



Report of February 28th Facts and Figures



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Presentment

While the trials on February 28, which was referred to as the “Postmodern Coup” in the history of Turkish politics, as Eđitim-Bir-Sen Headquarters Women’s Commission, we present our report titled as “February 28 with Numbers” that is created after months of work in order to determine the number of victims at that time to the public.

With the report, we tried to reach the number of people who were discharged from the profession at that time, who had to resign, who were disciplined, whose right to education were taken from them, who had to be resigned.

While we were preparing our report as Headquarters Women’s Commission, We act in cooperation with our organization in all provinces of Turkey. At the 11 regional meetings that we carried out in Turkey’s seven regions, we exchanged information and documents with hundreds of women who were subjected to pressure and imposition.

During the preparation phase of our report, we requested numerical data from all public institutions and organizations, from 1997 to 2003, for public personnel who were disciplined, dismissed or replaced, for reasons of reaction, disguise or political and ideological behavior. In order to reach all of these figures, we have to state that the public institutions, unfortunately, were very “discreet” during their work and that they did not compromise their stinginess in sharing information and documents. We have created our work, albeit limited, from the information we receive from the public, documents and statistics reflected to the public with their names, documents reaching the Eđitim-Bir-Sen and Memur-Sen organizations, the documents of the lawyers who follow the files of the victims of the period.

We aimed for a study that can express the process experienced on February 28 in a clean order and reveal the experiences with its numerical reality. In a process in which the actors of the period were tried, it is still a big deficiency that the number of victims is still unknown.

In this context, we think that our first report, which we have been trying to collect information and documents for a year, covers an important part of it even if it cannot detect all the victims in this field.

**Eđitim-Bir-Sen Headquarters
Women Commission**

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1. Introduction

After Turkey passed a multi-party system, the coups that were realized periodically brought about deinstitutionalization of democracy. As “a religion understanding defined by the state” could not be established since the Single Party rule (except for short periods), “the understanding of religion developing outside the state” was always seen as a danger by the state and tried to be kept under constant control. Despite all this, the narrow boundaries drawn by the State and strict control of religious activities and developments could not restrain the understanding of “questioning-producing” religion, and “religion” soon became a reality of our society. In parallel with the developments in the world, the increase in the popularity of religion means, in a way, the failure of state policies on religion. In this sense, the February 28 process is the name of silencing this trend and rise with the power and opportunities of the state. Within this framework, it would not be wrong to say that the February 28 process is the history of the relations between “religion and state” in the short history of the Republic.

With the process of February 28, by taking a brief look at the arrangements made on “religion-related” issues; it is possible to see the dimensions of this suppression. However, it would be wrong to limit this process only to intervention in the religious sphere. Like every coup, the February 28 coup was against “human” and “human nature”! February 28 is a process in which all people are trying to align around the “line” determined by the dominant will. The most distinctive feature of this period can be defined as the reduction of all possibilities of civil initiative in favor of the State and Bureaucracy / Army. To put it another way, the narrow shirt, which was dressed in the nation, was narrowed too far this time.

In the process of February 28, a government formed by free elections was destroyed. Instead, a government composed of parties led by leaders ready to accept the implementation of the “February 28 Decisions” was established. Reactionism has been declared as a “first priority internal threat” and a series of measures have been implemented to reform the society with its institutions and values in line with the “requirements of modern life”. The decisive will in all these practices is not the political organs formed by the elected, but the bureaucratic form of the “NSC General Secretariat and Prime Ministry Crisis Management Center”, which is equipped with powers beyond acceptable borders in a democratic state of law, and the “Western Working Group” emerging within the armed forces. In this process, politics was

tried to be reshaped on the basis of anti-secularist Islamism and to organize the “unarmed forces” on the basis of secular frontiers. The “Five Civil Initiative”, formed by workers and employers’ organizations, which are claimed to be brought together similarly in corporative regimes, played an important role in the success of February 28 as an intervention and in the legitimization of the process. [1]

February 28 had targeted the “reactionary” and legitimized itself within this context. However, this process produced a loss of democracy, oppression and human rights violations not only for the religious groups associated with the asylum, but for the religious masses, and for all segments of society. The mission to “fight against Reactionism” has become a mission that individuals and institutions have adopted to gain immunity from control. Media, universities and judicial bodies were briefed on the “danger of reaction”; thousands of public personnel were investigated, hundreds of people were tried from membership of the “reactionary organization”, they were put in prisons, hundreds of public personnel were dismissed from civil service, they were prevented from starting and owning business, in judicial authorities where unfair and unlawful practices were carried out injustice was confirmed due to the biased and directed decisions. Many of the women who opened their headscarves or wear wigs could not escape from being punished or losing their jobs. Numerous men are also dismissed and punished for their headscarved wives or for “reactionary ideas or activities”. The number of those who were expelled from the army without the right to defend with the decisions of the High Military Council increased during this period. The material and psychological destruction of the violations and the tragic events experienced in this process were not generally known, since the media did not include violations in the news and the press outside the Islamic section did not show enough attention. The same process witnessed the elimination of a widespread lecturers at universities. Similar to the elimination after September 12 in 1980, even more systematically and more programmatically than it, especially research assistants, assistant professors and doctoral students were expelled from universities, those who went for graduate studies were recalled from abroad and their academic lives were terminated. Many of the vested rights have been ignored, since the legal norms being implemented backwards. Equivalence of some universities such as Al-Azhar were cancelled and by implementing this cancellation decision backwards, the ones who graduated from one of these universities and employed in a university in Turkey were accepted as high school graduate and lost their jobs. The transition to eight-year education was also carried out through the recognition of vested rights, thereby liquidating at least three generations of “children of the others” with a field challenge and points system that would make it virtually impossible for

vocational school students to enter university. Since this practice included the students of all vocational schools together with the Imam-Hatip people, the number of people suffering from the practice was much more. Another violation in the eight-year continuous education process was the confiscation of the buildings of Imam-Hatip schools, which were built by citizens with their own money and given turnkey to be opened by MEB. Another example of practices that mean violation of not only religious freedom but also the right to property was the confiscation of sacrificial skins donated to mosques, foundations and associations on the grounds that they would go to “religious foundations and the PKK”, and the authority to collect leather was given only to the Turkish Aeronautical Association. It was complained that the lawsuits filed by individuals who applied to the judiciary, considering that they were victims due to such practices, were generally lost. The importance of this is that this situation, which is a clear violation of the right of individuals to save on their property, was found lawful by the Supreme Court. All these experiences of targeted sections of the February 28 generally unknown. Some of those who were forced to choose between their wives and their jobs had to give up their headscarved wives and some of them gave up their jobs. “Persuasion rooms” entered the higher education literature during this period, and university girls were forced to choose between their beliefs and political identities and their futures. In this process, the girls, whose number is still uncertain, had to leave their universities, which they attended until the last year or the last semester of the last year. Some of the victims were those who lost their school or work and their family orders and families were lost, their health deteriorated, they were depressed and some of them attempted suicide. There are no clear data on the number of violators and the nature of the violations today.¹

All this storm which was severed at the level of values and symbols has managed to hide successfully what February 28 has changed in the field of material relations. Whereas, February 28 could also be read as a liquidation operation beyond all this view and political struggle, along with economic and class privilege, throughout the history of the Republic, bureaucracy and large capital in organic relations with the state against newly developing social forces. From this perspective, if the “head scarf” covered the head of the woman who employed in the servant class of the public sphere, perhaps it would not be “the symbol of reaction, determined to take over the state”; If the round trimmed bearded tradesmen did not try to become an entrepreneur candidate to compete with Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association, it would not be a “threat to the regime”. Some segments of the sociological transformation process of Turkey had been asking to have a say in the sharing of the produced material values. During this period, the efforts of these sections to question

and change their old positions in the division of labor were witnessed. It seemed difficult to explain the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association's hypersensitivity to eight years of education or secularism only with their commitment to contemporary business values. What needs to be done today to understand February 28 is perhaps to first look at its economic dimension. How the initiatives known as "asylum or green capital" have been embargoed in this process, how many of them have gone bankrupt, which debts of the big media group have been erased, which big conglomerate has come out of the process with capital increase, who entered their boards as "consultants", and why banks are now available are questions that are still waiting for an answer today.



2. The Faulty Product of Distorted Modernization Mentality: February 28

February 28 will be referred to as the period when the most comprehensive changes in the history of the Republic were made. The first intervention of the February 28 process was against the right to sovereignty. Those who started this process tried to show once again that the votes of the people were not significant and that the assembly was not an authorized and important institution.

The second intervention was against civil authority / political power. With this intervention, the party programs are not important, no matter which party comes to power, they will have to operate in line with the instruction given to them. The government policies will be determined by the government and supra-parliamentary institutions. The political power is closed to a certain segment and parties. Even if they were, they tried to show that they could not be in power by the people's votes.

After the "Civil Authority" was bypassed, the most exposed to the coup was civilian organizations. If we take a brief look at the process starting from February 28, politicians and political parties (whose job is to do politics) and the foundations have been put under heavy pressure, closed down certain associations and branches, especially in the field of human rights. It is a well known fact for everyone that the accounts of the foundations were seized, their managers' homes were searched, taken into custody, disappeared, arrested or even bullied. Attempting to suppress civil organizations that are accepted as the capillaries of society shows that polyphony is undesirable. While the pressures for the existing organizations are increasing, the establishment of new non-governmental organizations are also prevented with various excuses. For example, a Foundation established under the Civil Code can only be established with the "approval" of the National Security Council!

Within the framework of the February 28 period, it is known how "civil will / civil authority" was rendered ineffective and how legal arrangements were made in Parliament. Theroutine powers in legislation (such as appointment, seniority, promotion ...) were used as a means of repression. So, does the current legal order allow or approve such an intervention? To put it even more clearly; "How did the judiciary contribute to February 28?" To be honest, according to the constitution, an "independent" and "impartial" Judiciary could be the greatest guarantee of democracy and the rule of law against the unlawful practices of social engineering. Unfortunately, judiciary has the biggest role in Turkey to take rights back that

has been gained with various difficulties from its establishment till today. In the briefing given to them, the members of the judiciary filled with "threat of reaction". From now on, we encounter as an important problem how independent, how neutral and how fair they can decide.

The coup of 28 February 1997 is the result of a period in which the central media, whose history of relationship with democracy was not very bright and worked like the press office of the General Staff, targeted the government of secular capital, and tried to gain academic legitimacy with the political floor, produced by the Council of Higher Education and universities under the guidance of it.

The February 28 coup was important because the army-intellectual alliance was re-established for the first time after the May 27 coup. As a matter of fact, the army, which broke off with the intellectuals on March 12 and attempted to produce politics with a vulgar anti-intellectualism on September 12, attempted to create an intervention channel through universities and intellectuals during the February 28 process and sought political legitimacy through this alliance. The army's alliance with the university-intellectual bloc continued after the 28 February process, and the army tried to open channels of intervention in politics through this alliance. However, it wasn't successful because of the broad community support behind the Justice and Development Party.

As the February 28 coup targets Welfare Party mainly, it was adopted by a significant segment of the left. Especially in the first half of the 1990s, the murder of intellectuals known for their Kemalist identity increased the sensitivity of secularism among people who defined themselves politically on the left. The electoral successes of the Welfare Party, which overcame the rise of such a secularism sensitivity, paved the way for military-civilian political elites to find social grounds during the February 28 process.

Instead of evaluating the February 28 period in terms of secular-reactionism tension, this period must be taken into consideration by regarding the aim of keeping the political sphere sterile and military-civilian bureaucracy acceptable, in other words, Turkish and secular. It is also necessary to add the tense relationship between Istanbul-Anatolian capital into the whole framework of the issue. Shortly, it is important to conclude that every February 28 reading on secularism is directly or indirectly compatible with the guardianship mind that legitimizes the February 28 process.

Turkey's political history is also a history of military coups. Forty-six years of the history of the Republic have actually been spent with military administrations, martial law and / or emergency situations.

In Turkey, since 1960, it has carried out a military coup almost every decade. In the coups in which democracy was suspended, the Turkish Grand National Assembly and political parties were closed, the will of the nation was disregarded, the society was kept under pressure with martial law and the state of emergency, and basic human rights, especially the right to life, were violated. In this regard, democracy in Turkey was not replaced in a total way and exceptional management conditions as a result of coups turned into a threat to the public. It is evident that freedom of expression restricted in these processes. In fact, the beginning of the coup tradition in Turkey, much more back, could be extended to the Ottoman Empire period.

The history of the Republic, which has been the continuation of the history of the Ottoman Empire since the 19th century, is actually a story of modernization. Although local and Ottoman-Turkish modernization in foreign literature was seen as “a military clique” that spread all parts of society and each institution, and was accepted as a top-down reformist change, in reality, Turkey’s modernization process was similar to the western origin of the modernization process. The formation of a new social structure with internal and external migrations that allowed the change of the social structure, the development of individual morality, self-awareness and self-will, the irreversible disappearance of patrimonial economic and commercial structure with the development of private property, the importance of education and as a result of all this, formation of a new middle class, which took its power from the role of the dominant actor in the economy, the quality of the people, the consciousness and self-confidence, and the ever-increasing demands for culture, identity, history ... The constitution has changed, a “populist” group has come to power, but democracy with popular will has not been established.

The Turkish Armed Forces have not remained a pressure device since the foundation of the Republic. It filled the gap caused by the insufficient development of ideological devices that existed in the early stages of the building process. Kemalism, a project to create a modern Turkish national state based on a secular and western worldview by not being politically Islamic, hoped the Turkish Armed Forces to carry its positivist-progressive ideals to future generations. The Turkish Armed Forces, which has the duty to protect and protect the ideology that Kemalism has provided, has also assigned a social dimension to the modernization / westernization project, with the exception of the restructuring of the state and beyond.

The fact that the army initiated and advanced the modernization process made this a problematic process. Armies or militarist ideology are not “democratic”. An example of this situation has not been seen in world history. Turkey is not an exception to this rule. In these

days of the 21st century, despite the many successes Turkey have not been successful to solve the problem of democracy and can not offer the possibility of a real democracy to its population. [II]

For other societies that are considered primitive, Western civilization, where the idea of continuous progress is dominant, is presented as an ideal to be reached. Universalism is attributed to it by claiming to be applicable anywhere and at any time. Accordingly, the main objectives of societies in modernization are to catch the level of contemporary civilization as defined by the "West". [III] In order to realize this ideal, which the Turkish modernists adhere to the end, the aim is to penetrate to the most intimate areas of private life. The dominance of "Şeâir-i İslamiye", which originates from religion, and has worked up to the most ordinary events of social life, was seen as the most important obstacle in achieving this goal. Especially the solution of the issue of hijab, which is the symbol of privacy, and the most fundamental difference of Islamic civilization to Western civilization, has come to the fore. For this reason, Turkish women gaining a modern identity has been accepted as a measure of the success of the reforms. In the words of Nilüfer Göle, women became the cornerstone of Westernization for Kemalists. The support of the army, which is a great organized power, has been provided in order for such a movement that aims to reform the religion and traditions of the society fundamentally. The army, which has always felt its weight in the efforts of modernization since Tanzimat, has not lost anyone to be the most loyal guardian of Kemalist reforms with the mission of having a separate and elite identity from civil society.

Secularism, since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey is considered as a main attribute. Therefore, not only the state, but also citizens are expected to be "secular". However, the terms "secular" and "secularism" are not included in any legal text, especially the constitution. As can be seen especially in the high jurisprudence, even the subjects that should be discussed within the scope of basic human rights, such as reflecting the religious beliefs of individuals in the public sphere of their individual words, behaviors and actions, were considered as the violation of the principle of secularism. The reason behind this is the fact that rather than lack of a definition, a concept whose meaning is obscure is used as a tool to prevent the manifestation of popular will.

Secular thesis stipulates that abstracting citizens religious beliefs and act only for secular reasons. In other words, "this" advocates a world view that claims that the issues of the world are autonomous and can be distinguished from those of the "other" world. However, discrimination against religious people lies in this perspective. While secular citizens lead

a whole and united life, religious citizens who are expected to isolate their deepest beliefs are pushed to moral inconsistency and self-alienation. This does not mean that religious people cannot suspend their beliefs for political purposes, but that the political abstraction required for it reduces the value of what makes their lives meaningful, deprives them of a moral compass and requires unfair moral censorship to be applied to itself. As this kind of behavior cannot be expected from religious citizens and cannot be placed in the legal order despite universal and constitutional legal rules, the solution of the problem is in an internal threat to society and the state order: reactionism”.

An army cannot be easily disconnected from its original structure and purpose, which was shaped to destroy the “enemy”. Indeed, it is clear that during the February 28 process, the Turkish Armed Forces developed and put into action plans in an organized manner against the “reactionary” declared as an internal enemy. The TAF carried out this struggle through the National Security Policy Document by the National Security Council. As the legal basis of the National Security Policy Document, Article 118 of the September 12 Constitution and the Law No. 2945 on the National Security Council and the General Secretariat of the National Security Council were taken as basis. The National Security Policy Document, in terms of its content, is a document that reveals the internal and external threat perceptions of the state. In 1997, when the February 28 coup took place, “reactionism” was among the internal threats in the National Security Policy Document. Taking place as the first priority internal threat in 2001, “reactionary” was removed from the text in 2010. The biggest reason for the Postmodern Coup took place on February 28, 1997 was the danger of reaction. In reports submitted to the NSC and the 18-item declaration, the danger was gathered under three main headings:

1. There was a “reactionary cadre and infiltration” within the state. If the officers in the Turkish Armed Forces were eliminated / were being eliminated, those in all state institutions should have been eliminated by the decision of the NSC.
2. Imam Hatip High Schools became the backyard of political Islam, and the Qur’an Courses were widespread everywhere. According to statistics, If no measures were taken, Turkey would have been similar to Iran.
3. Sect and Communities that were illegal constructions were advancing rapidly on establishing a theocracy in Turkey as internal threats.

It is interesting, however, that although “reactionism” is perceived as an internal threat and is included in the National Security Policy Document, no definition of reaction is made in any text, especially in the National Security Policy Document. From past to today, it is

understood that this is a conscious choice. For this reason, in the discourse, any individual or collective action, discourse, activity, thought, directly or indirectly related to “religion” and “Islam” is seen as a threat under the name of “reactionary”; destroying this “inner enemy”, which has emerged in this way, becomes perfectly legitimate and ordinary within the internal practices of the Turkish Armed Forces.

Both the reflection of this mentality in the legislation and the infrastructure of the fight against the elements determined as “enemy” have been reflected in the Internal Service Regulation issued by the Turkish Armed Forces Internal Service Law. According to Internal Service Law (effective in 1997), Article 35 demonstrates the duty of Turkish Armed Forces. In detail, article 35 indicates this duty as follow: “Protect Turkish homeland and Turkish Republic appointed by the constitution”. According to the 85th article of the Internal Service Regulation, “In the Turkish Armed Forces that is responsible to protect the Turkish homeland and the Republic from inside and outside, with a gun when needed, every soldier is supposed to learn and teach the necessary duties.” Although Article 35 of the Internal Service Law has changed, according to the Internal Service Regulation, which is still in force, the Turkish Armed Forces is tasked with “protecting the Turkish Dormitory and the Republic against the inside and outside with a gun when needed”. When the context of the regarding sentence is taken into account, it is seen that the meaning of “inner” and “outer” parts are not clearly defined. From another point, for the ones who think that Turkish Armed Forces can stage a coup by taking charge in any situation, there is not need to search a legal legislation in Turkey. In this regard, the question of whether there is a legal basis in the legislation that responds to the coup of the Turkish Armed Forces does not matter. The clearest indication of how the Armed Forces have formed a militarist structure on the Constitutional institutions is the approach of the emerging soldiers to the incident. There is no doubt that the root of the problem is the content of the education given in military schools, especially the Military Schools and the Military Academies.

In article 2 / a of the Law No. 2945 on the NSC and the NSC General Secretariat; “National Security” is described as *“protecting the constitutional order of the state, its national existence, integrity, all interests including political, social, cultural and economic in international area and all kinds of external and internal threats.”* The “internal threat” as a concept is critical in terms of its objectivity. In this sense, some government agencies or people who claim that they aact on behalf of citizens of the Republic of Turkey can evaluate some citizens within the scope of “internal threat” agenda. As a matter of fact, during the February 28 process, the concept of “internal threat” has become a rationale for systematic discrimination and unlawfulness towards religious people beyond the collapse of the Welfare Party government, especially within the framework of the National Security Policy Document.

3. Building Blocks of February 28

On 28 February, the decisions taken at the NSC meeting of 28 February 1997, with the support of a number of (so-called) non-governmental organizations, press and broadcasting organizations, universities, unions, capital circles, civil bureaucracy, and judicial members, were imposed on the government. Coalition partner party lawmakers were resigned with the promise of oppression, threats, blackmail and fortune. Ultimately, an elected government was made dysfunctional and forced to resign.

In this process, just as in the 1980 military coup, the Turkish Armed Forces, which saw itself as the “guarantee of the regime”, acted within the chain of command. A large number of active soldiers, who are thought not to be in line with the level of command, were liquidated by force of law on the grounds that they “engaged in destructive, separatist and reactionary activities” this time. It was observed that this liquidation was not for senior commanders as in the 1960 coup, but for Colonel and lower-ranking military personnel.

3.1. Non- Governmental (!) Organizations

As in all coups, the reason for the Turkish Armed Forces to act on February 28 is the idea of “disappear of Atatürk’s principles and reforms” as a result of the education given. Not only as a defense force, but also because of his upbringing with the understanding of leading the society is a part of this. The emphasis on “Atatürk’s Principles and Revolutions” and “Revolutionary Laws” included in the Decision taken at the NSC meeting on February 28 has been a reflection of the “barracks-mosque conflict”.

The most important feature that distinguishes the February 28 coup from other coups is that not only the actions and words of the armed forces but also the emphasis of the civilian bureaucracy and the actions and decisions of the non-governmental organizations against the selected government. The group that played a critical role in the February 28 event was called as “civil initiative”, “formation of five”, “five in one place”, “five cronies”, “demolition team” and “our gang”. President of Turkish Chambers and Stock Exchanges Association Fuat Miras, President of Turkish Merchants and Craftsmen Confederation Derviş Günday, President of the Turkish Trade Union Confederation Bayram Meral, President of Turkish Progressive Trade Unions Confederation Rıdvan Budak and President of Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations Refik Baydur were included in this group. This alliance between the Turkish Armed Forces and the so-called bureaucracy

and the so-called “five gang” has succeeded in keeping the elected under pressure and eventually making them unable to do business. It was claimed that the domestic and foreign policy actions of the government led to the destruction of the country, and the civil policy field was almost destroyed. Deputies from the coalition partner party were forced to resign and the national will was disregarded.

3.2. Briefings

Accordingly, psychological operational activities have been implemented throughout the society. In this context, society was oppressed by means of especially “briefings”, threats, tension, intimidation, brainwashing, creating enemy perception etc. In this process, it is seen that a special meaning and importance was given to the “briefings” by the coupists. Admiral Güven Erkaya gives the press statement about the briefings:

“... We raise public awareness with briefings. Of course, most of our work is aimed at convincing deputies. First of all, they should see the danger that the regime fell into. We gathered at the General Staff on this way. We set out to prepare alternative plans that are rooted against possible negativities. We took a countermeasure for every negativity. The plans are in our pocket. But we want and wait for the issue to be resolved democratically. We waited for members of parliament to deal with the issue politically. They did not receive or want to receive the messages we gave. Now we apply the second item. We create public opinion in the civil sector.”

The General Staff of the period, the General Secretary, Major General Erol Özkasnak, explains the reason for the briefings: *“However, it is necessary to have public information about some studies. The Turkish Armed Forces respects democracy. It favors the uncompromising protection of the principles of democracy. A very important part of the society does not have any doubts about this issue. However, the determination of the Turkish Armed Forces on this issue should be known by all segments.”*

In his statement to the Washington Post newspaper, Chief of General Staff of the period, General Çevik Bir, expressed his views:

“As the Armed Forces, we give priority to note anti-secular movements. These currents are trying to infiltrate even the army. The anti-secular threat has become more serious than the 12-year-long PKK threat. All members of the NSC reached consensus on the decisions of the NSC. These must be applied. Otherwise, the future of the country will

be adversely affected. We know that military coups have created negative results. We believe that the NSC decisions will be implemented with the pressure of democratic institutions. ”

When the contents of the briefings, the presentation style and these statements are evaluated together, during the 28 February period, the military, the “reactionary section” and the Welfare Party are now as dangerous as the PKK, and since they must be destroyed, they are in favor of democracy and have attempts to intervene / direct democracy through unarmed forces and have plans for this. Within this context, it is seen that the plans will be implemented step by step: The first phase is informative meetings, the second is public opinion in the civil sector, the third phase is the implementation of the decisions taken, the last phase will be a military coup. In summary, it can be concluded that these briefings are ground preparation for the implementation of the February 28 decisions.

There are two significant points that attract attention: The Welfare Party and the “reactionary section”, which came to power by elections democratically and which are claimed to be as dangerous as the PKK, become the first threat priority of the soldier, and the second is to say that the soldier is on the side of democracy and talk about the intervention. In other words, there are armed forces trying to show that they favor democracy by interfering with democratic institutions.

3.3. NSC

The planned and programmed way of functioning on February 28 paved the way for the arbitration of the army’s guardianship.

In this context, with the Prime Ministry Crisis Management Center Regulation dated January 9, 1997, equal executive powers (ranging from economic collapse, nuclear accidents to “falling rocks”) of Prime Minister was provided to NSC General Secretary during the Welfare road government. Within this framework, crisis centers have been established in all provinces and districts, which can be seen as a “state of emergency”. The most concrete manifestation of this is that during the ANASOL-D Government, the General Staff and the Ministry of the Interior signed the Police and Security Assistance Protocol that gave more authorization to garrison commanders than a governor of a province. In addition to this, during the ANASOL-D Government period, the “Prime Ministry Implementation Follow-Up and Coordination Board was established in order to “ensure effectiveness” in the follow-up and control of the matters specified in the MGK Decision No. 406 dated 28 February 1997

and on 29 December 1998. A large number of public officials called “revisionist” referring to the information received from the General Staff, NSC General Secretariat and other sources. They were appointed to passive missions or to be dismissed from the civil service.

3.4. Media

Unlike other coups, the “media” part of the February 28 process played the most important role in the operation of the process. Unlike the classical coup tradition, the role of the media was highlighted this time and the headlines of the printed press were the preparators of the modern coup process of February 28. The three most influential newspapers of the period, Hürriyet, Milliyet and Sabah newspapers launched a versatile smear campaign against the 54th Government in a short period of time, making the headlines of “reaction”, “secularism” and “sharia” heading every day and trying to direct the public. These three newspapers, called the cartel media, forced the True Path Party leader Tansu Çiller to withdraw from the coalition and, on the other hand, forced Prime Minister Erbakan to resign with the “threat of reaction and sharia”. So much so that asparagas based on “high level military officials” whose names have not been announced, the TSK has been repeatedly invited to “duty” with headlines and news. As a matter of fact, the blockade of the coup media has yielded results and the 54th Government’s disintegration process has started with the decisions of the National Security Council, which was gathered on 28 February 1997 with the agenda of “reaction and measures to be taken against it.”

3.5. Jurisdiction

1960 askeri darbesi sonrası kurulan Yassıada mahkemeleri, 12 Eylül askeri darbesi sonrasında başta Mamak olmak üzere, yurdun çeşitli yerlerinde kurulan Sıkıyönetim Mahkemelerinde, hukukun ve temel insan haklarının alenen ayaklar altına alınmasının, “kaynağını evrensel hukuk ilkelerinden veya anayasadan almayan, kendinden menkul bir erk”in uygulamaları olarak bakıldığında kendi içinde mantıksal bir tutarlılığı mevcuttur.

In a political order that does not have to explain anything for anyone other than itself, every action taken will comply with the law. However, in an environment where the constitution and the legal order are not suspended, such as the February 28 process, and where the rule of law is expected to enforce, it is frightening for judicial bodies to make “ordinary” decisions that are far from legal. The share of briefings alone cannot be denied. It was observed that the members of the high judiciary, who participated in the “reactionary

briefings” at the General Staff headquarters, judges and prosecutors of the State Security Courts, forcing the legislation in force. In this process, it was observed that some “political” decisions - sometimes out of law -were made by the Council of State and the Constitutional Court.

The “judicial” root of the February 28 process has already risen on a basis where the state protection reflex is engraved in the minds that the justice is above law. In another study based on the analysis of some decisions of the Constitutional Court and the Court of Cassation¹¹, this situation is described as: “In a significant part of the judgments’ decisions, especially regarding political cases, there were efforts such as’ protecting the state ‘and’ protecting the interests of the state ‘. ”

A statement coming from the world of the judiciary, which is not the only one of its kind, makes sufficient explanation about the tendency of statism in the judiciary and its sources. On November 1, 2007, Former Supreme Court President Osman Arslan’s speech at the opening ceremony of the 2007-2008 academic year at the Academy of Justice, might give an idea of the prevalence of the perception and mentality patterns emerged:

“The main element of judgment is to be neutral. However, for the protection of the Republic of Turkey on some of your decisions and you must choose your side. If we are here, it is related to the achievements of this Republic. You must know that the Republic is the most suitable regime for human dignity, you have to know. You will be on the side of claiming the democratic, secular and rule of law, and you will also be on the side of claiming the moon-star flag and raising that flag higher. You don’t have the luxury of being neutral here. ” [VI]

It can be said that, during the 28 February process, the Turkish Armed Forces found a juridical environment that was willing to accept the internal threat perception offered to them and made decisions easier than what they have expected. In this respect, it can be seen that the briefings given by the Turkish Armed Forces were reflected in the “judicial” field in the most effective way. An important part of the February 28 NSC decisions were issues related to “disguise” and “costume-dress”. The primary targets of the putschists in the intervention were determined as training and working areas. As a result of this, firstly, “universities” were chosen as the application area, and Imam Hatip schools in secondary education were also determined as part of the application. Besides, working areas, whether public institutions or private companies, have been the target of implementation.

The provisions of the “Regulation on the Dressing of the Students Studying at the Schools Affiliated to the Ministry of Education” were partially launched in 1982. It was intended

to be implemented as a “strict ban” in January 1987. However, the ban on “dress code”, which was legally and effectively abolished in the later period, has almost never occurred in university life. Forbidden powers, who could not find the possibility of implementing the “dress ban” in universities until 1997, designated a person who was elected a rector for Istanbul University in late 1997 as “practitioner” and Istanbul University as “practice area”. Kemal Alemdaroğlu published a circular dated February 23, 1998 and numbered 5786 in the second month of his rectorate; He requested that “students who do not have a student ID card issued according to the new regulation should not be admitted, and those who enter without an ID card should be taken into action”. Although it is stated in the circular that those who do not have an ID card will not be allowed in, the message is clearly understood from the content of the circular: “The female students should not be admitted to the university who are wearing headscarves and male students should not be taken to courses, internships and practices with a beard”. Although the reason for not being admitted was shown as “the absence of an identity card” in the circular, the meaning of this circular meant that “students with headscarves would not be admitted to the university because the headscarved students were not given ID. This circular also indicated that the ban on disguise, launched in early 1998, had no legal or legal basis. With this circular, the door of the universities was closed to headscarved students, which had not been seen until then. For the implementation of the circular, security officers were employed at the university gates (with the budget of the university), they were used as law enforcement officers, and they built a wall of flesh against headscarved students. Although the headscarf ban is applied in various faculties of Istanbul University, it was applied in a much more brutal way, especially in medical faculties. Although all students were affected by this ban, the most affected were the 5th and 6th grade students who were at the stage of completing medical schools. The door of the school they dreamed of finishing was closed on their faces. Students who have been in a difficult situation due to the illegal ban have started to look for remedies to remove the meaningless ban and the actual obstacle created. Victim students have decided to apply to courts in a way that anyone who has been injured in the state of law can apply, and have started to open cases in Administrative Courts to eliminate unfair practice and injustice. The judges and prosecutors working in every unit of the judiciary were invited to the briefings held in Ankara, and the judges working outside Ankara (except those who made a special effort) were not directly affected by the suggestions made in the briefings. It is also undoubted that every judge will not be influenced or acted biased by every suggestion and advice. As a matter of fact, the first decisions made in the Administrative Courts are in the nature of directing and resisting suggestions, which legal qualifications dominate. For this reason, the reaction / non-reaction, attitude of the Administrative Courts

to the suggestions has also been determinant in the sanction to be applied to the judges. After the decisions evaluating the headscarf ban as a violation by the Administrative Courts of Istanbul and Edirne, appeals were filed against the suspension of the execution and cancellation of the decisions during the judicial holiday period. The commission, which was set up in the “judicial holiday” to examine the objection, abolished the decision to suspend the executive. Following the abolition of the “headscarf ban decisions” by the Regional Administrative Court, the requests for suspension of execution started to be rejected one by one in the Istanbul Administrative Courts. At that time, at the Istanbul Administrative Court, where there were six administrative courts, it was noteworthy that all courts used “the same reason, same sentence and words” to reject the request for suspension of execution. The decisions taken from the delegation of judges on duty during judicial holidays were not considered sufficient, and the decisions to be taken on the basis of the lawsuits were tried to be guaranteed in the court against the ban.

The judge Seher Bayrak, one of the members of the Istanbul 6th Administrative Court, who signed the headscarf ban, was appointed to Edirne. Selami Demirkol was first exiled to Trabzon, and then he was appointed to the Sakarya Administrative Court. As the place of duty of the two judges working in the Istanbul 6th Administrative Court was changed due to the cases (files: E: 1998/367, 368, 369), a new delegation was created, thus “natural judge” principle was violated. In courts, the cases filed against the headscarf ban are now printed. The 4-5 page “information note” given to the courts or the “decision format” texts in abbreviated form of these notes were duplicated by leaving blank. For the files to be decided, the decisions are made “ready” by filling in the space. Especially in administrative cases filed for disguise, when the period of decisions duplicated with template texts begins, there is no need for the judges to investigate for these cases. Because the result should not change in any way (in favor of the plaintiff). As such, there is no need for judge reviews (not judges!), And the decision is made when pen officials write template texts and sign them to judges. Judges who decided to go out of these templates and decide in favor of headscarved students were exiled by subjected to administrative investigations. The following statement taken from an investigation report is interesting: “Disciplinary punishment is applied to the school because of the fact that by taking personal feelings with their works and behaviors, they do not do their their work properly. As a result of this statement, they create a negative image in the environment due to their social and private lives. As their spouse’s headscarf style, they decided in favor of students with headscarves in cases brought to the Samsun Administrative Court by students who were not admitted, and they acted biased in cases filed by people known to be Atatürkist, secular and democratic.” In the section where

the reason for the investigation of the article was explained, it was claimed that “their spouses adopted the style of wearing headscarves, they performed behaviors that did not suit the profession in their social and private lives, and they went to the prayers of Friday and tarawih in a collective and ceremonial atmosphere.” Another interesting example is the case of M. Ünsal, who served as Tekirdağ-Malkara Industrial Vocational High School Manager. He was dismissed from a disciplinary investigation opened in 1998 and was appointed to another school. The investigation file contains exactly the following: “... he successfully maintains his official duty as education manager - school principal. Apart from his duty, he maintains his relations with the groups known only as “religious”. He does not interfere with Friday prayers, even during working hours. His wife wears a ‘turban’, which is considered as a symbol, and only sees the ones dressed like her. He does not attend any meetings with his wife, including the National Holidays and the Republic Ball. In this context, he has a closed family life away from the social and cultural environment reconciling with a certain segment and acting with them together. Although the plaintiff performs successful activities in education and training activities, which form part of his field of duty, it seems to violate the principle of impartiality, one of the most important features that a manager should have. It was found that information and sensations were widely spoken in a small district. In addition, his wife uses turban, which became the symbol of religious movements in a secular country, without thinking that it may cause false messages. This situation has caused the rumors to increase and the education institution to be damaged. ” This was accepted by the Edirne Administrative Court by the case of M. Ünsal, whose position of duty was changed based on the investigation report prepared for prejudice and ideological reasons, which could not be explained legally, and the transaction was canceled. Upon the decision of the Ministry of National Education to appeal the decision, the 5th Chamber of the Council of State ruled that the content of the report, and therefore the dismissal, is in accordance with the law, by disrupting the decision of the local court. The 5th Chamber of the Council of State accepted the allegations that the points stated in the report, “the plaintiff has lost its administrative position and its representation in the face of the role and importance of the duty it was imposed ...”, and the local court decision was overturned. The rationale is quite interesting. According to the decision of the 5th Chamber of the Council of State, “Being a successful and good manager in his profession” is not enough. In order to continue his management duty, he has to intervene with his wife without a turban in “National Holidays and Republic Balls” and also “how to wear his wife - especially to wear headscarves, long coats, to ensure that he does not wear clothes that are suitable for misunderstandings”. As seen in the decision, only the conditions required by the civil servants law are not considered sufficient for civil servants. In addition to the conditions in this law, the conditions outlined by the “impartial and independent” (!) Courts must be met.

Although the “judicial justice”, the most basic judicial institution, has the widest judicial network during the 28 February process, it has been the least functioning judicial department. Despite the fact that it is the least functioning judicial department compared to others, judicial justice represents a failed structure during the February 28 process. Tens of thousands of people have been prosecuted and public prosecutions have been filed against most of them for violating the “Law on Meetings and Demonstrations” only because of democratic reactions (protests). The criminal complaints sent directly by the Secretariat of the NSC (with the 767 numbered opposition to the TCK 159, etc.) were turned into a public trial in a very short time. The judicial authorities, who filed lawsuits by accepting the smallest news in the newspaper (ex officio), ignored the heavy insults of a general against the Prime Minister of the country. Even a few examples like this show that the judiciary gives an “active” support to the 28 February process. It should be noted, however, that it is not possible to sentence a judicial system as a whole, or to conclude with a few legal decisions. The significant point is whether the judiciary “has exceeded the usual error limits” during the trial function and “how much it contributes to illegal practices”. Regrettably, it is seen that judges and prosecutors who were able to make right decisions by adhering to the law and laws regardless of their world view at that time were exceptions.

In order to make a clear assessment, it is necessary to look at the judgment: “Whether the basic principles of law are followed or not” and “How much importance is given to the realization of justice”. For this, objective criteria are needed. From this point of view, the Judiciary emerges from its natural structure in proportion to the domain of “Official Ideology”. In other words, the judiciary can make contradictory decisions on the same subject. For example, the interpretation of the 4th Civil Chamber of the Court of Cassation, which varies according to individuals, especially in moral damages, shows this effect concretely. On the other hand, since the deviation is mostly in the upper judicial institutions, it can be argued that the pressure came from the top.

3.6. Bureaucracy

In the document titled Annex-A (Measures to be Taken Against Refusal Activities against the Regime) in addition to the NSC decisions dated February 28, 1997, the following request is asked for: “*The implementation of the measures taken in the framework of the current legislation to prevent infiltration of the Turkish Armed Forces from excessive religious groups in other public institutions and organizations, especially universities and other educational institutions and at all levels of the bureaucracy and judicial institutions*” . Accordingly, the

enthusiastic cooperation of the prime ministerial and ministerial bureaucracies of the governments established especially after the Welfare-road government has not escaped attention.

In the Circular on “Procedures and Principles to be Complied with the Application of the Constitution and Laws” dated 28.03.1997 and numbered 70674, sent by the Ministry of Interior to all provinces after the February 28 decisions, All the measures envisaged to be implemented within the framework of the NSC Decision No. 406 dated 28 February 1997 were delivered to all Governors and District Governors as orders. All matters included in the Decision of the NSC of February 28 (destructive activities, cults, dormitory and foundation schools, Koran courses, dismissal of those who were thrown by the Supreme Military Council Decision, disguise-clothing, short and long-barreled weapons, the collection of sacrificial skins by THK, special uniformed guards, crimes against Atatürk, etc.) were instructed to be implemented by the Governors, District Governors and mayors by their direction. In the Circular, it is noteworthy that special attention is paid not to the recruitment / infiltration of military personnel expelled from the Turkish Armed Forces with the decisions of the Supreme Military Council and other persons with “reactionary thinking” in the Governorships, Municipalities and Municipal companies.

Again with the application directive on the follow-up of the implementation of the Prime Ministry Directive No. 01704 dated March 28, 1997, dated 28.11.1997 and signed by Prime Minister Mesut YILMAZ during the Anadol-D government, the names of the “Continuous Monitoring Center” and the “Monitoring and Coordination Committee for the Implementation of the Measures Regarding the Decision No. 406” of the National Security Council were changed to “Application Monitoring and Evaluation Center” and the Application Monitoring and Coordination Board in order to give the message that a new period has been entered in terms of the implementation of the NSC Decision No. 406. The NSC General Secretariat, which was previously limited to coordinating the activities of this Center and the Board, was given the right to directly intervene and direct the activities to be carried out within the Prime Ministry on the NSC Decision No. 406 by making the MGK Deputy Secretary General a member of the “Monitoring and Coordination Commission”.

Although it was claimed that the Prime Ministry Implementation Monitoring and Coordination Board was not established to follow people with the implementation of the measures in the Decision No. 406 of the National Security Council; It is evident that especially after 1999, the Board has become “a unit demanding the implementation of disciplinary penalties, including dismissal, about the staff that are allegedly engaged in reactionary activities in public institutions”.

3.7. Liquidation [VII]

With the process of February 28, thousands of public officials were exiled due to known reasons, and thousands of them were dismissed. Since the last authority to be applied due to unlawful actions and procedures of the administration is “administrative judgment”, the extraordinary increase in cases filed against the administration from 28 February 1997 proves the “massacre” on 28 February with concrete statistics. For example, in thousands of cases (with a few exceptions) against the headscarf ban launched with the February 28 process, the justification for judicial decisions was held against the law in force. The (acquisition) teaching rights of hundreds of teachers graduated from the world-famous Al-Ezher University are still not returned. The exile of successful bureaucrats to different parts of the country due to their political thoughts and beliefs, their dismissal from their posts were not stopped by the administrative judiciary. Nearly three hundred senior bureaucrats (head of department, equivalent or higher positions) were dismissed by the AnaSol-D government, which was established after the overthrow of the Welfare-Road government.

Undoubtedly, the focus of “liquidations” for public personnel during the February 28 process is the Turkish Armed Forces. During this period, hundreds of officers and non-commissioned officers were dismissed from the Turkish Armed Forces because of their “reactionary activities”. Considering the freedom of interpretation of the Turkish Armed Forces on the definition of “reactionary”, there is no doubt that these liquidations cover a wide range from the headscarved non-commissioned officer to the general with a letter of notice written against him.

Worse than indicated above, the staff, who is considered to be a religious / holy person and / or his wife is blaclisted. After recording them, with various ways, verbal or actual harassment of himself and his family in various ways comes as a second step. At last, the process was concluded by the fact that these people resigned at their own request or had to retire, or those who were “willing to be destined” were referred to the retirement by means of the methods such as the Supreme Military Council Decision or Minister Approval, for reasons of “being undisciplined”. In addition to being disrupted psychologically, some of the dismissed personnel committed suicide, and many of them or their spouse became ill. More importantly, these people were desperate against this action of the administration because the High Military Council Decisions could not be appealed. It has not been able to use its rights-seeking opportunities in other areas such as the European Court of Human Rights and eventually these people suffered financial losses because of the loss of personal

rights. What is more, pursuant to the MGK Decision of 28 February 1997, it was aimed to prevent these personnel from entering another job after being expelled from the army, contrary to basic human rights. Thus, they want the continuation of their loss and suffer for lifetime.

Between 01.01.1990 and 31.12.2011, a total of 1235 personnel were dismissed from the Turkish Armed Forces; 1043 of these people were removed from the army on grounds of "reactionary activity"; it is understood that 395 of them are officers and 648 are non-commissioned officers. In other words, the reason for dismissal of 84.4% of the military personnel who were dismissed from the Turkish Armed Forces between 1990-2011 was "reactionary".

Besides the decisions of the Supreme Military Council, the provision of the 94 / b article of the Turkish Armed Forces Personnel Law No. 926 as "separation due to discipline or moral status" and article 91 / f of the Officer Registration Regulation issued pursuant to this Law, a large number of officers and non-commissioned officer whose registry reports were drafted were mistreated based on the "subjective criteria" in accordance with the provision of Article 60 / f of the Petty Officer Registry Regulation, "the attitudes and behaviors and those who seem to have adopted, engaged in illegal activities such as illegal, destructive, separatist, reactionary and ideological views".

Regarding article 60 / f of the Petty Officer Registry Regulation, "the attitudes and behaviors, and those that seem to have adopted, engaged or engaged in illegal activities such as illegal, destructive, separatist, reactionary and ideological views", A large number of officers and non-commissioned officers whose registry reports were drafted negatively were mistreated based on the "subjective criteria" in question. The number of personnel expelled in this way is still unknown. Although, the appeal path seems to be open for those who are expelled from the army with these methods, the struggle of these people to seek rights resulted negatively due to the failure of the Military High Administrative Court to carry out a proper inspection. Similiar to the ones who suffered from High Military Council, the rights-seeking struggles of the people who were expelled from the army in these ways have also failed.

As a result of the notifications and notifications from the Prime Ministry Application Monitoring Board, evaluation reports were issued on a total of 213 Civil Authorities, including 3 governors, 166 district governors, 41 deputy governors and 3 Legal Affairs Managers for the issues listed as follow: "Evaluation of general attitudes and behaviors,

taking into account the circulars related to separatist, destructive and reactionary activities published by the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Interior, with a total of 21 assignments, *Providing a dormitory in Hilvan District to the Özyurt Foundation of Fethullahists, making religious speeches at the opening of the mosque, backing the support of some religious groups, evaluation about divisive, destructive and reactionary activities, evaluation of general attitudes and behaviors, mentioning names in the speech of feasting and cult activities in the home of Bekir PEHLİVAN known as the cult of the cult, lack of vehicle allocation to the Turkish Aviation Association, which demanded an official vehicle to collect leather during the 1997 Sacrifice Feast, Atatürk Enmity, advocacy of sect, meeting with the cult leaders, locking the door of the authority room from inside and praying; making reactionary activities in Düzce Provincial Health Directorate and Health Vocational High Schools, having a daughter and a wife who wear headscarves.*” As a result of these reports, 3 Governors were taken to the central governor’s office. even though it was defined as an equivalent duty in the Local Supervisor Appointment and Relocation Regulation and in his annex table, it was stated that it would be appropriate for the 71 district governors to be appointed to a passive work without a representation duty. 59 of them were appointed as deputy governors. In addition, 22 District Governors were appointed to the Legal Affairs Directorate, a passive duty based on the investigator report, without any concrete investigation or prosecution.

As a result of the Monitoring and Inspections made by a Monitoring Supervision Board consisting of Police Chief Inspectors and APK experts with the approval of the General Directorate of Security, 331 Police officers were examined, 15 of them were dismissed from the profession and 38 personnel were sentenced to various penalties.

Between 1997-2002, the number of personnel under the Religious Affairs Department, which was punished for their membership of terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah, Irtica, PKK, Mediocre, Ibda-C, Hizbuttahrir, is 393. One of them was Hizbuttahrir, 199 were Hezbollah, 3 were Ibda-C, 22 were PKK, 20 were members of the Mediocre organization, and 148 personnel were charged with reaction charges. 128 of the total 396 penalties were manifested as layoffs. In a sense, if all of the categories except the PKK are handled within the framework of reaction, it is concluded that the majority of the sentences imposed are within the scope of combating reaction. In addition to these, it was observed that there were filing about the personnel who were thought to be engaged in reactionary activities. In this context, despite the fact that the crimes attributed to him were not “documented”, the majority of the staff, who carried out duties such as imam-preacher, preacher, mufti, were appointed outside their places or sentenced to different penalties.

In 1997, 16 personnel were dismissed from public office by the YÖK Disciplinary Board on the grounds that they did not comply with the Costume for Disguise. In 1998, 31 personnel were dismissed from public office on the grounds that they did not comply with the Dress Code Regulation. 11 personnel were dismissed from the public office for participating in the demonstration on the headscarf ban. In 1999, 50 personnel were dismissed from public office on the grounds that they did not comply with the Dress Code Regulation. 3 personnel were dismissed from the public office due to their participation in the demonstration regarding the headscarf ban. In 2000, 8 personnel were dismissed from public office on the grounds that they did not comply with the Dress Code Regulation. Between 1997-2000, a total of 139 personnel were dismissed from public office, with 19 staff and 1 staff for the reason of wearing altitude for ideological and political purposes.

Between the years 1997-2001, 804 teachers were terminated by the Ministry of National Education on the grounds that they were in violation of the Disguise-Dress Code. In addition to this, an investigation has been filed against the similar accusations mentioned above about 1532 personnel, 886 of them received various disciplinary penalties from the warning to the cessation of the progress, and it was observed that the investigation about 646 personnel remained in the examination stage.

When the grounds for investigation are examined, it is a known fact that while it is necessary to “warn against the determined costume and clothing provisions” defined in the article 125 / A-g of the Civil Servants Law No. 657 on the grounds that they do not comply with the costume-clothing regulation, different practices have been carried out until the termination of the duty for the same reason.

However, during this period, the number of those who resigned / were obliged to resign on their own behalf in order not to be removed from the civil service or dismissed and violated the Disguise-Dress Regulation is also not known exactly. It is a known fact that this figure is much higher than the number of those who have been dismissed.

3.8. Economy/ Banking

One of the less talked about aspects of the February 28 process is its financial and economic dimension. The issues that were kept in mind for the economy from that period were banks that were either sunk or hosed with its definition in the folk language. However, the 4-year period, from February 28, 1997 to February 21, 2001, in which the process continued with all its destructiveness, is a period of complete economic and financial destruction, where

the nation continues to pay its price even today. It is not possible to understand this process without considering its economic dimension. To make it more concrete, talking about the February 28 coup, without overlooking the big picture, without revealing how the pocket of the nation was emptied in the dust and smoke created by the Aczimendi, Fadime, Emire and Ali Kalkancı and the night of Jerusalem in Sincan.

Between 1994-2003, a total of 25 private banks were transferred to the Savings Deposit Insurance Funds (SDIF). Twenty of these went to the fund during the period from 1997 to the 2001 crisis. In other words, the burden imposed by the banks seized on February 28 reached \$ 17.3 billion. It should not be forgotten that with the interest load, this figure has doubled in order to cover the loss of banks. Adding to these, as well as three public banks that cause 21.9 billion dollars of duty loss in the process, it turns out that the cost of the February 28 process to the state in terms of the banking sector exceeded 50 billion dollars. Special arrangement treasure papers prepared to clear the burden caused by the 2001 crisis were given to Ziraat, Halk, Emlak Bank, Central Bank and the Savings Deposits Insurance Fund. The government paid 14 billion 738 million lira in 2010 for this transaction, which was made to meet the cash needs of the treasury, and the debts were over. Thus, the state paid a total of 251 billion 563 million TL to close the black hole caused by the 2001 crisis, according to the updated figures with inflation. In other words, the 2001 crisis actually ended in 2010.

When we talk about the 2001 crisis, we can talk about two symbol events that still retain their freshness in memory. The first is the tradesman Ahmet Çakmak's launching a cash register to Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit in front of the Prime Ministry headquarters, and the second is the National Security Council meeting on February 19, 2001, which can be called the last blow to the already bad economy. As you can remember, at this meeting, President of the time Ahmet Necdet Sezer threw the book of constitution in front of Prime Minister Ecevit, and the meeting was left unfinished. Ecevit, Mesut Yılmaz and Devlet Bahçeli, the three leaders of the main left coalition at the exit, had said that this incident was a state crisis and this explanation turned upside down the markets in demand. On February 21, when the crisis deepened, the stock market experienced a historical decline of 15 percent, while overnight interest rose to 7,500 percent on the same date. The dollar rose from 690 thousand to 900 thousand lira with the transition to the floating exchange rate regime from the 'exchange anchor' system implemented by the coalition government to reduce inflation. During this period, while there was serious foreign capital outflow from the country, thousands of workplaces were closed and millions of people became unemployed.

One of the financial characteristics of the February 28 process is the issue of retired generals working on the boards of many banks that have been torn down. This habit became so widespread in the period of February 28 that retired generals served on the boards of not only banks but also many private companies. Of course, during the years when military guardianship was felt with all its weight, retired generals were not brought to board memberships due to their trade or banking accumulation. The private sector was thinking of protecting itself with the imposition of the circumstances, or to obtain commercial benefits by using their influence further. The interesting thing was that many of the businessmen who were held responsible for the pumping of banks were tried and punished, while the generals serving on the board of directors were not subject to any investigation. For example, while Hayyam Garipođlu, who was held responsible for the evacuation of Sümerbank, was serving a prison sentence, no lawsuit was filed against retired Land Forces Commander General Muhittin Fisunođlu. The same is valid for the retired Navy Commander Admiral Vural Bayazit, who is a member of the Board of Etibank. Diñ Bilgin, the owner of the bank, received a penalty in the Etibank case, but nothing happened to Beyazit Pasha.

Retired Gendarmerie General Commander Teoman Koman also took part in the management of Interbank, which sank during the 28 February process, and his name never passed in the judicial process. These examples can be reproduced. Retired General Staff Chief General Hilmi Özkök took a clear stand and the issue of retired generals' board memberships disappeared. However, this issue continues to constitute one of the economic dimensions of February 28 that remained in the dark.

Besides this apparent financial view of February 28, there is also an invisible economic view. In this period, "incentives" were important. Therefore, cleaning was done at the level of expert-head of the Undersecretariat of Treasury Incentive Implementation General Directorate. The investment incentive certificates of the capital, which was simultaneously rising in Anatolia, started to be disallowed. For example, a group of people who wanted to enter the retail sector and opened a modern shopping center in Konya encountered obstacles.

In Istanbul, potential competitors were not tolerated (For example, Kombassan). Local businessmen mostly demanded the businesses that the Privatization Administration offered for sale in Anatolia. For this purpose, regional power unions were created. The facilities provided for the creation of a financing package in the tenders received by the advanced firms were not reflected to the minors with the same generosity. Either there was not enough time, or banks were reluctant to lend. (For example, Petlas's sales experiment).

While applying the policy of suppressing Anatolia with tax control, tax penalties imposed on the bigger firms were also erased by rapid maneuvers. Some tax laws were written in holdings in Istanbul were sent to Ankara (For example, bank tax penalties that were canceled at the beginning of 1998 and tax draft laws that came from TOBB and were adopted exactly in Finance). Treasury borrowing auctions were not transparent in the late 1990s as well. There are debts, no allowances, one or two bureaucrats would determine who will be given priority in financing. Those names, knowing the Treasury's cash needs, and deciding on which limit the interest will be cut in borrowing auctions, were arm-in-hand with the manager of several large banks.

The invoice left by the February 28 process on public finance is still paid. In fact, the country's achievements in the field of public finance over the ten-year period was devoted to the payment of this invoice.

3.9. Eight-Year Continuous Education

Three of the decisions in the 18-item National Security Council statement taken on February 28, 1997 were directly related to education and the Ministry of National Education. These;

- 1) For the education policies, adaptation of the law on unification of education to the current system,
- 2) Increasing basic education to 8 years,
- 3) Conversion of surplus from Imam-Hatip schools to vocational schools; closing the organization of the Koran Courses, which are under the control of radical religious groups and then affiliating them to the Ministry of National Education.

The discussion, which started with the decisions of 28 February and 8 years of uninterrupted education, included almost everyone who does not have a specialization area and a special education. Everyone from the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life, the Turkish Women's Association, TOBB to the Union of Chambers of Agriculture, wanted the implementation of 8 years of uninterrupted education and the closing of the Qur'an courses.

8 years of uninterrupted education, which was discussed for months, was enacted on August 16, 1997, with the vote of 277 deputies after 37 hours of the General Assembly, which lasted until the morning. Education was used as a greasy whip to defeat adversaries with political and ideological expectations, without considering any scientific infrastructure and

pedagogical formation. While the eight-year uninterrupted education project is expected to be discussed by the education scientists at universities and the relevant experts in the ministry of education, and decisions are taken about the issue, the fact that this discussion will be handled in political backstage and the implementation of the decisions taken implies that there are very different intentions. In the enactment of "eight years of uninterrupted education" in the process of February 28, the people who took the last word on education became actors. In the process of February 28, it will be sufficient to take a look at the press of the period in order to clearly see the state, army, education and ideology relations. All headlines and news prepared were served with a great fear, wound and interest relationship, and education has been turned into a pawn of these dirty relationships. With the 8-year uninterrupted education practice, which was passed with the logic of interrupting the Imam Hatip High Schools, the process negatively affected all vocational high schools and reached the end point of vocational and technical education. In parallel, the coefficient of injustice applied accelerated this development. Today, his presence is still ongoing in Turkey and the countries of the middle-income trap to confine risk of vocational and technical education in the skilled labor has ever been found to give rise to the termination of nearly eight years of uninterrupted education plays a dominant role. This application has accelerated the closure of schools in villages.

This application brought another brick to the wall such as application that includes important problems such as "mobile education" to itself. Although the negative consequences of eight years of uninterrupted education are compensated by the Law No. 6287, which is a 4 + 4 + 4 education system, the long-term effects of the coup, especially on vocational education, still continue.



4. Chronology of the February 28

1995

- December, 24 : The voter went to the polls.
- December, 25 : When the first uncertain results were announced, it was seen that the Welfare Party emerged from the ballot box.
- ANAYOL formula came to the fore in the hearts of businessmen from Istanbul. Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association supported this formula with newspaper advertisements.
 - Chief of General Staff İsmail Hakkı Karadayı visited Kayseri 1st Commando Brigade, who completed his mission in the Southeast. Here, he stated that the armed forces were the guarantee of the secular Republic of Turkey and added: *"We are against all kinds of fanaticism and obscurantism."*

1996

- June, 27 : Çiller and Erbakan reached a definite agreement on the Welfare Party-True Path Party coalition.
- June, 27 : Necmettin Erbakan became Prime Minister.
- July, 24 : At the High Military Council meeting, it was stated that it would come to the fore about the expulsion of around 600 religious officers from the army.
- August, 10 : Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan went on a 10-day trip to Iran, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia.
- August, 11 : An agreement was reached with Iran on natural gas, oil and energy cooperation in the first place.

- September, 1 : On the subhead of Sabah Newspaper, Karadayı's talk about memories of revolution of an Iranian force commander who fled to Turkey after the Iranian revolution. He indicated commander's original words: *"The generals in Iran, they realize Khomeini movement that fundamentalism te itself was too late."*
- October, 1 : Karadayı reacted violently to the Welfare Party's attempt to grant court rights to officers expelled from the army. While continuing preparations for Prime Minister Erbakan's trip to Africa, pressure on the Welfare Party in the military, media and bureaucracy increased. The forces struggling against the Welfare Party's power started to bring all kinds of options, including the coup, to the agenda without hesitation.
- October, 24 : The basis group named as D-8 including Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Egypt, Nigeria and Bangladesh formed.
- November, 3 : In the traffic accident that took place in Susurluk, ex-deputy police chief Hüseyin Kocadağ, the accused of massacre, idealist Abdullah Çatlı and Gonca Us died.
- Sedat Bucak, Chieftain of Bucak Tribe, True Road Party MP, survived the accident with a serious injury.
- November, 8 : Interior Minister Mehmet Agar resigned from his position.
- November, 10 : Kayseri Mayor Şükrü Karatepe's words, "I was attending ceremonies and I was deeply in sorrow," at a meeting caused a new crisis.
- December, 6 : The Ankara State Security Court filed a criminal complaint with the Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor for the pilgrimage speech of the Welfare Party leader Erbakan and the speech of Hasan Hüseyin Ceylan.
- December, 24 : Chief of General Staff İ. Hakkı Karadayı: *"There are those who want to drag Turkey to the dark Middle Ages."*

December, 28 : Aczimendi leader Müslüm Gündüz and Fadime Şahin were caught in a house. The incident was kept on the agenda for days in the press.

1997

January, 5 : A warning rally was held to the government under the leadership of Turkish Trade Union Confederation.

January, 9 : The Prime Ministry Crisis Management Center Regulation was published in the Official Gazette and entered into force.

January, 11 : The General Staff filed a criminal complaint against Necati Çelik, who reacted harshly to the 2nd Armored Brigade Commander Tuğgenaral Doğu Silahçioğlu, who had the Atatürk statue erected on 10 November despite the Mayor in Sultanbeyli. Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan gave the iftar dinner to the sect and congregation leaders.

January, 17 : President S. Demirel appointed Vural Savaş, a member of the First Criminal Division of the Supreme Court of Appeals to the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office.

January, 21 : The Atatürkist Thought Association filed a criminal complaint against the Prime Minister for his dinner invitation in the residence.

January, 26 : The commanders came together in the extraordinary Shura, which lasted 72 hours in Gölcük. The commanders' reviews were:

1- The call of General Koman to the Susurluk Commission is for "show".

2- What is said about the attitude of a general to erect a statue of Atatürk in a district is saddening.

3- It is not correct to set the shift according to the iftar time because of Ramadan.

4- The Turkish Armed Forces are in charge of protecting the country against internal and external threats. Efforts to limit the army into domestic politics are sad.

- January, 30 : Bekir Yıldız, the Mayor of Sincan's Welfare Party, held a Jerusalem memorial meeting.
- February, 1 : Prime Minister Erbakan opened the decree that released the headscarf at universities, despite the public reactions and the resistance of some ministers in the "True Path Party".
- February, 3 : The State Security Court launched an investigation into the Jerusalem Night in Sincan.
- February, 4 : The people living in Sincan awoke to the day with sounds of tanks.
- February, 7 : Faculty members of universities in Istanbul asked the government to keep its hand off the universities and say they will fight against those who want to destroy the Republic of Turkey.
- February, 14 : In the Sincan case, the State Security Court decided to arrest 9 more people with Bekir Yıldız and Nurettin Şirin. Deputy Prime Minister Çiller stated that ministers with the True Path Party will not sign the turban liberation decree at universities.
- February, 15 : There was a women's march against the Sharia.
- February, 21 : Gen. Cevik Bir who said *"Iran should be treated as a terrorist state."* Has also claimed *"We made the balance to democracy,"* regarding the tanks passing through Sincan.



- February, 24 : S. Demirel: *“Whoever tries to make religious politics material, exploit it and change the character of the regime, finds the Prosecutor before him. No delegation to set out to change the basic characteristics of the Republic will have a long life. Prosecutors, judges perform their duties, they will do. The media is doing their work, they will. There are enough Turkish citizens to protect the gains of the Republic. ”*
- February, 25 : Admiral Güven Erkaya: “Extreme religious movements have become a greater threat today than the PKK threat.”
- February, 26 : Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions, Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey and Turkish Tradesmen and Artisans Confederation decided to join forces against threats against the regime. Istanbul women’s organizations union launched an action for secularism.
- February, 28 : The NSC convened under the chairmanship of President Demirel. This historic meeting that determine political and social developments that have occurred in Turkey in the period after 1997, lasted nine hours. At the NSC, it was decided to apply Atatürk’s principles and reforms without compromise. It was asked to increase the basic education to eight years, to transform the imam hatip schools into vocational schools, and to prevent the soldiers who were dismissed from their duties in the Turkish Armed Forces because of their involvement in reactionary activities. The use of the word “sanction” instead of the words “recommended” at the end of the declaration was evaluated as “memorandum” and the developments after this date demonstrated the accuracy of this assessment in a sense.
- March, 2 : Erbakan did not sign the decisions, arguing that some statements were too harsh in the list of twenty-item decisions taken by the National Security Council to be reported to the government.

- General Staff Secretary General Major General Erol Özkasnak replied to Erbakan, who said *"We are in harmony with the Army"*, by saying *"The army is in harmony with those who believe in Atatürk"*.

- March, 3 : Prime Minister Erbakan visited party leaders "to support the democratic system". However, Erbakan could not get the answer that he has hoped. Erbakan said: *"The government is established in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. It is not established at the NSC."*
- March, 4 : Confederation of Tradesmen and Artisans of Turkey President Dervis Gunday, Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions Chairman Bayram Meral and Turkey's Revolutionary Workers Unions Confederation President Rıdvan Budak announced their full support to NSC decision.
- March, 7 : President Demirel said that if the NSC decisions are not implemented, the state will not work and those who do not implement these decisions will be responsible.
- March, 9 : The first crack in the implementation of the NSC decisions came out in 8 years of uninterrupted education. The Welfare Party stated that they are insistent on the 5 + 3 model, which will ensure that the middle parts of Imam preachers remain in compulsory education.
- March, 14 : February 28 decisions passed through the Parliament.
- March, 23 : Erbakan has prepared a report to persuade the NSC that 8-year training cannot be implemented and True Path Party supported this decision.
- March, 25 : While speaking about the decisions of the NSC for the first time, Chief of General Staff Karadayı reacted strongly to the insistence of the Welfare Party. General Karadayı, stated that the NSC is a constitutional institution and added: *"The decisions taken here are the decisions that everybody must comply with."*

- March, 26 : Health Minister Yıldırım Aktuna sent a turban ban circular to all provinces.
- March, 31 : Minister of National Education Mehmet Sağlam said that while 8 years of uninterrupted education will start, all secondary schools including imam hatips will be closed.
- April, 13 : All governors were called to Ankara for the Secular Summit.
- April, 24 : Özbek Pasha, who criticized the Welfare Party and extinguished Erbakan, split Refahyol. Erbakan asked for a punishment for Pasha, Minister of Justice Kazan opened an investigation, Turan Tayan, Minister of National Defense of the Right Way Party, gave the message "They cannot touch Pasha".
- April, 26 : Upon the intensification of Atatürk and anti-secular developments, the Turkish General Staff decided to send Atatürk bust, one of which was dressed as a soldier and the other, to send it to military institutions and schools.
- April, 30 : The Turkish Armed Forces announced the new defense concept: *"Internal threats overcame external threats. Destruction of the reactionism is vital."*
- The General Staff gave 3.5 hours briefing to the media members.
- While the Welfare Party wing resists 8 years of uninterrupted education, the True Road Party executives and Çiller announced to the public that 8 years of uninterrupted education should be implemented.
- May, 10 : In the rally organized by his party in Sultanahmet Square, Çiller, the True Road Party leader, announced that Sabah group received \$ 200.4 million and Doğan group received \$ 424.8 million state aids.

- May, 14 : Chief of General Staff Org. Karadayı called 15 general who has general status in Turkey to a meeting on May, 26. Erbakan and Minister of National Defense Turhan Tayan were also invited to the meeting which was accepted as the Extraordinary High Military Council.
- The "Sarık operation" was started.
- May, 22 : Court of Appeals Chief Prosecutor Vural Savaş admitted to the Constitutional Court for the closure of the Welfare Party with this explanation : "Turkey will be dragged into a civil war".
- June, 11 : A briefing was given to the judges and prosecutors from the General Staff.
- June, 12 : A reaction briefing was given to the media from the General Staff.
- June, 13 : The General Staff briefed the members of the judiciary for the second time.
- June, 18 : Erbakan resigned from the Prime Ministry.
- June, 20 : Demirel assigned the task of forming the 55th government to the Motherland Party leader Mesut Yılmaz.
- July, 11 : The Western Working Group was given the task of gathering intelligence to officers' spouses and children.
- August, 2 : Y. Günaydın Newspaper, the article titled "Armored Corps Against Altitude" from the first page, states that in a new directive prepared by the General Staff, armored corps will be deployed all over the country.
- August, 3 : Reactionary staffing (!) in the Security General Directorate was taken into control closely.
- The secret order of the Western Working Group was implemented by the Government. Conservative people working in public institutions and organizations are being blacklisted.

- August, 17 : The 8-year uninterrupted education law passed through the Assembly.
- August, 30 : Teoman Koman, who handed over the post of Gendarmerie General Command: "The main danger is the altitude, which is even more dangerous than the PKK." said.
- September, 10 : Western Working Group: "*If the demonstrations performed at the exit of the morning prayers continue and the danger of reaction continues, we will do whatever Atatürk did.*"
- September, 12 : Corporal Kadir Sarmusak stated that "*3800 phones, including Bülent Orakoğlu, Hanefi Avcı and the military prosecutor who judged him, were heard*", saying that "*the soldiers listened to everyone. If I tell about the establishment of the government, many people will be in trouble.*"
- October, 7 : Students with headscarves were not registered at Istanbul University.
- October, 10 : Meral Akşener: "*The General Staff has established a spying table against the law. The General Staff is plugging 65 million people. He blacklists the governor, district governor, teacher, doctor. These are the real people dividing society.*"
- October, 16 : Ex-mayor Bekir Yıldız was sentenced to 3 years 9 months in prison, and Nurettin Şirin was sentenced 17.5 years in prison.
- November, 19 : The case for the closure of the Welfare Party started.
- December, 25 : The government acted upon the decision of the National Security Council to prevent Islamic capital.
- December, 26 : The NSC has not provided information to the Susurluk Research Commission for 9 months.

1998

- January, 16 : Turkey's first party, the Welfare Party, were closed with the claim of "being the focus of acts contrary to the principles of the secular republic"
- February, 2 : The regulation of Diyanet, which envisages the possibility to attend the Qur'an courses after the 5th grade, was broken by the Council of State on the grounds that it was not suitable for 8 years of uninterrupted education.
- March, 6 : Tansu Ciller said she was threatened by a bureaucrat who took an active part in the February 28 process. The message is: *"Quit politics, even leave from Turkey. Otherwise, nothing good will happen."*
- March, 24 : The government sent the draft "fight against reaction" to Parliament. Hürriyet Newspaper used the title of "Total War Against Reaction" for this news.
- March, 25 : "5-gang" called Turkey Chambers and Stock Exchanges Union, Turkey Employers' Confederation, Revolutionary Workers Unions Confederation, Turk-Is and Turkey Tradesmen and Artisans Confederation, gave full support to the minority government.
- March, 27 : The Ministry of Interior sent new and harsh instructions to the governors of 80 provinces to combat separatist and reactionary activities.
- April, 2 : Interior Minister Başeskiöğlü launched an investigation against 300 mayors.
- April, 18 : At a meeting held in the Psychological Operation Department, which is related to the 2nd Chief of the General Staff, General Cevik Bir, it is said: "Irtica is the first threat. The department shifted its plans and practices in this direction. "
- April, 21 : Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor R. Tayyip Erdogan was sentenced to 10 months in prison for reading poetry by Diyarbakır National Security Court.

- May, 24 : Serial raids were held in the homes of the foundation administrators. The managers of the Aqaba Foundation were taken to the General Directorate of Security with home raids and questioned at midnight.
- May, 31 : The influential institution of the Jewish Lobby in the USA, JİNSA, admitted that they had fallen the Erbakan government themselves.
- June, 9 : Headscarved students who took the exam at Istanbul University Health Services Vocational High School were forcibly taken out by riot police.
- June, 10 : 11 headscarved students were dismissed from Istanbul University Faculty of Science a week before their graduation.
- June, 11 : Students studying in different fields of Istanbul University Cerrahpaşa Medical Faculty were not taken to the exams.
- June, 12 : Headscarved students were not accepted to the Anatolian and science high schools.
- June, 17 : In Uludağ University, Hatice Topcu who wore head scarf was top of the semester. However, because of her head scarf, Nihat Karabek was chosen as the top student. He rejected the award.
- June, 24 : MEB, which has 100,000 teacher deficits, has removed 3,500 teachers from their positions because they are wearing headscarves.
- The wife of Petty Officer Bilgehan Özcan, who had problems with the High Military Council, said: *"My wife was warned to open my head. I was asked to participate in the entertainment."*
- July, 9 : MASK has changed again: The new target of the National Military Strategic Concept: *"Islamic capital"*
- August, 2 : The law restricting the construction of the mosque came into force.
- August, 9 : Rector of Istanbul University, Alemdaroğlu, removed the additional article 17 of the law numbered 2547, which released the ban on disguise at universities.

- October, 11 : The action "Hand in Hand for Freedom" was carried out against the headscarf ban across the country. The police intervened the action, which hundreds of thousands of people were really hand in hand in many places and more than 600 people were detained.
- November, 26 : The headscarf ban also spread to Istanbul University Faculty of Theology.
- December, 6 : In 3 years, 626 Turkish Armed Forces members were expelled from the army. The reason for the vast majority is "reactionary".

1999

- January, 9 : In the book prepared by the Military Academies Command, it was claimed that a War of Independence should be started against reactionism.
- February, 11 : To monitor the reactionary activities, monitoring units including 20 police chiefs were established.
- March, 23 : Ankara State Security Court Prosecutor Nuh Mete Yüksel applied to the Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor's Office to take legal action against the Virtue Party on the grounds that he was acting against the Political Parties Law.
- May, 3 : Merve Kavakçı was prevented from wearing a headscarf at the Assembly during taking the oath.
- May, 5 : President Süleyman Demirel: *"I used the word agent-provocateur for Kavakçı."*
- May, 8 : The Supreme Court of Appeals Prosecutor Savaş, who filed a lawsuit against the Constitutional Court for the closure of the Virtue Party, said in the indictment: *"The Virtue Party President, his administrators, mayors and lawmakers are exploiting religious beliefs like vampires drinking blood."*
- May, 10 : Istanbul Governor Erol Çakır, Police Chief Hasan Özdemir and 1st Army Commander Gen. Çevik Bir met for four hours in media businessman Aydın Doğan's village in Çamlıca.

- May, 31 : In Malatya, execution was requested about the headscarves in the headscarf case.
- June, 23 : Fetullah Gülen apologized: *"I am on the front that does not talk to the army or the nation. My words targeting Atatürk slip of the tongue."*
- June, 24 : At the NSC meeting, it was decided to establish a "National Action Strategy" on combating reaction. The NSC asked for a new legal regulation to replace Article 163.
- July, 23 : Learning the Qur'an before the age of 12 was banned by the votes of the Democratic Left Party, Motherland Party and the Nationalist Movement Party.
- July, 26 : Students who wearing headscarves and took the Open Education Faculty exam were given zero marks on their papers
- July, 29 : The Council of State expressed its opinion that "no photographs with headscarf can be used" on yellow press cards.
- August, 25 : The Governorship of Istanbul confiscated the accounts of non-governmental organizations such as Mazlum-Der and IHH, who helped victims of earthquakes.
- September, 4 : Messages from General Kıvrıkoğlu: *"February 28 will last a thousand years."*
- September,10 : The Ministry of National Education also decided to engage in mixed education for girls and boys in private schools and imposed a headscarf ban.
- September, 23 : Marmara University did not even enter headscarved students who came to enroll classes.
- September, 28 : General Yalçın Işimer gave the first lesson to his students at the opening of Gulhane Military Medical Academy: *"We will memorize the Arab-minded men, those who talk against Atatürk. We grew up with lullabies in Turkish, and our prayers will be in Turkish." Işimer, insulted the Prophet and his companions by saying "Bedouin".*

- October, 17 : Uludag University Rector Ayhan Kizil announced that the women wearing headscarves cannot be admitted to school despite the decision of the Bursa 2nd Administrative Court.
- Women wearing headscarves were not taken to the civil servant exam.
 - Sabri Ünal, the President of the Bursa 2nd Administrative Court, decided to take the classes with the students who wore headscarves in Imam Hatib High School. He was removed from his position and appointed as a member of the Aydın Regional Administrative Court.
- October, 29 : At the NSC meeting of the previous day, the military wing brought radio and television supreme council to the agenda. Noting that the separatist and reactionary television and radio broadcasts have increased, the soldiers demanded that the necessary amendments be made in the radio and television supreme council law and the sanctions be increased for inspection.
- December, 10 : In the decision taken unanimously by the Council of State, it is indicated: *"Actions against the secular education and higher education system cannot be democratic. The rector can prevent actions that disrupt peace in the university by considering the principle of secularism."*



5. The February 28 in Numbers

400

Number of judges and prosecutors who are members of the higher judicial bodies participating in the “reactionary” briefing at the General Staff headquarters during the February 28 period.

The amount of loans extended from public banks to cartel media

3.000.000.000.-TL

companies on February 28.

The number of personnel expelled from the Turkish Armed Forces with the decisions of the High Military Council on the charges of “reaction” between 1990-2011.

1635

11000

Number of teachers dismissed / resigned between 1997-2001 (approx.).

The ratio of teachers who were dismissed / resigned between 1996-1999 to the teacher shortage at that time.

%11

%2,65

The ratio of teachers who were dismissed / resigned between 1996-1999 to the total number of teachers at that time (414,774).

3527

Number of teachers terminated between 1997-2001.

Number of teachers who received disciplinary punishment for being blacklisted / clothing between 1997-2001 (except for dismissal)

11890

33271

Number of teachers undergoing disciplinary investigation between 1997-2001 due to clothing / being blacklisted

Number of public servants who were black listed during the February 28 process.

4625

2639

Number of public personnel deemed to be associated with the reaction by the National Intelligence Service.

Number of lecturers who were blacklisted as reactionary by the National Intelligence Service.

418

949

Number of teachers t who were blacklisted as reactionary by the National Intelligence Service.

Number of governors / district governors issued with reports on the grounds of asylum.

210

71

Number of district governors withdrawn from the district governorship.

Number of police members investigated.

331

53

Number of law enforcement officers subject to administrative penalties.

Number of Religious staff who received disciplinary punishment on the grounds of reaction.

396

128

Number of Religious Affairs Administration staff who are dismissed from the profession on the grounds of reaction.

Number of staff of higher education institutions removed from public office due to ban on clothing.

139

The burden imposed by the banks seized on February 28.

17.300.000.000.-\$

Total amount paid to close the black hole caused by the 2001 crisis of February 28 and after (domestic debts).

251.563.000.000.-TL

Total economic loss caused by the February 28 process.

381.000.000.000.-\$

Cost of high interest payments to the economy in the period of 2001-2007.

78.000.000.000.-\$

187

Number of impounded immovable properties of foundations that were closed on the grounds since they were engaged in reactionary activities.

Number of foundations closed on the grounds due to reactionary activity suspicion.

21

6. The February 28 with Numbers

Happily, the February 28 process, which is said to last a thousand years, ended in a short time thanks to the belief and resistance shown by the people to reflect their will to the political system. However, it seems much clearer today that the deep structures that shape the process and their extensions in both the public and civil sectors are not ending, only a little deeper and retracted. The process was doomed to fail. For one of the most important lessons that history teaches to humanity is that no system or thought can prevail for a long time. Even though the social engineering product, which was put into consideration without regard to the thoughts and beliefs of the society, is fixed with the experience that all kinds of projects are doomed to frustration, the actors of the February 28 process did not see the fog screen in front of the reality, they could not see it, and more clearly, they obviously did not want to see it.

The reports of the Western Working Group, produced in the process of February 28, have always been baseless and unsubstantiated. This is either paranoia or a planned Psychological Warfare project. In summary, it is a painful indication that the commanders of that period were used.

Those who are indicating that there are people who wants Iranian-type regime in Turkey have to prove this situation. The basic principle of the law is "The claimant is obliged to prove his claim". In our country, there was no society ready to accept an Iranian regime. As a result, the evidence of February 28 was rotten.

1635 officers - non-commissioned officers, who were removed from the Turkish Armed Forces without the right to defend by the decision of the Supreme Military Council, did not interfere with illegal action. So the evidence was rotten and the threat perception was wrong.

Imam Hatip High School and Quran Course students defined as political Islam and political Islamists did not interfere with illegal action. So EMASYA's plans were caused by a baseless fear. Sects and communities, which are sociological structures, did not have illegal political and state demands, and no final judicial decision could be made. On the contrary, the crimes of the deep structures formed by coup plotters such as Ergenekon, Cage, Sledgehammer and military espionage entered the judicial process. So, the process of February 28 was the process of mixing friends and enemies.

The representatives whose powers were taken back with successful psychological operations of the military bureaucracy have been governing Turkey for 11 years. Turkey has not been an Iran. Today, all independent political scientists declare the impact of Turkish model on popular movements in North Africa, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. So the February 28 postmodern coup was wrong.

On February 28, 1997, no scientific studies were conducted on the trends of the society. Indeed, as the General Çevik Bir told journalist Taha Akyol, "the scientific studies harm our determination". This prejudice was generally accepted that no scientific fieldwork was done deliberately.

Coup strategists during the February 28 period failed to recognize Turkey's society and its values in the medium term. In 2010, the National Security Policy Document, the red book, changed and the NSC signed it. The reactionism is no longer perceived as an internal threat by the General Staff. In this sense, February 28 was a baseless and unsubstantiated process.

At this point, it can be said that Turkey faced with its painful process in its recent history. However, even though thousands of victims whose basic human rights have been violated, their profession has been dismissed from public office, justice has not been replaced.

Here we base the definition of justice on the conceptualization that is expressed in a landmark decision of the Inter-American Court For Human Rights in Velasquez Rodriguez case. In this decision, the Court found that the state should fulfill the following obligations if it had committed serious and obvious violations of rights in the past:

1. Conducting an investigation to determine the truth of the violations suffered by victims - which we call as truth for victims
2. Conducting an investigation to identify perpetrators who have committed violations - which we will call truth about perpetrators.
3. Judging those responsible for violations - which we will call judgment.
4. Compensating victims of violations or compensating for the damage they have suffered - which we will call compensation.
5. Taking necessary steps to prevent repeat infringements - we will call it institutional reform.

This explanation of what the State's obligations are regarding the violent and open violations of the Inter-American Court in a holistic way describes the elements that constitute "justice".

Although the report of the Parliamentary Coups Research Commission was an important source in the detection of the rights violations that people were exposed to during the February 28 process, there has not been an integrated study regarding the names, the violations and loss of rights of hundreds of victims who suffered at that time. In short, the truth is waiting for the victims to be revealed.

After the decisions of the NSC on February 28, 1997, although The February 28 trial provided the trial of senior officers from Turkish Armed Forces who had forced the legitimate government of the time to resign with a post- modern coup, The course of the case (evacuation decisions made while defenses are in progress, tolerance shown to the defendants that cannot be explained by procedural provisions, etc.) does not give much hope in terms of detecting the crime and punishing the perpetrators. While there is such a trial, even in a clear act before the eyes of the whole world, hopes for the trial of the trade-economy, media, bureaucracy and the (so-called) NGO's who have taken role in the 28 February process have started to decrease. In short, the truth about the perpetrators is wanted to be covered up, and the trial is intended to be turned into a hollow demonstration.

The grievances of many people, especially the public officials, are still waiting to be eliminated due to unlawful practices of the February 28 process. Due to both costume and attitudes and beliefs in the process of 28 February, the penalty for dismissal from public service was given about many civil servants within the context of the statement indicated in article 125 / Ea of Law No. 657 "To disturb the peace, tranquility and working order of institutions for the ideological or political purposes, to prevent the execution of public services, to slow down the work and they were sentenced to be dismissed from public service for crimes such as participating in actions such as strikes or not collectively serving, provoking and encouraging them or helping them ". Moreover, these public officials were also punished from public service based on the disciplinary punishments they receive constantly. It is indicated that they require disciplinary action for alleged insistence in the processing of acts on the grounds that they have committed the verb "to act in the form of disgraceful and embarrassing acts in a quality and degree incompatible with the capacity of civil service" defined in Article 125 / E-g.

Thanks to the disciplinary amnesty brought by the Law No. 5525 issued in 2006, although such disciplinary penalties have been eliminated with all its legal consequences, the Law No. 5525 is a disciplinary amnesty Law, and therefore, civil servants whose civil service was terminated with the penalty of dismissal from civil service, without the need for any further action. It is clear that it does not allow these people to return their routine work.

It is a well-known fact that even though these individuals only gain the right to be civil servants again through open appointment, they cannot get degree progress during their and that they cannot receive any compensation at the point of compensation for their financial rights in the periods when they are separated from the civil service.

Although the disciplinary punishments, which have been eliminated with all legal consequences, and the candidates whose terminations have been dismissed due to disguise in the process of candidacy during the candidacy process, the returns of the officers who have been forced to resign are left to the discretion of the administrations. Again, after the cessation of their civil servants, working ones through Social Insurance Institution or Insuranced Self-employed Institution and receiving pensions and or being retired in terms of social security legislation are not possible to return according to Law No. 6335. On the other hand, although the Law No. 6353 allows the social security premiums to be covered by the institutions until the period when their civil service was terminated by 2006, there is no regulation regarding the return of the optional premium payments, social security premiums or the premiums paid by borrowing during this period. Likewise, it is not possible to pay any compensation in return for the financial rights for the period up to the date in which their civil service was terminated and the date in which they were reassigned or disciplined. Another dimension of the problem is that despite being a member of the so-called reactionary organization, the convicts who were tried in the National Security Court and the heavy criminal courts and were not finalized due to these trials, the return of those who were expelled from the civil service was still not provided.

Legal arrangements are still required for the return of the seized property and immovable properties of the foundations that were closed with the reason of engagement in reactionary activities during the February 28 process. This issue still awaits a solution.

Another aspect of the issue is that, despite the contradictory practices they faced during that period, public personnel who ran to the judicial authorities to seek their rights faced bilateral decisions in administrative and judicial bodies. In addition to this, these public personnel also faced with violations of the right to a fair trial. It was already dictated what

kind of decisions they would make in the judiciary which was shaped by briefings. In this respect, the trials against the State Security Court and the heavy criminal courts and those who resulted from the dismissal, and various disciplinary punishments and cases of exile positions have to be re-tried foreshortened those who were alleged to be members of the reactionary organization at that time. Again, within this framework, (although they are forgiven by Law No. 5525), it is necessary to renegotiate the disciplinary penalties such as dismissal, dismissal from the profession of public institutions and organizations due to reaction, disguise, etc. between 1997-2003.

The last step of ensuring justice is called institutional reform. The necessary social, political, administrative and legal environment must be created in order not to experience a new coup or coup attempt, whether it is post-modern or not, and to prevent violations in the eyes of the society and the judiciary. In this context, institutional reform is the establishment of a structure that will ensure ownership of this environment by the society. Things to be done for this purpose have been expressed in different ways by different sections after the February 28 process. Within this framework, these reforms can be listed as follow: The necessity of a constitution in which every part of the society meets with the minimum commons with the acceptance of the majority of the society instead of the 1982 constitution of coup product, The removal of the NSC from being a constitutional institution, removal of the principle of secularism from the constitution, provision of the usage of freedom of religion, belief and worship of citizens in private life, in the public sphere and in public service without any restrictions is included in the constitution with clear provisions, linking the chief of staff to the Ministry of National Defense, providing audit and surveillance opportunities to ensure the transparency, administrative and financial control of the Turkish Armed Forces, law enforcement and intelligence agencies, enacting the "General Administrative Procedure Law" in order to prevent the administration from making arbitrary decisions under the name of discretion, inclusion of the European Correct Administrative Behavior Law adopted by the European Parliament in the domestic legal system, clarity of disciplinary provisions in 657 and special laws in a way that do not allow interpretation, linking the procedures and principles of disciplinary investigation to clarify procedures such as Code of Criminal Procedure, opening military schools to the supervision and control of the Ministry of National Education and lastly reorganization of all powers in Article 11 / D of the Provincial Administration Law without leaving any initiative to law enforcement officers.

Ideologies do not want independent civil brakes on them to maintain their systems. They try to justify the particular interests of a particular group by showing them as universal interests. To screen the facts, they always invent many valid excuses or try to camouflage

the events with fancy veiled covers, without worrying about persuading anyone, in the confusion of false claims. In the developments that occurred before and after the 28 February process in our country, it is useful to evaluate the claims of "reactionism" and "instrument of religious politics" which are used most frequently to screen the events. With the "reactionism" phobia, many times over the past hundred years, the demands of the society have been silenced, under pressure. Whenever the desires of the society found it in positions of power, it was always forced to take a step back by pressing it with neurotic reactions.

The point reached at the moment is based on the choice of a democratic, liberal system that embraces the understanding of civil society, domination of the state and its ideology.

In systems where there is no civil society to protect the individual against the state power, the state has become sacred and a long distance has occurred between its people. For this reason, the habit of seeing the people of the state as a group to be governed needs to change. The way to achieve this is to create a public space where the state cannot easily intervene with the adoption of the civil society understanding and to prevent the democratic system from being used as a means of pressure for other parts of the society.

Today, we know that the creation of an environment of chaos that will make millions of people happy even for a military coup is the result of long-term efforts of the forces fed by the coup. Moreover, these forces have in no way abandoned their efforts; We know how the ground of September 12 has been prepared with the Ergenekon case for the last few years, the same plans are still available today, they are kept ready to be put into practice at any time, and even they have been put into practice from time to time. Sometimes they gave the images of secularism going to create chaos, sometimes they shouted that the country was falling apart, sometimes the missionaries were screaming that they were deceiving our young people, and sometimes they acted as "Sharia is coming", as on February 28, 1997.

We must be aware of the fact that although some of the aspiring generals are in prison today, As soon as we step back in our fight against coups, they will take ten steps forward. It is clear that those who want to save them from where they belong will act quickly.



7. Footnotes

¹ In the process of February 28, wigs were also sold in hijab stores. It is seen that the ban on headscarves is generally handled within the framework of secularism and reactionary discussions, and women's rights - at least in many aspects - are not sufficiently discussed in this process. It has been observed that many women's associations that are particularly selective about women's rights and are more concerned with the violations arising from the tradition and the law in this direction, offer a dramatic silence in the face of violations that would mean harassment and attack on the female body due to this prohibition. However, this ban was also implemented and have been implementing in ways that allowed many public officials to satisfy their masculine motives through harassment. A woman from the Imam-Hatip High School teacher who had to open her head stated that one of the applications that affected her the most was to pull out the hair of all women one by one and "check" whether the head was a wig or her own hair.

² Traditional Administration Application in Republican Turkey, then called as the Martial Law Implementation in 1925, started after the Sheikh Said rebellion occurred in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and lasted until 1950. Then, in December 1978, martial law implementation was initiated covering 13 provinces in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions due to the events taking place in Kahramanmaraş. With the military coup of September 12, 1980, martial law spread all over the country.

The Martial law implementation was gradually abolished as of March 19, 1984. However, upon the armed actions of the terrorist organization PKK, on 19 July 1987, the state of emergency was started to cover some provinces in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions (Bingöl, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt, Tunceli and Van). The number of provinces in the area of responsibility of the State of Emergency Region, established for this purpose, increased to 13 in 1990. The state of emergency was completely terminated on 30 November 2002.

³ Turkey was governed by the Military Administration during the following periods: During the May 27, 1960 coup, it was governed 1 year and 4 months, during March 12 coup, it was governed 2 years 8 months, during September 12 coup, it was governed 3 years 2 months.

⁴ In the period from the Declaration of the Republic until today, the duration of martial law applied in various places in the country for 25 years, 9 months, 18 days.

⁵ It is known that cadet officers and members of the Committee of Union and Progress were assassinated against Sultan Abdülaziz in the late 1800s, and various assassinations and attempts were made against Sultan Abdulhamid in the early 1900s.

⁶The concept of the “thing for itself” borrowed from Hegel by Marx is used to describe the class-conscious working class. According to Marx, the class-conscious proletariat is the “class in itself” because it does not have the consciousness of class interests and therefore its class. Being “class for itself” depends on awareness.

⁷ As in every empire, the influence of Germany on the army and the Ministry of Military Affairs has been decisive since the late 1800s in the Ottoman State, where the concept of “army nation” reigned for centuries. German General Goltz, who has been a consultant to the Ottoman army for many years, should be especially mentioned. Because, the impact of Goltz work on Turkey no longer in the military field; as it was translated into Turkish as “Millet-i Müsellaha (‘armed people / citizen army / national army)’” and was taken its place among the books recommended for years to be read in the War Academies. Goltz’s military-political approach in question influenced not only the army, but also the Young Turks and later the Union and Progress Association and the founding staff of the republic. Şerif Mardin states that Ahmet Rıza, one of the first leaders of the Young Turk movement, took the idea of “the military man acting as an elite that warns the nation and that the people who come with it are kept in a state of permanent mobilization.”

⁸ Article 18 of the Law No. 6496 dated 13.07.2013 and Article 35 of the Internal Service Law of the TAF changed as follow: “To defend the Turkish homeland against threats and dangers from abroad, to ensure the protection and strengthening of the military power in a way to deter and to perform the duties abroad decided by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.”

⁹ For example (E) Korg. REGIONAL, on page 167 of his book “February 28 Process 1”, which he published in 1999, argues that “The Address of Atatürk to the Youth” is a directive given to Turkish youth as “content.” On the 166th page of his book, he says the following about “taking the duty out of the situation”: “This is a prominent subject in the Military Academy’s basic training programs. So much so that during the three-year Academy training, the student is asked to “take a new task” and “make a decision” according to the war situation on the issue in various tactical and strategic warfare issues given to the Academy students almost every day. “ On the 158th page of his book, he claims that the word “The main thing is the interior front” belongs to Atatürk.

¹⁰ Media on the Headlines February 28 / The Role of the Media on the Road to the Coup, SDE, 28.02.2013

¹¹ Fazıl Hüsnü Erdem, “Turkey in the ‘ideological state’ Judicial Independence Issues In Shadow” Democracy Platform, Number 2, pp. 53 et al.

¹² In addition to the dismissed bureaucrats, the majority of the bureaucrats who were deported outside Ankara draw attention. Prime Ministry, Agriculture, Forest, Environment, Culture, Tourism, Industry and Trade ministries took the first place in bureaucrat appointments. A quarter of the bureaucrats who were removed from the government’s office, which went to the nationalist-conservative slaughter, came to power during Refahyol, who remained in power for one year.

While nearly 500 police officers were promoted to the next rank, the positions of 400 managers were changed. DSP provincial and district organizations applied for the change of the director of national education in 49 provinces. In addition to the political party organizations and certain focal points, even some unions were engaged in the cadre. Even the President of Türk-İş Confederation and Yol-İş Union, Bayram Meral, sent faxes to their branches and ordered the determination of bureaucrats close to them.

¹³ In fact, the Tourist Guides Foundation and the Istanbul Tourist Guide Chamber of Craftsmen make a written statement; “We cannot explain to the world that in our country, which is the only secular country in which Muslims are the majority, millions of people who are enemies of democracy and secularism are raised by the state. We cannot explain how we removed our half a million young people from religious schools, which should be limited to educating only clergymen, as senior public administrators. “We cannot explain a state understanding that allows the number of mosques to exceed the number of schools.” (Cumhuriyet, March 11, 1997)

8. Endnotes

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