and if you don't have a national stance and if you sold your body and soul to others like the parallel structure, they will make you turn your weapons on your own country. The brightest brains of the last quarter century have been turned into characterless robots. I call on those who intend to be part of this structure despite so much evidence of treason. No offense! But this means that they accept what will happen to them. Those who take shelter in a terrorist organization are called terrorists. We have referred to them as those who are part of an illegal organization in legal disguise. From now and on, we will refer to it as an illegal terrorist structure or illegal terrorist organization, and we will crack down on them as such.”

Date: July 31, 2016
Place: ATV

“Now, some say that this mastermind is Fethullah Gülen. He is not that smart. No, that is not the case; he is a perfect stooge. There is a mastermind over him.”

Date: August 3, 2016
Place: Ankara - Religion Council meeting

“I declare in this hall that at this stage, anyone who lends an ear to the delusions of the charlatan, the terrorist leader, in Pennsylvania accepts what will happen to him or her. Of course, the most important characteristic of this structure is that they have made hypocrisy, lies, and a lack of spirit part of their nature. It has become the cause for the perverts who impassively accept insults and who have no respect even for their own family privacy.”

Date: August 4, 2016
Place: Ankara - Presidential Palace

“They are those who follow in the footsteps of Hassan-i Sabbah. They have well-

trained members; Satan was well trained as well; he was the most learned among angels. Yet he became the first to rebel against God. ‘You created him from earth and me from fire. So I am more precious than him,’ he said and became the first rebel. They deceived the nation by exploiting God and by exploiting knowledge and robbed the nation in the name of philanthropy.

Date: August 4, 2016
Place: Ankara - Meeting with heads of trade chambers and the stock exchange

“The mastermind is not in Pennsylvania; the mastermind is different. At this stage, every school, prep school and house of this structure is a nest of terror and every firm run by it is a terror organization. Anyone who says ‘Yes, but...’ concerning this treacherous structure is, in my eyes, in collaboration with them. These men are murderers; there is the blood of innocent people on their hands. These men are insidious, and they say one thing and mean another. These men are thieves.”<http://www.gazetevatan.com/arama/?Keyword=Pensilvanya>

Date: August 11, 2016
Place: Statement made in Presidential Palace

“Sooner or later the US will make a choice. Either Turkey or FETÖ. Either the subversive terrorist, FETÖ, or the democratic country of Turkey.”

Date: August 14, 2016
Place: Istanbul - AKP’s 15th anniversary opening ceremony yard.

“A group of soldiers from the Gülenist Terrorist Organization have infiltrated the Turkish Armed Forces [TSK] and used the tanks, aircraft and all sorts of weapons entrusted to them against our nation. These rascals martyred 240 people and wounded others that night and made our nation pay a price. It is our responsibility to extradite FETÖ.”

Date: August 30, 2016
Place: Ankara - Speech delivered during a dinner for relatives of martyrs on Victory Day

“Those who are still part of this betrayal are traitors. Those who put their minds and beliefs at the disposal of a charlatan living in the US and who sell their souls in return for one dollar have nothing to do with our history, culture and us. They cannot escape punishment by saying they were deceived. The members of the treasonous gang called FETÖ are already not entitled to wear that honorable uniform. July 15 is the symbol of our people protecting its country, independence and future, not against the Turkish Armed Forces but against members of the treasonous gang called FETÖ.”





Date: October 12, 2016

Place: Dolmabahçe Palace, İstanbul - 9th Eurasia Islamic Council Meeting

“FETÖ, which has haunted Turkey like a dark cloud, is a seditious movement that abuses religion and legitimizes everything for its aims and has questionable funds and works to fragment the Ummah and whose real face cannot be seen due to its secret nature.”

Date: October 22, 2016

Place: Bursa - Opening ceremony

“So he is a preacher; you’re kidding; he is nothing close to a preacher. He is a poor excuse for a preacher. He made the Ummah enemies of each other. He made the people of this nation enemies of each other. He is so lowly as to separate the mother from her child and the father from his son and the sisters and brothers from each other. The members of this treasonous gang will answer to the nation all their lives.”

Date: November 15, 2016

Place: Rize - Opening ceremony

“We will come into their lairs,’ we said. ‘Let them flee and we will chase them,’ we said. The traitorous FETÖ members who fled abroad will no longer be citizens of the Turkish Republic. Let them be citizens of wherever they have fled to. FETÖ is a terrorist organization like the Kurdistan Workers’ Party [PKK], Daesh [Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant] and the Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party/Front [DHKP/C]. Anyone who is part of this structure is a member of a terrorist organization.”

Date: November 29, 2016

Place: WOW Hotel, Istanbul - Inter-parliamentary Jerusalem Platform

“Many people from among the scholars have paved the way for this. Teacher is his honorific title. But he is a poor excuse for a teacher; he is a charlatan, not a teacher.”

Date: November 29, 2016

Place: Ankara - High-Speed Train Station opening

“I call on those who insist on being part of FETÖ: If you choose to stay with it [FETÖ], you will hit this nation’s wall. This nation will make you pay a price. We have entered the lairs of the separatist terrorist organization. We will enter FETÖ’s lair as well.”

Date: November 22, 2016
Place: Statement made to Israel's Channel 2 TV

“It has spread to the body like cancer cells. Currently, there is metastasis, and we have to remove these metastatic cells. If we cannot eradicate them, we cannot know when they will erupt in the future.”

Date: November 26, 2016
Place: Ankara - Meeting of headmen at the Presidential Palace

“Those who suggest that the FETÖ members are victimized are in a state of betrayal”

Date: December 4, 2016
Place: Kayseri - Kayseri Chamber of Commerce Awards Ceremony

“The water sleeps, but FETÖ does not. They failed to overthrow us with bloodthirsty murderers who they bought with one dollar notes and who they brainwashed, but they are now trying to do the same through interest, the stock exchange and foreign currency operations.”

Date: December 24, 2016
Place: Istanbul - Social Security Institution (SGK) Maltepe Şehit Erol Olçak Campus opening ceremony

“The FETÖŞ [pejorative homophobic term in Turkish] members who think that this nation will flee with three to five bullets, bombs and aircraft will understand that this is not the case.”

► 2017

Date: January 19, 2017
Place: Meeting of headmen at the Presidential Palace

“The FETÖ cleansing is not over; it will continue. They say that so many people have been dismissed. When West and East Germany reunited, 600,000 people were dismissed from government jobs. This was done while the state was being restructured. There will be traitors as we are now restructuring the state. Those traitors will be within the state. They will be there when you are rebuilding the state. These microbes and viruses will still be there. Such a thing is unacceptable. This cleansing is not yet done. We have a lot of work to do. This will be completed.”





Date: January 23, 2017
Place: Dar es Salaam - Tanzania Business Forum

“This organization is a threat not only to Turkey but also to every country in which it operates. We know that this insidious terrorist organization has extensions in Tanzania.”

Date: February 12, 2017
Place: Ankara - TUBA Awards Ceremony at the Presidential Palace

“Just like many other perverted structures, FETO members have gone astray. They have forgotten their identity and turned into a mankurt [unthinking slave] that carries out everything ordered by their master.”

Date: February 13, 2017
Place: Speech delivered while visiting Bahrain

“FETÖ is a new-generation terrorist organization. We fight this terrorist organization that killed 248 people as we fight others. We expect that the same sensitivity paid as regards Daesh or al-Qaeda will be paid in connection to Syria’s People’s Protection Units [YPG], the DHKP/C, the PKK and FETÖ.”

Date: March 17, 2017
Place: Halic Congress Center Dissemination of Science Society general assembly

“Those who tried to pressure us with the terrorist organizations that they slap on the back and those who they buy for one dollar bills have now personally taken the stage. Brothers and sisters, the masquerade is over. If the aim is to secure power and domination, it is inevitable to fall into the pit of treason into which FETÖ has fallen. All the plans that have been devised for 40 years were foiled in one night.”

Date: March 27, 2017
Place: Joint TV interview with Erdoğan on the HaberTürkTV, Show TV and Bloomberg HT networks

“Now the trend is moving upward. I think it will improve. Because those who say ‘No’ cannot explain why they say no. They have no data in their hands. Are they going to say no because terrorists in Qandil [northern Iraq, where PKK commanders are based] also say no? Are they going to say no because the head of FETÖ in Pennsylvania and the head terrorist in İmralı [prison where PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan is jailed] say no? This is important.”

Date: March 29, 2017
Place: Place: Ankara - Presidential Palace

“We have no state other than the Republic of Turkey. We are not going to recognize the right to life for those who divide our state and the FETÖ parallel state structure.”

Date: April 14, 2017
Place: Interview with Erdoğan on state broadcaster TRT

“My hope is that the US has realized this mistake. Therefore, it should not harbor this charlatan [Gülen] and make trouble for itself.”

Date: April 29, 2017
Place: TUMSIAD Businessmen’s Association in Istanbul

“We have had the biggest successes in our history against terror organizations. We conducted a huge campaign to dislodge FETÖ from the state and our lives. This has become a metastatic [cancer] all through our body that needs to be removed. What did I tell you before? We would enter their lairs. We have, but it is not over yet, there are so many lairs.”

Date: April 30, 2017
Place: Statement to Indian TV

“Right now, the first [threat] for us is FETÖ. Because this FETÖ with its expansionary vision is in a completely different category in my country, it is a first degree [threat], and we are engaged in efforts to clean FETÖ up quickly.”



HATE SPEECH

**ERDOĞAN'S CAMPAIGN OF HATE SPEECH
CASE OF TARGETING GÜLEN MOVEMENT
2013-2017**

Traitor and terrorist

Blood sucking leech

We will boil them down to their molecules
Perverted

Charlatan
Evil
Virus
Vampires



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MAY, 2017



HATE SPEECH

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