Quick Facts

- Gülen Organization Region: Northeast
- Charter Holder/Governing Board(s): Pioneer Charter School of Science; Hampden Charter School of Science
- State Gülen Organization Charter Network(s): Pioneer Charter School of Science; Hampden Charter School of Science.
- # of MA Schools: 3 charters, 1 pending.
- Regional Gülen Organization Oversight Entity: Apple Education Services
- Regional Sister Networks: Arts and Science (Passaic, Bergen, Hudson) (NJ); Paterson Charter School of Science and Technology (NJ); Thomas Edison EnergySmart Charter School (NJ); Central Jersey College Prep (NJ); Academy of Science (Buffalo, Utica, Syracuse) (NY); Rochester Academy Charter School (NY); Brooklyn Amity (NY); Chesapeake Math and IT (MD); Chesapeake Science Point (MD); Young Scholars (Central Pennsylvania, Western Pennsylvania, McKeesport) (PA); True bright Science Academy (PA); Vision Academy (PA).
- Network Founders: Gulenists rarely are involved with only one Gulenist venture—most board members and employees have ties throughout the greater Gülen Organization and U.S.
 - Hampden Founders (according to charter application):
 - Volkan Yesilyurt: Lead Petitioner for College Preparatory Charter School of Springfield (failed attempt, 2006), along with fellow Hampden board member Elmira Usamanova.
 - Recai Yucel: Lead Petitioner for Thomas Edison Charter School of Schenectady (2014).¹
 - Maral Charyeva: Worked for Ivy Learning, a subsidiary of Apple Educational Services, Hampden's landlord and services provider.²

¹ NY department of education listing of charter applications 2014, listing Yucel as petitioner available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/jcgt6v6</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).

² Charyeva LinkedIn profile available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/hcfqjux</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).

- Tunzala Eynula: trained at Azerbaijan State Oil Company (SOCAR)³. Notably, TCAE, a Gulenist organization operated by Kemal Oksuz (affiliated with Harmony charter network in Texas), was investigated for organizing a trip for U.S. Congress members to Azerbaijan that was illegally paid for by SOCAR.⁴
- Pioneer Founders (according to charter application):
 - Recep C. Kendircioglu: Served on the Board of the Cosmos Foundation, the governing board overseeing the Harmony charter network in Texas.
 - Murat Kilic: Founded Ace It Education (sold Hampden property to Apple) and Boston Dialogue Foundation (Gulenist cultural association); Turkish Cultural Center of Boston; lead petitioner for Queen City Charter Academy⁵ (Gulenist charter school attempt in Maine).
 - Kadir Peker: Worked at Ace It Education (sold Hampden property to Apple).
 - Carin Yasli: Worked for the Boston Dialogue Foundation.⁶

Overview

Amsterdam & Partners has been engaged by the Republic of Turkey to conduct a national investigation of charter schools operated by followers of Fethullah Gülen, a controversial Islamic cleric currently living in Central Pennsylvania. Gülen is a religious leader whose nationalistic sermons focus on the reestablishment of the Ottoman Empire, whereby Turkey will rise in prominence to become the moral, religious, and economic leader of a new world order. The Turkish Muslims who will rebuild this empire per Gulen's instructions are referred to as the Golden Generation, which is also the name of Gulen's compound in Pennsylvania—the Golden Generation Worship and Retreat Center. Gülen is estimated to have millions of followers worldwide, but his largest base is within Turkey and countries in its immediate sphere of influence, such as Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Turkmenistan. Gulen's sermons and teachings focus on achieving this new world order through educational outreach led by the Golden Generation of Gulenist Muslims working hand in hand with Turkish businesses and Turkish cultural associations in a symbiotic relationship. So far, Gulen's vision has been successful—while there are approximately 165-170 schools (both charter and private) in the

³ Eynula's LinkedIn Profile available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/hwkmmbr</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).

⁴ Article discussing SOCAR trip and ties to Kemal Oksuz and TCAE available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/gp47smh</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).

⁵ Article discussing Kilic's involvement with Gulenist entities and Gülen himself, available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/glt9cwx</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).

⁶ Article discussing Yasli's employment available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/zsovdw5</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).

United States operated by known Gulenists, there are thousands in operation worldwide, with heavy concentrations in Turkey, Africa, the Netherlands, and Indonesia.

The Amsterdam investigation was initiated due to the growing violence within Turkey against the current government perpetrated by Gulenists, which culminated in the attempted coup in July of 2016. The Turkish government has conducted its own investigations into the funding for the various terrorist attacks leading up to and inclusive of the attempted coup and has traced those funding sources in part to Gulenists working in the United States. During this investigation, large suspicious transactions were discovered between notable Gulenists, Gulenist charter schools, and Gulenist vendors to and from Gulenist-controlled banks in Turkey. These transactions directly link to the Gulenist entities in operation in Massachusetts and throughout the U.S.

As of the 2016-2017 school year, Massachusetts has three Gülen Organization charter schools in operation under two network names: Pioneer Charter School of Science (I and II) and Hampden Charter School of Science. An application is pending approval by the Massachusetts Board of Education for a second Hampden charter location. Hampden and Pioneer are closely affiliated with each other—in fact, the Pioneer CEO Barish Icin wrote a letter of support for the new Hampden campus discussing how Hampden and Pioneer had already collaborated in key areas, including governance structure, culture, and the establishment of a management structure and network office.⁷ This collaboration is not coincidental as both networks belong to the Northeast Gülen Organization region and are overseen by the same regional oversight entity, Apple Educational Services. Gulenist charters and private schools contract with Apple under the guise of securing additional educational management services, however Apple and the other regional oversight entities like it operate primarily to siphon public funds out their customer schools and into the Gülen Organization. Apple oversees all of the Gulenist charter schools and private schools in the Northeast, several of which have been linked to the financial investigation conducted in Turkey.

Apple is connected to Hampden and Pioneer through real estate and service contracts. Apple owns Hampden's Johnson road property through its wholly owned subsidiary Johnson Road Properties, Inc. Apple bought the property in 2013 from Ace It Education, Inc, a related Turkish entity which at times operates as an educational services business and at other times operates the Turkish Cultural Center of Boston. Ace It Education shares a board member, Mehmet Dogan, with the Pioneer board of trustees, showing the interconnections between these entities. Hampden pays rent to its vendor Apple which doubles as its landlord. Both Hampden and Pioneer use Apple for student information services and potentially other services, as well. Apple has been recently criticized in both NY and NJ for real estate deals that exploit their public charter clients by grossly overcharging in rent, a common aspect of Gülen Organization fraud. Article available at: http://tinyurl.com/ha8ygmd.

⁷ Hampden West charter application, Attachment II, pg 38.

During the course of the Amsterdam investigation, a series of markers were developed to identify Gülen Organization charter schools and networks. These markers are present in all 165 Gülen charter schools in the country, and they are also present in Hampden and Pioneer. The markers include:

- A governing board of appointed, not elected, individuals, with those of Turkish descent and/or national origin operating in a constant supermajority or majority;

According to the annual reports filed by Hampden with the state, Hampden's board of trustees has been dominated by a Turkish supermajority since its inception. This is also true of Pioneer.

- STEM curriculum with Turkish language instruction;

Hampden, Hampden West, Pioneer I, and Pioneer II all offer STEM curriculum and Turkish language instruction.

 Use of closely affiliated vendors, also operated, governed, or staffed by Turkish individuals;

According to the 990 tax forms filed by Apple Education, Apple is governed and operated by Turkish individuals. Furthermore, Pioneer's charter application lists several substantial donations to its start-up costs by local Turkish businessmen (PCSS application, pgs 91-94).

- Transition and overlap between Turkish employees of the charter network and the preferred Turkish vendors used by that charter network;

For example, Tolga Hayali worked for Apple from 2006-08. Hayali was either employed or helped found numerous charter schools throughout Apple's Northeast network, including: Utica Academy of Science, Syracuse Academy of Science, Pioneer Academy of Science, Horizon Science Academy Cleveland Middle, and Horizon Science Academy Denison. He was also involved with two failed charter application attempts, Lancaster Academy of Science and Capital Academy of Harrisburg. Turkish males operating nearly exclusively in positions of leadership within the charter network;

Hampden, Hampden West, Pioneer I, and Pioneer II have all utilized Turkish principals from their inception (See school staffing reports, gathered from state), with only one Turkish female principal to date. This discriminatory preference for a particular gender and national origin is seen throughout the Gulenist charter networks as the Gülen Organization utilizes a largely patriarchic structure.

 Use of the H-1B visa process to sponsor high numbers of Turkish teachers and employees;

Hampden CSS filed 38 H-1B applications from 2008-2016, filling such "math and science" roles as dean of academics, IT systems coordinator, school business managers, guidance counselors, and administrators. Pioneer CSS filed 51 H-1B applications from 2007-2016, similarly using the H-1B program to fill roles for accountants, administrators, and guidance counselors.

Both schools used primarily the same two immigration attorneys, Seth Leech and Remzi Kulen. These attorneys also filed numerous H-1B applications for other Gulenist entities, including: regional oversight entities (Apple Educational Services; Metropolitan Education; Milkyway Education); other Gulenist charter networks (Concept-Midwest; Beehive-West; Little Scholars of Arkansas;); Gulenist charter schools (NY-Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, Rochester, Brooklyn Amity; NJ-Passaic, Central Jersey College Prep, Bergen, Paterson, Thomas Edison; IN-Indiana Math and Science; PA-Truebright, Young Scholars; OH-Horizon Science Academy Dayton, Denison, Columbus, Springfield, Lorain, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo; IL-Chicago Math and Science; MO-Gateway St. Louis); Gulenist vendors (Niagara Learning Center; Ace-it Education; Texas Gulf Foundation; Solidarity Contracting; Brighten Technologies); Gulenist Turkish cultural associations affiliated with those networks (Peace Islands Institute, Niagara Foundation, Turkish American Society, Scioto Foundation, Lehigh Dialogue Center, Wellspring Cultural and Educational Foundation, Boston Dialogue Foundation, Raindrop Foundation); and Gulenist media (Zaman Ltd., Ebru TV). Kulen even filed H-1B applications for Gulen's own home compound, the Golden Generation Worship and Retreat Center.

- Shuffling of Turkish employees between charter schools within the network as well as with other Gülen Organization networks;

For example, Harun Celik was the principal of Hampden CSS from 2009-2016. Prior to that, Celik worked at Bergen Arts and Science Charter School, one of Apple's Gulenist charter schools in NJ. Celik has returned to NJ and works at Passaic Arts and Science Charter school, another Apple client. Celik's LinkedIn profile, available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/hyo2htt</u>. Ahmet Gunay, listed as a current Hampden board member, used to teach at Putnam Science Academy, one of the Gulenist private schools overseen by Apple in Connecticut. Numerous transactions between Putnam Science Academy and Turkish banks were uncovered by the Turkish government during its funding investigation. Principal Tarkan Topcuoglu also spent his career at other Gulenist schools overseen by Apple, including Putnam Science Academy and Central Jersey College Prep.

- Use of poor recordkeeping and ambiguous financial practices with the suspected motive of diverting public funds to the Gülen Organization for private purposes;

HCSS 2011 audit found failures to comply with reporting requirements of major federal programs, a common Gülen charter issue. The PCSS 2008 audit similarly found the School's internal control over accounting and financial reporting did not include controls over the financial statements preparation in accordance with GAAP, the duties of the accounting department were not adequately segregated, and the procurement officer did not have a certification from the MA Certified Public Purchasing Official program. The HCSS 2014 Summary of Review also showed significant governance issues, including infrequent meetings, lack of process to create agenda or priorities, lack of subcommittees, and lack of system to evaluate the director. - Abusive property deals and leasing arrangements with affiliated Turkish-controlled landlord entities.

Apple acts as both an educational services vendor and landlord to many of its Gulenist charter and private school clients, including Hampden. A key tenet of Gülen Organization fraud centers on Gulenist vendors securing land and/or facilities to then lease at exorbitant rates to their captive charter schools. With Gulenists on both sides of the transaction, the interests of the charter school are disregarded in favor of extracting public funds through unconscionably high rents that go to fund the Gülen Organization. In Hampden's case, the school's land was originally purchased by Ace It Education, d.b.a Turkish Cultural Center of Boston from a third party seller for use by the school for \$1 million. Several Apple, Hampden, and Pioneer board members have affiliations with Ace It Education and its many incarnations, including Hampden founders and Pioneer founders Murat Kilic and Kadir Peker. In 2013, Ace It Education sold the property for \$1.5 million to Johnson Road Properties, Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of Apple Educational Services. After just three years of rent to HCSS and the property's sale to Apple, Ace It Education made a \$1.5 million profit. From 2013 to present, HCSS has already paid Apple enough in rent to more than pay off the building's purchase price. According to the lease, HCSS will have paid Apple a total of 2.9 million over seven years, with Apple making \$1.4 million in profit in that time in addition to the value of the property itself. Thanks to HCSS, two Turkish-controlled non-profit corporations belonging to the Gülen Organization will have made over \$2.9 million in rent at the public taxpayers' expense.

This real estate fraud is not new to Apple--it has been found to charge excessive rent to its charter school clients in both NY and NJ, as well. See article at http://tinyurl.com/ha8ygmd . For additional information, see the chart entitled Hampden Property History.

Other Gulenist entities participate in the same real estate fraud, including Dove Science (OK); Harmony and its landlord vendor Charter School Solutions (Texas); Coral Academy of Science and its landlord vendor Coral Education Foundation (NV); and Concept Schools and its landlord vendor New Plan Learning (Midwest).

These markers correlate to a model of organized fraud that has been replicated throughout the U.S. Gülen Organization charter networks. The fraud depends on stacking each side of every transaction with dedicated Gulenists, both on the school side by Gulenists dominating the charter governing board of trustees and school leadership and on the vendor side by using affiliated Turkish-controlled vendors selected by the regional oversight entity. The Gulenist charter school contracts with these affiliated Turkish vendors, regardless of state requirements

to engage in open and competitive bidding for public contracts, and purposefully overpays on these contracts while receiving either no services or services of limited quality to justify the transaction. This has the effect of money laundering—extracting public funds from the charter school through sham transactions to serve private financial interests. The Gulenist vendors are chosen based on their loyalty to the Gülen Organization, which they provide the majority of their profits via mandatory kickbacks. The most common, and lucrative, types of Gulenist vendor fraud include real estate leasing, construction, technology (E-Rate federal program), and sham charter management services providers, such as Apple. The same Turkish-controlled vendors are utilized by all the Gulenist charter schools throughout the Gülen Organization region.

The other major source of funds for the Gülen Organization comes from forced tithing from the charter networks' Turkish H-1B employees. The regional oversight entity, in Hampden's case, Apple, generally coordinates the hiring and placement of large numbers of Turkish Gulenists within the charter schools. The classic excuse proffered by Gulenist charter schools across the country is that the charter school was unable to secure math, science, and STEM teachers at large in the area—in fact, this explanation was given by the Turkish principal at Pioneer when asked why PCSS hires so many H-1B employees from Turkey.⁸ However, this excuse is a false pretext. A review of the H-1B applications filed, which are public record, demonstrate that Gulenist charter schools hire all manner of Turkish employees through the H-1B process—from budget analysts to legal counsel to administrators to English teachers. Gulenist charter schools, vendors, and cultural associations often use the same H-1B attorney(s) to facilitate H-1B applications across the region. Many former Gulenists have come forth and shared this information, along with copies of the *tuzuk*, with Amsterdam & Partners, the media, and U.S. courts.⁹

The abuse of the H-1B visa program has dual motives: 1) to fill the teaching and leadership positions within Gulenist charter schools, thereby cementing the Gulenist domination over the school's operations and maximizing the ability to orchestrate and hide fraud; and 2) to recoup portions of these H-1B employees' salaries and return it to the Gülen Organization. This recoupment occurs by way of forced tithing through a *tuzuk*, a form of contract Gulenists from Turkey have to agree to in order for the Gülen Organization to sponsor their immigration to the U.S. and employment in the Gulenist charter schools. This *tuzuk* requires Turkish H-1B employees to tithe up to 40% of their salaries back to the Gülen Organization each month, and if they refuse to comply, their employment will be terminated, resulting in a loss of their H-1B visa. This conduct—conditioning agreement to illegal employment practices under penalty of deportation—amounts to *per se* human trafficking under federal law. It also violates H-1B requirements and federal anti-discrimination laws in employment, as these charter schools systematically favor a specific national origin (Turkish) over other national origins in hiring, pay,

⁸ Rosenburg, Steven. Turkish Charter Schools Growing as Some Question Cleric Ties, The Boston Globe, February 21, 2013, available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/gpzjdo4</u> (last checked 2/22/2017).

⁹ McGahan, Jason. *Did a California Charter School Group Fund an Effort to Overthrow the Turkish Government?* LA Weekly. (1 December 2016). Available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/jxceqp7</u>

and promotion. Gulenist charter schools across the country have been sued for discrimination on the basis of national origin and gender; with most cases settling out of court, including an EEOC action brought against the Harmony network in Texas on these bases. In fact, Hampden's own teachers have complained during state site visits of a lack of transparency in HCSS's setting salaries, hiring, and evaluation.

As of the date of this meeting, Amsterdam & Partners has filed four substantive complaints against Gülen Organization charter networks operating in California (Magnolia); Texas (Harmony); Ohio (Concept); and Illinois (Concept). In each of these states, the markers were present, as well as evidence of nepotism towards Gulenist vendors, self-dealing in contracts, and purposeful overpayment to Gulenist vendors to siphon public funds from charter schools into the Gülen Organization.

Notable Articles regarding the Pioneer/Hampden MA Gülen Charter Networks

- *Top-notch school isn't marred by loose ties to Turkish cleric*. Boston Globe. 9 March 2013. Available at: http://tinyurl.com/jo2zx9f (22 February 2017).
- Icin, Barish. *Everett school serves all and isn't guided by any religious network*. Boston Globe. 25 February 2013. Available at: http://tinyurl.com/z5vhyql (22 February 2017).
- Rosenberg, Steven A. Turkish charter schools growing as some question cleric ties.
 Boston Globe. 21 February 2013. Available at: http://tinyurl.com/zgmh8pd (22 February 2017).
- Leighton, Paul. *State approves controversial charter school*. The Salem News. 27 February 2013. Available at: http://tinyurl.com/hy64pgz (22 February 2017)
- MA state politicians visited Turkey on a trip reimbursed by the Council of Turkic American Associations in New York.
 <u>http://www.capecodtoday.com/article/2014/09/25/27103-Murray-Peake-both-junkets-overseas</u>. The politicians were State Representatives Patricia Haddad, Kay Khan, Sarah Peake, and Gailanne Cariddi.

References:

- H-1B information is available on the Department of Labor's website, <u>www.myvisajobs.com</u>, and <u>www.jobsintech.io</u>.
- Fulton Science Academy Audits (GA): These reports share findings of the same markers and fraud discussed above, including the use of a sham educational services vendor, H-1B visa abuse, financial misuse, lack of transparent accounting practices, nepotism, and

self dealing among individuals affiliated with the Gülen Organization. Available at <u>www.fultonschools.org</u>, board of education, board meetings, December 2012.

- Cal. State Auditor, *Magnolia Science Academies*, Report 2014-135R, at 19 (May 2015), *available at https://www.auditor.ca.gov/reports/summary/2014-135R.*
- Cal. State Auditor, Implementation of State Auditor's Recommendations, Report 2016-406A, at 34 (Feb. 2016), available at <u>https://www.auditor.ca.gov/pdfs/sr2016/2016-</u> <u>406a.pdf</u>.
- Letter from Los Angeles Unified School District to Magnolia Public Schools detailing Forensic Audit findings, (June 27, 2014), available at <u>http://www.scribd.com/doc/233404441/Report-of-audit-from-LAUSD-to-Magnolia-Science-Academy-outlining-fiscal-audit#scribd</u>
- LAUSD 2014 Magnolia Forensic Audit, available at: <u>https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1311455-magnolia-oig-report.html</u>
- Amsterdam & Partners complaints for CA, TX, OH, and IL are available at guleninvestigation.com, and cover bond fraud (OH, IL, TX), real estate fraud (OH, IL, TX), H-1B abuse (CA, OH, IL, TX), employment discrimination (TX); nepotism and self dealing (CA, OH, IL, TX); fraudulent vendor relationships (CA, OH, IL, TX); E-Rate fraud (OH).
- For an interview with a former Gulenist employee, see McGahan, Jason. *Did a California Charter School Group Fund an Effort to Overthrow the Turkish Government?* LA Weekly. (1 December 2016). Available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/jxceqp7</u>
- A Brief Introduction to the Gülen Movement, available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/z4osywx</u> (last checked 9/8/2016) for a discussion of Gülen's beliefs regarding business and education ("One the most important dimension of the Gülen schools is the support schools receive from Turkish businessmen who are committed to the Gülen's Turko-Islamic worldview (Yavuz, 2003)... The relationship between the businessmen and schools is a symbiotic one. They benefit from the networks and assistance they received from business organizations formed by Gülen's followers. Such association will assist a Turkish businessman interested to do business in a particular country by providing the context of business climate and contacts within the country... Such a relationship is encouraged by Gülen who argued that economic wealth will support a modern educational system that could empower Turks and Muslims (Yavuz, 2003).."
- See Application for Search Warrant for Concept Schools, U.S. District Court (N.D. III.), Case No. 14-M-288 (June 4, 2014), available at http://bit.ly/1qiKhO0 (detailing facts of Concept Schools' suspected defrauding of federal funds in application for search warrant filed by U.S. Department of Education); see Section II.C (discussing Harmony's majority Turkish board of directors).

- Mihalopoulos, Dan and Seidel, Jon, *Charter Firm Suspected of Cheating Federal Grant Program*, Chicago Sun-Times (December 16, 2015). Available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/j3snbad</u> (last checked 9/8/2016).
- Oklahoma State Auditor Investigative Report of the Dove Science Academy Network, available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/jms5wmb</u> (last checked 9/8/2016).
- Randy Ellis, State Audit Questions Charter Schools' Site Lease Payments, The Oklahoman (Mar. 17, 2016), <u>http://bit.ly/1qllwkg</u>.
- Diane Samuels, *Kenilworth Charter School, Subject of Apparent FBI Inquiry, Has Ties to Turkish Education Movement*, Times-Picayune (Dec. 12, 2013), <u>http://bit.ly/1SBHb0B</u>.
- Complaint, United States of America v. Harmony Public Schools, No. 1:14-cv-00193 (W.D. Tex. Mar. 5, 2014);
- Nature of Action, EEOC v. Cosmos Foundation, Inc. d/b/a Harmony Science Academy (Austin), No. 1:12-cv-1003 (W.D. Tex. Oct. 30, 2012);
- Complaint for Civil Rights Violations, Couch v. Harmony Science Academy, No. 3:08-cv-00201 (W.D. Tex. June 5, 2008);
- Letter to Soner Tarim, Office of Civil Rights Docket No. 06-11-5004 (Nov. 26, 2014) (examining whether Harmony Public Schools discriminates on the basis of national origin by failing to provide English Language Learner students equal opportunity to participate in its charter schools). The terms of the Resolution Agreement and investigation can be found at <u>http://www2.ed.gov/documents/press-releases/harmonypublic-schools-letter.pdf</u>
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission v. Cosmos Foundation, Inc., 2012 WL 10819360 (W.D. Tex 2012) (suit alleging employment discrimination based on gender and national origin, with Cosmos later settling with Plaintiff former employee Nicole Tuchsherer for \$125,000.00).
- For a fascinating example of how Gülen Organization charter networks, their vendors, and Gülenist cultural associations use the H-1B program and also, their connections to each other, review the H-1B clients served by Remzi Kulen, a Turkish immigration attorney located in the U.S., available at: http://tinyurl.com/gptwx5x (last checked 9/8/2016).The same attorney processed H-1B applications for Concept, several HSA schools, Concept's charter schools in other states (Gateway, Indiana Math and Science Academy, etc.,), the Niagara Foundation, the Scioto Foundation (d.b.a Turkish-American Society), Zaman Ltd. (a Gülenist newspaper), Beehive Charter School (a Gülenist charter school in Utah that was audited and now closed), and even the Golden Generation

Retreat Center, Gülen's own compound in Pennsylvania. Seth Leech's information is available at: <u>http://tinyurl.com/zlc7eql</u> (last checked 2/23/2017).