

A Search for Truth

15 July 2016 of Turkey

28 April 2017

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1 Preface

On the night of July 15, 2016, elements of Turkish Military showed up on the streets, F-16s roared over Ankara and Istanbul, tanks blocked the bridges over the Bosphorus. It was a chaos rather than anything else. The publicized purposes of the dissenters were to overthrow the Government, realign the administration with the constitutional norms, and revive the democratic values, which are owed to the founder of the country-ATATURK. The chaos resulted in hundreds of lives lost and thousands of people wounded. The aftermath was not much better.

On July 20th, ERDOGAN declared the State of Emergency and expanded the authorities of police and judiciary extremely. His crackdown was devastating, which resulted in 134,000 sacked public servants, 98,500 detained citizens, and 49,500 arrested suspects. More than 7,300 academicians, 4,300 judges/prosecutors¹, 160 Generals², 6,500 elite military officers, and 16,500 military cadets were purged. Turkey became world leader in imprisoning journalists³. 231 journalists were jailed and 149 media outlets were closed⁴.

ERDOGAN promised to terminate the State of Emergency after three months but later extended it three times until July 2017. It seems like ERDOGAN would like to prolong it as long as possible. The reason is clear. The State of Emergency grants ERDOGAN and his Government extreme and unbounded power in ruling the country by decrees and removing the opponents. It is an essential tool to bypass the Parliament and the Constitutional Court. The measures adopted by the Government against the alleged coup ironically worked against the democracy itself. The practices seriously undermined the rule of law, the human rights, and the fundamental freedoms in the country. ERDOGAN and his Government further benefitted from the turmoil to change Turkey's governmental system in favor of their desires. They won a recent contentious referendum in April 2017 for substituting the country's struggling democracy with an emerging dictatorship. Unfair campaign circumstances, vast practices of intimidation to the voters, and millions of ballot frauds could best define how the country concluded the referendum.

Turkey has experienced five major coups since its foundation. In 1960 and 1980⁵, the Turkish Military unseated the Government and seized the control. In 1971⁶ and 1997⁷, the Military did not seize the control but forced the Government to resign. The events of 15 July 2016 are not comparable to any of them. The head of the Main Opposition Party CHP Kemal KILICDAROGLU

¹ This number reflects around one-third of total number of judges and prosecutors in Turkish judicial system

² Around 360 Generals exist in the Turkish Military.

³ from <http://tutuklugazeteciler.blogspot.de/>

⁴ Figures from <http://turkeypurge.com/>

⁵ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-military-coup-1980.htm>

⁶ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-military-coup-1971.htm>

⁷ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-military-coup-1997.htm>

repeatedly called the events on 15 July 2016 “a controlled coup”. ERDOGAN denied, but failed to satisfy the nation and the international community. He and the Government officials contradicted themselves many times in explaining their version of the story. There are a lot of questions unaddressed. Many critical details are yet in the shadow. Neither the recently dismantled Turkish Parliamentary Investigation Commission, nor the ongoing trials provide satisfying answers.

This study is a modest effort for a better understanding 15 July 2016. It addresses some of the critical areas like who the dissenters were, their motivation, ERDOGAN’s prior awareness, his role in the events, his supporters in the Military and elsewhere. This study is based on the collection and the analysis of the publicly available data. It comprises records of official/public speeches, press releases/reports, witness/suspect testimonies, and indictments. The study puts a light on the background of 15 July, reconstructs the critical events on a timeline, raises arguments and offers a series of findings. It is no way meant to influence the ongoing judicial processes.

The Authors of the study are several Turkish Government officials who were outside Turkey on 15 July 2016. The Government ousted them without any rationale; despite they had no role in planning or execution of the events. They firmly believe in democratic values and condemn any coup against a democratic government. The Authors cannot return to Turkey because of their lack of confidence in the severely degraded Turkish judicial system and prefer to stay anonymous for the safety of their families and the loved ones.

2 Political and Social Setting Before 15 July

The events of 15 July 2016 took place amid country's worsening conditions and ERDOGAN's troubles with serious charges against him. ERDOGAN was continually looking for ways of evading domestic and international scrutiny for charges against him and his close circle. At his appearance on TVs on 15 July 2016, he openly called the bloody events as "*a gift from God*"⁸. The "gift" allowed him to ensure his legal immunity, to consolidate his authority and to conduct the biggest purge in the country's history.

Declining Politics and Economy

Under ERDOGAN's leadership, the political, social and economic atmosphere in Turkey was in turmoil long before July 2016. On the political domain, Turkey was distancing itself from the West. Turkey - EU relations were suffering due to issues like the refugee crisis and non-democratic practices of the Government. Ties with the U.S. were also weakening due to the politics of Syria. The economic challenge for ERDOGAN and the Government started long before July 2016. Tourism was suffering from the loss of millions of tourists because of security concerns and increasing terrorist attacks in the country. Russian President Vladimir PUTIN's economic sanctions⁹, placed after the downing of a Russian aircraft, penetrating the country's Syrian border, caused Turkey notable economic losses. The continuing internal political turmoil and uncertainty, following the 17-25 December 2013 corruption cases, caused many international investors (such as PayPal and Tesco) to leave the country.

Charges Against ERDOGAN

The charges against ERDOGAN include laundering money to breach UN enforced financial sanctions against Iran¹⁰, laundering money for ISIL by buying their oil^{11 12}, weaponizing ISIL¹³ and Al Nusra (Syrian branch of Al Qaida)^{14 15 16}. ERDOGAN has been widely accused by the

⁸ <http://www.dw.com/tr/erdo%C4%9Fan-Istanbulda-a%C3%A7%C4%B1klama-yapt%C4%B1/a-19403922>

⁹ "Vladimir Putin announces Russian sanctions against Turkey" <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/28/vladimir-putin-calls-for-greater-sanctions-against-turkey>

¹⁰ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/turkey-corruption-gold-trader-s-arrest-in-miami-could-put-president-ERDOGAN-in-the-spotlight-once-a6946901.html>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹¹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/wikileaks-turkey-isis-oil-minister-email-cache-leaks-claims-a7460736.html>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹² <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russia-releases-proof-turkey-is-smuggling-isis-oil-over-its-border-a6757651.html>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹³ <https://southfront.org/wesley-clark-turkey-is-supporting-isis/>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/dec/28/truth-president-Erdogan-jailed-turkey-regime-state-security-crime>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹⁵ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/01/turkey-syria-intelligence-service-shipping-weapons.html>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹⁶ <http://russia-insider.com/en/turkey-main-supplier-weapons-isis/ri13717>, last reached 13 February 2017

international media for not effectively blocking the logistics and manpower flow of terrorist organizations into Syria¹⁷.

A prominent headache for ERDOGAN was the huge scale domestic corruption case in December 2013¹⁸, which was closely related to “*Oil for gold, money laundering for Iran*” case. Reza ZARRAB, a Turkish citizen of Iranian descent, was arrested in December 2013 in Istanbul with several other people. The accusation was breaching sanctions against Iran through massive money laundering in the Turkish banking system. Besides, ERDOGAN’s family members and some Ministers were accused of receiving bribes in return. ERDOGAN crushed both cases by purging and arresting thousands of police officers, many judges and prosecutors, who took part in these lawsuits. In fact, the purge after July 2016 is just a devastating continuation of this previous blanket purge.

Despite ERDOGAN’s efforts, ZARRAB case has been resurrected in the United States. ZARRAB was arrested on his entry into U.S. on March 19, 2016. He is now facing a serious trial in a U.S. court for his role in Turkey’s Iranian “*oil to gold*” scheme. The U.S. court accusations directed to ZARRAB comprise evading sanctions against Iran, plotting conspiracies to commit money laundering and arranging bank fraud of billions of dollars through the Turkish banking system¹⁹. Recently, Mehmet Hakan ATILLA, the Deputy CEO of the state’s largest lender, Halkbank, was arrested by the agents of the Federal Information Bureau (FBI) at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City on March 27, 2017²⁰. His case was combined with that of Reza ZARRAB. According to the indictment, ZARRAB’s money laundering transactions benefitted a U.S. sanctioned firm, Iran-based Mahan Air, which supported the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Quds Force and Hizballah. ERDOGAN’s efforts to save his black box ZARRAB have not worked so far.

ERDOGAN’s also had difficulty with discussions and assertions about his lack of a college diploma, which is a definite prerequisite for being elected as President. ERDOGAN circulated alleged copies of his diploma through his affiliated media. However, the discussions became more complex with accusations of forgery on his diploma.

ERDOGAN’s Media Army

Long before July 2016, ERDOGAN crafted a delicate strategy to seize control of the majority of the media outlets in the country. He applied illegal financial and judicial methods to seize control of major TV stations and newspapers. Turkish society was under constant strain due to

¹⁷ <http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/02/europe/syria-turkey-russia-warplane-tensions/>

¹⁸ <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/europe/turkish-cabinet-members-resign.html>, last reached 13 February 2017

¹⁹ <http://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-wants-to-keep-charged-turkish-iranian-businessman-reza-zarrab-in-custody-1464208901>

²⁰ <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/turkish-banker-arrested-conspiring-evade-us-sanctions-against-iran-and-other-offenses>

increasing pressure on freedom of speech, closure of many national media outlets and arrests of journalists with opposing views. The overwhelming pro-ERDOGAN media was constantly attacking seculars and democrats, while the remaining media were under extreme pressure to either stay silent or broadcast in line with ERDOGAN's rhetoric.

Most of the media owners depend on the Government for public contracts in other industrial sectors where they are active, like energy, transportation, and construction, and thus, abstain from any critique. In the Turkish television world, the most influential media venue in the country, seven of the ten most important owners are politically associated with the governing party. The path of economic and political streamlining in Turkey results inevitably in self-censorship by many journalists, who don't want to lose their jobs²¹.

One example of ERDOGAN's employment of the media army took place during "Gezi" events of 2013, where millions of Turkish people marched against ERDOGAN and AKP for their brutal policy against the environment. During the events, ERDOGAN's Government organized propaganda and psychological warfare with an "army" of 6,000 Twitter accounts to undermine mass demonstrations and promote the policy of the governing party, the AKP²².

Fueling the Expectation for a Coup

Following the Turkish Government's (ERDOGAN and his inner circle) corruption scandal, which popped up at 17 and 25 December 2013, ERDOGAN launched an enormous purge in the police and judiciary system, targeting the officials who discovered the historical scandal. That was just a start of a long lasting brutal persecution by ERDOGAN. The service of the Government controlled mouthpiece media helped ERDOGAN gradually mold the public opinion about the existence of Fethullah GULEN supporters (Gulenists) throughout Government departments. The propaganda had a deliberate emphasis on the alleged existence of thousands of supporters in the military. Since the beginning of 2014, this continuous and massive propaganda intensively addressed Turkish population. ERDOGAN wanted to cast hostility in the public against the military and portrayed himself exposed to the military intervention.

After ERDOGAN's crippling of the police and judiciary system, the next target was Turkish Military (in Turkish, Turk Silahlı Kuvvetleri – TSK). Mouthpiece media continually published stories related to so-called FETO -Fethullah GULEN Terrorist Organization- members in the military^{23 24 25}.

²¹ <https://rsf.org/en/news/media-ownership-monitor-government-control-over-turkish-media-almost-complete>

²² <https://www.thepressproject.gr/article/103933/O-mixanismo-propagandas-tou-Erntogan-kai-o-elegxos-ton-MME>

²³ <http://www.ahaber.com.tr/gundem/2015/05/29/hanefi-avci-tskda-temizlik-yapmamak-ulkeye-ihanettir>

²⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/ordu-icin-deki-fethullahci-general-ve-albaylari-isim-isim-biliyorum-40082175>

²⁵ <http://t24.com.tr/haber/aksam-biri-kuvvet-komutani-40-general-ve-amirel-paralel-yapidan,262556>



The image on the left depicts a headline from Sozcu newspaper claiming “Gulenist Generals exist among the military’s top command”. This intentionally aggressive, but at the same time, vague language insidiously targeted thousands of democratic and secular military personnel, who were purged after 15 July 2016.

By 2016, the stories and accusations switched to a different form, suggesting that the only salvation for Gulenist officers was a coup and they were in preparation^{26 27}. The image below depicts a headline from the “Odatv”, internet news and commentary portal, echoing a pro-ERDOGAN newspaper “Akit” and claiming “*Gulenists are provoking the military for a coup*”.



One concrete example of such opinion came from Fuat UĞUR, a well-known “aggressor” of the mouthpiece media. In the two articles he published in the pro-ERDOGAN newspaper “Türkiye”, on 2nd and 21st April 2016, UĞUR claimed that the Gulenist officers were planning a coup²⁸.



*"I am warning once more those (Gulenist Officers). The State is watching them. With its intelligence, the command group of Turkish Military, the Government, the police, the public, the politicians, and NGOs as a whole, Turkish state is waiting for them to commit a crime. They will be identified one by one then."*²⁹

²⁶ <http://www.star.com.tr/yazar/Cemaatin-tek-kurtulusu-darbe-yazi-1094903>

²⁷ <http://www.medyagundem.com/genc-fetocu-subaylar-tedirgin/>

²⁸ <http://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/yazarlar/fuat-ugur/590844.aspx>

²⁹ <http://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/yazarlar/fuat-ugur/591124.aspx>

Another example came from a retired Turkish Air Force officer Osman BASIBUYUK. In his article, published in “Odatv” on 8 March 2016, he stated that “Cemaat” (a Turkish term referring to Gulenists, meaning “Community” in English) was stuck in a corner and the only escape for them was a coup.

“It seems that Cemaat does not have much time. They will do whatever they can before the ‘Supreme Military Council (in Turkish, Yüksek Askeri Sura-YAS) meeting in August... Currently, Gulenist officers in Turkish Military are spoiling the anti-terror operations, instead of contributing to them. It seems the Government realized this. To finish the PKK terror and prevent the risk of a coup, the Government will start a purge in the military before August. All the signs show that. Don’t be surprised!”³⁰



The propaganda was intensively extended into the social media. A striking example was ERDOGAN's election campaign coordinator Erol OLCOK, who released a series of tweets from his account “Fotoğraf & Siyaset” on 10 July 2016.

In his tweets shown on the left, he signaled that a giant and destructive operation by ERDOGAN against Kemalists, Secularists and Gulenists in the military was imminent.

He stated that after this operation, there would be no obstacle left between ERDOGAN and

founding a new Caliphate, and taking over ultimate control of the Military.

OLCOK was echoed by other AKP proxies on Twitter. One example was the tweeter account, “eski_Istanbulum“, repeated the message same day³¹. Another example was an early 15th of July tweet by Furkan GOK, head of the AKP's militia “Osmanli Ocaklari” in Istanbul: “The western minded and parallel ones in the military, your death is soon, wait and see!”³²

³⁰ <http://odatv.com/cemaatin-tek-kurtulusu-darbe-0803161200.html>

³¹ https://twitter.com/eski_Istanbulum/status/752223323703152640

³² <https://twitter.com/furkangok1920/status/753850420859052032>

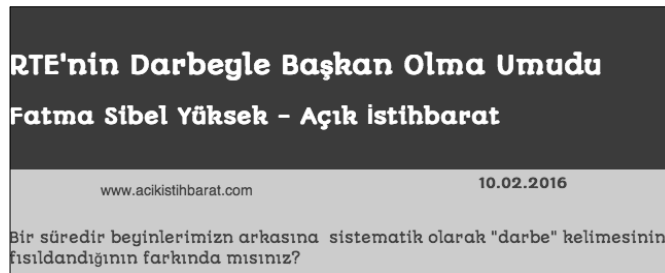


While these coup allegations were occupying newspaper columns, August 2016 Supreme Military Council (YAS) meeting was brought up. The constant propaganda was that thousands of Gulenists would be ejected from the military at this event. A headline from “Odatv” on the left states; “(those Gulenist) personnel who would be purged at the Supreme Military Council meeting have been identified”.

A headline from “Odatv” on the right echoes a pro-ERDOGAN journalist Rasim Ozan KUTAHYALI, stating “If the Chief of Turkish Military Gen Hulusi AKAR resists cleansing of Gulenists, he will have to resign”. This



was part of the other side of the propaganda, aiming at the Chief of the Turkish Military, General (Gen) Hulusi AKAR, because of his hesitance to support Government dictated purges. The Government media forced him either to comply with the Government or to resign.



In February 2016, Fatma Sibel YUKSEK reported on a famous intelligence news website, “acikistihbarat.com”, that ERDOGAN hoped to consolidate his presidential power to a full executive presidency by manipulating a coup

attempt³³. YUKSEK, a self-declared ultra-nationalist, was a suspect during the Ergenekon trials a few years earlier. The title of her reporting was interesting: “RTE’s (Recep Tayyip ERDOGAN’s) hope to become a full president by a coup”. “Obviously a coup would serve as a medicine for him. What can be more desirable for Tayyip ERDOGAN than adding a title as ‘the leader that defeated the coup’ to his successful political career?”



By the beginning of July 2016, the “first wave” arrest warrants were ordered by the Izmir Prosecutor against some military officers, including admirals. The rationale was ostensibly related to an investigation related to “Spying Scandal in the military”³⁴. Government-affiliated newspapers targeted those officials and stated that this is just a beginning of the “big operations”.

³³ <http://acikistihbarat.com/Haberler/1092-Yazilar-RTE>

³⁴ <http://www.ulusalkanal.com.tr/m/gundem/izmir-merkezli-operasyon-h110714.html>

Impact of Terror Attacks Before July 2016³⁵

Multiple and frequent terror attacks took place in many Turkish cities, especially in Ankara and Istanbul, before July 2016. This conditioned many of the Turkish military personnel to respond to the official calls from their superiors on 15 July 2016, to take a supportive role against a countrywide terrorist threat. Multiple testimonies of imprisoned officers indicate that they received official calls on 15 July 2016 to report to their units due to an expected large-scale terror attack. Those who received and obeyed the orders were immediately arrested by police officers at their arrival at the gates of their units.

Below is a list of major terror attacks in Turkey within one year prior to 15 July 2016.

July 20, 2015 –Sanliurfa

34 people were killed by a suicide bomber.

October 10, 2015 - Ankara Train Station

A suicide attacker detonated a bomb during a demonstration near the major train station and killed 109 people.

December 23, 2015 - Istanbul

One woman was killed by a bomb attack at Sabiha Gokcen Airport.

January 12, 2016 - Istanbul

A suicide attacker detonated a bomb, killing 13 people in Istanbul's Sultanahmet Square, a popular tourist area, where the historic Blue Mosque is located.

February 17, 2016 - Ankara

An explosive-laden vehicle targeted a convoy of shuttles carrying military personnel to their housing at the end of duty hours. 28 military personnel and civilians were killed next to Turkish Air Force Headquarters (HQ).

March 13, 2016 - Ankara

A car bomb was detonated in the capital, Ankara, killing 37 people. This terror attack took place in the Kizilay district near Guvenpark, where a major municipal transport hub is located.

March 19, 2016 - Istanbul

A suicide attack in the busy Istiklal Street in Taksim killed four people.

April 24, 2016 - Bursa

³⁵ <http://www.trtworld.com/turkey/timeline-of-bomb-attacks-in-turkey-during-2016-249647>

One person was killed and 13 injured in a suicide attack close to the historical Ulu Mosque in Turkey's northwestern city of Bursa.

May 1, 2016 - Gaziantep

An attack killed two police officers and injured 40 when an explosive-laden vehicle was detonated outside the police headquarters in the southern Turkish city of Gaziantep.

May 10, 2016 - Diyarbakir

Three people were killed and 45 were injured in an attack on a police bus in the Baglar district of Diyarbakir, a city in Turkey's southeast.

May 12, 2016 - Istanbul

Nine people were injured when a car bomb exploded in Sancaktepe near the Army Aviation Regiment Command in Istanbul. Six soldiers were among the injured.

May 12, 2016 - Diyarbakir

Sixteen people died, and 23 were injured when a truck laden with 15 tons of explosives went off in Diyarbakir in Turkey's southeast.

June 7, 2016 - Istanbul

A car bomb attack killed 11 people, including seven police officers, and injured 36 others in Istanbul's "Vezneciler" district. The blast took place close to Istanbul University, the mayor's office, and a metro station.

June 8, 2016- Mardin

Five people were killed, including two policewomen, one of whom was pregnant, and three civilians when a car bomb went off close to the police headquarters in Mardin's Midyat district, located in the country's southeast.

June 28, 2016- Istanbul

Thirty-five people were killed in an attack on Istanbul's Ataturk Airport, and more than 100 people were injured.

3 Timeline of Decisive Events

Quick Overview

No written plan for the alleged coup attempt has been discovered yet. The dissenters did not capture the prominent Government officials and did not seize many of the critical communication and transport nodes. The official declaration of the coup³⁶, broadcasted only on the state TV, TRT (Turkish Radio, Television), for a short duration. The declaration called for overthrowing the Government, declaring martial law, establishing the democratic norms and the rule of law in the country again. Neither the Parliamentary Investigation Commission³⁷ nor the judiciary indictments by the prosecutors³⁸ satisfactorily clarified who was leading the coup. The indictments allege the leadership framed 38 military officers. Obviously, neither forces mobilized, nor the actions taken were enough to take control of the Government, enforce martial law and curfew, and establish a military rule throughout the country. It seemed like the alleged primary military objective was to capture and arrest ERDOGAN alive.

According to an official declaration by the Turkish Military following 15 July 2016, there were 8,651 military personnel involved in the alleged coup attempt (5,761 professional military personnel, 1,676 conscripts, and 1,214 cadets)³⁹. The Military announced that the number of alleged dissenters forms only 1.5 % of the total manpower of 570,111 in Turkish Military (247,196 professional military personnel, 270,970 conscripts, and others)⁴⁰. The announcement also stated that a small number of equipment and weapons of the total inventory were employed during the attempt, including 35 military aircraft, 37 military helicopters (8 attack helicopters included), 246 armored vehicles (74 tanks included), three military ships, and 3992 light weapons.

The alleged dissenters employed initial troops around 21:30 on Friday evening. It was a busy hour in large cities. People were on the streets, in front of TVs and on the Internet. The alleged coup was announced to the press by an official email at 23:45 and broadcasted on state TV, TRT at 00:15. The alleged dissenters blocked the Bosphorus Bridge in one direction, raided few tanks to several locations without live ammo, and allegedly bombed the parliament. These actions were in fact not decisive, and some were even harmful to their objectives because of public suffering and the resultant anger.

³⁶ <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/27-nisan-e-muhtirasi-metni-ve-15-temmuz-darbe-bildirisi-metni-benzerlikleri/Blog/?BlogNo=537536>

³⁷ For Commission's records;

https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/komisyon_tutanaklari.tutanaklar?pKomKod=1021&pDonem=26&pYasamaYili=2
For Commission's draft report;

<http://t24.com.tr/haber/iste-darbe-komisyonunun-feto-on-taslak-raporunun-tam-metni,378495>

³⁸ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/son-dakika-iste-yurtta-sulh-konseyi-uyeleri-1711515/>

³⁹ <http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/tsk-darbe-girisimine-katilan-personel-sayisini-acikladi,ns92udU75k2vw-1OIEK4gQ>

⁴⁰ <http://www.emekliasubaylar.org/haberler/item/1475-turk-silahli-kuvvetleri-personel-mevcutlari>

Detailed Timeline

The information and the timeline below are directly derived from the publicly available data like the news, the statements and the official indictments. Some of the times are rough figures due to lack of precision in the resources.

The comments by the Authors are depicted in italics.

Please refer to the map below for location of events.



TIME	PLACE	EVENT
5 JULY 2016	Marmaris	— AKAR and service chiefs visited military units in Marmaris few days before ERDOGAN's arrival for a secret vacation.
9 JULY	Antalya	— ERDOGAN returned to Turkey from NATO's Warsaw summit and traveled to Antalya for an official event. From there on, he avoided any exposure to the media and the public for around a week. Avoiding media so long has never been his routine. — <i>ERDOGAN started hiding his location well before 15 July because of his awareness.</i>
10 JULY	Marmaris	— The Coast Guard ordered the yachts at the Otluk Koyu (cove) in Marmaris to clear the area. This activity was shared with the public in the media. — ERDOGAN's official residence was located in this cove but he stayed in a place around 20 km southeast. — <i>ERDOGAN's place of residence was covered by the Coast Guard's activity.</i>

		— ERDOGAN, in fact, did not stay at this residence. He states that he stayed at a friend Serkan YAZICI's villa at the GRAND YAZICI Vacation Resort, roughly 25 km to the south⁴¹.
11 JULY	Istanbul	— Until the night of 15 July, ERDOGAN's first and only exposure to the media was on this day. He was photographed boarding a helicopter in Istanbul.
21:00	Marmaris	— ERDOGAN flew to Marmaris from Istanbul clandestinely and landed at the small Cildir Airfield near Aydin. This airfield is roughly 150 km north of Marmaris. — <i>ERDOGAN intentionally did not land at Dalaman airfield, which is only roughly 40 km southeast of Marmaris, to disguise his arrival.</i> — ERDOGAN did not tell his Military Aides about his travel plan and did not allow them to escort him. This was extraordinary since his Military Aides were responsible for his entire schedule. — ERDOGAN states that he stayed at Serkan YAZICI's villa at his Resort⁴². — Serkan YAZICI told the hotel personnel at the GRAND YAZICI Holiday Resort that a foreign high-level politician was hosted and they were not allowed to serve the guest. ERDOGAN brought his cook and maids with him. ERDOGAN and his family almost never went outside the villa they were staying in⁴³. — <i>Deliberate measures were taken by ERDOGAN to hide his arrival and place of residence.</i>
13 JULY	Marmaris	— Gokmen ULU from the newspaper "Sozcu" traveled to Marmaris to search for the exact location of ERDOGAN⁴⁴. — <i>ULU's travel served ERDOGAN on 15 July 2016.</i>
14 JULY	Silopi	— Shortly before the events, Upon the Commander of the Special Forces, Major General (Maj Gen) Zekai AKSAKALLI's written directive, several personnel of Special Forces units, taking part

⁴¹ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/yazarlar/soner-yalcin/isin-aslini-anlatayim-1378799/>

⁴² <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/marmariste-erdoganin-yaninda-olan-vekil-o-anlari-anlatti-1323314/>

⁴³ <http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/darbe-gecesi-marmariste-neler-yasandi-142485h.htm>

⁴⁴ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/yazarlar/soner-yalcin/isin-aslini-anlatayim-1378799/>

		in anti-terror operations in Amanos Mountains, southern Turkey, were ordered to quit the recently started 4-month-long operation and report directly to Brigadier General (Brig Gen) Semih TERZI, who was assigned to Silopi, southeast of Turkey⁴⁵. — TERZI, an alleged dissenter, tasked a captain, who was strictly loyal to AKSAKALLI to form a team of personnel to escort him for his travel to Ankara on 15 July. TERZI and his team's travel to Ankara the next day has turned out to be very controversial at the end. — <i>The events of the day clearly indicate that AKSAKALLI was ERDOGAN's and FIDAN's primary exploiter and infiltrator in the Military. He organized and provoked a series of events paving the way for the events on 15 July.</i>
Same day	Ankara	— One of ERDOGAN's closest allies and Patriotic Party Leader Dogu PERINCEK's Deputy Atilla UGUR (a retired colonel from Turkish Army)⁴⁶ called and informed a journalist from the pro-ERDOGAN newspaper "Yeni Safak" about a coup which was going to take place in a few days. — <i>This was PERINCEK's deliberate move to evoke public expectation for an emerging coup. It also aimed to put pressure on dissenters by showing them that their plan was recognized and they needed to speed up the execution to be successful.</i>
Same day	Ankara Special Forces Command	— A routine graduation ceremony took place at Special Forces Command, Golbasi-Ankara. In an unprecedented way, Chief of Turkish Military Gen Hulusi AKAR and Undersecretary of Turkish Intelligence Agency Hakan FIDAN attended the ceremony. — After the ceremony, AKAR, FIDAN, and AKSAKALLI spent several hours in private, talking until midnight⁴⁷. After AKAR's departure at midnight, FIDAN and AKSAKALLI continued their private conversation for some hours.

⁴⁵http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/682749/Halisdemir_davasinda_darbeciden_agir_suclama__Bizi_iskenderun_dan_Diyarbakir_a_Aksakalli_getirtti.html

⁴⁶<http://www.ulusalkanal.com.tr/gundem/yeni-safak-in-muhabiri-o-roportajin-arkasinda-ikinci-mudahale-girisimi-h123099.html>

⁴⁷ <http://odatv.com/hulusi-akar-ve-hakan-fidan-darbeden-bir-gun-once-neredeydi-2702171200.html>

		— <i>FIDAN and AKSAKALLI were in full collaboration in preparing their plan for 15 July.</i> — <i>What AKAR and FIDAN talked about is not known.</i>
15 JULY 11:58	Marmaris	— Gokmen ULU from the newspaper “Sozcu”, who had been in Marmaris for the last two days, questioned ERDOGAN’s location at Sozcu’s website. He even invited the readers to a poll to predict ERDOGAN’s exact location. The choices were interesting: Okluk Cove, a hotel, a friend’s villa, or outside the country⁴⁸! — <i>ULU’s poke served to provoke the dissenters’ focus on ERDOGAN’s precise location.</i>
Before noon	Ankara MIT	— According to ERDOGAN and the Government, a Major from Army Aviation School, in Ankara allegedly went to the Turkish Intelligence Agency Headquarters and reported that he and some officers from the Army Aviation School were tasked to fly 2 SIKORSKY and 1 COUGAR helicopters, from 19:00 until late at night, and capture FIDAN. — MIT did not inform the Turkish Military about the report until 16:45 and failed to inform ERDOGAN and the Government until the events started later that night. — <i>What happened at MIT from the first time the Major came till 16:45 is not yet accounted for.</i> — <i>There is no credible official information about who the Major was and what happened to him afterward.</i> — <i>The Major’s alleged report served ERDOGAN and FIDAN to build their version of the story.</i>
Before noon	Ankara Silopi	— Maj Gen AKSAKALLI allowed Special Forces Brigade Commander and alleged dissenter Brig Gen Semih TERZI to travel to Ankara. AKSAKALLI rationalizes his permission on TERZI’s wife’s request the day before and TERZI’s call on July 15th to visit his father, who was sick in Ankara. — TERZI’s wife denied her request to AKSAKALLI and stated that TERZI was pulled into a trap in Ankara. TERZI’s wife was

⁴⁸ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/cumhurbaskani-erdogandan-alti-gundur-haber-yok-1315162/>

		arrested a few weeks after 15 July. — On arrival, TERZI was killed by AKSAKALLI's Military Aide. Later, the pro-ERDOGAN media portrayed TERZI as one of the leading actors of the alleged coup and a prominent Gulenist. — AKSAKALLI officially testified after the events that he had been meeting with the Undersecretary of Turkish Intelligence Agency (in Turkish, Milli Istihbarat Teskilati-MIT) Hakan FIDAN since May 2016 and sharing with him the names of possible Gulenists in the Military. — <i>TERZI's trip to Ankara was a deliberate plot prepared by AKSAKALLI to provoke the events of 15 July.</i>
Noon	Izmir Cigli Airbase	— Brig Gen Gokhan SOZMEZATES, coming from Istanbul, arrived at the Cigli Airbase. — He was later accused of preparing the mission at night to capture ERDOGAN⁴⁹.
Afternoon	Istanbul Yalova	— Chief of Air Force, Gen Abidin UNAL officially visited the summer training camp of Air Force Academy in Yalova, near Istanbul. He addressed the cadets following the lunch⁵⁰. — <i>Later that night, the cadets were tasked for a snap exercise and driven to the Bosphorus Bridge.</i>
14:00	Istanbul Heybeliada	— Chief of Turkish Naval Force ADM Bulent BOSTANOGLU and Commander of the Fleet ADM Veysel KOSELE had a long and non-routine one-on-one private meeting in Heybeliada, before their participation in the graduation ceremony of the Naval Military High School.
14:00	Ankara TGS	— A meeting on military planning against terrorism took place at Turkish General Staff (TGS) Headquarters (HQ). The principal participants comprised Deputy of the Chief of Turkish Military Gen Yasar GULER, Army Chief of Staff Gen Ihsan UYAR, Maj Gen Zekai AKSAKALLI and around 20 more Generals. — Around 16:30 during the meeting, GULER received a memo and calmly left the room. — Attendees of the meeting commented on the memo, which had

⁴⁹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/maka-erdogani-soylemedim-40175854>

⁵⁰ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/yazarlar/melih-asik/hesabi-gorelim----2337726/>

		the word “coup” on it. They were under the impression that a coup, led by the Chief of General Staff Hulusi AKAR and Chiefs of the Services, was being initiated⁵¹. — One attendee from Turkish Land Forces HQ testified that when he went back to Land Forces HQ and reported the about the “coup” to his supervisor Maj Gen Omer Sevki GENCTURK, his response was: “So, they are informed as well.” — GENCTURK later stayed at the HQ until late hours until he was arrested by the dissenters. He did not resist the arrest. — GENCTURK is currently the main coordinator of the purges in the Turkish Ministry of Defense.
16:00	Ankara TGS	— Gen AKAR and Turkish Army Chief Gen Salih COLAK held a meeting on promotions and retirements in YAS meeting.
16:15	Ankara TGS	— Hakan FIDAN called Gen GULER and told him that an officer, ranked Major, had come and reported him some crucial issues. FIDAN also added he was sending his Deputy Sabahattin ASAL to Turkish General Staff (TGS) HQ to explain the details. — <i>ASAL’s visit allegedly provoked the dissenters at the TGS HQ.</i>
16:25	Ankara Marmaris	— ERDOGAN’s alleged precise location in Marmaris leaked to the newspaper Sozcu’s website by the same journalist Gokmen ULU. ULU also added the details of security measures to protect ERDOGAN to his report. The location was Serkan YAZICI’s villa next to Grand Yazici Holiday Resort⁵². — <i>This critical last minute leakage allegedly provoked the dissenters to locate ERDOGAN’s exact location. The timing of the leakage was interesting.</i>
16:45	Ankara TGS	— Gen GULER reported the information he received from FIDAN to Gen AKAR. Having held a meeting with Gen AKAR from 16:00 on, Turkish Army Chief Gen Salih Zeki COLAK was in the room as well. — AKAR and GULER first communicated silently by taking notes on a paper, then left COLAK alone for a private meeting, which lasted an hour. COLAK did not understand what was going on.

⁵¹ <http://odatv.com/15-temmuz-saat-16da-yasar-gulerin-onune-konan-pusulada-darbe-mi-yaziyordu--1204171200.html>

⁵² <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/erdogani-sozcu-buldu-1315631/>

17:32	Ankara TGS	— FIDAN's Deputy Sabahattin ASAL came to TGS and informed GULER about the Major's denouncement. GULER called FIDAN and invited him also to TGS HQ.
17:45	Ankara TGS	— AKAR and GULER, after having spent more than an hour in private, called COLAK inside and informed him about Major's denouncement. — Gen AKAR tasked COLAK to immediately drive to the Army Aviation School before 19:00, with his Chief of Staff Gen UYAR, a Military Prosecutor and Commander of the Ankara Garrison to inspect if there was anything abnormal. — According to COLAK's testimony, Gen AKAR informed Gen COLAK only on the suspected helicopter flight at night, not on the possibility of a coup attempt. — At 17:54 Sabahattin ASAL from MIT left TGS. — At 18:10 Hakan FIDAN arrived at TGS. FIDAN directly went to Gen AKAR's office and joined the last five minutes of AKAR's thirty-minute conversation with COLAK. — <i>Why FIDAN bluntly risked himself and went to TGS HQ is a question mark. Since by that time, it must have been impossible to verify who was involved in the alleged coup.</i> — FIDAN stayed silent until COLAK's departure. After his departure, he explained the situation and additionally commented: "This may be part of a big event!" — <i>FIDAN's assessment of the big event was very crucial. But his failure to share it with the departing Army Chief is strange.</i> — According to ERDOGAN, until the events started later that night, neither AKAR nor FIDAN called him or the Prime Minister Binali YILDIRIM and shared what was happening. — <i>If FIDAN was targeted by some dissenters, naturally ERDOGAN and the Prime Minister must have also been targeted. FIDAN's crucial assessment must have had possible implications for their safety. AKAR' and FIDAN's failure to inform ERDOGAN or YILDIRIM is unusual.</i>

18:30

Ankara
TGS

- Gen AKAR ordered the Operations Center at TGS HQ to stop and ban all military flights in Turkey.
- According to all sides, neither AKAR nor FIDAN told ERDOGAN and YILDIRIM about the serious country-wide measures they were taking.
- In his testimony, AKAR does not mention his long meeting with FIDAN and FIDAN's call to ERDOGAN.
- However, GULER and COLAK talked about FIDAN's visit at their follow-on testimonies. According to GULER's testimony, FIDAN made a phone call to inform ERDOGAN but only talked to the Director of President's Guard Unit, Muhsin KOSE. The talk was very short. FIDAN asked KOSE just the question twice: "Muhsin, do you have enough men and power to confront an attack from outside?". The reply was positive. AKAR and GULER were present in the room during the call.
- *Why did FIDAN not insist on talking to ERDOGAN? How did KOSE reply so quickly? KOSE should have asked back to FIDAN "Against what, when, whom?" and should have urged him for further details. But he did not.*
- Serkan YAZICI, the owner of the holiday resort where ERDOGAN resided, stated in a later interview published in the Government-affiliated newspaper "Milliyet" that he was with ERDOGAN's security chief when he received the call from FIDAN around 18:00⁵³. He also told that ERDOGAN's Secretary Hasan DOGAN and his son-in-law Berat ALBAYRAK were present.
- YAZICI stated that, after receiving the information about the alleged coup, KOSE directly entered the villa and informed ERDOGAN⁵⁴. YAZICI's statements are in line with GULER's testimony.
- On the contrary, ERDOGAN persistently claims that FIDAN did not inform him and he first heard about the alleged coup from

⁵³ <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/20/otelin-sahibi-o-geceyi-anlatti>

⁵⁴ <http://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/erdoganin-kaldigi-otelin-sahibi-serkan-yazici-ilk-kez-konustu>

his brother-in-law at around 21:30.

- YAZICI later contradicted his statements about when, where and from whom KOSE received this phone call. He mentioned different locations about where KOSE was when he received the call. He once stated that they were at a café near Marmaris⁵⁵, and later changed the location to the front yard of ERDOGAN's residence⁵⁶. He also contradicted himself about the time of the call. He first stated the call was in the afternoon⁵⁷ and later changed it to 21:40. Later, he even claimed that the call was from a Governor and never mentioned FIDAN.
- *ERDOGAN's deliberate denial of this call complies with the thesis that he had his own plan for 15 July 2016 and YAZICI was his collaborator.*
- *If ERDOGAN accepts having the information at 18:30, then he will be seriously criticized and held responsible for not acting timely to prevent the events which caused the loss of 248 lives.*
- Despite the urgency, AKAR did not immediately call Air, Navy, and Gendarmerie Chiefs to duty. They, later on, participated in different weddings.
- *AKAR's failure to inform his Service Chiefs is unusual. At a minimum, he would be expected to tell the Chief of the Air Force about the flight ban and even enforce the flight ban via the Chief of the Air Force, who by definition has the prime responsibility for the Turkish airspace.*
- *AKAR and FIDAN did not think of banning or limiting civilian flights, although they suspected some illegal military air activity, which could endanger the civilian traffic.*
- ERDOGAN's flight later that night from Marmaris to Istanbul was concealed among the busy civilian airline traffic around the

⁵⁵ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/darbe-komisyonu-baskani-petek-o-gun-cumhurbask-40313680>

⁵⁶ <http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/darbe-gecesi-marmariste-neler-yasandi-142485h.htm>

⁵⁷ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/darbe-komisyonu-baskani-petek-o-gun-cumhurbask-40313680>

		flight path.
18:30		— ERDOGAN asked his friend Serkan YAZICI to invite the media representatives to the Villa. He also said that an assassination team would be coming to the villa⁵⁸. — ERDOGAN continued to stay at the villa until midnight after receiving the call from FIDAN which he persistently denies. — <i>ERDOGAN was aware that, later that night, a team of the dissenters would come to capture him. His preference not to change his location indicates that he could track the movements of that team. Otherwise, not changing his location to increase his personal safety is strange.</i>
18:40	Ankara TGS	— After Army Chief Gen COLAK's departure, Gen GULER, according to his second testimony dated 07 October 2016⁵⁹, went back to his office to continue his daily routine paperwork, leaving AKAR and FIDAN behind. — <i>GULER's statement about returning to routine paperwork amid an unusual and risky situation is unusual.</i> — What AKAR and FIDAN talked or planned during the next one hour and forty minutes is not known.
18:50	Ankara Army Aviation School	— Gen COLAK arrived at Army Aviation School, completed a thorough inspection, and found nothing abnormal. Meanwhile, he often called Gen AKAR to report his findings.
19:00	Ankara TGS	— The meeting at TGS HQ about "Terrorism" ceased. — According to his testimony, Maj Gen AKSAKALLI learned that AKAR and his deputy had a meeting with FIDAN at the HQ and suspected something abnormal. — After the meeting, he tried to talk to Gen GULER, his immediate commander in the chain, but could not talk because he was busy. Then he left to join a wedding ceremony in Ankara. — <i>Although GULER testified that he returned to office for routine paperwork, AKSAKALLI testified that he was unable to talk to</i>

⁵⁸ <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/20/otelin-sahibi-o-geceyi-anlatti>

⁵⁹ See pages 505-511 at <http://www.ensonhaber.com/dosyalar/id1.pdf>

		<i>Gen GULER because he was busy.</i> — <i>AKSAKALLI's rush for participation for a wedding ceremony instead of insisting on meeting GULER amid coup allegations at the TGS is strange.</i>
19:06	Istanbul	— Turkish Air Force Operations Center called and informed the Chief of Turkish Air Force Gen Abidin UNAL about the ban on military flights in Turkey. UNAL did not immediately react to this vital information and preferred to stay at the wedding ceremony with 24 Air Force Generals. — UNAL, at his first testimony, did not mention his awareness of the military flight ban. Days later, he updated his testimony and stated that he was informed about the flight ban around 19:00. According to his testimony, he tried to reach AKAR and GULER but learned that they were in a meeting. UNAL could never talk to AKAR again. — <i>UNAL's not insisting on talking with AKAR or GULER is unusual.</i> — The Commander of the Air Operations Command, Lt Gen Mehmet SANVER advised UNAL to send a Lieutenant General to Eskişehir Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) to increase their awareness and control the situation in the air., UNAL denied the request initially. — <i>UNAL's denial to send a high-ranking general to Eskisehir upfront is strange.</i> — Additionally, UNAL and Lt Gen Nihat KOKMEN did not bring their wives to this important wedding of the second high-ranking official in the Air Force. KOKMEN's wife was in Belgium, on vacation with her friends. — <i>The absence of UNAL's and KOKMEN's wives at the wedding is unusual.</i> — Furthermore, Air Force Lt Gen Yilmaz OZKAYA and his wife did not participate in the wedding either, instead, they were on

		vacation at a military recreation resort in Marmaris. — OZKAYA later helped ERDOGAN's safe departure from Dalaman and intervened in the dissenters' operation against ERDOGAN. — <i>OZKAYA's absence at the wedding is unusual.</i>
19:25	Ankara TGS	— Gen AKAR called Lt Gen Metin GURAK, the Commander of Ankara Garrison, and ordered him to go swiftly to the Armored Division located at Etimesgut, Ankara to ensure no tanks or military vehicles were allowed to leave the unit. — AKAR also ordered him later to proceed to the Army Aviation Command to join the Army Chief for inspection.
19:25	Ankara TGS	— The TGS Operations Center called the Prime Minister's Coordination Center and the State Information Coordination Center to tell the cessation and prohibition of military flights over Turkey. — Despite his Coordination Center was informed, Prime Minister YILDIRIM insists that he was not informed by anybody until later that night until the tanks rolled on the streets. — <i>YILDIRIM's statement is strange.</i>
19:30	Istanbul	— The Chief of the Turkish Navy ADM Bulent BOSTANOGLU was attending another wedding in Cinar Hotel, located at Yesilkoy, Istanbul. — BOSTANOGLU testified that he was not informed by AKAR or GULER about the measures taken. — <i>AKAR's and GULER's failure to call the Chiefs of Navy, Air and Gendarmerie Service Chiefs is unusual.</i>
20:02	Ankara TGS HQ Air Force HQ	— At Air Force HQ's request, TGS HQ partially lifted the military flight ban for operational flights at the Syrian border and for an air display in Antalya.
20:22	Ankara TGS	— Having spent around two and a half hours with AKAR and GULER, FIDAN left TGS HQ. — FIDAN's departure was allegedly a kick-off signal to trigger dissenters' activities.

20:23	Ankara Akinci Airbase	— 33 Special Operations personnel left Akinci Base by a bus towards TGS HQ. These alleged dissenters later detained several Generals at TGS HQ and brought them to AKINCI. — <i>FIDAN's presence at the HQ allegedly put time pressure on the dissenters, by giving them an impression that ERDOGAN and FIDAN had some awareness of their plan.</i>
20:30	Ankara	— FIDAN allegedly met with Chief of Religious Affairs Mehmet GÖRMEZ after he left the TGS HQ. They agreed on a plan of using prayer calls (Sela) from all mosques in Turkey to urge people on the streets and squares to resist dissenters^{60 61}.
20:46	Ankara TGS	— Maj Gen Mehmet DISLI, head of the Military Transformation Department, who left earlier for home after duty hours, came back to TGS HQ. He has been a long time close associate to AKAR.
21:00	Ankara TGS	— According to AKAR's testimony, Maj Gen DISLI entered his office and told him that "The operations had started; Battalions and Brigades are on their way, you'll see soon... We would like to see you as our leader". AKAR, very much surprised and with extreme anger, harshly scolded DISLI and told him that these were illegal acts which must be immediately ceased. He also added, "Who are you? Who is your leader...? No matter what you do to me, you cannot have me on your side!"
21:06	Ankara Other cities	— With the landing of the last military aircraft airborne, the prohibition of military flights was fully implemented.
21:15	Ankara Diyarbakir	— Despite the military flight ban, Col Umit TATAN facilitated Brig Gen TERZI's flight from Ankara to Diyarbakir⁶². TATAN was loyal to Maj Gen AKSAKALLI and his actions were directed by him. — <i>AKSAKALLI facilitated TERZI's travel to Ankara because his plan was to have his Military Aide kill him once he arrived at Special Forces Command, and later accuse him of plotting the coup and trying to take over the Special Forces Command.</i>

⁶⁰ <http://odatv.com/bu-yazidan-sonra-ankara-karisacak-2207161200.html>

⁶¹ <http://t24.com.tr/video/gazeteci-can-ataklinin-iddiasi-15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi-gunduz-bastirildi-hukumet-biliyordu,3788>

⁶² <http://www.bursadabugun.com/haber/feto-den-yargilanan-binbasi-aksakalli-ve-tatan-dan-sikayetci-oldu-791473.html>

		— <i>TERZI was accompanied by 24 Special Forces personnel, of which 20 were loyal to AKSAKALLI!</i>
21:20	Ankara TGS	— 33 Personnel from Special Forces Command, who left Akinci Airbase earlier, arrived at TGS HQ, fully armed in Battle Dress Uniforms (BDUs).
21:30	Ankara Other cities	— Many military officials in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and other cities were called back to their duty positions in response to a devastating terror threat in several cities in the country. — In Ankara, for example, hundreds of personnel were called to the higher headquarters by Gen GULER's directive. — Many personnel, who responded to the official recall, were later accused of their involvement in the attempt. — <i>However, certain officials, who responded positively to the recall likewise, were protected by pro-ERDOGAN high ranking officials. They still serve in the Military.</i>
21:30	Istanbul	— The Chief of the Air Force General Abidin UNAL, according to his testimony, was not aware of the coup attempt until a call from his wife around 21:30, telling him about the detention of an Air Force General in Ankara. — UNAL testified that he tried to call AKAR and GULER but could not reach them.
21:30	Marmaris	— ERDOGAN persistently claims that he had the first call about the coup from his brother-in-law in Istanbul around 21:30. He stated that he was extremely surprised and that his first reaction to his brother-in-law was "Are you kidding?" — He claims that he could not reach FIDAN until around 22:00 that night⁶³. He repeated the same statement to many media outlets, including his interview with media outlet A HABER⁶⁴. — <i>ERDOGAN lies about the timing. He was aware well in advance!</i>
21:30	Istanbul	— According to Berat ALBAYRAK's (ERDOGAN's son-in-law) statement, Gen DUNDAR, commander of the 1st Army in Istanbul, called ERDOGAN and reaffirmed his loyalty to him.

⁶³ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/15-temmuzu-saat-saat-anlatti-40309381>

⁶⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcO84VubmU8>

		DUNDAR advised ERDOGAN to speed up his departure from Marmaris to Istanbul, guaranteeing his security^{65 66}. — Gen DUNDAR persistently denied his contact with ERDOGAN despite ALBAYRAK's confirmation at different occasions, including his interview with the media outlet A HABER⁶⁷. — <i>Although DUNDAR persistently denies, he was in constant and close coordination with ERDOGAN, together with the Governor and the Police Chief of Istanbul.</i>
21:33	Ankara TGS	— According to AKAR's testimony, after around 30 minutes of negotiation with DISLI and the other dissenters and persistently rejecting to lead the coup, he was detained by the Special Forces personnel at TGS HQ. — <i>AKAR did not secure his location and increase his personal security measures after having received the information from FIDAN. The reason has to be clarified.</i>
21:35	Ankara TGS	— Army Chief Gen COLAK called Gen AKAR but could not reach him. COLAK was informed by Gen AKAR's Military Aide that he and his Chief of Staff were ordered by AKAR to immediately come to the TGS HQ.
21:43	Ankara TGS	— Gen COLAK arrived at TGS and was detained by the same personnel from the Special Forces Command.
21:43	Adana Incirlik Airbase	— KC-135 Tanker aircraft took off to refuel F-16s which were going to take off around half an hour later to fly over Ankara. A few tanker aircraft flew till early hours next morning.
21:45	Ankara	— Maj Gen AKSAKALLI allegedly suspected of some people at the wedding he attended and decided to leave early. — Minutes after his departure, he allegedly escaped from a plot aimed to capture him. — From there on, he started to collaborate with Kemal ESKINTAN and FIDAN from MIT and used his trustees hidden among the dissenters to spoil their activities⁶⁸. — <i>FIDAN and AKSAKALLI talked many times during the night and</i>

⁶⁵ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/cuntacilarin-darbe-planini-ihbar-gundem-2279635/>

⁶⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/abdulkadir-selvi/darbe-gecesinin-kader-anlari-40150159>

⁶⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcO84VubmU8>

⁶⁸ <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1270038-mete-yarar-haberturk-tvde-darbe-girisiminde-yasananlari-anlatti>

		<i>organized the measures to foil the dissenters' activities.</i>
22:00	Izmir Cigli Airbase	— Special Forces team, allegedly tasked for the mission to detain ERDOGAN, arrived at the Cigli Airbase from Istanbul. — <i>The team faced many difficulties in arranging the transport and failed to bring some members to Izmir.</i> — <i>AKSAKALLI's loyalists hidden among dissenters took deliberate actions to delay the team. They had continuous communication with AKSAKALLI and informed him about the dissenters' plans⁶⁹.</i>
22:00	Marmaris	— Gokmen ULU from Sozcu and journalists from media outlets of TRT, AA (Anadolu Ajansi), DHA (Dogan Haber Ajansi), IHA (Ihlas Haber Ajansi) and local media arrived at ERDOGAN's residence. — ERDOGAN did not address the media right away. He waited an extra two hours before addressing the present media representatives⁷⁰. — <i>ERDOGAN deliberately waited for extra moves by the dissenters to take place, so he would be able to call the event an uprising.</i> — ERDOGAN's team prepared four alternative airports to fly him to Istanbul: Aydin, Bodrum, Dalaman and Izmir⁷¹. They arranged four aircraft at these locations to deceive the dissenters. — <i>ERDOGAN's complicated and professional escape plan shows clear evidence that he was aware of the dissenters' plan to detain him in Marmaris. Planning four aircraft at four different locations should have started at least in the morning of that day.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN's awareness is also a proof of the awareness of YILDIRIM, the Government Ministers, FIDAN, and AKSAKALLI.</i>

⁶⁹ <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1276857-mitten-bir-ekip-f-16lara-kulliyeden-yerden-havaya-3-fuze-atti>

⁷⁰ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/yazarlar/soner-yalcin/isin-aslini-anlatayim-1378799/>

⁷¹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/berat-albayrak-nereye-gidilecegine-son-anda-karar-verildi-40163700>

22:00	Istanbul	— Bogazici (Bosphorus) and Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridges were blocked in one direction by the dissenters. The traffic jam at a rush hour during a summer night frustrated the people on the way.
22:04	Ankara TGS	— Lt Gen GURAK arrived at TGS and was detained by the group who detained Gen AKAR and Gen GULER.
22:15		— A military curfew message was disseminated from TGS by the dissenters. A list of the assigned district curfew commanders and another comprehensive list of assignments of all the Generals in the military were attached. — According to the testimonies, the message was handed to the signatories by Gen GULER's Military Aide with an order from the General to sign and disseminate it. The Aide was killed at TGS a few hours later, while he was trying to transfer detained Gen GULER to Akinci Base. — <i>Both lists had many inconsistencies. The primary inconsistency was about the beginning time of the curfew. Although the alleged coup had started already, the message declared 03:30 for initiating the curfew. This was not logical.</i> — <i>The second inconsistency was about the signatories of the message who were two low-ranking officers; a Brigadier General and a Colonel. This caused enormous confusion and hesitancy among military personnel about what to do, where to go and whom to join.</i> — <i>The third inconsistency was that many posts for the Generals were not compatible with the reality. Several Generals were assigned to the NATO positions which belonged to the other countries. Some Generals were simultaneously assigned to a military post and a civilian post, located in different cities or had nothing in common.</i> — <i>The fourth inconsistency was that very low-ranking officers; colonels, majors were assigned to crucial Government positions like Head of Treasury Department and Head of Central Bank, meanwhile, dissenters in ranks of General and Lt General were omitted.</i>

		— <i>The fifth inconsistency was that the assigned dissenters had no previous notification about their alleged assignments.</i> — <i>The sixth inconsistency was that there were a lot of key Government positions which had no assignments.</i> — <i>Another inconsistency was that there were no “civilians” assigned to civilian positions despite the allegations that the dissenters belonged to FETO organization. All Government positions were filled with the military officers.</i> — The lists were later used by the prosecutors to claim charges against the military personnel who were assigned to the posts in the list. In fact, most of the Generals were imprisoned just because their names were on the assignment list. — On the other hand, some of the generals and officers tasked by the same lists were protected and not judicially pursued. They continue to serve in the Military.
22:15	Ankara	— Military helicopters started to fly over Ankara and attacked the HQ of MIT with aerial gunfire. — This attack against MIT was later used by ERDOGAN and YILDIRIM as an excuse for FIDAN’s inability to call them until later that night. — F-16s started flying over Ankara. The Combined Air Operations Center in Eskisehir tried to prevent flights, while Turkish Air Force Operation Center in Ankara was allegedly supporting them. — Tanks rolled on the main squares in Ankara.
22:15	Ankara Istanbul Other cities	— AKP Districts in many cities ordered hundreds of heavy vehicles to rush on to the streets to stop the tanks, obstruct gates to many military units, and block the military runways wherever they knew a dissenter flight would occur. — <i>Many AKP mayors throughout the country were well prepared against dissenters in advance. They kept their loyal employees in office after the working hours.</i>

22:15	Ankara Istanbul Other cities	— Initial arrests of dissenters and their alleged supporters by police took place. — <i>Pro-ERDOGAN Governors and their Police Chiefs were prepared in advance against dissenters. This enabled them to act quickly and start arrests as early as 22:15.</i> — Initial coup investigations were carried out immediately⁷²! Massive arrests started throughout the country, targeting not only the officers involved in the events but also hundreds of officers and other Government officials who had nothing to do with it⁷³. — The arrested thousands included the ones who stayed at their houses or at holiday resorts. Some arrested Generals were clearly against the alleged coup attempt and did not allow their personnel to get involved and stood by the Government. — Almost in 2 days after the events, 50,000 people were purged⁷⁴. — <i>How could 50,000 people be investigated in such a short time? Obviously, the lists were definitely prepared long before the coup by MIT. Isn't that against the law?</i>
22:17	Ankara Akinci Airbase	— Gen COLAK was forcibly transferred by helicopter to 4th Main Jet Base located at Akinci roughly 40 km northwest of Ankara.
22:45	Istanbul Ankara	— Chief of Air Force Gen UNAL called Gen OZTURK from Istanbul and requested him to proceed to Akinci Base, investigate the situation and prevent the F-16 flights over Ankara. OZTURK was at that moment in his daughter's house, located in the military housing on the base. — <i>Although OZTURK complied with UNAL's request, the pro-ERDOGAN media later portrayed OZTURK as the leader of the coup and the highest ranking Gulenist in the Military.</i>
22:54	Ankara Adana	— Maj Gen AKSAKALLI called a division commander in Adana and told him that İncirlik Airbase was critical and warned him to

⁷² http://www.icsve.org/brief-reports/turkeys-july-coup-attempt-a-gift-from-god-to-a-new-authoritarianism/#_ftn6

⁷³ <http://www.baroturk.com/hsyknin-darbe-girisimine-iliskin-aciga-aldigi-savcilardan-biri-2-ay-once-olmus-23371h.htm>

⁷⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kamuda-deprem-49-bin-337-kisi-gorevden-alindi-40154803>

		keep a close eye on the base. — <i>AKSAKALLI had information about the activities of the dissenters before.</i>
23:04	Ankara Akinci	— Gen AKAR was flown by helicopter to 4th Main Jet Base, 40 km northwest of Ankara. He was not handcuffed. — According to AKAR's testimony, immediately after his arrival, he asked the dissenting generals if Gen Akin OZTURK was supporting them. The response was negative. AKAR asked them to invite OZTURK to his location. — On Gen UNAL's previous request and Gen AKAR's invitation, Gen OZTURK went to Akinci Base Commander's office. He was in casual dress. According to his testimony, he saw that three dissenting generals were desperately trying to convince Gen AKAR to take their lead. Gen AKAR rejected the dissenting officers. Gen OZTURK acted in support of AKAR and tried to convince the Generals that what they were doing was wrong and there was no chance for success. — <i>Although OZTURK complied Gen UNAL's request and Gen AKAR's invitation, and supported AKAR to convince the dissenters to give up, later he became the target of the pro-ERDOGAN media. They portrayed OZTURK as the leader of the coup and the highest ranking Gulenist in the Military.</i>
23:05	Ankara	— Prime Minister YILDIRIM talked to NTV with a calm voice and called the event a limited uprising, not a coup! He did not respond to the question about AKAR's status. At this early stage, YILDIRIM had full confidence in the information he shared. His words were delicately selected: "this is not a coup, but a limited uprising by a particular group in the military". — <i>This shows that YILDIRIM had awareness in advance what would happen in the Military that day.</i> — <i>All Government officials, speaking to the media on the day and after, deliberately used the expression 'limited uprising', showing their awareness and coordination about the situation very early on.</i> — <i>YILDIRIM, AKSAKALLI, and DUNDAR, despite having</i>

		<i>information about AKAR's status, did not share it with the public. This served many purposes. Some dissenters continued to believe that AKAR was on their side. The public and the media were kept concerned about AKAR's personal safety.</i> — <i>All TV arrangements during the night for ERDOGAN, YILDIRIM, DUNDAR, AKSAKALLI and their collaborators were synchronized with their detailed information on the dissenters' activities.</i>
23:15	Ankara	— According to AKSAKALLI's testimony, YILDIRIM and AKSAKALLI talked on the phone and talked about how to encourage people to get to the streets. — <i>This should not be the first topic for a Major General to coordinate with the Prime Minister at an early stage in a chaos. The first step should be collecting information on the dissenters and increasing the safety of the key Government officials.</i> — <i>People were definitely not required to stop the limited number of dissenters. The police and the majority of the Military were already against them. Pushing people on the streets and letting them die served only ERDOGAN and his collaborators.</i>
23:15	Whole country	— Pro-ERDOGAN media started mass broadcast of a list of around 1,500 military officers from all around the country, blaming them for being the organizers of the coup attempt and members of FETO. — In fact, many of these officers were not directly or indirectly involved in the events. However, they were immediately imprisoned.
23:18	Ankara	— Police Aviation Department located in Golbasi, Ankara was allegedly bombed by an F-16. Seven policemen lost their lives. The explosion is under investigation.
23:30	Istanbul Wedding Ceremony	— After a few hours of delay, UNAL finally accepted to send a group of Generals to Eskişehir Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) to stop F-16 flights over Ankara. — Due to UNAL's decision not to change his location, all other Generals stayed at the wedding ceremony until dissenters from Air Force Search and Rescue Team arrived by helicopters and

		detained UNAL and the others. — <i>Gen UNAL's decision on not to change his location and initial denial of immediately sending Generals to Eskisehir CAOC to intervene in a critical situation have to be investigated.</i> — SANVER stated later that "UNAL and I, at least I, did not have any information about the coup attempt until 21:30"⁷⁵. — <i>Lt Gen SANVER, father of the bride at the wedding, was expected to be the next Chief of the Air Force following UNAL. However, SANVER retired because the Government surprisingly promoted another General instead of him shortly after the events. This was a shock to many officials in the Military.</i>
23:35	Istanbul	— Ataturk Airport's public gate and Control Tower were taken by the dissenters. The dissenters were too few to keep control at both locations. — <i>No support came later. Thus, retaking the tower from dissenters a while later was not difficult.</i>
22:43	Istanbul	— According to his testimony, Chief of Navy ADM BOSTANOGLU states that he first learned about the coup attempt by a call from RADM ARSLAN, who was the acting Chief of Staff of the Navy HQ in Ankara. — <i>AKAR's and GULER's failure to inform BOSTANOGLU is unusual.</i>
23:50	Ankara	— The dissenters took over the headquarters of the state TV, TRT and announced the coup memorandum by forcing an anchorwoman to read it. The dissenters were too few to keep control of the building. — <i>No support came later. Thus, retaking the TRT HQ from dissenters a few hours later was not difficult.</i> — From the beginning to the end, almost all media stations broadcast the events live, all of them opposing the alleged

⁷⁵ <http://haber.sol.org.tr/toplum/15-temmuzda-rehin-alinan-korgeneral-mehmet-sanver-darbenin-basarisiz-olmasinda-en-onemli>

		coup. The Internet was also on. The only media served dissenters for a few hours was state-owned TRT, which has very low ratings.
23:50	Ankara	— According to his testimony, AKSAKALLI and Minister of Interior Efkân ALA talked on the phone and coordinated how to arrange the arrest of the dissenters. — <i>Coordinating the later arrests at this early stage, instead of stopping the continuing chaos, is not logical.</i>
23:59	Diyarbakir Ankara	— The transport aircraft with Brig Gen TERZİ and his team of 24 Special Forces personnel on board, took off from Diyarbakir despite the flight ban. — According to testimonies, Col Umit TATAN in Ankara, a loyalist to AKSAKALLI, facilitated TERZİ's departure and kept an eye on the whole flight. He told the authorities in Diyarbakir that TERZİ's flight was allowed by AKSAKALLI. When the pilots reminded the flight ban to their superiors, they were told that TGS approval was given for this flight⁷⁶. — <i>AKSAKALLI's support for this flight despite the ban is clear evidence that he was acting as an infiltrator during the night.</i>
16 JULY 00:00	Ankara	— The Police Special Forces Compound was allegedly bombed by an F-16. 44 policemen lost their lives. The explosion is under investigation.
00:00	Izmir Cigli Airbase	— Brig Gen SONMEZATES and his team allegedly boarded helicopters to start the mission to capture ERDOĞAN. The team was directed by phone calls from Ankara. However, the mission was first canceled and then postponed because of a call from a colonel at TGS HQ. The team lost almost two and a half hours during this confusion. — <i>AKSAKALLI, through his clandestine personnel among dissenters, kept track of the mission and had much influence in delaying it. The delay to SONMEZATES's mission benefitted ERDOĞAN.</i>

⁷⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/darbe-girisiminden-yargilanan-binbasi-aksakal-40357733>

00:10	Marmaris YAZICI's villa	— ERDOGAN, two hours after the arrival of journalists from Sozcu, TRT, AA, DHA, IHA, and the local media to his villa, finally talked to them. He claimed that Gulenists were behind the coup and evoked Turkish people to confront and stop them. The only question during the speech was whether he would stay in or leave Marmaris. He said he was going to leave. — <i>Interestingly, this crucial five-minute speech was not broadcast countrywide. The reason is unknown.</i> — <i>During the talk, ERDOGAN unintentionally leaked that he was about to leave Marmaris. This was not the information he wanted to share with the public, thus with the dissenters.</i>
00:15	Marmaris	— ERDOGAN was not directly transferred to Dalaman Airport but flown to an unknown location in Marmaris because Dalaman was too dangerous due to the nearby Air Force and Navy units⁷⁷. — ERDOGAN was evacuated from the villa in Marmaris with a helicopter⁷⁸ to an unknown location nearby until he made sure that his VIP aircraft from Izmir landed at Dalaman Airport and it was safe to fly the helicopter to the VIP aircraft. — <i>ERDOGAN's interim location before boarding his aircraft is not known.</i>
00:38	Marmaris	— ERDOGAN talked to CNN TURK, NTV, and TGRT TVs through the "Face-Time" application from the unknown location and urged people to streets and squares to confront and stop the coup plotters. — During his address to the public, he stressed the urgency to retake the Ataturk Airport from the dissenters. He encouraged the Generals on his side to stay brave and take decisive actions to confront the dissenters. — ERDOGAN's first live appearance on TV was organized by ERDOGAN's Secretary Hasan DOGAN, the MIT Press Representative Nuh YILMAZ and pro-ERDOGAN journalists Hande FIRAT, and Abdulkadir SELVI.

⁷⁷ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/marmariste-erdoganin-yaninda-olan-vekil-o-anlari-anlatti-1323314/>

⁷⁸ Ibid

		— <i>By this time, the events had intensified and were largely covered by the domestic and the international media.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN's live address to the public was the turning point for the events that night.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN, in fact, did not need thousands of people to take over the gate and tower of Ataturk Airport since the number of the dissenters was very limited. A small scale police operation could have been enough. However, he needed to seemingly mobilize the public through the media to stop dissenters so that he could portray himself as a hero.</i>
00:40	Dalaman	— ERDOGAN later mentioned in an interview with the media outlet A HABER that, for his escape plan that night, four different aircraft were previously prepared at four different locations to confuse the dissenters. They were prepared in Dalaman, Izmir, Bodrum and Cildir/Aydin⁷⁹. — ERDOGAN's VIP airplane from Izmir landed at Dalaman airport to fly him to Istanbul. — <i>ERDOGAN's complicated and professional escape plan is clear evidence that he was previously well aware of the dissenters' plan to detain him in Marmaris. Planning four aircraft at four different locations must have started much earlier.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN's awareness in advance indicates, at the same time, the awareness of YILDIRIM, the Government Ministers, FIDAN, AKSAKALLI and the other pro-ERDOGAN officials in the Military.</i>
00:56	Ankara	— Ankara Police Department HQ was allegedly bombed by an F-16. Two policemen lost their lives. The explosion is under investigation.
01:00	Marmaris	— A team arrived by helicopters nearby ERDOGAN's residence, attacked and fired at the villa. The team exchanged fire with the police officers left behind. — Serkan YAZICI⁸⁰, owner of ERDOGAN's residence, AKP deputy Nihat OZTURK⁸¹, who accompanied ERDOGAN that

⁷⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rx1gx_IC3hk

⁸⁰ <http://www.ahaber.com.tr/webtv/gundem/erdoganin-15-temmuz-gecesi-bulundugu-otelin-sahibi-o-geceyi-a-habere-anlatti>

		night, and Ertugrul SAGLAM⁸², a famous former soccer player and coach, who was spending his vacation at a nearby residence, all stated that the attack took place around half an hour after ERDOGAN's departure. — Two policemen lost their lives at that night. There are claims of fraud on the autopsies of the two killed policemen. The doctor who officially participated in the process testified that one police officer lost his life, not because of a shot, but was fatally injured because of a possible knife attack⁸³. — After his arrival in Istanbul later on, ERDOGAN declared that his residence was attacked shortly after his departure and he could barely escape the attack. — <i>ERDOGAN was right about the attack, but the team conducting the attack at 01:00 could not be from the Turkish Military. Because the team of Brig Gen SONMEZATES arrived at the holiday resort at 03:20.</i> — <i>This early attack must be investigated but there is yet no intention of the court to investigate it.</i>
01:10	Istanbul	— Shortly after the explosions in Ankara, Gen DUNDAR, commander of the 1st Army in Istanbul, talked to CNN Turk and other TV channels and ensured the nation the coup was held by a small group of Gulenists in the Military and was doomed to failure. He did not respond to the critical question about Gen AKAR's status. — Although DUNDAR denied, ERDOGAN's son-in-law Berat ALBAYRAK stated that DUNDAR was directed by ERDOGAN to talk to the TV⁸⁴. — <i>DUNDAR used a careful language anytime he talked to the media, during and after the event. Although he knew the answer, he did not reply to the question about AKAR's status deliberately. This resulted in two consequences. First, some dissenters continued to believe that AKAR was on their side.</i>

⁸¹ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/marmariste-erdoganin-yaninda-olan-vekil-o-anlari-anlatti-1323314/>

⁸² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ertugrul-saglam-cumhurbaskaninin-oteline-4-saatte-3-kez-saldirdilar-40155191>

⁸³ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/cumhurbaskanina-suikast-timi-davasina-ikinci-g-40438395>

⁸⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcO84VubmU8>

		<i>Second, the public stayed in the dark about what was happening in the country.</i> — <i>During the events, DUNDAR was in full and close coordination with ERDOGAN, YILDIRIM, FIDAN, AKP agents in Istanbul, AKSAKALLI, and pro-ERDOGAN military officials in Ankara.</i>
01:11	Ankara	— Shortly after the explosions in Ankara, Maj Gen AKSAKALLI talked to TGRT TV and ensured the nation that the coup was held by Gulenists in the Military and was doomed to failure. He deliberately did not reply to the question about Gen AKAR's status, although he had the information. — According to his testimony, Sadik USTUN from MIT helped him contact with the media. — <i>DUNDAR and AKSAKALLI concerted their actions closely.</i>
01:30	Marmaris	— ERDOGAN flew by helicopter to Dalaman Airport from an unknown location in Marmaris.
01:39	Ankara	— Turkish Parliament started a convention about the events. — Some Government Ministers, including Bekir BOZDAG, were remarkably calm during the convention.
01:43	Dalaman	— ERDOGAN took off from Dalaman Airport for Istanbul Ataturk Airport. His airplane squawked a civilian airliner identification code to deceive possible F-16 interceptors⁸⁵. — <i>ERDOGAN had full confidence that even if he were recognized by night identification capable F-16s, the dissenters would never shoot at his airplane.</i>
01:47	Ankara	— Shortly after ERDOGAN's departure from Marmaris, AKSAKALLI appeared on NTV and repeated his previous message. But added a remark: "The attempt had failed!" He declined again to respond to the question about Gen AKAR's status. — <i>AKSAKALLI knew ERDOGAN's departure from Dalaman and synchronized his messages accordingly.</i>
02:00	Ankara Etmesgut	— Brig Gen TERZI landed at Etimesgut military airport, Ankara and flew by helicopter to Special Forces HQ at Golbasi, Ankara.

⁸⁵ <http://www.planefinder.net>. The call sign was TK8456 (Turkish Airlines)

		— Seven out of the 24 Special Forces personnel who traveled with TERZI to Ankara stayed behind at the airport. The others accompanied TERZI to the Special Forces HQ. — Following TERZI's departure, the ones who stayed at the airport called AKSAKALLI to inform him about TERZI's moves⁸⁶. Upon AKSAKALLI's directive, they arrested the dissenting personnel at their location. — <i>The ones stayed behind had been planted by AKSAKALLI in TERZI's team, days before 15 July.</i>
02:14	Ankara Golbasi	— TERZI and the group accompanying him were allowed to enter the Special Forces HQ compound in accordance with AKSAKALLI's previous directive⁸⁷! — Shortly after welcoming TERZI, Master Sergeant Omer HALISDEMİR, Military Aide to AKSAKALLI, shot at TERZI and killed him on AKSAKALLI's previous directive. — Some personnel accompanying TERZI immediately responded with counter fire. HALISDEMİR wounded heavily. — The last two fatal shots directly towards HALISDEMİR's chest were from 1st Lt (First Lieutenant) Mihrali ATMACA⁸⁸, who was also loyal to AKSAKALLI⁸⁹. — After the attempt, AKSAKALLI congratulated ATMACA and defended his innocence in his official post-event report. AKSAKALLI claimed the personnel loyal to him were initially not aware that TERZI was a dissenter and changed sides as soon as they figured out that TERZI was a coupist⁹⁰. — After 15 July, AKSAKALLI tasked ATMACA and other loyal officers in TERZI's team to arrest and interrogate Special Forces personnel involved in the events, using special torture techniques. — The suspect 1st Lt. Enes YILMAZ testified that TERZI was invited to Ankara by Special Forces Commander AKSAKALLI⁹¹.

⁸⁶ <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1276857-mitten-bir-ekip-f-16lara-kulliyeden-yerden-havaya-3-fuze-atti>

⁸⁷ <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1270038-mete-yarar-haberturk-tvde-darbe-girisiminde-yasananlari-anlatti>

⁸⁸ <http://www.diken.com.tr/okk-raporu-halisdemiri-vuran-ustegmen-darbeyi-ogrendikten-sonra-taraf-degistirdi/>

⁸⁹ <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1276857-mitten-bir-ekip-f-16lara-kulliyeden-yerden-havaya-3-fuze-atti>

⁹⁰ <http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/halisdemiri-sehit-eden-fetocuden-kan-donduran-ifade-144409h.htm>

⁹¹ <https://www.turkishminute.com/2017/03/02/murdered-TERZI-invited-ankara-hero-commander-says-suspected-putschist/>

		— Another suspect Maj Fatih SAHIN stated in his defense that the group of Special Forces personnel who accompanied TERZI was transferred to Diyarbakir from different locations by AKSAKALLI's written order, a few days before the attempt⁹². — Many Special Forces personnel and other military personnel⁹³, including a female protocol officer from the TGS HQ⁹⁴, testified that they were interrogated, threatened with their lives, beaten and tortured at the TGS and Special Forces HQs by Lt Gen AKSAKALLI and his loyalists. They told they were forced to confess that they were Gulenists and offered to give the names of other Gulenists not to be tortured^{95 96}. — <i>The whole team accompanying TERZI had been formed earlier by Captain Ahmet Kemal YILMAZ, who was allegedly the most loyalist person to AKSAKALLI among the group. In fact, 20 out of 24 Special Forces personnel were loyal to AKSAKALLI.</i> — <i>AKSAKALLI's loyalists could have arrested TERZI before letting HALISDEMIR kill him. But according to AKSAKALLI's plan, TERZI must have been killed. Simply because TERZI was the connecting link between AKSAKALLI and the dissenters.</i> — <i>After the attempt, the personnel on TERZI's team were tasked to secure Special Forces HQ for two weeks. They were the only personnel allowed to carry weapons.</i>
02:00	Ankara Akinci	— The detained Chief of Air Force Gen UNAL was brought to Akinci Base. He was not handcuffed and his guards accompanied him. — He came to an F-16 Squadron and met F-16 pilots who were planning missions over Ankara. According to suspect testimonies, he greeted the pilots warmly and seemed cheerful. The caused the pilots to believe that he was in support of what they were doing.

⁹² <http://siyasihaber3.org/darbeciden-agir-suclama-bizi-iskenderundan-diyarbakira-aksakalli-getirtti>

⁹³ <http://www.bursadabugun.com/haber/feto-den-yargilanan-binbasi-aksakalli-ve-tatan-dan-sikayetci-oldu-791473.html>

⁹⁴ <http://t24.com.tr/haber/15-temmuz-gecesi-fidani-ugurlayan-ustegmen-kubra-yavuz-genelkurmaydaki-ifademi-idam-tehdidiyle-verdim,392407>

⁹⁵ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/darbe-girisiminden-yargilanan-binbasi-aksakal-40357733>

⁹⁶ <http://odatv.com/vatan-hainleri-serefsizler-diyerek-el-ve-ayaklarimizi-bagladilar-2404171200.html>

02:00	Izmir	— The leader of the team of SONMEZATES, a Special Operations Major Sukru SEYMEN, was allegedly in continuous contact with someone in Ankara until the team took off from the Cigli Airbase, Izmir. The person in Ankara first canceled, and then postponed the mission. This caused confusion among the team. — After several chaotic hours, Maj SEYMEN finally was called from Ankara again and the team was cleared for the mission. Finally, the helicopters could take off. — Four helicopter pilots in the team of SONMEZATES were, in fact, loyal to pro-ERDOGAN military officials. Thus, they used fake technical excuses to delay and spoil the mission and continuously reported actions taken by the dissenters to Ankara.
02:15	Istanbul	— Ataturk Airport Control Tower was retaken by police from the dissenters.
02:30	Ankara	— MIT Press Representative Nuh YILMAZ declared on the media that “the coup is suppressed.” — <i>Although not clearly stated, YILMAZ’s implied message was: “ERDOGAN safely took off from Marmaris and the mission of SONMEZATES was successfully foiled”.</i>
02:35	Ankara	— The garden of Turkish Parliament (in Turkish TBMM) was allegedly bombed by an F-16. 32 people injured. It was obvious that the attack was symbolic, avoiding any harm to MPs (Members of Parliament). The explosion is under investigation. — Some Government Ministers, including Bekir BOZDAG, were very calm during the attack and insisted that the MPs had to stay and if necessary die in the building to encourage the public on the streets, resisting the dissenters. — <i>Bekir BOZDAG’s ultimate confidence is strange.</i> — <i>Parliament is historically a highly respected entity for Turkish people. In no previous military coups in Turkish history had Parliament been bombed. It must have been clear for the dissenters that bombing the Parliament would cause a strong sense of opposition, outrage, and unity among people to rally</i>

		<i>behind ERDOGAN.</i>
02:55	Ankara	— TRT was taken by the police from dissenters and started broadcasting against the dissenters.
03:14	Ankara	— TURKSAT satellite compound was allegedly bombed by an F-16. The explosion is under investigation.
03:20	Marmaris	— The team of Brig Gen SONMEZATES landed with helicopters to a place close to the villa where ERDOGAN stayed. But he had left the villa more than three hours ago. — The team exchanged fire with the police officers left behind. Two policemen lost their lives, either in the previous attack or in this one. — <i>ERDOGAN left some policemen behind in an empty residence, although he knew that a team would be coming. Those policemen were left behind to report the time of arrival of the team and became subject to an exchange of fire with it.</i> — The policemen surrendered, but the mission was unsuccessful because of ERDOGAN's much earlier departure. — Due to an earlier delay to the mission, while the engines were running, the helicopters had a fuel shortage. The ground fire prevented helicopters from taking back the team. Thus, they flew to the nearby Air Force Station located at Dalaman Airport to refuel but were denied and called to surrender. — Air Force Lt Gen Yilmaz OZKAYA, who was spending his vacation in a military recreation resort nearby, had been already in contact with the local military unit commanders and the Governor since the early hours of the events⁹⁷. — Lt Gen OZKAYA, the Governor of the district, and the Police Chief were at the airport and took measures against the helicopters. — They called the military units in advance not to provide fuel to the helicopters, which would possibly come and ask for fuel⁹⁸. — The helicopters had to fly to a nearby Naval Air Station where

⁹⁷ <http://www.haberler.com/suikast-timini-tasiyan-helikoptere-ikazlara-ragmen-9348693-haberi/>

⁹⁸ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/helikopterlere-yakit-ikmali-emrini-tugamiral-mugla-yerelhaber-1682901/>

		they were refueled. However, the helicopters could never come back and had to leave their team with a single choice: escape on foot. — <i>AKSAKALLI, FIDAN, and ERDOGAN had known dissenters' operation in Marmaris before and could track the mission preparation and execution through AKSAKALLI's infiltrators inside.</i> — <i>Air Force Lt Gen Yilmaz OZKAYA's presence in Dalaman was not expected since all high-level Air Force Generals were at the wedding in Istanbul that night. Lt Gen OZKAYA preferred to stay in a military recreation resort nearby Marmaris, instead of attending this important wedding.</i> — <i>OZKAYA's presence helped ERDOGAN a lot. He facilitated ERDOGAN's safe departure from DALAMAN to Istanbul. He should have been in continuous contact with the Air Force Chief, Gen Abidin UNAL.</i> — <i>The primary target of a coup is always key Government figures. However, except for an alleged raid against ERDOGAN, that was not the case. No other Government members, including Prime Minister YILDIRIM, had been targeted. The Prime Minister and several other ministers went live on TVs, addressing the public during the coup.</i>
03:20	Istanbul	— <i>ERDOGAN's VIP aircraft landed at Istanbul Ataturk Airport after a long holding nearby. The aircraft, hidden by a Turkish Airlines identification squawk, arrived at Ataturk Airport, Istanbul without intervention from F-16s in close proximity.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN's airplane held airborne for 47 minutes to synchronize his landing with the arrival of SONMEZATES in Marmaris. The policemen left behind reported the team's moves to ERDOGAN, YILDIRIM; DUNDAR, FIDAN, and AKSAKALLI.</i> — <i>DUNDAR, the Governor of Istanbul and the Police Chief met him at the airport.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN claims that this was the first time he learned that</i>

		AKAR was detained by the dissenters. Thus, he assigned Gen DUNDAR as the temporary Chief of Turkish Military since AKAR was detained⁹⁹. — <i>ERDOGAN lies about when he learned AKAR was detained. Because according to AKSAKALLI's testimony, AKSAKALLI, who had continuous contact with FIDAN and ERDOGAN, learned about the detention hours earlier.</i> — <i>ERDOGAN waited for his arrival to Istanbul to temporarily assign DUNDAR as the Chief of Turkish Military. This delay caused some dissenters to believe that AKAR was on their side.</i> — <i>DUNDAR's interim assignment was meant to show off ERDOGAN's ultimate authority over the Military as the Commander in Chief!</i>
03:24	Ankara	— Turkish Parliament was allegedly bombed again by an F-16. The explosion is under investigation. — <i>The rationale behind these late bombing remains unclear.</i>
04:00	Ankara All Cities	— Arrest warrants were issued against specific people, including generals, officers, judges, and prosecutors. The majority of them did not take part in the events at all.
04:15	Istanbul	— ERDOGAN addressed the public at Ataturk Airport and declared the "coup was defeated". — He said there were some movements in Turkish Military on the afternoon of the 15th of July. Some days later, he denied his statement about the timing and said he first learned the movements around 21:30 that night. — He also added that the coupists attacked his villa in Marmaris shortly after his departure. He called the bloody events of the night "A gift from God". — <i>Although ERDOGAN knew the first group of attackers was not from Turkish Military, he expressed the attack as if it was made by the Turkish Military personnel.</i>

⁹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rx1gx_IC3hk

		— <i>ERDOGAN's expression, "A gift from God" speaks for itself!</i>
04:54	Erzurum	— First F-16s were launched against dissenters' F-16s with authority to shoot them down.
05:00	Marmaris	— The third assault by a team arrived in helicopters took place against the police in the villa ¹⁰⁰ . The helicopters gunned the hotel. — <i>This third attack has to be investigated.</i>
05:37	Ankara Other cities	— The dissenters allegedly circulated a WhatsApp message urging a peaceful surrender without posing any risk to lives.
06:17	Ankara	— An F-16 allegedly bombed a road junction and a car-parking near ERDOGAN's palace. 15 people lost their lives. The explosion is under investigation. — <i>The rationale behind this late bombing remains unclear.</i>
06:30	Ankara Akinci Airbase	— Dissenters agreed to stop all of their operations and negotiated with the officials to peacefully surrender.
06:40	Istanbul	— Dissenters blocking the bridges surrendered. But they were fatally attacked by ERDOGAN's militia. Two cadets were beaten to death. Many soldiers were beaten heavily.
06:50	Ankara	— As the acting chief of the military Commander of 1st Army Gen DUNDAR declared in the media that "the coup was completely suppressed".
8:30	Ankara	— Gen AKAR flew by a helicopter from Akinci Airbase to Prime Minister's office in Ankara. Although later accused as a dissenter, Maj Gen DISLI accompanied him. — DISLI worked at the Prime Minister's team to facilitate surrenders. He was later arrested and accused of being a coupist and Gulenist. — The helicopter crew who flew AKAR to Prime Minister's office in Ankara were also arrested and accused of being coupists and Gulenists.
11:00	Istanbul	— Gen DUNDAR made a press statement about AKAR's release. He praised ERDOGAN for his firm resistance against the

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ertugrul-saglam-cumhurbaskaninin-oteline-4-saatte-3-kez-saldirdilar-40155191>

		coupists. He said the uprising failed because of ERDOGAN's resistance.
11:15	Ankara	— F-4 2020 jets, which took off from Eskisehir, bombed Akinci Base to prevent further F-16 takeoffs. — <i>This was a showcase attack ordered by YILDIRIM. The dissenters had already given up hours prior.</i>
12:15	Ankara	— Prime Minister YILDIRIM, accompanied by Gen AKAR, made a press statement and repeated that the coup was completely suppressed and AKAR was assigned back to his position. — YILDIRIM thanked Turkish Public for their firm stance behind the democracy and against the uprising.

4 Summary of the Main Events

Ankara

Turkish General Staff

According to Chief of Turkish Military Gen Hulusi AKAR's testimony¹⁰¹, he received an intelligence from the National Intelligence Agency (MIT) at around 17:00 on a possible coup attempt and one of the MIT deputies visited him at the HQ (Surprisingly, AKAR did not mention the visit of Chief of MIT Hakan FIDAN, in his testimony). He summoned his Deputy Gen GULER and Army Chief Gen COLAK to discuss the possible precautions.

Chief of MIT FIDAN came to the HQ at 18:10 and had been there with AKAR until 20:22¹⁰². FIDAN helped AKAR take countrywide measures, including denial of Turkish Air Space to all military flights and seizure all routine military activities in Ankara. FIDAN then left the HQ after having stayed around two and a half hours. Neither AKAR nor FIDAN, according to testimonies, called and informed ERDOGAN or the Prime Minister before the start of the events. Gen AKAR also did not explain what he talked in detail with the Chief of MIT during the two and a half hours they spent together. After FIDAN's departure at 20:22, AKAR did not change his location and stayed at his office until the events started.

According to AKAR's testimony, at around 21:00 Maj Gen DISLI, a long time associate to AKAR, tried to convince him to lead the coup, but AKAR refused. AKAR's Military Aide, Lieutenant Colonel TURKKAN, together with some Special Forces officers, detained AKAR¹⁰³.

The dissenters allegedly had sent an order at 22:15 to all units declaring that Turkish Armed Forces had seized power and had overthrown the Government. The alleged signatory was Brig Gen Mehmet PARTIGOC, Chief of Personnel Planning Division and a low ranking general in the TGS HQ. Then a press release was broadcast on state-owned TV channel TRT at 23:50, declaring that the Armed Forces had taken control of the Government to promote democracy and the rule of law in the country again.

The dissenters allegedly took AKAR and his Deputy Commander Gen GULER to Akinci Air Force Base, 40 km away from TGS HQ. Maj Gen DISLI also went with them. Footage snapshots revealed that Gen AKAR walked out of the HQ freely with no handcuffs, accompanied by a few armed personnel. The rest of the dissenters allegedly stayed at the HQ. They surrendered to the military police next morning. Most of them claimed that they were not involved in the events and

¹⁰¹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/son-dakika-genelkurmay-baskaninin-ifadesi-ortaya-cikti-40168493>

¹⁰² <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/15-temmuz-da-dikkat-ceken-hakan-fidan-detayi-149581.html>

¹⁰³ Ibid

locked themselves in their rooms for life safety. This was because several pro-ERDOGAN militias infiltrated the building during the night and some even lost their lives.

AKAR and other Service Chiefs except for chief of the Navy had been allegedly held in captivity at Akinci Air Force Base until they were released the next morning. According to AKAR's testimony, throughout the night, the dissenting Generals tried to convince him multiple times to lead the coup but he persistently denied. Gen OZTURK testified that he acted in support of AKAR who drank tea with the others at the Base Commander's office and watched TV throughout the night.

Next morning at around 06:30, the dissenters gave up and transferred AKAR to Prime Minister's office in Ankara to arrange a peaceful end to their activities. On 16 of July at around 08:30, AKAR and DISLI went by helicopter to the Prime Minister's office. Both DISLI and the pilots were later arrested with the accusation of participating in the attempt.

Aerial Bombings

Among the events on July 15th, perhaps the most critical question that awaits elucidation is the suspicious bombings carried out against symbolic targets in Ankara. At around 22:15 military jets were seen over Ankara conducting low-level high-speed passages. This was the first sign of something unexpected was happening.

At 23:18, bombs hit the Police Aviation Department located in Golbasi, Ankara and seven police officers lost their lives. At midnight, the Police Special Forces Compound exploded, and 44 policemen lost their lives. At 00:56, the Police Department HQ was blown up, and two policemen lost their lives.

At 03:14, TURKSAT spare satellite compound was exploded.

The most shocking bombing was the attack against the Turkish Parliament (in Turkish *Turkiye Buyuk Millet Meclisi-TBMM*). An explosion was recorded at the Parliament at 02:35, followed by two explosions at 03:24 later in the night. In the first attack, the Parliament garden was targeted. At the second one allegedly the building was targeted but the resultant damage is very contentious.

Shortly after the explosions, the Prime Minister told reporters on TV that the Parliament had been bombed by F-16s using a domestic Penetrator Bomb. These types of bombs have dual warheads. The first warhead clears the way for the second one, which allows the bomb to penetrate and deal devastating damage.

The images are below.



1. When the air to ground bomb explodes, razor sharp pieces are scattered across with insane velocities. This is called fragmentation. A bomb fragment was presented as a souvenir to many politicians visiting Parliament, but there is no fragmentation damage on the walls.
2. There should be two holes, one on the roof and one on the floor. Where is the damage dealt by the penetrating warhead? One cannot see two holes.
3. It seems like a bomb went off right between those two columns. Lots of blast damage versus no fragmentation damage which is quite unconventional for an air-dropped bomb. Was there some C4 planted here?
4. No fragmentation on the ceiling next to the explosion point? What caused the columns to buckle? If it was the weight of the roof, the roof itself should have sloped down.

Istanbul

The Bridges

Asia to Europe passage of Istanbul's Bosphorus Bridge was closed at 22:00 by a group of soldiers. They kept the bridge blocked until surrendering at 06:40 the next morning. A sniper positioned on top of a column of the bridge targeted pro-ERDOGAN militia and civilians and killed several people till morning. ERDOGAN's election campaign advisor Erol OLCOK and his son were among the demonstrators who were shot dead. Strangely, the sniper's identity is yet unknown. Pro-ERDOGAN media aired the identities of all critical dissenters but did not publish any report about this mysterious sniper.

On 10 July 2016, OLCOK released a series of tweets from his account "Fotoğraf & Siyaset". In these tweets, he signaled that a giant and eradicating operation by ERDOGAN against Kemalists, Secularists and Gulenists in the Military was imminent. He also stated that after this operation there would be no obstacle left between ERDOGAN and founding a new Caliphate, and setting up ultimate control of the Military. OLCOK was ERDOGAN's long term affiliate who knew a lot about ERDOGAN.

Cadets from Air Force Academy and Kuleli Military High School have been allegedly tasked to show up on the streets and on the Bridges for "training" or "exercise". The War College attendees were allegedly tasked to support security personnel at the Ataturk & Sabiha Gokcen Airports.

The Wedding Ceremony

Chief of Air Force Gen Abidin UNAL was at his second commander in line Lt Gen Mehmet SANVER's daughter's wedding ceremony in Istanbul with 24 Air Force Generals. He at first testified that he was not aware of anything unusual until his wife called at 21:30 and told him that one Air Force General was arrested in Ankara. UNAL stayed at the wedding after learning that F-16s were unexpectedly flying low over Ankara until he was allegedly detained by dissenters at 23:30. He did not change his location despite the high risk. Dissenters flew him to Akinci Airbase to arrive at 02:00. Meanwhile, according to his testimony, he continued to use his telephone to take measures against dissenters, and nobody tried to take the phone from him. He gave orders overtly with his phone against the F-16 flights while he was being detained¹⁰⁴.

Events in the Navy

On 15 July, 2016, Chief of the Turkish Navy ADM Bulent BOSTANOGLU met Fleet Commander ADM Veysel KOSELE for a graduation ceremony at Heybeliada, an island in Istanbul where the

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/orgeneral-abidin-unalin-ifadesi,PcAmhLjF3kyxKT7MkoeUpA>

Naval High School is located. They had a private meeting several hours before the events took place later on.

ADM KOSELE was later allegedly detained in the frigate TCG YAVUZ. According to ADM BOSTANOGLU's testimony, he was able to talk with his mobile phone several times to ADM KOSELE during his detention. It was strange that KOSELE, under detention, could report his status to ADM BOSTANOGLU and communicate with his wife, using his mobile phone.

Several admirals and officers were at the Navy HQ on that night. According to their testimonies, they had taken proper actions to defend the HQ against a possible terror attack and the warships were directed to leave harbors for the same reason. ADM BOSTANOGLU testified that he was informed about some suspicious activity at the Turkish Navy HQ at 22:43 by a call from RADM Macit ARSLAN, Chief of Personnel at Turkish Navy HQ, and the acting Chief of Staff on 15 July. ARSLAN, in fact, never went to the HQ and never communicated with the Admirals there. He went to a friend's house to hide. Commander Askin OGE from the Navy HQ, accompanied him.

BOSTANOGLU's communication throughout the night was selective. He did not call the Admirals at the Navy HQ to question their actions. Nor he called RADM Hakan USTEM, Commander of the Coast Guard, to order the return of the ships, which left the harbor. Instead, he communicated people like RADM Ozdem KOCER, who was the Commander of Naval Training Center, who had no authority on the warships in the sea. BOSTANOGLU kept continuous communication with ARSLAN and OGE till the morning.

Commander ASKIN OGE testified that he was quick to understand that there was a coup attempt by the Gulenists in the Military. He further stated that at 23:38, 23:46, 00:39, 02:38, and 03:37, he called his close friend Ismail YILDIRIM, AKP's Karamursel/Izmit Major, informed him about the attempt, and urged him to reach ERDOGAN to speak on the TVs and encourage the people throughout the country to proceed to the streets, so that the attempt could fail.

After the events, ADM BOSTANOGLU and RADM ARSLAN trusted OGE's accusations for purging and arrests of many admirals and officers.

Several ships left the harbors with the suspicion of a massive terror attack, which fits the Turkish Navy's doctrines and training. None of the Turkish Navy officers fired a single shot, and none of the cadets in Naval Academy and Naval High School got involved in the events. However, tens of admirals and hundreds of naval officers were arrested, and hundreds of cadets were purged afterward. Arrests were selective. For example, some commanding officers and officers were arrested, while the others from the same ship were not. Admirals like Sinan Azmi TOSUN, who were on vacation and informed their superiors that did not involve in the events, were jailed only because their names were on the assignment lists.

Marmaris

Marmaris is a mysterious case. A group of Army and Air Force Special Forces soldiers allegedly plotted a raid with helicopters to capture ERDOGAN.

ERDOGAN had not been on TV and his whereabouts was not known during the six days before the attempt, which was unusual when compared to his habit or desire of being on TV every night¹⁰⁵. Why did ERDOGAN disappear almost one week before the coup attempt and appeared again in Marmaris at the coup night?¹⁰⁶

The Special Forces team, allegedly tasked to take ERDOGAN, flew from Istanbul to Izmir with a military transport aircraft on 15 July after the flight ban for military flights was ordered by TGS. Nobody stopped them¹⁰⁷.

The owner of the holiday resort where ERDOGAN stayed, Serkan YAZICI, stated in his interview published in Government-affiliated newspaper Milliyet that he was with ERDOGAN's security chief when the chief had the phone call from FIDAN around 18:00 regarding the coup attempt¹⁰⁸. The chief directly informed ERDOGAN. This is in line with deputy TGS chief Gen GULER's testimony, but contrary to ERDOGAN's persistent statements. He claims that he first heard about the coup around 21:30 from his brother-in-law.

The mission of the Special Forces team was canceled and re-ordered a few times. Strangely, they were kept waiting in Izmir for hours, which gave ERDOGAN the opportunity to fly out of Marmaris to Istanbul at 01:43. The team left Izmir around 02:00. Why did the team leave for Marmaris after ERDOGAN left his residence? Why did nobody inform them? Why were some of ERDOGAN's guards left at the hotel after his departure?

The team arrived in Marmaris at around 03:20, three hours after ERDOGAN left his residence¹⁰⁹.

After arrival in Istanbul, ERDOGAN stated that he could have been in the hand of coup plotters if he had been 15 minutes late to leave the residence. ERDOGAN repeated the same message afterward. YAZICI and other eyewitnesses, who were with ERDOGAN that night, testified that there was more than one attack to ERDOGAN's residence that night and the first one took place around 01:00 – 01:30 after midnight, shortly after his departure^{110 111}.

¹⁰⁵ <http://t24.com.tr/haber/ahmet-sik-facetimedan-allahin-lutfuna-erdogan-15-temmuz-gecesi-neler-yasadi,376525>

¹⁰⁶ http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/567907/1_haftadir_yoktu..._erdogan_in_nerede_oldugu_ortaya_cikti.html

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.artigercek.com/boyle-suikast-olmaz-cumhurbaskani-zan-altinda/>

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/20/otelin-sahibi-o-geceyi-anlatti>

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/marmaris-iddianamesinin-detaylari-1-mugla-yerelhaber-1679562/>

¹¹⁰ <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/20/otelin-sahibi-o-geceyi-anlatti>

¹¹¹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/cumhurbaskaninin-oteline-4-saatte-3-kez-saldirdilar-40155890>

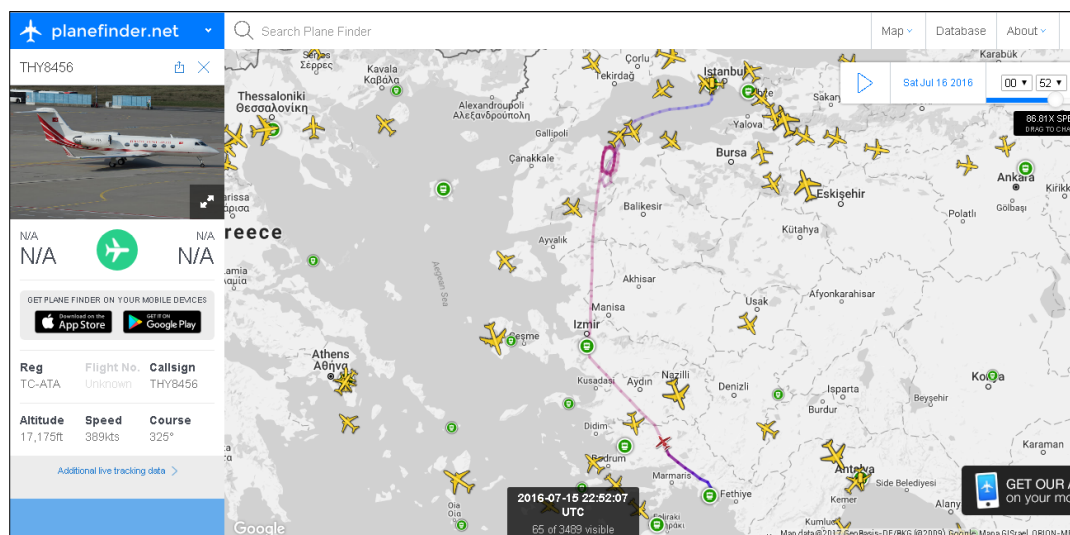
This first attack in no way could be carried out by dissenters simply because the raid took place around 03:20; three hours after ERDOGAN left his residence. The suspects asked the court to investigate the surveillance footages of ERDOGAN's arrival to the residence, his departure and this first attack before their coming. Their request was denied.

If the team arrived in Marmaris at 03:20 to capture ERDOGAN, why did then ERDOGAN tell that he escaped from being taken hostage just by 15 minutes? Who sent the first team, which attacked the resort before dissenters? Why is there no investigation on this first attack? Was this first attack plotted by ERDOGAN and FIDAN in case the dissenters' operation would have failed?

The team members claim that they deployed to Marmaris to take ERDOGAN to Ankara alive, based on the order given by TGS HQ under the chain of command¹¹². But ERDOGAN insists that they were tasked to kill him.

ERDOGAN's Flee

ERDOGAN's flight story to Istanbul is also critical¹¹³. According to the website www.planefinder.net, ERDOGAN's aircraft left DALAMAN at 01:43, squawking as Turkish Airlines THY8456 and landed in Istanbul at 03:20. One can also identify the 47-minute holding time before the landing. Normal flight time from Dalaman to Ataturk Airport is 50 Minutes. The flight lasted 97 minutes.



Dissenters took control of Istanbul Ataturk Airport tower at 23:55 and stopped the air traffic. They closed the airport with tanks. After ERDOGAN's call, civilians rushed into the airport, police retook the control by 02:15 and the tanks retreated thereafter. Why did he take off for Istanbul,

¹¹² <http://www.artigercek.com/boyle-suikast-olmaz-cumhurbaskani-zan-altinda/>

¹¹³ Flight history from <http://www.planefinder.net>

although he was aware the airport was under dissenters' control? Why did he hold near Istanbul 47 minutes while F-16s allegedly flew around Istanbul to find him?

On a TV show broadcasted by A-Haber, ERDOGAN said there were four planes planned for him and his family in different airports (Izmir, Dalaman, Bodrum and Cildir) to deceive the putschists and help him escape¹¹⁴. If ERDOGAN's statement about the timing of his initial awareness of the coup was true (21:30), then we have a simple math problem. Normally these four planes are located in Ankara. To become ready for ERDOGAN's decision, their crew must be recalled, the planes must be serviced and checked, they have to fly to four different airports, they have to be refueled and re-serviced again at their new locations. Could this possibly happen within two to three hours?

This whole process with a cold start would take much longer. Let's assume that ERDOGAN decided to deploy four aircraft to four different locations by 23:00. Let's also suppose there are ideal conditions for the availability of the crew and transport to Esenboga Airport in Ankara. No Friday traffic, more importantly, no coup, no tanks, no soldiers, no people and no police on the streets...

Recall of the crew located in Ankara	1 hour
The crew's reaction and transport to the airport	3 hours
Aircraft ground checks and flight preparation	1 hour
Flight to destination	1 hour
<u>Refuel and re-servicing at the new destination</u>	<u>1 hour</u>
TOTAL TIME	7 hours

With this rough math for ideal conditions, if called by 23:00, the first airplane could be ready at its destination to get directed by ERDOGAN by earliest 06:00 the next morning. ERDOGAN took off at 01:43.

In fact, the airplane, which took him to Istanbul first flew from Izmir to Dalaman at 00:40. Thus, for this airplane to be ready in Izmir by 00:40, the crew must have been alerted in Ankara latest by 17:40. That means before nobody in Turkey knew that a coup was coming and more importantly ERDOGAN in Marmaris was the target!

How did ERDOGAN know by 17:40 that a coup was in preparation and a team would be coming for him? Who could give him this early information?

¹¹⁴ <http://odatv.com/hani-geliyorlar-ama-magaranin-kapisini-orumcek-oruyor-1204171200.html>

5. Causes of Civilian Losses

The events on 15 July 2016 resulted in more than 170 civilians losing their lives and left more than 1,300 wounded¹¹⁵. Most of the killings happened in Ankara or Istanbul. The chaos during the clashes obscured who was shooting whom. ERDOGAN agitated the public by mentioning the civilian losses in pursuit of his agenda.



ERDOGAN, YILDIRIM, FIDAN, Minister of Interior Efkân ALA and many Government officials waited until the dissenters took action, instead of taking decisive measures to prevent the events early. This preference, coupled with ERDOGAN's invitation to the public to resist the dissenters, mainly caused the bloody confrontations.

Some civilian killings occurred while trying to stop the military armored vehicles. But most of the civilians lost their lives due to fire from unidentified directions and people. The civilians on the streets were used as shields or support to the police against the dissenters. Considering the limited number of the dissenters, it is hard to believe that civilians were needed to suppress the attempt. ERDOGAN later used the lives lost as a pretext to carry out his historically brutal crackdown. "Great resistance to defend democracy" images as well as overt violence and lynch images against soldiers have been intensely used by ERDOGAN's media to agitate the public and raise support for the follow-on non-democratic practices and illegal acts.

Various media outlets reported civilian people armed by Police in Ankara and Istanbul^{116 117}. Those civilians were linked to pro-ERDOGAN "SADAT", an international defense consulting agency which provides nontransparent training to the opposition groups in Syria, "Osmanlı Ocakları" (Ottoman Clusters), ERDOGAN's paramilitary power¹¹⁹, and İHH, a pro-ERDOGAN humanitarian charity organization. All these organizations have been accused of having relationships with Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Al-Nusra^{120 121}.

¹¹⁵ <http://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/15-temmuz-darbe-girisiminin-bilancosu>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.habersert.com/gundem/eli-silahli-bir-sivil-fethullahci-ve-laikci-kopekler--1276.html>

¹¹⁷ <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/291606/siviller-silahlandirildi-mi>

¹¹⁸ <http://www.haberdar.com/siyaset/fatih-tezcan-vatan-emniyeti-silahli-ihh-cilar-kurtardi-h49789.html>

¹¹⁹ http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/585597/SADAT_Saray_da.html

¹²⁰ <http://www.abcgazetesi.com/sadat-isidlileri-mi-egitti-28187h.htm>

There are clear signals that different groups of pro-AKP militia and mafia gangs were armed on the streets. Their actions have not been investigated. There are allegations that these people were responsible for some of the losses^{122 123 124}. Many of them were linked to organized criminals and the mafia. The son of the AKP's Ankara Mayor, Osman GÖKÇEK is accused to have a close relationship with the mafia in Ankara¹²⁵.



For instance, a sniper positioned himself on top of a column of the Bosphorus Bridge and targeted pro-ERDOGAN militia and civilians and killed multiple people till morning¹²⁶. The sniper's identity is yet unknown. Pro-ERDOGAN media aired the identities of all critical dissenters, but they did not publish any precise report about this mysterious sniper.



¹²¹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-police-detain-25-at-ihh-office-in-anti-al-qaeda-raid.aspx?pageID=238&nID=61000&NewsCatID=341>

¹²² <http://romanyahaber.com/2016/11/02/darbeyi-bilen-adam-15-temmuzda-sivillerin-cogunu-saraya-bagli-sadat-milisleri-oldurdu/>

¹²³ <http://15temmuzhareketi.org/2016/08/12/o-gece-sivil-kiyafetliler-olum-sacti/>

¹²⁴ <http://haber.sol.org.tr/toplum/iste-akpnin-silahli-sivilleri-170610>

¹²⁵ <http://www.internethaber.com/osman-gokceke-cete-sozu-338530h.htm>

¹²⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/koprude-keskin-nisanci-varmis-40156647>

Most civilian losses are not yet accounted for. Since there is no official document released on how, when and where the casualties occurred, the strong suspicion remains in the public opinion that some of the killings were orchestrated by the masterminds of the events.

Additionally, many soldiers, after their surrender, were violently attacked and some were even killed by these groups of civilians. There is no judicial process or investigation of these murders yet.



6. Examples of Military Victims

There are hundreds of military officials, including generals and senior officers, who strived to suppress the dissenting activities and supported Government officials on 15 July. Although they were declared as heroes immediately after the suppression, high-ranking Government officials and the pro-Government media started a massive campaign against them in the following days. Eventually, most of them were arrested on charges of leading the coup, attempting to topple down the Government and change the regime in Turkey!

Gen Akin OZTURK



Gen Akin OZTURK, the former Chief of Turkish Air Force until August 2015, was the member of the Supreme Military Council and had no units under his command.

On the day, he went to talk to the dissenting Generals who were detaining Chief of Turkish Military Gen Hulusi AKAR

at Akinci Airbase in Ankara. He did this at the request of the incumbent Chief of Turkish Air Force Gen Abidin UNAL, and the invitation by Chief of Turkish Military Gen Hulusi AKAR. When he arrived at the base HQ, he was casually dressed¹²⁷, and he found that Gen AKAR was having tea¹²⁸ among the dissenting generals. For hours, he and Gen AKAR tried to convince those generals to stop all F-16 flights over the capital¹²⁹. Finally, they succeeded.

A day after the coup was suppressed; the Minister of Defense and the pro-Government media started a massive campaign against Gen OZTURK. He was then immediately detained, tortured and arrested on charges of leading the coup, trying to topple down the Government to change the regime in Turkey.

On 21 July 2016, TGS officially declared¹³⁰ that Gen Akin OZTURK was tasked by the Chief of Turkish Air Force¹³¹ on 15th of July to convince the dissenting officers to stop F-16 flights over Ankara. Neither the Government nor the pro-ERDOGAN media took this into account.

¹²⁷ According to Gen AKAR's testimony "He was wearing a t-shirt and pants" see page 490 of "the main bill of indictment regarding the coup attempt" at <http://www.ensonhaber.com/dosyalar/id1.pdf>

¹²⁸ According to Gen Ozturk's testimony at the prosecutor's office at <http://aa.com.tr/tr/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi/eski-hava-kuvvetleri-komutani-ozturkun-savcilik-ifadesi/610614>

¹²⁹ <http://www.bbc.com/turkce/36858601>

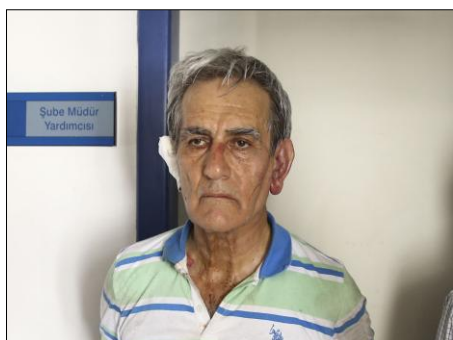
¹³⁰ <http://www.hilalhaber.com/turkiye/tskdan-akin-ozturk-aciklamasi-h36280.html>

¹³¹ <http://www.posta.com.tr/tsk-akin-ozturkun-ifadesini-kismen-dogruladi-haberi-354543>

Interestingly, neither his testimony at the prosecutor's office nor the famous public release of TGS was included in the main body of indictment about the coup attempt. What is more interesting is the public release is no more available at TGS website. The Parliamentary Investigation Commission on the coup attempt also refused to get him to testify due to opposing votes by its members from the ruling AKP.

According to the bill of indictment, Gen OZTURK is accused of leading the so-called Peace at Home Council (PaHC), which is allegedly the main body to execute the coup plot. If OZTURK was the leader of the PaHC, his testimony should be among the most important ones. Why did the prosecutor's office fail to include it? His actions as inferred from the testimonies of either suspects or the witnesses are in line with that of his own and the 21 July public release of TGS. None of the suspects or the witnesses blamed him or told of any of his actions to be pro-putschist. How could he lead a coup attempt without a single action in support?

OZTURK was also invited to the wedding ceremony in Istanbul. He testifies that he lost much time for the personal notary work in Izmir and missed the opportunity to join the wedding. He returned to Ankara by asking at the last minute to join a scheduled flight only to take Turkish Army Chief from Izmir to Ankara. Had he missed that flight, he might well have been still in Izmir during the coup attempt. If he were the leader of the coup and the PaHC, why would he spend half of the day in Izmir, trying to arrange notary papers for personal issues instead of making his final preparations for the attempt? How come an alleged leader of the coup attempt spends the day that comfortably in Izmir? Is this not a proof that he had no prior knowledge about the coup attempt?



OZTURK is accused by the prosecutor of planning to take over the office of the Chief of Turkish Military if dissenting activities would have been successful. Gen OZTURK and many other suspects were tortured after the events. The former Air Chief has been imprisoned to date with serious charges, calling for a life sentence. Gen AKAR and others testify that he was casually dressed during that night¹³². It is hard to imagine a coup leader, who might supposedly address the nation and the world that night, wears a T-shirt and pants, instead of a fancy Air Force ceremonial uniform full of medals.

After his arrest, OZTURK was tortured by pro-ERDOGAN police.

¹³² See page 490 of “the main bill of indictment regarding the coup attempt” at <http://www.ensonhaber.com/dosyalar/id1.pdf>

Gen Adem HUDUTI

He was the commander of the 2nd Army, Malatya at the day. The Second Army, based in Malatya, protects Turkey's borders with Syria, Iraq, and Iran.

He gave written and verbal orders to the units under his area of responsibility (Diyarbakir, Sanliurfa, Batman and Mardin), forbidding any support to the dissenting activities¹³³.

The General was arrested in the immediate hours following the events, on charges of leading the coup, attempting to topple down the Government and trying to change the regime in Turkey.



Lt Gen H. Huseyin DEMIRARSLAN

Lt Gen DEMIRARSLAN was the Chief of Staff of Turkish Air Force HQ on 15 July 2016. He was at a military recreation resort with his family in Gumuldur, Izmir. After his son had been murdered in September 2013, he has refrained from attending celebrations like the wedding in Istanbul.



At the initial minutes, he called Turkish Air Force Chief Gen UNAL and asked for his directives. He received an order to swiftly go to Eskisehir where the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) is located. He immediately left the resort, drove to the nearest Cigli Airbase (AB), Izmir, where he could find a military means to fly to Eskisehir. He then directly flew from Cigli AB to Eskisehir with a military transport aircraft and took over the command of the CAOC and commanded the operations against the dissenters from there.

¹³³ <http://www.ciglininsesi.com/2-ordu-komutani-hududi-yonetimi-al-dediler/8118/>

He was the one who ordered F-4E 2020s, located at the Eskisehir Airbase to bomb Akinci Base Runway to prevent F-16 takeoffs¹³⁴. After the events, he was highly commended with pro-Government media for taking command and control of the Turkish Air Force and suppressing the dissenting activities¹³⁵.



A few days later, Prime Minister Binali YILDIRIM stated in an interview that during the events he asked the commander in the Eskisehir CAOC to shoot down dissenter F-16s, but the general, he talked, asked for a written directive, which fueled Prime Minister's anger and frustration. Immediately afterward, pro-Government newspapers, Hurriyet¹³⁶, Aksam¹³⁷, Yeni Safak¹³⁸, claimed loudly the General who hesitated to obey Prime minister's orders and asked for the written directive was Lt Gen DEMIRARSLAN.

Although YILDIRIM knew the truth was different and the General he mentioned was a different person, he kept silent and let the pro-Government media spread their slanders and lies against DEMIRARSLAN. Eventually, the General was arrested on 21 July 2016. The justification for the arrest was that he was assigned by the dissenting officers as the new Chief of Turkish Air Force.

Almost five months after his arrest, the pro-Government media finally disclosed the truth. The General, who asked a written order to shoot down F-16s, was Lt Gen Ziya KADIOGLU¹³⁹. Very surprisingly, KADIOGLU continues his duty in Turkish Air Force without any judicial process against him while DEMIRARSLAN is still arrested on charges of leading the coup, attempting to topple down the Government and change the regime in Turkey.

¹³⁴ <http://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/gundem/387325.aspx>

¹³⁵ <http://www.ajanshaber.com/darbe-girisiminde-cok-carpici-detay-haberi/371241>

¹³⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/korgeneral-demirarslan-adliyeye-sevk-edildi-40165273>

¹³⁷ <http://www.aksam.com.tr/yasam/darbeci-hava-kuvvetleri-kurmay-baskani-hasan-huseyin-demirarslan-kimdir/haber-535880>

¹³⁸ <http://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/darbenin-2-numarasi-hasanimi-kurtarma-telasi-2497692>

¹³⁹ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-dan-yazili-emir-isteyen-gundem-2364294/>

Lt Gen Erdal OZTURK



Lt Gen OZTURK was the commander of 3rd Army Corps, Istanbul. On 15 July 2016, he made public announcements addressing the dissenting troops through national TV channels of NTV¹⁴⁰, NTV news portal¹⁴¹, and TGRT Haber¹⁴². He ordered the immediate return of all troops in Istanbul to their barracks. Below is a translation of a part of his announcement:

“Turkish Military respects the will of the Republic of Turkey, the will of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Turkish people. I expect all the 3rd Corps personnel to return to their barracks immediately. Otherwise, legal action will be taken.”

A few days after the coup attempt, he was arrested, dismissed from the military and charged with the same crimes.

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjWvr3fGizE>

¹⁴¹ <http://www.ntv.com.tr/galeri/turkiye/15-temmuz-gecesi-ve-sonrasinda-neler-yasandi,fBliAr1pu0WkrhUBXdZykA/0xyMk9hdgk-ljxmRcdiKcQ>

¹⁴² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8to7NgCelYA>

7. ERDOGAN Was Aware

Both ERDOGAN and his Prime Minister YILDIRIM consistently claim that they were unaware of the suspected activities and the serious measures taken by AKAR and FIDAN. They insist that they had not been informed by AKAR or by FIDAN.

YILDIRIM stated to media on 22nd July: “I learned the coup 15 minutes after it started. No one informed me before that”. ERDOGAN gave conflicting times about when he learned about the coup¹⁴³.

- On 16th July 04:22, during his appearance in front of the media, after landing in Istanbul, he stated: “there were some movements within the military in the afternoon” of 15th of July¹⁴⁴. He said that his brother-in-law told him about an unusual military activity in front of Beylerbeyi Palace.
- On the 18th of July, during an interview with CNN International, he stated: “I learned about developments at 20:00 and decided to act against”.
- On 20th July, during an interview with Al Jazeera, five days after the events, for the first time he stated; “I learned the coup from my brother-in-law”.
- On 21st July, during an interview with Reuters, he stated “there were some movements in the afternoon; I learned the coup from my brother-in-law around 16:00-16:30.
- On 30th July, he changed the timing again and stated, “I learned the coup from my brother-in-law around 21:00; I’ve been confusing the time”.

In reality, AKAR’s Deputy, GULER testified that three hours before the start of the events, FIDAN had called the head of ERDOGAN’s guards and asked him at least two times if he had enough men and ammunition to protect the President against an attack.

FIDAN’s call to ERDOGAN’s head of guards around 18:30 that day and ERDOGAN’s plan to prepare four planes at four different locations show that he had previous knowledge.



Three months after the events, ERDOGAN’s close ally and head of the pro-Russian and ultra-nationalist “Patriotic Party” Dogu PERINCEK stated that: “We had warned the nation about the coup 14 days prior with a party declaration dated 1st July 2016”¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴³

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/foto/foto_galeri/575077/1/Darbe_girisimini_ne_zaman_ogrendi__erdogan_in_sozlerindeki_saat_fa_rkliliklari.html

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/cumhurbaskani-ERDOGANdan-reutersa-flas-aciklamalar-40159494>

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.gazetepus.com/guncel/darbeyi-14-gun-once-duyurduk-h141418.html>

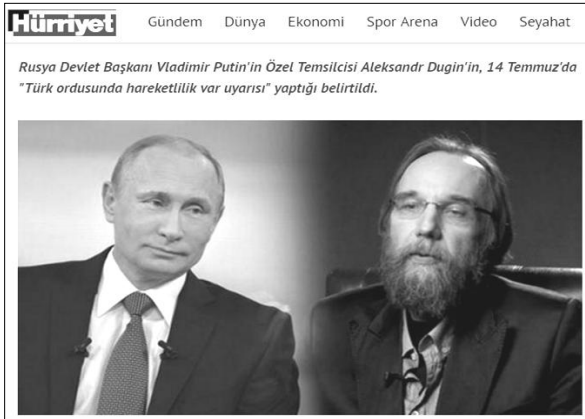
PERİNÇEK on 15 February 2017 stated^{146 147};

“One day before the coup attempt, our party’s deputy Atilla UĞUR went to Yeni Safak and informed them that within a few days there would be a coup attempt from FETO Terrorists. UĞUR told them to inform the Government as well.”



Yeni Safak journalist Huseyin LIKOGLU admitted that he was warned the day prior by UĞUR about an imminent coup attempt¹⁴⁸. It is impossible to think that LIKOGLU did not share this information with ERDOĞAN, YILDIRIM, and FIDAN.

Additionally, Putin’s private representative Dugin clearly stated that he warned the Turkish Government about the coup one day prior, on 14 July¹⁴⁹.



¹⁴⁶ <http://t24.com.tr/haber/perincek-darbeyi-1-gun-once-yeni-safaka-bildirmistik,389014>

¹⁴⁷ <http://odatv.com/darbe-gunu-perincekin-yardimcisi-yeni-safaka-neler-anlatti-2702171200.html>

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.yenisafak.com/yazarlar/huseyinlikoglu/perincek-neyin-pesinde-2036461>

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/putinin-ozel-temsilcisi-14-temmuzda-uyardik-40238167>

8. Parliamentary Investigation Commission

The Parliamentary Investigation Commission started working on 4th of October 2016 to investigate July 15 coup attempt, after an intentional delay of more than two and a half months by the ruling party AKP. The commission was formed by Parliamentarians from all four parties in the parliament and headed by Resat PETEK from AKP. It worked for three months and finished the investigation by 4th of January 2017¹⁵⁰. PETEK noted the commission had 22 meetings, listened to 141 people¹⁵¹ and carried out field visits to different sites.

At the beginning of the Commission's work, ERDOGAN stated that he had not expected much from it¹⁵². On December 9th, 2016, he stated; "The Commission should finish the job of writing and sending the report". This was perceived by the AKP members of the Commission as a directive to "finish it now!". After a few days, PETEK announced terminating the Commission by the 4th of January. He stated the Commission had resolved the matter and gathered enough information to write the report. The report has not been disseminated so far.

The Commission did not actively engage the subject. Many issues have been left out and not clarified. The declared task of the Commission was to discover the essence of "July 15", the people who staged the coup, their external affiliates, their plan and the "hidden powers" behind them. The working days and the duration had become gradually shorter, and the list of hearings continually clipped¹⁵³. None of the questions, mentioned in this report, were properly addressed or examined. The task was not fulfilled.

Despite Opposition members' protests, the Commission finished the investigation without even hearing the critical people. The two critical names, Chief of MIT Hakan FIDAN and Chief of the Military Gen Hulusi AKAR were not invited to Commission for hearing¹⁵⁴. Instead, the Commission requested written testimonials from both. So far, their testimonials have not arrived¹⁵⁵. The Commission members from AKP also refused to hear generals such as Akin OZTURK, Mehmet DİSLİ, and Mehmet PARTIGOC, who, according to the prosecutor's indictment, attempted/lead the coup. The Commission preferred to hear a lot of people who were irrelevant to the essence of the subject¹⁵⁶. Former Chiefs of General Staff, former Secretary of MIT, Chairman of Turkish Red Crescent, Chairman of the Stock Exchange,

¹⁵⁰ https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/komisyon_tutanaklari.tutanaklar?pKomKod=1021&pDonem=26&pYasamaYili=2

¹⁵¹ http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/resat-petek-141-kisinin-bilgisine-basvurduk,arLW423MsEC87_DWXPYbw

¹⁵² <http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/bu-ne-yaman-celiski-39325yy.htm>

¹⁵³ http://www.yeniasya.com.tr/cevher-ilhan/darbe-komisyonu-fiyaskosu_420545

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/akar-ve-fidan-dinlenmeden-kilit-darbe-komisyonu-son-dedi-1601984/>

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/15-temmuz-komisyonu-baskani-genelkurmay-ve-mitten-cevap-bekliyoruz-40423424>

¹⁵⁶ <http://t24.com.tr/haber/hakan-fidan-ve-hulusi-akar-darbe-komisyonunda-ifade-vermez-tbmm-yi-degil-sarayi-taniyorlar,372165>

Istanbul, former Head of Religious Affairs, and a member of the Turkish Higher Education Board (Yuksele Ogretim Kurulu-YOK) were some of the people the Commission heard.

Most importantly, the inside story of the events and confusion on "July 15" had not been brought to the agenda. Issues like, why AKAR and FIDAN failed to timely inform ERDOGAN and YILDIRIM or why AKAR failed to call the Service Chiefs asked their support have not been investigated.

9. Summary of Findings

Who Were the Dissenters?

The Republic of Turkey was founded by ATATURK on principles of democracy, secularism, social justice and the rule of law. Before 15 July 2016, ERDOGAN had been eroding those core values for a long time and seeking to gain ultimate control over all pillars of power: judiciary, legislature, and executive. This would inevitably lead to a dictatorship. It seems like the alleged dissenters' main goal was to prevent the destruction of the country's values and democratic foundation. They should have believed that unseating ERDOGAN was their last resort to stop him. Preventing an imminent, large-scale purge and an expected imprisonment of thousands by the Government could have played a role as well. A limited number of generals, a few hundred officers and a few thousand conscripts and cadets comprised the largest group of the alleged dissenters. They were from various fractions of the Turkish Military.

Some military personnel believed that the coup was a move by the whole military, under the chain of command. A lot of military personnel joined the dissenters because they could not grasp what actually was happening. For example, there were many military officials, who were called back to the duty because of a devastating domestic terror threat. There was another group who believed that they were in a snap exercise.

Lack of a directive and clarification from AKAR, GULER, the Service Chiefs, and other high-ranking officials in the initial hours resulted in the chaos. Yet there was an insidious group, which consisted of the infiltrators of ERDOGAN, PERINCEK in the Military. They participated in the planning, in the execution, and whenever required, corruption of the dissenters' activities. Except for this last group, all participants of the events were imprisoned and purged.

The overwhelming majority of the Turkish Military did not take part in the events at all. They stayed at home, at their vacation places or abroad due to international assignments. However, this did not stop the Government. There are thousands of military personnel, purged and imprisoned despite their absence at any stage of the events.

For instance, hundreds of Turkish officers were outside the country, at their NATO or Attaché posts during the events. Nevertheless, they were accused by the pro-ERDOGAN media for planning the coup, in collaboration with their NATO and U.S. partners¹⁵⁷. The Pro-ERDOGAN courts accused them of being members of the FETO organization and for supporting the coup from a distance.

¹⁵⁷<http://www.ahaber.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/25/samil-tayyar-darbe-tezgahinin-a-takimi-disarida>

ERDOGAN's Autogolpe

Before the events of 15 July, ERDOGAN, YILDIRIM, some Ministers, FIDAN, some AKP members, and pro-ERDOGAN high ranking officials like AKSAKALLI had full awareness about what would happen that day. They took all the necessary measures to provoke, manipulate, and keep the flow of events under their control. They could have definitely prevented the disaster before the events took place. Instead, they allowed the events to mature and aggravate to a certain level before decisive intervention. This resulted in “a limited uprising”, controlled by ERDOGAN and his collaborators. Head of the Main Opposition Party-CHP, Kemal KILICDAROGLU would rather call the events “a controlled coup”¹⁵⁸.

The Authors of this study prefer to describe the events with a different term; Self-Coup or Autogolpe. Bruce W. FARCAU, in his book *“The coup: tactics in the seizure of power”* describes the Latin American term “Autogolpe” (Self-Coup);

“A coup hunched by the chief executive himself in order to extend his control over the political system in some extra-constitutional way” (Farcau, 1994:2)¹⁵⁹.

Paul BROOKER explains how a military aligns itself with the leader of the country who carries out the Autogolpe;

“The military’s support for a civilian President’s autogolpe -and for his resulting populist presidential monarchy- could be viewed in similar forensic fashion to the military’s seizure of power. But in this case the military is acting as only an accomplice “before and after the fact” in the President’s misappropriation of his public office and powers.” (Brooker, 2014: 102) ¹⁶⁰

Carlson ANYANGWE offers a well-pondered description of the “Coups by the Executive” in his work *“Revolutionary Overthrow of Constitutional Orders in Africa”*;

“There have been cases where an incumbent government, tacitly or expressly aided and abetted by the military, assumes extraconstitutional powers, completely altering the character of the existing constitutional order and ushering in a totally different one. The incumbent government in effect overthrows the existing constitutional order and brings in a different one. This situation is sometimes denoted as a ‘self-coup’. A ‘self-coup’ always has the tendency of breeding a rebellion in the form of a counter-coup or an insurgency, leading to

¹⁵⁸ <http://theglobepost.com/2017/04/03/opposition-leader-july-15-was-a-controlled-coup/>

¹⁵⁹ Farcau, B. W. (1994). *The coup: tactics in the seizure of power*. Westport, Conn: Praeger.

¹⁶⁰ Brooker, P. (2014). *Non-democratic regimes*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. P.102

the ouster of the self-coup maker and the restoration of the status quo ante.” (Anyangwe, 2012: 48-49)¹⁶¹

Views of International Experts

International experts explained their views on 15 July, which support KILICDAROGLU's assertion. For example, German Federal Intelligence Service (BND) Chief Bruno KAHL¹⁶² and UK Parliamentary Report¹⁶³ clearly stated that the Turkish Government failed to convince European Governments that 15 July was a mere act of Gulenists in the Military. A German intelligence expert and author Erich Schmidt-EENBOOM stated on the German public broadcaster ZDF that the Turkish President ERDOGAN was behind the failed coup attempt in Turkey on July 15, 2016. He based his assertion on the intelligence reports from the CIA and BND¹⁶⁴. Furthermore, politicians, academicians, and strategists from many countries clearly stated that ERDOGAN's version of the story for July 15 is not convincing and heavily criticized him for recklessly exploiting a disaster to destroy country's democracy and inner peace.

The Trials

The Authors of this study believe that all the dissenters must face the necessary but unconditionally fair judicial processes for their acts on 15 July 2016. However, for the justice to come true, the planners and facilitators of the “self-coup” must also be tried. ERDOGAN, YILDIRIM, FIDAN, PERINCEK, AKSAKALLI and their collaborators and conspirators in the Military, in the Government, and elsewhere must face serious charges for organizing and manipulating a “self-coup” to illegally overthrow the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and change the country's regime from a democracy to a dictatorship.

Top Generals -AKAR, GULER, DUNDAR-, Army, Navy, Air Force and Gendarmerie Service Chiefs -COLAK, BOSTANOGLU, UNAL, MENDI-, and some critical officers in the lower ranks have to clarify the crucial details, which are not yet transparent. Furthermore, the vague statements and behavior, which caused ambiguity during the events, have to be clarified and investigated. Simply because, that ambiguity contributed to the overall confusion in the Military and the chaos in the country.

ERDOGAN's Gain is Turkey's Loss

ERDOGAN won, but the Country lost. The imminent cost was high; loss of 248 lives and thousands injured. But the persistent cost is much higher. The extended “State of emergency”

¹⁶¹ Anyangwe, C. (2012). *Revolutionary Overthrow of Constitutional Orders in Africa*. Mankon, Bamenda: Labngaa Research & Publishg CIG.

¹⁶² <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-security-germany-idUSKBN16P0LQ>

¹⁶³ <http://stockholmcf.org/british-parliaments-foreign-affairs-committee-gulen-not-responsible-for-the-july-15-coup-attempt/>

¹⁶⁴ <https://www.turkishminute.com/2017/04/03/german-intel-expert-says-erdogan-behind-failed-coup-based-cia-bnd-reports/>

severely eroded the spirit and essence of democracy in the Country. ERDOGAN's follow-on crackdown was disastrous. Issues of illegal Decree Laws, reshaping crucial Government departments and purge of more than 134,000 Government officials are a few examples. The rule of law has been catastrophically undermined, human rights abuses are at their peak in the country's history.

The military lost its top brass, expertise, experience, and more importantly its trust. However, ERDOGAN rushed the Turkish military into Syria immediately after 15 July. His obscured objectives are yet not clear.

ERDOGAN and his supporters used 15 of July as a pretext for the referendum on 19 April 2017. The nation voted to abandon the parliamentary system for an executive presidency, which grants ERDOGAN a 21st-century sultanate minimally curbed by the Parliament, changing the country's regime from a democracy to a dictatorship¹⁶⁵. ERDOGAN had the victory through a controversial referendum, which was tarnished with allegations of fraud¹⁶⁶.

ERDOGAN's next step could be reinstating the capital punishment. He wants to apply the death penalty to the people arrested for the events of 15 July. He violates a basic principle of the universal norms by promoting an "Ex post facto law" which retroactively changes the legal consequences or status of actions that were committed. "Ex post facto law" is prohibited by all modern judicial systems, including Turkey's Constitution. ERDOGAN probably needs the capital punishment to silence all the witnesses and victimized dissenters to hide the truth forever.

The scavengers like PERINCEK, Head of Ultranationalist Patriotic Party, and his supporters are not to be forgotten aside. The purge lists of thousands of innocent Government officials and military personnel had been prepared by PERINCEK's affiliates, long before 15 July. PERINCEK openly verified this at different occasions, stating that the purge lists were prepared by his supporters in the Military¹⁶⁷. PERINCEK's retired and active-duty military affiliates presumed that all the generals and high-ranking officers, who were not tried at the earlier Ergenekon and Balyoz trials, are most probably Gulenists and must be purged. Col Mustafa ONSAL's talk on pro-ERDOGAN TV Haberturk is a confession¹⁶⁸.

Furthermore, PERINCEK is the architect of the rapprochement between ERDOGAN and PUTIN. He and his supporters continually portray the West, EU, and NATO as the ultimate

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21720590-recep-tayyip-erdogan-carrying-out-harsh-crackdown-decades-west-must-not-abandon>

¹⁶⁶ <https://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2017-04-18/the-fraud-claims-tainting-turkey-s-referendum-win-quicktake-q-a>

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-MVsf2O5IIA>

¹⁶⁸ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-IGieQL_QI

enemies of the Turkish people. He even portrays NATO as an organization supporting terrorism¹⁶⁹.

Shortly after a Russian aircraft's shootdown by a Turkish F-16, PERINCEK sent a group of former Generals and Admirals to Moscow to mediate between Russia and Turkey. The delegation stated that if there were a coup attempt soon in Turkey, it would be an American attempt. They convinced PUTIN and his immediate circle to make a deal with ERDOGAN¹⁷⁰. Close allies of PUTIN; Konstantin MALOFEYEF¹⁷¹ and Aleksandr DUGIN openly stated that the visit was a breaking point, which opened a re-deal between Russia and Turkey. The re-deal was built on ERDOGAN's apology for the Russian fighter aircraft shot-down¹⁷².

¹⁶⁹ <https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/politika/2017-mart/adim-adim-nato-krizi#!>

¹⁷⁰ <https://vimeo.com/178445727>

¹⁷¹ Chairman of the Board of Directors of the group «Tsargrad» and founder of the international investment fund Marshall Capital Partners. He has very close relationships with Putin.

¹⁷² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWkHihbiYDw>

10 Conclusion

The Authors would like to reiterate that they condemn any coup against a democratic government. They firmly believe that no rationale may justify overthrowing a genuine democracy. However, they also condemn the insidious and illegal plots against their nation's future and their country's democracy, taking advantage of the events on July 15, 2016.

This work is no way meant to influence the ongoing judicial processes or substitute the reality. It is only a modest effort to put a light on the truth, using a causal and critical lens. All in all, the ones, who needed the "coup" the most, definitely seemed ERDOGAN and PERINCEK. Both benefited extensively from the outcomes of 15 July, 2016, by imprisoning, purging and torturing thousands of innocent people and by gradually eradicating Turkey's democracy.

The Authors firmly hope that Turkey will eventually revert to a true democracy, which is the most precious heritage from ATATURK to the country.

The truth eventually emerges...

11 Resources

All the links below are reachable as of 25 April 2017.

- Official indictments of 15 July
- Anyangwe, C. (2012). *Revolutionary Overthrow of Constitutional Orders in Africa*. Mankon, Bamenda: Labngaa Research & Publishg CIG
- Brooker, P. (2014). *Non-democratic regimes*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Farcau, B. W. (1994). *The coup: tactics in the seizure of power*. Westport, Conn: Praeger.
- <http://15temmuzhareketi.org/2016/08/12/o-gece-sivil-kiyafetliler-olum-sacti/>
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