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Neo-Pan-Islamism in Turkey: foreign policy discourse of Turkey's Islamist thinkers and parties (1970s-1990s)

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Abbreviations

AKP: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, Justice and Development Party

ANAP: *Anavatan Partisi*, Motherland Party

CHP: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, Republican People's Party

D-8: Developing 8

DYP: *Doğru Yol Partisi*, True Path Party

FP: *Fazilet Partisi*, Virtue Party

JI: *Jamaat-e Islami*, Islamic Society (Islamist movement, Pakistan/Bangladesh)

MB: Muslim Brothers

MHP: *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*, Nationalist Movement Party

MMTD: *Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi*, National Assembly's Journal of Minutes, TGNA Archive

MNP: *Milli Nizam Partisi*, National Order Party

MSP: *Milli Selamet Partisi*, National Salvation Party

MTB: *Müslüman Topluluklar Birliği*, Union of Muslim Communities (congress)

MWL: Muslim World League

NOM: National Outlook Movement (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*)

RP: *Refah Partisi*, Welfare Party

SP: *Saadet Partisi*, Felicity Party

TBMM/TGNA: *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*/Turkish Grand National Assembly

WMC: World Muslim Congress

Introduction

As one approaches the study of Turkish Foreign policy under the rule of *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP, Justice and Development Party), the concept of *Neo-Ottomanism* is frequently central to the discussion. Even if one has additionally pointed out the nationalist features of AKP's Neo-Ottomanism,[1] the latter can be generically defined as a label for a multi-dimensional approach to foreign relations through the utilization of Turkey's soft power based on historical, geographic and cultural connections dating back to the Ottoman era. Embracing Neo-Ottomanism implies a rejection of the idea of Turkey as merely "a bridge between East and West", an unassertive actor, valued only from the point of view of its relations with the West.

Turkey's former Prime Minister Turgut Özal was the first ruling figure in contemporary Turkey to be considered a promoter of a "Neo-Ottomanist" foreign policy. Two decades later, AKP's foreign policy was labeled the same way after its theoretical structuring within Ahmet Davutoğlu's *Strategic Depth*. Professor Davutoğlu, a former International Relations scholar, Turkey's former Foreign Minister and Prime Minister, is considered to have been the intellectual architect of the AKP's foreign policy even before his appointment as minister. Davutoğlu's Strategic Depth concept can be described as soft power that should be exerted by Turkey in the international arena, and on its neighbors in particular, in the light of the country's historical and geographical heritage.

However, the so-called Neo-Ottomanism has not been sufficiently studied in relation to the stances of the 20th century's

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[1] Taşpınar, "The three strategic visions of Turkey".

Islamic movements, parties and intellectuals that certainly influenced Turkish political scene, also by generating the heterogeneous series of pro-Islamic parties from MNP to today's AKP and Saadet Partisi. In fact, there have been different kinds of Neo-Ottomanism in the history of Turkish foreign policy, and this generic "instinct" of assertiveness and multidimensionality has characterized political personalities and projects diversely situated in Turkey's political spectrum, from right (Özal) to left (İsmail Cem).[2] For this reason, one should rather focus on the differences between this different approaches to the idea of a "more independent" and multidimensional (or multi-directional) Turkey as an international actor. Someone has outlined the connection between Davutoğlu's doctrine and Pan-Islamism, therefore indicating a more specific origin and nature of the former FM and PM's "Neo-Ottomanism".[3]

The background issue that the present research helps to clarify is the continuity among the Turkish Islamic movements of the second half of the 20th century, as this is also useful to explain the evolution towards today's Turkish Islamic-based political parties. The core of this research, however, is a study of the specific sphere of foreign policy discourse though a study of these parties' ideology and discourse. I explore this discourse through research on those movements and parties that appeared on the Turkish political scene approximately in the 1970s-1990s period, by analyzing in particular their views on foreign affairs. Nevertheless, I focus my research on political parties, rather than on movements. Specifically, the conclusive aim of this research is the analysis of the stances of the main Turkish Islamist parties in relation to foreign policy. The possible evolution or continuity of these stances

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[2] Altunışık, "Worldviews and Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East"
[3] Özkan, "Turkey, Davutoğlu and the idea of pan-Islamism".

is to be explored in opposition to the degree of consistency they could have maintained throughout the years. To do this, my research includes a chronological assessment of those Islamic parties and frequent comparisons among them. This study is meant to constitute a useful contribution to the study of Turkish foreign policy doctrines and the history of Turkey's political Islam. Through an in-depth analysis of Turkish Pan-Islamism and Islamist foreign policy views since the first appearance of Islamist parties in the country, this research is meant to be an instrument for any further study intending to connect today's main foreign policy doctrines in Turkey with their historical roots. Such a "re-connection" with history would allow a better comprehension of the complexity of today's parties and their attitudes in foreign relations.

Before reaching this analysis of party ideology, however, the present research considers the sphere of Turkey's relatively independent Islamist thinkers, including religious leaders, writers, journalists, which contributed mostly to the formation of a consistent Islamist ideology representing the main Islamist party tradition in Turkey. This has helped in observing the ideological tradition related to world politics and the circulation of ideas in and out of political organizations about this field.

In the case of Turkey, the question of foreign policy is particularly connected to that of identity. For this reason, different perspectives on foreign affairs have become a crucial symbol of the divergence between Kemalists and Islamists in Turkey.[4] These two conflicting orientations have proposed and still propose two opposite worldviews that reflect their ideas on what Turkey is or should be. That is why the theme of foreign policy has assumed such an important ideological character

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[4] Robins, *Suits and Uniforms*, 145.

throughout the history of the Turkish Republic and needs to be studied from within the Islamist discourse.

As a starting point of this historical research on the foreign policy perspectives of Islamist parties in Turkey, it is indispensable to establish concepts and possible minimal definitions, in order to identify and justify the selection of cases and bring into focus the aspects to investigate. Accordingly, I need to define clearly the concept of political party in order to frame the cases I selected, differentiating them from movements. I also briefly address the concept of foreign policy and its components, as it is the object of my research within the broad and diverse realm of Islamist movements and parties. Successively I address the concept of political Islam (or Islamism), also as a category to add within a possible party typology, since classifying parties or movements as mainly Islamist or not can comprehensibly lead to different understandings of their actions.

My intention is to study parties, instead of other interest groups such as social movements, because of their potentially more direct contact with the state's (Turkey in this case) foreign policy making and, especially in this case, because of their plausible connections with the party that has been ruling the country in question for more than a decade after 2002. This does not mean that movements are to be neglected in this research, as they played a fundamental role, especially in ideological terms, throughout the whole history of the parties under focus.

The organizations that I take into consideration are those Islamic groups that were aiming at some governmental role within the Republican institutions: what Yavuz would call the "vertical" type of Islamism. Those are, without doubt, the explicitly Islamic parties that

originated from the tradition of the Nakşibendi sufi orders and Necmettin Erbakan's *National Outlook* ideals, managing to be accepted as legitimate actors of Turkey's political life. Therefore, the scope of this research is limited to Turkey's political Islam as represented by MNP, MSP, RP (FP significantly detaches itself from the hardcore NOM tradition). The existence of deep connections with today's *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP, Justice and Development Party) and *Saadet Partisi* (SP, Felicity Party) is to be considered an initial assumption justifying the even higher relevance of their history.

The first openly pro-Islamic party to appear in Turkish politics was the *Milli Nizam Partisi* (MNP, National Order Party), established in 1970. The main external promoter of this new movement was Mehmed Zahid Kotku, a Nakşibendi leader and founder of the *İskenderpaşa* religious community. Several members of this brotherhood – and future leading figures of Turkey's political life – were mobilized by Kotku to form the MNP, the first party that can be inscribed in the framework of the *Milli Görüş* (National Outlook) movement. "*National Outlook Movement*" was destined to become the common name for those political parties that followed one another as the main incarnations of political Islam in Turkey.

Together with the influence exerted by those Islamist circles on the development of the NOM *(National Outlook Movement)*, one must not forget the importance of economic and social reasons for the birth of the MNP. The rise of the Islamist parties, reaching its peak in the mid-1990s, is thought to be linked both to their representing the counter-elites – e.g. both entrepreneurs and urbanized workers – of the Turkish society's periphery and to the constructions of active grassroots organizations making the "NOM party" (especially in its last incarnations) the only mass party in the history of Turkey. However, as

one considers the center/periphery clash as the main factor for the birth of the NOM, it is important to remember that the creation of the first Islamist party was conducted by people that were already involved in the political and economic institutions of Turkey and that its ideological framework was linked to religious circles and brotherhoods.

The MNP was suppressed by the Constitutional Court in 1971, soon after the second Turkish military coup. The following year the party was refounded under the name of *Milli Selamet Partisi* (MSP, National Salvation Party). The MSP entered the Turkish Parliament and founded a government coalition with the social-democratic *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP, Republican People's Party) in 1974. The MSP was then forced to close down in the wake of the 1980 coup d'état, as it was disbanded by the military government who wiped out all the political parties in 1981. In 1983 the MSP re-emerged under the name of *Refah Partisi* (RP, Welfare Party). The Refah gained popularity throughout the first half of the 1990s and managed to win the general election in 1995. The RP was then the first party of Turkey and Erbakan became Prime Minister in a coalition government with the conservative *Doğru Yol Partisi* (DYP, True Path Party).

Refah Partisi was abolished in 1998 after PM Erbakan's resignation the previous year. The following National Outlook's incarnation *Fazilet Partisi* (FP, Virtue Party) is also taken into consideration by this study as the last National Outlook party, from which both the AKP and the more traditionalist (*gelenekçi*) *Saadet Partisi* (SP, Felicity Party) originated. However, the FP represents a sort of exception in the history of the NOM, as the abolition of the RP and the leadership change highly weakened it also from an ideological point of view. The FP's ideology changed remarkably in respect to its predecessors and this change paved the way for the birth of the AKP,

whose roots are in the NOM, although it has detached itself from that tradition.

The most recent works on this subject sustain the currently insufficient study of "the foreign policy visions and practices of the Islamist parties that preceded the AKP".[5,6] The article by Hasret Dikici Bilgin, published in 2008, is an important exception as it explicitly deals with the foreign policy orientation of the National Outlook parties, including also an allusion to a partial continuity with the AKP concerning some specific elements.[7] Dikici Bilgin uses Karabell's definition as the framework into which possibly insert the orientations of Turkish Islamists. In this brief study, it is possible to find mention of the most eminent features of these foreign policy attitudes and employ these as starting points for the deepening to be done through my historical research.

A contribution to the study of Turkish Islamist foreign policy is also given by Feriha Perekli, who describes the NOM as embracing the general Islamist anti-Westernism throughout the 1980s.[8] She does so by observing the connections on the ideological plan with the tawhidi school of Islamic thought. Tawḥīdism is a specific current of contemporary Islamic thought, promoting a political vision of Islam as an ideology that can be applied to any aspect of life. According to Perekli, the rise of the NOM parties was characterized by a continuous influence of Islamic authors that can be associated with the tawḥīdi worldview.

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[5] Dalay and Friedman, "The Ak Party and the evolution of Turkish Political Islam's Foreign Policy".
[6] Adiong, *International Relations and Islam: Diverse Perspectives*.
[7] Dikici Bilgin, "Foreign Policy Orientation of Turkey's Pro-Islamist Parties".
[8] Perekli, "The Ideological Framing of the National Outlook Parties in Turkey".

While approaching the topic of foreign policy in relation to Islam, prof. Gözaydın has pointed out the characteristics of Ahmet Davutoğlu as an "Islamic scholar shaping Turkey's foreign policy",[9] so suggesting the existence of connections between AKP's and Islamist foreign policy ideas. Interestingly, in his *Alternative Paradigms*[10] the former Foreign Minister analyzes the Islamic vision of the world and interstate relations, by quoting Arab and Turkish Muslim scholars of Islamic law like Majid Khadduri and Ahmet Özel (e.g. Özel, 1982).[11]

From the point of view of a general history of Turkey's Islamist parties, a recent contribution by sociologist Kayhan Delibaş importantly confirms the characteristic of the NOM of being the only Turkish political grouping producing, at least with the RP, a real mass party in the history of the country.[12] Delibaş analyzes the history of the NOM, and especially the RP, with an approach that supports the relevance of social factors for the electoral success of the RP in the 1990s as it was supported by a year-round active grassroots activity.

This research amplifies the range of studies dealing with the history of Islamic movements in contemporary Turkey. It offers an in-depth analysis of the vision of external world within the religious brotherhoods in the years of their support to the establishment of the first Turkish pro-Islamic parties. Additionally, it searches the same elements in those parties, possibly tracing the same kind of influence on the AKP in foreign policy.

This kind of research contributes to a deeper understanding of the historical development of Turkish Islamic movements. It studies an

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[9] Gözaydın, "Ahmet Davutoğlu: Role as an Islamic Scholar Shaping Turkey's Foreign Policy".
[10] Davutoğlu, *Alternative Paradigms: The Impact of Islamic and Western Weltanschauungs on Political Theory*.
[11] Özel, *İslam Hukukunda Milletlerarası Münasebetler ve Ülke Kavramı*.
[12] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*.

element of their ideology that has been underrated. Much importance has been given by scholars to the AKP's foreign policy and its Neo-Ottomanism. Therefore, as the AKP has its roots in Islamist movements, it would be significant to understand what the ramifications of these roots are regarding foreign relations.

The primary object of this thesis is the ideological bases of Turkish Islamic political movements regarding their approach to the external world, i.e. their vision of foreign relations. The history of these ideas is studied here through various sources to answers several questions, which can be simplified in this way: what were Turkish Islamists' stances towards the international circumstances? What were their views of the external world (Muslim and non-Muslim)? Did they envision any international project? What were their stances towards the Cold War or NATO? What did they think of Turkey's foreign policy of the time? What were the ideas of Turkish Islamist parties on the Iranian Revolution and the foundation of the Islamic Republic? What were the stances and the recurrent slogans of Turkish Islamists regarding Israel and Zionism?

The focus, however, is both on the general foreign policy envisioned by those groups and on specific issues of the time observed as they were faced within the discourse of Turkey's Islamist parties. For this reason, the dissertation's main result is the extrapolation of the core elements of Turkish Pan-Islamism, or neo-Pan-Islamism. Here I single out as the constant ingredients of the Islamist worldview on foreign policy and question the possibility of the existence of distinctive features of Turkish (neo-)Pan-Islamism, making it typically different from the one developing in other Muslim countries. The thesis analyzes first the responses given by relevant Islamist intellectuals, religious leaders, writers and journalists, who have influenced Turkish Islamism

in forming a consistent set of ideas concerning foreign affairs. In the second part, Islamist political parties are going to be the connected to that tradition and studied as the main subject.

For the research in question it is necessary to examine documents produced by (and related to) the Islamist parties of Turkey, to conduct interviews and finally to develop a history of those parties' projects and impacts in relation to foreign policy. This conclusively paves the way for possible links with the currently ruling party AKP, as one can consider it a component of Turkey's Islamist offspring, this leading to a better understanding of the links between the AKP and its predecessors on such themes.

My intention is to start this research by focusing on the Nakşibendi members that gave a direct or indirect impulse to the birth to the National Outlook Movement, which incarnated itself in the MNP and its following incarnations. My approach takes into consideration the theoretical frameworks and the importance of the writings of authors and leaders of the Islamic groups, from politically oriented brotherhoods to parties. The starting point of the research is a study of the normative frameworks of the Islamic movements in question, i.e. their ideological bases that were taken as roots of the political programs of MNP and MSP. These texts have been considered along with the official programs, in order to analyze the orientations of those parties regarding foreign policy. In this sense, it is useful to take into account the different figures that contributed to the ideological development of those movements, and, more specifically, who gave the fundamental ideological inputs to their worldviews on foreign affairs. The research continues then with a search on bibliographical sources of Nakşibendi leaders – i.e. Mehmed Zahid Kotku, Esad Coşan – and other influent

Islamist non-party intellectuals such as Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Sezai Karakoç, Ali Bulaç which shaped the Islamist thought in Turkey.

On the parties' side, one of the most important Muslim authors I include in this research is also the National Outlook's main founder Necmettin Erbakan. I take into consideration his works as those of other NOM-linked writers (e.g. Erbakan, 1975).[13] Also, the parliamentary speeches – and sometimes published works – of NOM politicians are examined here to trace their stances on foreign policy and to assess their relations with the abovementioned religious thinkers. Besides, by using official direct sources such as the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, it has been possible to search a number of official declarations and speeches given by members of the NOM parties.

The Turkish and international press, whereas it concerns those parties and their public declarations, is another crucial source. Islamist magazines are key in this sense. For instance, an important source to understand the Islamist ideas on foreign policy in Turkey during the 1980s is the periodical called *Dış Politika* (Foreign Policy), which is the most important period for the growth of Necmettin Erbakan's *Refah Partisi* (RP). This journal can be considered a useful source to examine questions such as the ideas of Muslim intellectuals on the role of Islam in Turkey's foreign policy and their perspectives on regional and international affairs.[14] Articles published on the NOM newspaper *Milli Gazete* have been also utilized as archival sources in order to study the NOM's stances on foreign policy. Other Turkish Islamist and non-Islamist newspapers are sometimes equally used as sources.

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[13] Erbakan, *Milli Görüş*.
[14] Sayarı, "Islam and International Relations in Turkey".

I was able to conduct my research in the most profitable way during my visiting period at Ankara's Middle East Technical University (METU), under the supervision of Professor Meliha Altunışık, and with the access to Turkish state archives, METU Library and especially the National Library. This dissertation is also enriched by the precious pieces of advice of Professor Behlül Özkan, of Istanbul's Marmara University, great expert on Turkish Pan-Islamism.

As regards its structure, the core of the present dissertation is divided into two parts, both subdivided into several subsections. After an introductive part including the explanation of critical concepts and typologies, and a history of Turkish Islamism as outlined through a study of the most relevant historiographical contributions to the subject, the research starts with a first study on the theoretical and organizational imprints left by the religious brotherhood. In this first part, the development and evolution of Turkish Islamism is explored in terms of intellectual history, by focusing in particular on the ideological and theoretical elements of Turkey's political Islam in respect to foreign policy and international relations. This part focuses more on the wider Turkish Islamist framework than on the more specific context of the National Outlook.

Conversely, the second part focuses on the National Outlook Movement, by examining the ideological expressions of the NOM parties and highlighting their evolution from the MNP to the FP. In any case, the second part also includes links between the party's stances – expressed through electoral campaigns, programs and manifestoes, or pamphlets – and the international context stimulating those elaborations.

The first part of the dissertation contains the analysis of the most distinguishable ideological origins of Turkish Islamist discourse. More

in detail, the first part of the dissertation includes an in-depth analysis of the ideological bases of Turkey's Islamist views on foreign relations.

More specifically, this is done by starting from the beginnings of Turkey's political Islam in contraposition to the dominant Kemalist ideology and the establishment of the Republic, from the beginning of Ataturk's era to the transition to a multiparty system after the Second World War. The situation of Turkish Islamist thinkers and religious brotherhoods, which were the most important religious groups in Turkish society – later representing the bases for the foundation of Islamist political parties and movements –, is reviewed with regard to the first Republican era.

A final section of this first part explores the theses of the abovementioned Turkish Islamist thinkers that dealt with foreign relations theories and issues in Turkey's Republican era, fundamentally linking it to the Ottoman-rooted tradition of pan-Islamism and tracing the elements of continuity as well as the differences in respect to that ideological trend. The writings of those thinkers, in particular those that according to literature have been the most influential on the NOM, are investigated with the objective of drawing conclusions about common lines on foreign policy.

The second part of the dissertation is about the Islamist discourse on foreign affairs as produced specifically by the NOM's political parties. It analyzes this discourse and its evolution throughout the parties' life. It takes into account the texts produced by the parties, including programs, manifestoes, public speeches and pamphlets comprising foreign policy questions. The aim is to include all those sources that contributed to the circulation of NOM ideas inside Turkey and to the consequent development of an Islamist cultural environment. In brief, this part outlines the foreign policy discourses imagined and

propagandized by the National Outlook in its various party incarnations, exploring their changes and consistency through time.

A second section of this part finally explores the history of the NOM parties and their foreign policies from the point of view of their parliamentary interventions, mostly dealing with the foreign policy stances as expressed in parliamentary speeches by the MPs belonging to the National Outlook. This final section ultimately helps in revealing the NOM's specific positions in relation to the changing international scenarios and main foreign policy issues involving Turkey from the 1970s to the 1990s. This conclusively answers many of the abovementioned motivating questions of this research.

Concepts and typologies for a research on Turkish Islamist Parties and their foreign policy ambitions

The aim of this chapter is to focus on methodological issues such as concept formation and classification that are useful in laying the foundations of a research. More specifically, I am going to explore definitions of concepts that are to be fundamental for my historical research on Turkish Islamist parties and their foreign policy objectives in the last three decades of 20th century. Concepts are the main ingredient of historical analysis. As Paul Veyne said, fostering *non événementielle* historiography, history is analysis rather than narration. "*Concepts are what distinguish history from historical novel and from its own documents*".[1] It is then indispensable to establish concepts and possible minimal definitions as a starting point of a historical research, in order to identify and justify the selection of cases, bring into focus the aspects to investigate and finally grasp explanatory factors or classifications. Accordingly, I intend to explore and define the concept of political party in order to frame the cases I selected, differentiating them from movements. I will also briefly address the concept of foreign policy and its components, as it will be the object of my research within the broad and diverse realm of Islamist movements and parties. Successively I will address the concept of political Islam (or Islamism), also as a category to add within a possible party typology, since classifying parties or movements as mainly Islamist or not can comprehensibly lead to different understandings of their actions. In this chapter I will also refer to the Turkish parties selected for my historical analysis – namely the National Order Party (MNP), the National

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[1] Veyne, "L'histoire conceptualizante".

Salvation Party (MSP), the Welfare Party (RP) and the Virtue Party (FP) – thus justifying their selection as well as their relationship with the concepts expounded throughout the chapter.

Defining concepts

For the present research it is necessary to examine texts produced by (and related to) the Islamist parties of Turkey and finally to develop a history of those parties' projects and ideas related to foreign policy.

Before doing this, it is then necessary to focus on the concepts that are going to be at the base of this research. Especially when one needs to understand connections between different key actors, i.e. detecting common denominators for different cases, it is vital to start with a clear definition of the objects and the concepts related to them. The concept of Islamism will be the central one, for its being the core ideology of a certain group of political parties taking foreign policy actions when ruling, or adopting foreign policy projects. Thus, the first question to answer is the "what-is question" (Mair, 2008), to clarify what is to be searched. We need to formulate the concepts that are useful for our work. If the aim is to evaluate the influence of Islamic tenets on a political party (i.e. Islamism) to define it as religious in general and Islamist in particular, then a clear definition of Islamism is needed. It would be very harmful to miss a clear definition of party or Islamism, as that would lead to mistakes in the categorization, possibly leading to a wrong use of the same explanation for different cases. Another important reason to establish a definition at the beginning of the research is the common use of terms in popular discourse. This general and unspecified use of the word (e.g. Islamism) can create uncertainty about the real meaning of it.

These last two problems are what Sartori calls *vagueness* and *ambiguity* respectively. If we imagine a meaning for the concept of Islamism, if we conceive a definition for it, we have to take into account its relationship with the conventional *term* used to address it, as well as with the concrete objects (i.e. the *referents*) to be included under that meaning.[2] The former can be subjected to a homonymy, as the word can have more than one meaning, this bringing us to the necessity of discerning the different meanings by assigning a distinct term to each of them in our research. This situation of ambiguity is certainly what can happen with the term Islamism, often used with different meanings, stretching from elements of religious extremism to simple affiliation to the Islamic religion. The connection of the meaning with the referents, as it is explained by Sartori, constitutes the problem of *vagueness*. The most evident feature of this connection is the question of inclusion and exclusion of objects. What is to be the *membership* of the concept under scrutiny? Is our definition too unbound from referents, or is it too discriminating? The discriminating power of a concept can be enhanced or reduced according to the amount of specificities we add to its definition. It is necessary to divide the concept into its main features in order to reach the possibility of a more accurate capacity of discrimination, especially if one aims at a certain measurement of the concept studied.[3] These would be the elements constituting the so-called *intension* of the concept, while the *extension* is the relation between the concept and the objects included by its meaning. When defining a concept these are the two aspects that are to be managed in the most useful way for the sake of our research.

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[2] Sartori, "Guidelines for concept analysis".
[3] Lazarsfeld, "Evidence and inference in social research".

The potential problems of ambiguity and vagueness are then problems related to the intension and extension of the concept and are to be solved by defining it in the light of the need to discern the connotative elements of the concepts (intension) as well as the need for a denotative objective to include referents within a certain boundary (extension). A definition can be more or less denotative, as we can have for instance a so-called operational definition – highly denotative and exploitable for measurement operations. In general, it is important for the research in question to start with denotative definitions that are at least "precising"[4] about the concepts to be addressed. This kind of definition is bound to solve the problem of membership, as in our case it would include only the objects of study that can be comparable and classifiable under the same concept. For example, it would be crucial to start with a definition of political parties aiming at cutting off those groups, such as social movements, that can have similar characteristics but different goals and structures. It will be necessary to address the question of foreign policy with the intention of maintaining a clear distinction between that and other spheres of political action. Finally, the concept of Islamism is to be divided into elements and given a denotative definition in order to distinguish it from other ideological aspects. Islamist parties will then be defined as a type of political party with a certain set of features, then excluding other parties.

Setting boundaries is one the main requirements for carrying out this research. The membership issue is particularly problematic if we consider the "borderline entities", as Sartori calls them, which are to be included or excluded by the concept. The so-called cut-off point, as determined by our definition (more strictly within an operational definition), can move to include or exclude referents. The imagined

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[4] Sartori, "Guidelines for concept analysis".

space of this shifting between a more inclusive and a more exclusive definition of a concept is the well-known "ladder of abstraction".[5]

Climbing or descending the ladder of abstraction as theorized by Sartori means to increase or reduce the number of properties of a concept. A wide range of attributes will make the concept include fewer referents, even only one referent if the definition includes enough detailing features. Conversely, the concept will be more inclusive the less characterizing properties are included within its definition. This relation between the intension and the extension of a concept is then exemplified by this trade-off between properties of the concepts and cases accepted inside its boundaries. The concepts standing at the top of the ladder, i.e. concepts with a very wide extension, does not leave much space to discussion: their definitions are easily accepted and useful to put very different cases on the same plan, but at the same time they are poor and need further specifications. At the same time, concepts staying at the bottom of the ladder have very rich and heavy definitions, related to few or only one referent, with many explicated properties making any discussion useless in terms of comparison with other cases or theory-development. That is why Peter Mair tells us about the more interesting nature of those concepts standing in the middle level of the ladder.[6] Those are the livelier concepts, the ones whose definitions are both inclusive and setting up more or less precise boundaries. This does not mean that those definitions are necessarily unstable; it means that they have a moderate amount of attributes leading to a certain amount of referents that can be consistent with a theory without being a simple universal. However, the concepts staying at the top of the ladder can be considered a *genus*, or the "entry" into a

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Mair, Peter. "Concepts and concept formation".

certain discourse, as Sartori would also call it. In other words, those *universals* can still be the widest class in a classification, within which different sub-category (possibly attaining to what we called "middle level concepts") can constitute groups of referents by means of their specific attributes (*differentiae*).

In the case of the concept of Islamism, for example, it is important to understand the properties forming it. This will help not to label as Islamist parties, as a type of political party, all those parties whose members are Muslims, in a top-ladder version of the concept, or vice versa only those parties who explicitly use a reference to Islam in their names. A clear definition of what is Islamism as an ideology, would then lead us to a more correct classification of political actors as Islamist or not. In the case of my research, it justifies the selection of cases by finding a minimal definition to include the right amount of referents – high enough on the ladder – and cutting off the differently oriented political actors (parties, in that circumstance).

When a classification is built around more than one dimension (property), we have a *typology*. When more classifications are combined to define genus and differentiae, we have precise categories that create an exclusive and exhaustive set of types: "each item must belong to only one type; no item must be incapable of being included".[7] In order to function well, a typology needs to include all the possible items (referents) that need explanation. Typologies can be very useful tools because of their parsimony: they can assist us in grouping many different forms of a social phenomenon within manageable sets of clusters.[8] Yet, typologies are to be utilized cautiously. A detailed

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Collier et al., "Putting Typologies to Work Concept Formation, Measurement, and Analytic Rigor".

labelling of social phenomena, for instance in the case of parties, is certainly a useful tool, but at the same time it has to be used with moderation by remembering that in real life no boundary can be established once for all. Those blurred boundaries are what makes acceptable for typologies not to explain every possible case. However, as I mentioned already, explanation can become the goal of classifications, especially when they develop to more articulate taxonomies such as typologies. For instance, we can explain the actions of a party *because* that party can be put within the boundaries of the "Islamist party" type: being Islamism its main ideological reference, can tell us why it moves in a certain direction.

The concepts of political party, movement and opportunity space

One can climb or descend the ladder of abstraction by addition or subtraction of properties not only to reach more or less referents across space. Moving up or down the ladder it is also possible to comprehend the change of concepts across time. History of concepts can tell us that the changing of concepts through time is sometimes an enrichment of their properties, thus a narrower specification leading to a smaller range of referents. This is plausibly the case of Islamism, a concept that was initially used to indicate the adherence to Islam as a religion, later understood as the adherence to an ideological vision of that religion.[9] However, even outside the ladder and in non-linear ways, concepts mutate throughout history. It is the duty of the historian to understand those mutations in order not to confuse homonymies with terms meaning the same concept. Yet, there are concepts that stand very high on the ladder of abstraction and therefore remain useful, in their narrow intension, to study even very distant historical periods. Those are to be

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[9] Kramer, Martin. "Coming to Terms: Fundamentalists or Islamists?".

considered *universals,* as Sartori told us, and it makes sense to take them into account in historical explanations, as they are capable of staying stable throughout ages. One of these universals is the concept of *collective*, a broad genus for the concept of party that I am going to address here.

My intention is to study parties, instead of other interest groups such as social movements, because of their potentially more direct contact with the state's (Turkey in this case) foreign policy making and, especially in this case, because of their plausible connections with the party that has been ruling the country in question for more than a decade after 2002. This does not mean that movements are to be neglected in this research, as they played a fundamental role throughout the whole history of the parties under focus.

For the concept of party, I use the minimal definition expressed by Giovanni Sartori: a political party is "*any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections (free or unfree), candidates for public office*".[10] This definition, though locating the concept as high as possible on the ladder of abstraction, still implies a distinction between parties and other interest groups such as the social movements or, as it is also a significant actor in the research in question, religious brotherhoods. When the latter comes in contact with political activity, they can be included within the category of movements, certainly not in that of parties. A definition of social movement that is useful to this research has been given by Tarrow as he said that it represents "*a collective challenge by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained*

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[10] Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, 63.

interaction with élites opponents and authorities".[11] This valid definition can also be enriched in the context of this research with the theory on "new social movements", as developed among others by Melucci.[12] This type of social movements bases itself on identities to be symbolized and transformed into actions by members through everyday life practices. It is possible to include Islamic movements in the category of these so-called "new social movements", because the identity of individual members is a crucial element in their own expression in the public space and transition to political action. This means that this kind of movements, by bridging the individual and the collective dimensions, can pave the way to the formation of political parties which will necessarily have strong identity roots. Since social movements have the power to create political space for their adherents to be relevant voices in the public sphere, according to the Turkish scholar Hakan Yavuz it is important to understand the success of a movement through its use of "opportunity spaces". The concept of opportunity space implies the idea of "*a forum of social interaction that creates new possibilities for augmenting networks of shared meaning and associational life*"[13] In order to "come out" to the public space, this movements, making the affirmation of individual identity their priority, need to utilize this public spaces. Among these opportunity spaces one has to include media, cultural foundations, private education systems and the market in general, being a liberalized market a possible source for the flourishing of all these forums of social interaction. Opportunity spaces allow one to express his or her individual identity, in accord with the process of self-categorization of the individual within a social

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[11] Tarrow, *Power in movement: Social movements, collective action and politics,* 4.
[12] Cited in Yavuz, *Islamic political identity in Turkey,* 23.
[13] Ibid., 24.

group, as developed by social identity theorists (Ysseldyk *et al.*, 2010).[14]

Fundamentally, in the case of Islamist movements, these spaces "*free diverse voices and transform religiously shaped stocks of knowledge into a* project *and shared rules of cooperation and competition*".[15] This means that opportunity spaces are where the social movements express a political nature, with the possibility of formalizing and organizing themselves as political parties. Even if this passage does not necessarily occur, the transition through an opportunity space, then a political space, seems a necessary step. Within opportunity spaces, it has been possible for Turkish religious social movements to create "counterhegemonic discourses that are autonomous in relation to the secular state".[16] Once the political sphere has been reached, those social movements rooted in religious identity and inspired by contemplative religious brotherhoods, can adopt a state-oriented attitude that lays the foundations of a potential religious party with a more revolutionary or reformist strategy.

As they were seminal in the development of Turkey's religious party, this chapter is to look also at the projects of those Islamist movements in terms of foreign policy to be adopted once they would access power. After defining the concepts of foreign policy – which in this case represents the sub-field to analyze within the programmatic aspect of the parties in question – and that of Islamism, I will come back to parties by choosing a useful typology as a possible instrument for my research.

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[14] Ysseldyk et al., "Religiosity as identity: Toward an understanding of religion from a social identity perspective".
[15] Yavuz, *Islamic political identity in Turkey,* 24.
[16] Ibid., 25.

The concept of foreign policy

Foreign policy is commonly defined as an activity of the State with which it seeks to achieve its goals within the international arena. Its main components are consequently those "national objectives" (the goals) and the set of instruments (the means) through which a government administers its foreign relations pursuing those objectives connected with external entities. Another characteristic of the concept of foreign policy is the specific aim of preserving the State's sovereignty and independence while managing its relationship with other States. A complete definition is given by Carlsnaes: "*foreign policies consist of those* actions *which, expressed in the form of explicitly stated* goals*, commitments and/or directives, and pursued by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities, are directed toward objectives, conditions and actors – both governmental and non-governmental – which they want to affect and which lie beyond their territorial legitimacy*".[17] The most interesting component of this concept, in the context of my research, is constituted by those goals, commitment or directives interpreting the national interest. It is an aim of this research to see how these are linked with the ideological interpretations of the foreign policy makers of the Republic of Turkey, and how those interpretations possibly adapted themselves to the diverse factors inescapably affecting a state's activity in the international sphere. Among these factors we can include the economic and military capability of the state in question; the geographic features; the leaders and the ruling élite supporting them; the internal organization and stability of the state and its political situation; its public opinion and interest groups, including parties. The ideology-based commitments of the ruling party (or parties) have to face all these

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[17] Carlsnaes, "Foreign policy".

factors as well as with the other states' goals and actions. These factors can shape dramatically the foreign policy goals of a country; e.g., an economically underdeveloped state will purse foreign policies aimed at improving its economic situation. A possible classification of foreign policy's determinants divides them between the international and the domestic ones. Interestingly enough for the research in question, it is then necessary to consider endogenous as well exogenous restrictions to the foreign policy ambitions of every state (and implicitly of the foreign policy makers too). Foreign policy has to be considered "a continuous process of actions and reactions" of a state and its authorities involved in foreign policy making.[18]

In order to study a foreign policy, one has to recur to a specific subfield of international relations: foreign policy analysis (FPA). FPA is essentially the study of the foreign policy of an actor (the State), primarily done through the analysis of the decision-making process leading to a certain policy in the international sphere (foreign policy making). Christopher Hill expounds the content of FPA by tracing eight fundamental assumptions that configure the bases for conducting this type of study. The first one is the focus on the process of decision making: the idea that foreign policy decisions are usually linked in a causal chain and that this process is also affecting the outcomes. The decisional system is involved in "feedback loops" between "policy outputs, reaction from outsiders and policy system" itself (Hill, 2011).[19] The second assumption is that foreign policy as an area is incapable of generating an overall theory of international relations. What is more achievable is to build theories on the *actors* of foreign policy and the way in which they cope with domestic and international structures. The

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[18] Petrič, *Foreign policy from conception to diplomatic practice*, 6.
[19] Hill, "Foreign Policy Analysis".

third assumption is the focus on *analysis*, which means to "break down the process of foreign policy making and execution in its component parts". Fourth, and linked to the previous ones, is the idea that FPA generates middle-range theories, attempting to "explain certain delimited and specified aspects of human behavior". This kind of theories allows "manageability without restricting intellectual ambition". They do not intend to give overall explanations of the international arena, even though they still address what Hill calls *genotypes* (Sartori's genus) and not *phenotypes* (single phenomena) with which it is possible to build "micro-theories". These theories address, for instance, the role of one actor in the process of foreign policy making without seeking a higher level of generality. The attention to actors leads us to the fifth assumption illustrated by Hill, which is the focus on *agency*, i.e. "the business of deciding and acting in the world". In FPA one has to concentrate on "what states and other actors do, rather than on the structures in which they operate".

These were, Hill tells us, the five recognized pillars of FPA, to which he adds three more points. The sixth assumption is then, according to Hill, the existence of a "private foreign policy". In other words, states are not the only actors to have a foreign policy, a deduction that challenges the more classical definition of foreign policy delivered by Carlsnaes. Any organization, "from the smallest firm to the United Nations", can pursue a set of strategy to deal with the international environment and act accordingly to establish relations with foreign entities. This is particularly interesting in the context of the research in question, since such a concept would include the interactions of Islamist parties of Turkey with other organizations outside of the country, as an additional kind of foreign policy to the one they could implement or (have implemented) being in power. The

seventh "pillar" of FPA is consequently, for Hill, the increasing difficulty in defining foreign policy as new transnational actors increased along with globalization. The eighth and last focus of FPA is the role played by *identity*. If one wants to understand a country's foreign relations one has to take into account "its sense of itself", its culture and its history. The background that foreign policy makers have to deal with when engaging foreign policy decisions consists not only of structures, such has the material factors I mentioned above, but also this set of immaterial constructs, such as a national identity, a set of values, a religious orientation and other elements of a self-categorization formed through history and not uprooted from it. This last point, boosted by the constructivist approach to international relations, is also particularly interesting in the case of Turkish Islamist and nationalist foreign policy, and in general in the case of Turkey, a country in which identity questions have been central throughout the 20th century. More specifically, it is useful to highlight how different approaches to foreign affairs became a "symbol of the growing divergence in outlook and values"[20] between Kemalism and Islamism in the Republic of Turkey, in order to conceive the importance of the ideology element in the history of Turkish foreign policy.

According to Karabell, there are three main elements to be found in what he calls "fundamentalist foreign policy" or "Islamic foreign policy" – I personally prefer to call it Islamist, or politically Islamic, as explained in the following section –, and they are:

- The unity of *umma* (the world community of Muslim believers)

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[20] Robins, *Suits and Uniforms*, 145.

- Refusal to respect the sovereignty of secular states within the umma

- Rejection of Western hegemony within the Muslim world

- Animus towards Zionism "as the most glaring local manifestation of the Western state system that artificially divides the umma".[21]

Since adopting this definition of "Islamic foreign policy" as it is would make it suitable for radical Islamist groups only, it is necessary to consider these four elements as varying dimensions, which can occupy more or less space within the ideological structure of an organization related to political Islam. This is then another useful definition for my research, as it is possible to recognize these elements, in more or less intense modes, within the foreign policy perspectives of the studied parties.

The concept of Islamism

Ideology and religion, even though different on many aspects, are both *belief systems*. The concept of belief system is high enough on the ladder of abstraction to make possible an inclusion of both of them in the same category. It is this basic commonality that makes possible for religion to be used – even as a foundation – in the construction of ideologies.[22]

In order to define Islamism, it is necessary to distinguish it from Islam, as well as the adjective Islamist has to be distinguished from Islamic. This distinction used to be not as immediate as it is today, at least until the mid-80s with the introduction of the term *islamisme* by

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[21] Karabell, "Fundamental misconceptions: Islamic foreign policy".
[22] Williams, "Religion as political resource: Culture or ideology?".

the French scholar Gilles Kepel. What Kepel attributed to the term, definitely eliminating its old use as a synonym for Islamic religion, is the meaning of transfiguration of Islam into "a modern ideology and political program".[23] The term "Islamic", though stronger than "Muslim" in denoting adherence to Islam, does not necessarily address political issues. Thus, it is possible to define Islamism also as "political Islam". A clear and workable definition is given by Denoeux: *Islamism [...] is a form of instrumentalization of Islam by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political objectives. It provides political responses to today's societal challenges by imagining a future, the foundations for which rest on reappropriated, reinvented concepts borrowed from the Islamic tradition*".[24] In the Turkish context is possible to notice Islamic references in politics, in terms of symbols, values or terminology, which in some cases is the most immediate way to identify Islamist parties (e.g. "National *Salvation* Party", "*Virtue* Party" etc.). Besides, many Islamic concepts, such as that of "just order", have been central within claims, as well as programs, of Turkey's Islamist parties.

Denoeux's concept is then a genus for a consequent classification of Islamist groups and organizations, included in a spectrum going from an extreme of those "who would like to see Islam accorded proper recognition in national life" to the extreme of those who want "a radical transformation of society and politics by whatever means".[25] Yavuz emphasizes also the difference between Islamic parties and Islamic politics. He defines religious parties as those whose ideology is derived or shaped by religious ideas and whose goal is to change society

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[23] Kramer, Martin. "Coming to Terms: Fundamentalists or Islamists?".
[24] Denoeux, "The forgotten swamp: navigating political Islam".
[25] Ayoob, *The many faces of political Islam: religion and politics in the Muslim world*, 2.

according to those values, by mobilizing people on the basis of religious identity.[26] He then highlights the above mentioned crucial distinction: even those who are not religious (Islamic) parties can pursue Islamic politics without the aim of Islamizing society. That of "Islamic politics" is certainly another important notion to add to the conceptual foundations of the research in question. Islamic politics is, in short, "*the competition and contest to define the meaning of life, identity and community via Islamic values*".[27] This point is very important when studying Turkish political parties, as many of them have implemented that type of policy with the intention of responding to religious demands and concerns of the voters. Consequently, an Islamist party is not only a party that pursues, or claims to pursue, Islamic policies, but it also has to claim roots in and constant connection with the Islamic tradition, in a systematic use of references to Islam aimed, as much as concrete policies, at impacting enduringly on society and institutions with the priority of establishing of a central role for religion in the public sphere.

These characteristics can be found in the Islamist parties to be taken into account within my research. Islamist parties are identity-based parties: the assertion of that identity, its expression on the public sphere and the use of the related symbols are then denotative elements. As the Sudanese scholars Salih and El-Tom say, "*a common denominator among political parties that call himself Islamic, whether radical or moderate, is that their adherence professes an Islamic identity with a conscious and deliberate objective of advancing an Islamic way of life, as well as serving the interests of the Muslim Umma (community of believers)*".[28]

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[26] Yavuz, *Secularism and Muslim democracy in Turkey*, 7.
[27] Ibid., 8.
[28] Salih, *Interpreting Islamic political parties*, 1.

A categorization of Turkey's Islamist parties

A very comprehensive party typology, claiming to have included within itself previous typologies accused of having a too partial or restricted look on the phenomenon of political parties, is the one built by Gunther and Diamond.[29] This typology is constructed around three fundamental dimensions, which are connected in the following sequence by a genus-species relation: party organization, programmatic commitments and strategy (tolerant and pluralistic vs proto-hegemonic strategies). The party organization, on a range from "thin" to "thick", sets up the five main genera identified by Gunther and Diamond: *Elite-based* parties, *mass-based* parties, *ethnicity-based* parties, *electoralist* parties and *movement-parties*. Gunther&Diamond typology can be illustrated by the following table by Saleem.[30] Within each of the genera identified by the two scholars, parties are typified through the introduction of the second criterion: the programmatic aspects. It is here that religious parties may be positioned. Gunther and Diamond put them under the genus of mass-based parties, dividing them further between "denominational and "fundamentalist" according to the dimension of tolerant or pluralistic strategy (the same subdivision is done for nationalist and socialist parties, though for space reasons it is not reported by Saleem inside the present graph). However, this last distinction, is probably the most difficult to apply, as Saleem re-elaborated the scheme and erased the fundamentalist type by declaring its lack of referents in the real world. Yet, this species of mass-based religious party, according to Gunther and Diamond, is the one the Algerian Front of Islamic Salvation belongs to. According to the two

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[29] Gunther and Diamond, "Species of political parties a new typology".
[30] Saleem, "Identifying Islamist parties using Gunther and Diamond's typology".

authors, even "Turkey's now banned Welfare Party" (*Refah Partisi*, RP) shared "some of the characteristics" of the fundamentalist type. Their idea of fundamentalist party is that of a party aiming at imposing religious doctrines and rules to all the citizens , irrespective of their own personal religious belief, according to a "theocratic model".[31] Though this was not the case of Turkey's RP, the fundamentalist type defined by Gunther and Diamond can partially include that Turkish party as fundamentalist parties also "*mobilize support not only by invoking religious doctrine and identity, and by proposing policies derived from these principles, but also through selective incentives; they often perform a wide range of social welfare functions which aid in recruiting and solidifying the loyalty of members*".[32] Denominational parties hold more tolerant and pluralistic positions, even basing their programs on a set of religious beliefs. The distinction between fundamentalist and denominational is difficult in the case of Turkish

Figure 1. Gunther and Diamond (2003) typology.

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[31] Gunther and Diamond, "Species of political parties a new typology".
[32] Ibid.

parties, as it is particularly hard to label alternatively, within such a dichotomy, the strategies of those organizations. In order to find for the Islamist parties, the right position within the Gunther & Diamond typology, Saleem argues that Islamist parties are a separate species that has to be put within the genus of movement-parties, as the religious mass-based parties were mostly a European phenomenon (e.g. Italian Christian Democracy) with no equivalents in the Muslim world. Movement-parties are, according to Gunther and Diamond, a very recent phenomenon that consists of parties with "fluid organizational characteristics", hostility toward formal structures and a base made of "loose networks of grassroots support". Contrariwise, the ideal mass-based party, emerged during the 20th century, has a thick organizational structure, it is characterized by a large base of members "who remain active in party affairs even during periods between elections" and can count on the presence of allied social organization providing constant support. The key difference, as pointed out by Saleem, rests in the centrality of the grassroots bases (the "social organizations", the "movement") in respect to the actual party structures, or vice versa in the case of the old mass-based party. In the first case the members can fluidly come in and out of the party, as the significant membership is the informal one within the "movement". In the case of the mass-based party the party is central and needs to absorb members within the much more rigidly outlined boundaries of its denotative "large base". Considering that most Islamist parties experience the transition, which I mentioned above in this chapter, from movement to party, Saleem tells us that Islamist parties should be included in the genus of movement-parties because they have never been and still are "closely link with their parent movements and are not considered independent".[33] Along

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[33] Saleem, "Identifying Islamist parties using Gunther and Diamond's typology".

with this specification of Islamist parties as movement-parties, Saleem includes another kind of what we may more broadly (and higher on Sartori's ladder) call Islamic-oriented parties, those parties whose Islamic stances are also strongly influenced by "the local/national culture and/or rooted in a particular tradition" and that Saleem calls "culturally influenced Islamic".[34] They depend on local religious leaders or élites, and so have a very thin organization. If we keep Gunther and Diamond's criteria, we see that the dimension of "programmatic commitments" has now to include the religious element even with elite-based parties and movement-parties, as even illustrated by the graphic revision of the G&D typology by Saleem (2014). Saleem typology is correct in describing many Islamist parties, such as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, where the movement (MB) has detained centrality and decisional power in respect to a party (Freedom and Justice Party) that was created in the wake of Mubarak's fall and competed in elections simply as an emanation of the movement. It is probably correct in referring to
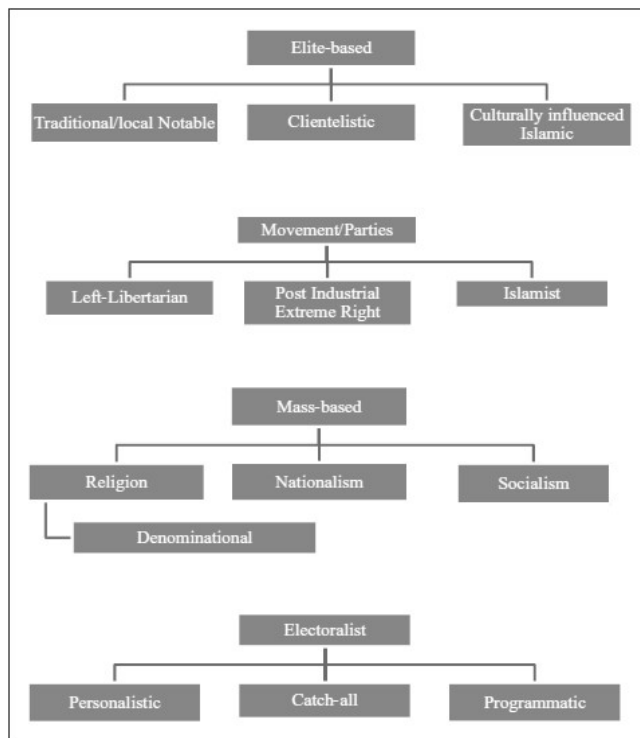
Figure 2. Revised Gunther and Diamond typology.

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[34] Ibid.

Jamiat Ulema-e Pakistan, or the Islamic Front of Bangladesh, as "culturally influenced Islamic" parties. However, in the case of Turkish Islamist parties, at least in the case of the Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*, RP) , created in the 1980s, and its successor Virtue Party (*Fazilet Partisi*, FP), born at the end of the 1990s, none of those two types can be considered suitable. Even if their predecessors MNP and MSP – the other two cases to be studied within my research – were probably more restrained by their parent movements in their actions, and they were definable as elite-based clientelistic parties as well, RP and FP can be considered religious mass-parties.[35] According to Ergun Özbudun, the RP/FP was the only real mass party in Turkey.[36] For Delibaş, while other Turkish parties passed from an elite-based clientelist type to a catchall version of themselves, the RP's growth exemplified the birth of a mass party. Both RP and FP were still very connected to year-round working grassroots activism, which represented a pillar of their success in the '90s.[37] In the relation with the grassroots basis, notwithstanding divergences and differences[38] the party was central, functioning above a wide range of ancillary associations working within Turkish society and that were created already in the 1970s with MSP.[39]

Therefore, I argue that, notwithstanding the precious contribution by Saleem, some examples of Islamist parties can be categorized within the type of religious mass-based parties, although with some cautiousness in labelling their pluralist or proto-hegemonic strategies as "denominational" or "fundamentalist". In this respect, the RP and FP could be given the former definition, considering their tolerant attitude

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[35] Delibaş, "Conceptualizing Islamic movements: the case of Turkey."
[36] Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics: challenges to democratic consolidation*, 80.
[37] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 232.
[38] Akkaya Bayraktar, *The National Outlook an its youth in the 1970s Turkey*.
[39] Yeşilada, "The Virtue Party".

towards the pluralist environment in which they were integrated. Nevertheless, given the religious implication of the "denominational/fundamentalist" distinction, I would avoid such a description of the two opposing types – along with the term "fundamentalist" itself. Instead of making this distinction revolve around intensity of religiousness, it would be more useful to distinguish more simply between pluralist and non-pluralist religious parties. Even because political Islam is not synonymous with fanaticism, extremism, fundamentalism. The degree of religiosity in a political organization can be, but is not necessarily linked to a rejection, for instance, of democratic institutions. "Fundamentalism" implies a value judgement[40] that can be misleading in approaching the study of such parties. A terminology more centered on the more objective difference (as already highlighted in the G&D typology) in terms of pluralist orientation would bring the focused more precisely on their relation with pluralism and democracy. Secondly, it would avoid the risk of appearing eager to measure the piousness – and not, for instance, the degree of extremism or the hegemonic goals – of party members and policies as the sole way to understand their stances towards pluralism. In sum, it is possible to define parties as religious, and possibly to distinguish them between the pluralistic and the proto-hegemonic ones. Successively, it is more helpful to call the latter distinction in more neutral and object-focused terms, directly distinguishing between "extremist", "anti-democratic", "radical" on one side and "pluralist", "tolerant", "democracy-oriented" or similar on the other. This terminology would indicate more precisely the approach of parties to a pluralistic system, without considering if their relationship with religion is just denominational or much deeper. In cases such as Tunisia's Ennhada or Turkey's RP we have parties that

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[40] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 9.

have deep connections with religion – thus it would be reductive to call them only "denominational" in their religiosity – but at the same time do not reject a pluralistic system.

Both Saleem's and Gunther&Diamond's articles contemplate the possibility that movement-parties' organization may develop and become mass-based parties. I argue that it already happened to Islamist parties in Turkey in – where both the Islamist movements and the Islamist parties' elite contributed to the building of a mass party: RP, followed by FP. Consequently, we can agree with Gunther and Diamond in including Turkey's RP under the genus of mass-based parties. It had the main characteristic of a mass party (i.e. the largest number of members in Turkey, year-round working activists, affiliated organizations and newspapers, a party identity and an ideological indoctrination enhancing loyalty to the party among its members). These characteristics were mostly passed to its successor FP and in some degrees to the FP's offshoot AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, Justice and Development Party), in government since 2002 and currently keeping its position as the first party in the country. What is different in the AKP, notwithstanding the still large number of members and the widespread membership organization and activities, is the less "ideological and emotional motivations" of its members.[41] Although still being "far ahead of other Turkish political parties in this regard",[42] as the AKP still gives much importance to intra-party education and indoctrination, there has been in the last decade an opening towards a less ideological outlook that could represent a passage to a more "catchall" type of party.

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[41] Hale and Özbudun. *Islamism, democracy and liberalism in Turkey: the case of the AKP*, 47.
[42] Ibid, 48.

If one goes deeper inside the Turkish case, it is possible to detect other kinds of typology that can be useful to the research in question in order to classify parties and make sense out of their ambitions and actions. One of these typologies has been published by Hasan Kösebalaban[43] within his historical study of Turkish foreign policy. It divides the political groups according to the four major identities (the genera) present in Turkish politics. This leads to the establishing of types with which it is possible to identify Turkish parties and possibly their attitude towards foreign policy. What is interesting to my research

Liberalism

Islamic iberalism   *Secularist liberalism*

Islamism ←   → **Secularism**

Islamic nationalism   *Secularist nationalism*
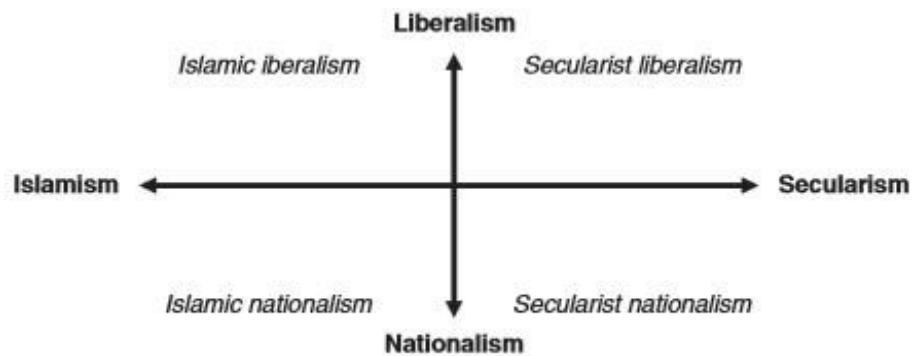
Nationalism

Figure 1.1 Four major identities in Turkish politics

is the subdivision of Islamist orientations between liberal and nationalist spheres. In my view, the "Islamic liberal" and the "Islamic nationalist" types are too deeply intertwined on the empirical side to make two totally separate categories, especially since the clear nationalist hints even on the supposedly "liberal Islamic" parties (namely the AKP; Taşpınar, 2011).[44] Still, it is a useful typology as it represents a clear mapping of the main elements forming the spectrum of ideological affiliations in Turkey.

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[43] Kösebalaban, Hasan. *Turkish Foreign Policy. Islam, Nationalism and Globalization.*
[44] Taşpınar, Ömer. "The Rise of Turkish Gaullism: Getting Turkish-American Relations Right".

In conclusion, it is necessary to remember that typologies, as stated by Gunther and Diamond, usually establish *ideal types*. Not only can parties evolve through time and pass from a type to another: they may also include elements of more than one ideal type, as "one should not expect that real-world political parties fully conform to all of the criteria that define each party model".[45] Ideal types are useful – and this is valid for the present study as well – as long as they are employed as benchmarks to better comprehend and express complex concepts, as well as to give more denotative power to those concepts, thus getting them closer to their referents in the real world even when missing a complete correspondence.

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[45] Gunther and Diamond, "Species of political parties a new typology".

A brief history of Turkish Islamism: main thinkers and organizations

Given the definition of Islamism expounded in the previous chapter, I now intend to explain the birth of political Islam and review how literature sees it evolve in the Turkish context. There are at least two historical perspectives from which one can look at Turkish Islamism. One is the socio-political point of view, which is how, and in which forms, modern Turkish Islamism begins in the Turkish context and survives throughout the Republican era within social groups and party formations until today. The other perspective is that of intellectual history, revolving around the main Islamist authors that left their marks on the development of this ideology in the late Ottoman Empire as well as in the Republic of Turkey. This history of ideas perspective also includes the discourse produced by Turkey's Islamist parties, those of the *National Outlook* tradition. Even if it focuses on the latter, this study attempts to look at both these perspectives. That means considering the texts of Islamist authors without forgetting about the socio-political context in order to avoid any "anachronistic mythology".[1] For the same reasons, when discussing the emergence of politically Islamic groups in Turkey, though their relative texts might not be consider fruit of an intellectual work, there will be a certain attention to the intellectual roots and echoes to be found in those texts produced by political groups and especially parties.

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[1] Skinner, *Meaning and Understanding in the History of ideas*, 1969

Islamism in the Late Ottoman Empire and in the Early Republic of Turkey

The roots of Islamism are to be searched in the works of the Muslim writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, during a moment of cultural renaissance in the Arab world, the so-called *Nahda* period. Arab authors such as Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1837-97) and his follower Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) are two of the most important authors in the Arab literature of those years and the first to expose significantly the advantages of an application of Islamic principles to society and the idea of compatibility between Islam and contemporary scientific knowledge.[2] In the Turkish context, the authors that are regarded as the precursors of contemporary Turkish Islamism (*Islamcılık*) are some of the so-called "Young Ottomans" or "New Ottomans" (*Yeni Osmanlılar*), a mid-nineteenth century society of intellectuals created with the goal of pushing the Ottoman Empire towards a constitutional government. Among these men, the most important is certainly Namık Kemal (1840-88), intellectual and journalist, founder of the newspaper Hürriyet and among the first promoters of a vision of a reformed Ottoman state based on the compatibility between liberalism and Islam.[3] This combination of European liberal ideals like individual freedoms and constitutionalism, with the principles of Sharia as the expected fundamental law of a reformed Ottoman state, is the core feature of Namık Kemal's thought. The reforms to be made had to be anyway rooted in Islam, and state itself should have respected the religious values uniting society. In this regard, in his ideas about the origins of society Rousseau's references are clear, even if, in Kemal's theory, the civilized society is ruled by the

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[2] Mardin, *Türkiye'de Din ve Siyaset*, 13-17.
[3] Zürcher, *Turkey: a modern history*.

binding thread of Sharia.[4] His constant attempt to adjust Western political theories to Islamic principles often led him to contradictions.[5] However, he his remembered for the very successful concepts he introduced or re-elaborated through his writings. Above all, Namık Kemal exalted the concepts of "*hürriyet*" (freedom), "*vatan*" (fatherland) and "*millet*" (nation). While the first word regards individual freedom, the last two concepts are put forward by Kemal to address the question of national affiliation. In his writings, *vatan* is a secular concept very similar to the fatherland conceptualized by Ernest Rénan as not only a geographical unit, but an "emotional bond" based on memories and experiences.[6] The word *millet*, on the contrary, is a word with strong religious connotation. It was traditionally used in the Ottoman Empire to define different religious groups enjoying some degree of autonomy within the Ottoman legal system. The word then designated a confessional community rather than a "nation" in the modern sense. Namık Kemal was the first to systematically use the word in that way. However, the ambiguity of the word appears in his writings when he talks of the Turks as a nation (*millet*), but then considers the Circassians co-nationals (*hem millet*) of the Turks on a religious basis.[7] This religious aspect of the word *millet* is an important element of the Islamist discourse in the Turkish context and it is bound to reappear throughout the history of Turkish political Islam.

The Young Ottomans, Namık Kemal being the most prominent among them, are considered the intellectuals who paved the way for a modern Islamic political thought in the Ottoman-Turkish framework. They elaborated a reformism that, though being inspired by Western

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[4] Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, 293.
[5] Ibid., 297-299.
[6] Ibid., 327.
[7] Ibid., 328.

philosophy, was mostly intended to reject the deplored idea that modernization required the abandon of Islam's principles. One of the reasons of the birth of Islamism in general is this very reaction to that idea. According to the Islamist author and scholar Ali Bulaç, Muslim intellectuals and politicians were concerned with the economic, political and technological power gap between the West and the Muslim world. For this reason, they elaborated three main "methods" in order to fill that gap. The first method was that of radical westernization adopted also in the early 20th century by the Young Turks and successively by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The second method was that of nationalism, embraced in the Turkish context by intellectuals such as Ziya Gökalp, father of Turkish nationalism. According to Bulaç, modern political Islam, or Islamism (*İslamcılık*), represents the third of these methods, trying to bring people together around the flag of religion in order to save the Muslim world from backwardness and oppression. People like the abovementioned al-Afghani and 'Abduh, but also Namık Kemal and successive Turkish authors convinced of finding in Islam the fundament for a good government and a just society.[8]

Thus, one can say that the first form of contemporary Islamism was born in the nineteenth century in the framework of an ideal modernization, as attempt to counterbalance the perceived Western supremacy. Political Islam, though referring to Islam's first decades as the ideal golden age to restore, was then born as an alternative model for modernization, not as anti-modern. Not only Islamism did not imply an anti-modern discourse, but at the same time it was not necessarily in opposition towards the modern state.[9] As Jocelyn Cesari reminds us, it

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[8] Bulaç, "İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı veya İslamcıların Üç Nesli", in *İslamcılık*, 55.
[9] Cesari, *The Awakening of Muslim Democracy*, 3.

is in fact possible to separate secularization from the concept of modernity, the latter being itself a significantly flexible idea. The creation of modern Muslim-majority states has not implied the decline of religion in the political sphere, not even when these states are built on secular laws and institutions. This is because those states – Cesari gives the example of Turkey among others – have incorporated religion, making it "a modern religion", i.e. standardizing it and making it the "hegemonic religion" of a polity: to institutionalize Islam has signified Islam's politicization.[10] In the Turkish-speaking context, even before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the Ottoman Empire already had institutionalized the Islamic establishment throughout the so-called *Tanzimat* (reforms) period in mid-nineteenth century, by reorganizing religious schools and the ministry-like office of the Şeyh ül-İslam (*Meşihat-i İslamiyye*),[11] predecessor to the Turkish Republic's Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet*). In the late Ottoman Empire, the process of politicization of Islam was not only external to the state, as in the 19th century religious references appeared in the "Islamic modernism"[12] of the time, but found important stimulus from within the imperial institutions. The figure of Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876-1909) is key to understand the presence of Islamism within the Ottoman State as well as the Islamist intellectual milieu's contacts with institutions and its successive aspiration to power. According to the Turkish historian Kemal Karpat, Abdülhamid "synthesized" the Islamist tendencies of his time and "gave Islamism a specific political-ideological aspect, making it appear to be his own personal creation".[13] Although Abdülhamid's personality was sincerely religious, one must remember that his

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[10] Ibid., 20-21.
[11] Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic*, 7-8.
[12] Seyhun, *Islamist thinkers in the late Ottoman Empire*, 5.
[13] Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 155.

adoption of Islamism as a "modern type of ideology" was nevertheless functional to the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman State at a time of decline and territorial losses.[14] Practical reasons were also at the basis of contacts between the Sultan and Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, invited to Istanbul by Abdülhamid in 1892. Karpat tells us that this invitation was motivated by the Sultan's need of support from al-Afghani in the matter of Shia expansion in Iraq.[15] Al-Afghani's preaching was to be used to counterbalance Shiite propaganda and reinforce loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. Here the Sultan's pragmatic approach to political Islam takes advantage of the *Pan-Islamic* theorizations of al-Afghani.

The concept of Pan-Islamism (or Pan-Islam) has been usefully defined by Naveed Sheikh as the following: "the ideational subscription to a unification, or integration, of Muslim peoples, regardless of divisive antecedents such as language, ethnicity, geography and polity".[16]

For Landau,[17] the need for a central authority – possibly the Caliph – and the obedience to it have historically been among the crucial elements of the Pan-Islamist doctrine. Accordingly, Pan-Islamism has been considered a fundament of Abdülhamid's policies[18] in the late 19th century. This was always imbued with the pragmatic intention to use Pan-Islamism to strengthen the Empire. Specifically in respect to Pan-Islam, at the time of Abdülhamid "the state formulated four major ideas": all Muslim are part of one community, the head and commander of which is the caliph; Muslim communities everywhere were

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[14] Ibid., 187.
[15] Ibid., 201.
[16] Sheikh, *The New Politics of Islam*, 16.
[17] Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam*, 5-6.
[18] Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 176-178.

oppressed by Western domination, this being caused not by an intrinsic inferiority of Islamic religion and culture, but because of a lack of unity among the faithful; weakness of Muslim society derives from the weakness of the understanding of Islam, Islamic principles must be studied in the light of reason and science in order to reach both spiritual and material progress; the rejuvenation of Islam depends on the unity of the *umma* (*ümmet* in Turkish),[19] i.e. the community of the Muslim believers everywhere.

To be sure, the idea of the umma, born at the beginning of Islam's history, returns to be key to Muslim political discourse during the colonial era of the nineteenth century, "in the face of the challenge posed to Islam by the West".[20] By describing disunity as the main weakness of the Muslim world, the Pan-Islamism emerging during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire generally promoted mobilization of a unified Muslim world and loyalty to the Caliph with the utopian perspective of a final political integration to face the Western powers as one entity. Although the Pan-Islamism adopted by Abdülhamid, as we have seen, had the real goal of maintaining the integrity of the Empire and gain support from the Muslim world, this utopian political integration was questioned as the extreme consequence of the Pan-Islamic theory. After the abolition of the Caliphate, any idea of a political integration or a unified Muslim state – the latter being already considered unrealistic by influential Ottoman Pan-Islamists[21] – was abandoned, though remaining as a remote utopia and not officially rejected by Islamist thinkers.[22] As I will explain successively, the first Caliphate-centered Pan-Islamism lost strength and Islamist writers

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[19] Ibid., 188.
[20] Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics*, 74.
[21] Aydın, *The Polıtıcs of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, 97-98.
[22] Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam*, 219.

started giving more emphasis to religious solidarity among Muslim communities rather than on the institution of a sole leadership.

Ali Bulaç usefully gives an approximate periodization of Islamism when he divides the phenomenon into three generations of thinkers.[23] The first generation (1856-1924) starts with the Imperial Reform Edict (*Islahat Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) of 1856, which made citizens of all religions equal in front of the state thus giving more rights to the non-Muslims. This, and the Tanzimat era in general, is seen by Bulaç as the moment from which Islamism starts to appear as a reaction to Westernization. 1924 is then the end of the Caliphate, as Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) abolished it that year and secularism was imposed with successive reforms. The march 1924 law on the unification of education (*Tevhid-I Tedrisat Kanunu*) led to the closure of Islamic schools (*medrese*) that were then substituted by secular schools (*mektep*).[24] The same year, the abovementioned Diyanet was established and Islamic Law Courts were abolished. In 1925, after the revolt of the Kurdish Islamist leader Sheikh Said,[25] Sufi brotherhoods (*tarikat*) were banned together with dervish lodges (*tekke*), causing powerful brotherhoods like the Bektashi and the Naqshbandi *tarikat*s' need to "dissemble or go into dissimulation and hiding" as Turkish nationalism of the time preferred to "marginalize Islam in favor of pre-Islamic Turkish heritage, real or imagined".[26] Therefore, the first generation of Turkish Islamists – or rather the first phase of political Islam in the Turco-

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[23] Bulaç, "İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı veya İslamcıların Üç Nesli", in *İslamcılık*, 48-50.
[24] Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism*, 63.
[25] Atacan, "A Kurdish Islamist group in modern Turkey", 129-130.
[26] Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion*, 63-64.

Ottoman context – ends with the beginning of Kemalist secularist reforms.[27]

Struggling with the Western economic penetration in the Ottoman market and facing the decline of their country in the international arena, the small Muslim business groups, artisans and farmers of the Empire, had reacted "by resorting to Islamic symbols and rhetoric that politicized Islamic identity".[28] In the Tanzimat era, it was the Naqshbandi order, a Sufi order characterized by a relatively strong focus on state and society, to provide leadership and organization to those unsatisfied groups of the Ottoman society. The *Naqshbandiyya* gradually evolved, from the second half of the 19th century to the early 1920s, into a protest movement based on religious solidarity, an association representing the interests of urbanized small business groups and farmers. It is important to notice that it based itself on religious bonds and not on any kind of ethnic nationalism. During the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923), the Naqshbandis supported Ankara against the Allied Forces and the Istanbul Government, playing a crucial role in, and developing methods for, mobilizing the population.[29] Nevertheless, this contribution of the religious brotherhoods to the country's struggle for independence was consciously erased by Kemalist historians, which were eager to stress

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[27] Tunçay, "Kemalism", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*: "The ideas and principles of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and first president of the Turkish Republic, are termed Kemalism; Kemalism constitutes the official ideology of the state, and endured publicly unchallenged until the 1980s. Kemalism proper is symbolized in the six points enumerated in the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, or CHP) Statutes of 1935; these were incorporated in the constitution of 1937, which remained in effect until 1961, then only to be reformulated with slight modifications. These six principles are republicanism, statism (in economic policy), populism, laicism, nationalism, and reformism."
[28] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 137.
[29] Mardin. "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", in *Islam in modern Turkey,* 121-142.

the secular character of the victorious revolution.[30] After closing down all the Sufi lodges in 1925, the Kemalist government replaced them with *halk evleri* (people's houses), which promoted secularization and obedience to the new state élite. A harsh persecution against the potentially disruptive Naqshbandi counter-power brought to its deep weakening in the 1930s. However, the order managed to survive even in such hard times. Being a refuge for those Turkish citizens in need of spiritual references in a strictly secularized society, it maintained covered Sufi activities and even infiltrated state institutions such as Ankara's Directorate of Religious Affairs. The Naqshbandi version of Sufism, with its inclination towards being active part of the society, proved to be the most suitable for constituting the basis of religious movements within which it reemerged in the 1950s. In the early 1950s, the wealthiest and the most influential Naqshbandi section in Istanbul was the İskenderpaşa Community (*İskenderpaşa Cemiyeti*), of the Gümüşhanevi branch of Naqshbandiyya. This community, which took its name from the mosque it used as headquarter, was particularly important in Turkish history because of members such as future ministers (Korkut Özal, Lütfü Doğan, Fehim Adak), a prime minister and president (Turgut Özal) and another prime minister (Necmettin Erbakan). The fate of the religious brotherhoods in Turkey reflects that of Turkish Islamism in those years until a re-opening towards Islam starting in the 1950s, as well as the relation between Islamists and the state in the country.

In Bulaç's first phase, one can include the Young Ottomans like Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi and Ziya Paşa, but also later authors like Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936) and Eşref Edip Fergan (1882-1971) that lived during the end of the Caliphate and the Republican era as

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[30] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 139.

well. These first Islamists' loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph was not their only common feature. According to Bulaç, the earliest group of Islamist thinkers is characterized by the final goal of taking control of the state and through the state re-built society from above according to their principles.[31] The first of these principles was the return to original Islamic values in order to save the Muslim world in general, and the Ottoman Empire in particular, was then the main fundament of the so-called "Salafist" trend expanding in the 19th century. While Salafism (*salafiyya*, in Arabic) generally means a reference to "a simpler Islam" as practiced by the first Muslim community, the kind of Salafism in question here – i.e. the Salafism of Namık Kemal, al-Afghani, Abduh or Mehmet Akif – has been defined more specifically as "Modernist-Salafiya".[32] The abovementioned Islamic modernist trend therefore included a "Salafi" aspect in its desire to go back to the original "simpler" religion. Another characteristic of this first Islamism, born from the reaction to both the internal reforms (*tanzimat*) of the Ottoman Empire and the perceived Western supremacy in the military, technological, economic and political fields, was the Pan-Islamism, or "Union of Islam" (*İttihad-ı İslam*) already mentioned in relation to al-Afghani. As regards Western knowledge, the first Islamist generation embraces the idea that Muslims must learn and take advantage of the Western-originated material and scientific progress by adapting them to their moralities. However, they must also reject the materialist philosophies and systems of values coming from the West.[33] Another distinguishing feature of these early Islamist authors, as they were more concerned with Islamization from above, is their being focused on

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[31] Bulaç, "İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı", 53.
[32] Abdullah Saeed, in The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics, eds. John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, "Salafiya, Modernism and Revival", 27-28.
[33] Bulaç, "İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı", 60.

intellectual work and not interested in political activism and mobilization.[34] According to Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, Republican Turkey maintained what he calls the opposite "*kulturkampf*s" rivaling each other in the Ottoman system.[35] This cultural divide is part of the also political and economic Center-Periphery divide that has been extensively utilized to interpret both Ottoman and modern Turkish history,[36] and it can be helpful to analyze electoral preferences in Turkey's elections as well.[37] Kalaycıoğlu calls the "culture struggles" that he identifies the "secular" and the "revivalist" one, but acknowledges that the two camps, though distinct, have borrowed elements from each other.[38] In the Republican context, they represented opposite images of a good society, one based on a positivist idea of progress, the other on traditions and religion. The latter is constituted by the political and economic centre, the Ottoman and then Republican elites, based in the big cities, which becomes strongly laicist after the abovementioned reforms. The former includes both rural and urban masses that stay marginal to the formation of the Republican elite under Kemalist rule. This division was then reflected on the cultural level, as already in Ottoman times the periphery had a "secondary cultural status" in relation to the "cultural preeminence" of the center.[39] The passage to the official ideology of Kemalism made the state, and the "center" associated with it, the fulcrum of Kemalist principles and their relative cultural model shaping the Republican elite. The permanence of the old divide then caused the "counter-elite" of the periphery to

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[34] Ibid., 66.
[35] Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics*, 50.
[36] Mardin, "Center Periphery Relations: a Key to Turkish Politics?".
[37] Çarkoğlu, M.J. Hinich, "A Spatial Analysis of Turkish Party Preferences".
[38] Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics*, 51.
[39] Mardin, "Center Periphery Relations: a Key to Turkish Politics?", 173.

evolve in alternative ways. That is where Islamism has found fertile ground. As sociologist Nilüfer Göle says:

> Unlike groups at the periphery, urban middle and upper-middle classes in Turkey had access to education for several decades, and were located in the vicinity of the center of the production of values, both in the geographical and the symbolic sense. They were thus able to empower themselves through the mastery of "Westernized" ways of life and idiom. The radical break with the local culture, under the modernizing programs of the Republicanists, rendered difficult the process of identification of the rising peripheral classes with the established elites. This cultural gap between the elites of the center and those at the periphery has become another feature of the asymmetrical realities of Turkish politics and society today. The very project of modernization, based on external references, alien to local customs and traditions, has perverted the relationship between the secular elites and the people. The established elites no longer provide a familiar model for the newly rising social groups to identify with, and to aspire to emulate professionally. Islamism is an attempt to provide Muslims from the periphery with a new guide of conduct for their daily lives and new forms of political expression. In a seemingly paradoxical way, the more those peripheral groups have access to urban life, a liberal education, and modern means of expressing themselves politically, the more they appear to seek Islamic sources of reference to redefine their life-world.[40]

Therefore, in Republican Turkey, Islamism – as well as pro-Islamic groups in general – started to represent a possible counter-ideology for the periphery to embrace in opposition to the Kemalist elite of the center, who had built its power after the demise of the Ottoman Empire. However, one has to remember that modern Islamism had been present at the core of the state as an ideological tool of Abdülhamid II. The sultan's attitude towards religion was exemplified by his putting religious authorities under state control and therefore their inclusion in

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[40] Göle, "Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: the making of elites and counter-elites", 52.

bureaucracy, something that implied their politicization.[41] Moreover, the Kemalist establishment did also put religion under state control within the institutions of the modern Turkish Republic, thus differentiating the *laiklik* (secularism) of Kemalism from the original *laicité* that separates religion from the state. This reminds us that politicization of religion and the religious elite's relations with state power are not necessarily starting from below, i.e. from civil society or from the "periphery". When the rigid laicism of the single-party era (1923-1945) was over, Turkey's Islamist ideological camp has developed both the "horizontal" aspirations of its movements willing to expand in civil society in order to change it, and the "vertical" tendencies of those groups and parties intending to govern the country.[42] It is with the democratic openings of the multi-party era that the Islamists re-emerged in Turkish politics by entering those non-Kemalist parties that presented themselves as the parties of the periphery against the center. The same self-image was depicted successively by openly Islamist parties.[43] Political Islam in Turkey is not per se an ideology of the periphery, even if in the Republican era it has assumed the role of the ideology of the counter-elite.

Besides this, as noticed by Gülalp, the social base of Islamist parties has not been constituted only by rural population, urbanized working class or the "peripheral segment of the capitalist class" – i.e. provincial entrepreneurs – but also by a growing component of "university graduates, who have a conservative and mostly provincial background and who have begun to challenge the "core" professional elite who are the fundamental mainstay of Kemalism in Turkey. In

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[41] Zürcher, "The importance of being secular: Islam in the service of the national and pre-national state", 62.
[42] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 27-28.
[43] Gülalp, "Globalization and Political Islam", 434.

recent years, taking advantage of the trends toward asserting authenticity, this segment has established itself as a legitimate category of "intellectuals."[44]

It is within this category of intellectuals that Bulaç finds the second and the third generation of Islamist thinkers. He defines them the founders of a worldwide "Islamic movement" (*islami hareket*), whose main goal is not solely a top down reform of the state in an Islamic sense, but also the Islamization of society from below.[45] The context of the Cold War and the confrontation with the dominating opposed ideologies within Muslim societies led this renewed Islamism to form its social and political movements. Starting from the late 1940s, the ideal of an "Islamic state" substituted that of the caliphate and the foundation of Pakistan in 1947 as a state for Indian Muslims helped suggesting this possibility. The growth of movements such as the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and the Jamaat-e Islami in Pakistan endowed political Islam with concrete programs and made it express material goals. For these reasons, Bulaç calls the first phase a generic "Islamism" and the second one more specifically "Islamic movement".[46] In this second phase, the intellectuals are more involved in social life, they are more numerous and, consequently, they represent a more heterogeneous group notwithstanding the more detectable presence of Islamism as a defined contemporary ideology. Until the 1950s, as noted by Sunier and Landman, arguments against Kemalism were mainly theological, but then, during that decade, the "modes of activism" challenging Kemalist principles started to change: "Intellectuals with an Islamic outlook but without theological training now took part in

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[44] Ibid., 444-445.
[45] Bulaç, İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı, 49.
[46] Ibid., 66.

debates. The agenda shifted from restoration of the Ottoman institutional setting to political empowerment".[47]

The two key figures of this post-colonial – or Cold War – Islamism are Abul A'la Maududi, from Pakistan, and the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb. These two thinkers are considered the fathers of contemporary political Islam worldwide. Maududi (1903-1979) was the most consistent and eloquent advocate of an Islamic state in this new phase. Even if he proposed change from within the state institutions, his ideas about the "caliphate" as the fulcrum of the God-given authority to rule the community of the believers were less concerned with the traditional figure of a caliph. According to Maududi, as the sovereignty belongs to God alone, and God promises authority to the entire community of believers, every Muslim is involved in the caliphate:

> "Every believer is a Caliph of God in his individual capacity. By virtue of this position he is individually responsible to God. The Holy Prophet has said: 'Every one of you is a ruler and everyone is answerable for his subjects.' Thus, one Caliph is in no way inferior to another." [48]

To put it as Mandaville, Maududi's theorization led to a "popularization of the caliphate", as it rather than emphasizing the subordination to the caliph, it preferred to emphasize the caliph's subordinations both to God and to those "co-caliphs who have placed their trust in him."[49] This model, which is called by Maududi a "theodemocracy", is at the base of Pakistan's Islamist movement-party Jamaat-e Islami (JI).

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[47] Sunier and N. Landman, *Transnational Turkish Islam*, 70.
[48] Maududi, cited in P. Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics*, 78.
[49] Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics*, 79.

Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) shaped his political thought around the concept of *jahiliyya* (meaning the state of ignorance preceding Islam's revelations), which he re-elaborated as the general condition of the world he was experiencing. According to Qutb, there was no genuinely Islamic society: also Muslim countries had been distracted from Islamic principles as they were rule by man-made forms of government that had nothing to do with the original umma. Therefore, in his view, a "vanguard of true believers" was the only hope to restore the sovereignty of God and consequently the prosperity of the Muslims and the expansion of Islam in the whole world.[50] Qutb's main contribution to the evolution of political Islam was his "activist approach" suggesting the Muslim reader to turn against his own possibly "secular bureaucratic-authoritarian regime", before fighting foreign threats. It was the "near enemy" that had to be fought before the "far enemy".[51] Qutb entered the Muslim Brotherhood, established by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt in 1928, as a recognized author and was made head of the Propagation of the Call Department within the organization. The Egyptian government of Nasser imprisoned Qutb in 1954, as the Muslim Brothers had started to be perceived as a threat by the regime. In 1966, after a decade in prison and a couple of years of ill health, Sayyid Qutb was arrested again for conspiracy against the state and executed.[52]

The works of these two thinkers were both translated in every language of the Muslim world and their ideas inspired Islamist movements and intellectuals across the globe. The Turkish context was equally in contact with the theories of Maududi and Qutb, as several

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[50] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, 2-3.
[51] Ibid., 4.
[52] Ibid, 14-15.

Turkish translations appearing since the 1960s demonstrate. These translations, as I will show in other chapters, were mostly published in Turkey during a time of political liberalization. It was in that very period that, as the 1961 Constitution had allowed a "liberalization of the political spectrum", also the translation of many foreign ideological texts, including those Islamist essays, affected the Turkish context.[53] During this second Turkish Republic (1961-1980), not only the writings of foreign and Turkish Islamists were published in greater numbers, but also a significant quantity of political magazines of Islamist leanings started to flourish. These magazines are one of the main sources of this research and they vary in terms of radicalism, importance, depth of analysis, focus – e.g. from international to domestic issues. These publications were preceded by the other Islamist reviews like *Sebilürreşad* (1908-1925; 1948-1966) and *Büyük Doğu* (1943-1978), whose life in republican Turkey was marked by recurring closures and re-openings. In the more liberal context assured by the 1961 constitution, political magazines represented a new space for thinkers of that period, allowing them to express their ideas and to reinforce the boundaries of a certain community of readers. These thinkers, including the Islamist ones, utilized the reviews as mouthpieces of their ideological groups. The reviews in question helped to create more defined distinctions between such groups in the 1960s. In the case of Islamist magazines, their ideological discourse was mostly constructed in opposition to other ideologies and "outgroups" that were present in Turkey and which they labelled as Western-made. This is made explicit by not only topics and meanings, but also by discursive strategies to mark distinctions from the others.[54]

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[53] Kalaycioğlu, *Turkish Dynamics*, 102
[54] Van Dijk, "Ideology and discourse analysis".

As regards the third generation of Islamist intellectuals that Bulaç identifies as a valid frame to the Turkish context, it starts approximately with the beginning of the 21st century. It includes those new Islamist thinkers, whose discourse finally abandoned the still state-oriented vision of their predecessors and started to revolve around the individual as an example for other Muslims to change society from below through the model of a religious way of life.[55] However, Sena Karasipahi, in her study about living Muslim intellectuals in Turkey, seems to set the beginning of the third generation of Turkish Islamist thinkers to the late 1970s, early 1980s. In those years, according to Karasipahi, thanks to growing globalization and the liberalization of the mass media, those intellectuals started to "critically and thoughtfully investigate the contemporary problems of the world system in general and that of Turkey and Islam in particular" on a wider range of communication platforms.[56] Moreover, Karasipahi's description of this generation coincides with that of the "third generation" pointed out by Bulaç in respect to the individual being at the center of the desired Islamization as its initial step is represented by inner development: "the creation of an Islamic life is only possible if each and every individual in a society becomes a 'true Muslim'. So, as they suggest, the revolution should occur within the self of the human being".[57] Karasipahi includes in this group of contemporary Islamist intellectuals Ali Bulaç himself, together with other writers and journalists like İsmet Özel, Rasim Özdenören, Abdurrahman Dilipak.[58]

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[55] Bulaç, "İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı", 49.
[56] Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey*, 52-53
[57] Ibid., 59.
[58] Ibid., 53.

Islamism in multi-party Republic of Turkey

According to Asef Bayat, organized Islamism was allowed to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s by two main factors. These two factors are, says Bayat, the contradictory processes of opportunity and suppression. The opportunities given by educational expansion, economic development, social mobility and urbanization, were accompanied at the same time by marginalization and political repression.[59] In Turkey, the 1950s were marked by the first alternation to power in the multi-party era and the replacement of the Kemalist CHP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, Republican People's Party) with the much less secularist and much less etatist DP (*Demokrat Parti*, Democrat Party), which governed from 1950 until the 1960 coup. In the words of Banu Eligür:

> The DP came to power by winning the electoral support of four sectors of society: the rising petty bourgeoisie (merchants), who were trying to increase their power vis-à-vis the state bureaucracy and etatism; the rural population, who were ignored by the RPP elite; religious people (conservative Muslims), who were alienated by the RPP's secularist policies; and the Islamic brotherhoods, to whom the secular state, symbolized by the RPP, was antithetical. It is a paradox that the Islamic orders started to exert an indirect influence on politics as a result of the freedom they gained in the transition to democracy. […] Despite Turkey's formally achieved secularization, Islam has remained as an important cultural force in Turkey. The secularizing reforms were absorbed by the countryside only to a limited degree.[60]

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[59] Bayat, *Islam and democracy: what is the real question?*, 15-17.
[60] Eligür, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*, 51-52.

However, no organized movement of political Islam appeared in Turkey until the very end of the 1960s[61] with the birth of the MNP (*Milli Nizam Partisi*, National Order Party), founded in January 1970 by the former *AP* member of parliament Necmettin Erbakan, who had run as independent at the 1969 general elections. The AP (*Adalet Partisi*, Justice Party) had inherited the center-right liberal positions of the DP after the 1960 coup d'état, and governed Turkey several times from 1965 until its closure in 1980. Like the DP and the AP, Erbakan's MNP came to represent the interest of the Anatolian petite bourgeoisie, starting to feel threatened by the large industrial elites. At the same time, it was an openly Islamist party, with systematic reference to religion and spirituality in its program – as I will explain in the second part of this thesis. As Delibaş argues, "religious ideology emerged as an anchor for the displaced and distressed migrant masses" initiating Turkey's vast urbanization process in those years[62]. In addition to the frustrated periphery, it represented the members of the outlawed religious orders, who formed powerful pressure groups with a large network.[63] This movement was promoted by the Nakşibendi *şeyh* (sheikh) Zahid Kotku, leader of the already mentioned İskenderpaşa community.[64] Erbakan's ideological base for his party was soon given the name of *Milli Görüş*, (National Outlook, NO). National Outlook, from the title of the homonymous book published by Erbakan in 1975, became the name of the tradition of Islamist parties formed around Erbakan's leadership and ideas. It has been defined "a particular synthesis of religious and non-religious themes and represents an attempt to reconcile traditional Islam and modernism at the political

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[61] Ibid., 52.
[62] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 75.
[63] Narlı, "The Rise of the Islamist Movement in Turkey", 41.
[64] Özdalga, "Transformation of Sufi-based communities in modern Turkey", 78.

level".[65] The combination of spiritual development and material growth is the main tenet and slogan of the NOM Islamism.

The MNP was shut down by the Constitutional Court in May 1971, after being accused of conducting anti-secular projects. Then it was re-established as the National Salvation Party (*Milli Selamet Partisi*, MSP) in October 1972. In 1973 the MSP contested the general elections gaining a successful 11.8 percent of the national vote.[66] This was the beginning of the political importance of the MSP during the whole decade, since it started to participate to governments as a partner in coalitions with both the center-left CHP and the center-right AP (the former coalition being the so-called "National Front", in 1975). During the 1970s the MSP became a regular member of government coalitions, this probably being itself one of the causes of the reduction of its votes at the parliamentary elections in 1977. This party had managed to gain the support of the religious bases and the small traders and artisans, but it had still a "conservative" outlook in the way it was in favor of the state involvement into the economy and in particular, into industrialization. One has in fact to remember that the MNP was born within the context of a conflict between Prime Minister Demirel, whose AP had close ties with big industrials and business interests in large cities, and Erbakan, who was elected to lead the Union of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce as the representative of the provincial small-to-medium business sector in 1968.[67] More specifically, the conflict was ignited by the allocation of state incentives for private business and

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[65] Yıldız, "Politico-Religious Discourse of Political Islam in Turkey", 189.
[66] Website of the Supreme Electoral Council of Turkey (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu, YSK):
http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/content/conn/YSKUCM/path/Contribution%20Folders/SecmenIslemleri/Secimler/1950-1977-MVSecimleri/Turkiye.pdf
[67] Shambayati, "The rentier state, interest groups, and the paradox of autonomy: state and business in Turkey and Iran", 316.

resulted in the removal of Erbakan from his post.[68] Something that was indeed a peculiarity of the two first significant Islamist parties in Turkey, namely MNP and especially MSP, was their advocating for a "heavy industrialization" to be made with high state participation. In this sense, the MSP was not a revolutionary Islamist party: it aimed to a better distribution of state resources to the categories that had been excluded to favor the big cities and the secular élites.

In the wake of the 1980 coup d'état, in 1981 the MSP was closed down together with all the other political parties by the military government. Moreover, the cadres of the MSP were tried on account of their alleged anti-secular activities and then they were banned from political activities for a period of ten years.[69] However, in 1983, when the National Security Council allowed the foundation of new parties, the MSP re-emerged under the name of Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*, RP). The leadership was handed to Ahmet Tekdal, while Erbakan was able to come back to the head of the party in 1987.[70] The RP participated to the local elections of 1984, then to the parliamentary elections of 1987, when it obtained 7.2 percent of the national vote.[71] The rise of the RP went on with an increase of votes up until the mid-1990s, when it reached its peak. It gained 9.8 % in 1989 local elections, then it participated to the parliamentary elections of 1991 in alliance with the ultra-nationalist MHP by reaching the 16.9%. Then the RP further improved its results at local elections of 1994 and finally at the parliamentary elections of 1995, when it arrived to the 21.4% of the

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Zürcher, *Storia della Turchia*, 341

[70] Ibid., 345

[71] Website of the Supreme Electoral Council of Turkey (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu, YSK):
http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/content/conn/YSKUCM/path/Contribution%20Folders/SecmenIslemleri/Secimler/1983-2007-MVSecimleri/Turkiye.pdf

votes and became the strongest party in the TBMM with 158 out of 550 seats.[72] In that situation, the RP managed to enter the government and make Erbakan the Prime Minister, after months passed with efforts from the secular parties to create fragile alliances among them. In July 1996 the new Erbakan government was formed, in a strained coalition with the secularist center-right party DYP, then led by Tansu Çiller.[73]

During the coalition period, the a continuous tension between the military bureaucracy and the government was accompanied by the major confederations of industrialists and labor unions' support for the military, who saw Islamism embodied by the RP as a danger to eliminate.[74] In Atacan's words: "the army and some segments of the civil society perceived the government as an Islamic threat to the republican regime".[75] In February 28, 1997, the military-led National Security Council formulated "the February 28 decisions", a list of recommendation to take measures against anti-secular activities around the country. In the following months the armed forces "mobilized the secular establishment" against Erbakan, forcing him to resign in June 1997, in what has been called a "silent" or "post-modern" coup d'état.[76] After the government's resignation, in 1998, the Constitutional Court also closed down the RP for violating the secularism principles of the Constitution. Besides, Necmettin Erbakan and the party's key figures were banned from politics for a total of five years.[77] In May 1997, the RP's trial had already started with the accusations of anti-constitutional activities. Even before the trial was over – with the closure of RP –, members of the RP had founded a new party called Virtue Party (*Fazilet*

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Zürcher, *Storia della Turchia*, 362
[74] Atacan, "Explaining religious politics at the crossroad: AKP-SP", 193.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Rabasa and Larrabee, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 44.
[77] Ibid.

Partisi, FP) and led by Recai Kutan. Two currents coexisted within the FP: the group of the so-called *Gelenekçiler* ("traditionalists") and the group of the *Yenilikçiler* ("modernists", or "reformists"). The first group included Erbakan and Recai Kutan as two of its most important representatives, the second one featured Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and other prominent figures of the party, such as Abdullah Gül and Bülent Arınç. The party congress of 2000 was the beginning of the crisis within Fazilet and of the debate on the possible formation of two new parties from a split within FP. This process of deterioration was accelerated by the closure of FP on June 22, 2001. Even this time the party was closed down for accusations about its anti-secular activities. The closure of the party saw the split formalized with the creation of two different parties, each representing the traditionalist and the modernist souls of the RP/FP. The Gelenekçiler founded the Felicity Party (*Saadet Partisi*, SP) under the leadership of Recai Kutan, while the Yenilikçiler created the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, AKP). The AKP, which rules Turkey today, was officially born in August 2001.[78]

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[78] Ibid., 31.

The political role of the Naqshbandi Sufi order from the Ottoman Empire to the Republican Era

The activities and the stances of the religious brotherhoods have often entered the political sphere at the time of the Ottoman Empire well before the establishment of the contemporary Turkish Republic. Before exploring the political role played by these brotherhoods, one has to outline the features of the tradition representing their fundamental matrix: the Sufi tradition. Sufism is usually defined as the mysticism of Islam, the path followed by those who "*strove to achieve proximity with God through self-imposed deprivations, self-effacing humility, supererogatory religious practices and long vigils, pious meditations on the meaning of the Quranic text and concentration on the divine object*".[1] The adjective *sufi* itself – from "*suf*", the Arabic for "wool" – derives from the humble woolen clothes displayed by the first Muslim ascetics as a symbol of withdrawal from the sinful and unjust world.[2] More briefly, it is possible to shorten this definition of Sufism and still to embrace the widest range of examples of Sufi phenomena through time and space: Sufism is together the belief in the possibility to establish a direct communion between man and God in Islam, and the practicing of methods to achieve that communion. The manifold nature of those methods is the result of the evolution of differentiation of Sufi orders, or ways (*tariqa* in Arabic, pl. *turuq*, *tarikat* in Turkish, meaning also creeds, modes, systems), throughout the history of Islam. Sufis intend to learn and teach how to emerge from the materialistic dimension of life in order to find divine truth (*haqq* in Arabic, *hak* in

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[1] A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A short history*, 8.
[2] Ibid, 7.

modern Turkish). Since the 10th century, Sufi Muslims have generally focused on God's presence inside His creation, giving more importance to inwardness and contemplation rather than outwardness or action, stressing cultivation of the soul over social interaction.[3] For the same reason Sufis are characterized by their will to grasp the inner and not always evident meanings of the Quran, which one should then read with the "eyes of the heart".

It is in harmony with this tenet that Sufism includes a general intention to seek the balance between an inward and an outward dimension of the believer, who has to respect the obligations of Islam and the Sufi teachings concurrently.[4] Sufism's preference for the inner dimension of the Islamic faith, then, does not imply per se the rejection of any belief or practice of mainstream Sunni or Shi'i Islam. Moreover, despite this exaltation of spirituality and contemplation to seek the individual's contact with God, Sufi communities have very often engaged with society. This often ancient communities have been formed through centuries around the teachings of Sufi leaders, *sheikh*s, transmitting knowledge and practices to their disciples in chain that perpetuated the existence of Sufism through time. The bond between the "master" and the "pupil" in the Sufi tradition has been the core of the hierarchy within the Sufi communities as well as the main vehicle for the transmission of those communities' beliefs and practices, including the Naqshbandi (or *Nakşibendi*) order at the center of this chapter. This process of bonding with one's sheikh can be considered also a process of identity formation, as the initiate shapes his identity in relation to his affiliation to the specific *tariqa* represented by sheikh's

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[3] Voll, "Sufism", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World. Oxford Islamic Studies Online.*
[4] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 134.

teachings and the contextual identification of the "other".[5] "Sufi orders" or "*tariqa*s", variously shaped by the abovementioned "chains" of spiritual lineage (*silsila*), are consequently signifying both the different Sufi organizations existing in the Muslim world and the "special devotional exercises" that are the basis of a Sufi organization's ritual and structure[6] according to a certain "tradition" of sheikhs. In respect to Islam in general, as it is based on the sacred law of *sharia*, Sufism is crucially based on the *tariqa*, which is like a narrower path toward direct contact with God,[7] a path that only some Muslims are able to choose. A member to a Sufi order was traditionally of two kinds: the dervish (*derviş* in Turkish, *darwish* in Arabic) or *faqir* (pl. *fuqara*), i.e. a "professed" member to a certain tariqa, and the "lay affiliate", invested as an associate and trained to participate to the rituals of the order.[8] The higher cluster of the sheikh's disciples, the so called *muridun* (sing. *murid*), is then trained to become a group of future Sufi masters and sometimes to be successors of the sheikh (*khalifa*, in Arabic). A murid is tied to his master by a bond called *rabita* which implies a total concentration on the figure of the sheikh and his teachings. A following level of tie between disciple and teacher is called in Sufism *tawajjuh*, and it is the concentration of the two upon each other in a resulting spiritual unity.[9] As the Sufi orders grew bigger and developed as communities in the Muslim world, they needed physical spaces to convene and perform the specific rituals of their tariqa. A "Sufi convent" of this kind is can be called *zawiya*, *tekke* or *dergah*.[10] Some of these convents, within the space and time of both the Ottoman

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[5] Mardin, "The Nakshibendi Order of Turkey", in *Fundamentalisms and State*, 210-211.
[6] Voll, "Sufism", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*.
[7] Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 98.
[8] Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 175-176.
[9] Mardin, "The Nakshibendi Order of Turkey", 211.
[10] Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 231-232.

Empire and the Republic of Turkey, have often been home to political activism, also entering, since the nineteenth century, the field of what we define as modern Islamism.

The political role of Sufi orders can be considered a contradiction with the importance given by them to interiority and spiritual contact with God. However, especially since the expansion of Sufism and the proliferation of new Sufi orders during the 15th century, the tariqa acquired the characteristic of the *ta'ifa*, a term that exclusively indicates the order as organizational structure.[11] It is through this passage that these brotherhoods gained social and political weight. This weight grows even more significant during the 19th century, when Sufi orders engaged for instance in the struggle against colonialist powers or secularizing reforms as in the case of the *Tanzimat* era in the Ottoman Empire.[12] Sufism is the spirituality of Islam, but this did not prevent Sufis from committing themselves to act in society with the goal of leading it toward the Islamic right path. As Paul L. Heck puts it:

> Spirituality, however, is not intrinsically indifferent to politics, making it wrong to cast Sufism as quietist in contrast to an activist Islamism. Affiliates of Sufism are not necessarily opposed to the idea of a shari'a-based state (and Islamists are not averse to spirituality per se), but they do not tie the validity of Islam to control of the political sphere. It is best to speak of the politics of Sufism in terms of *engaged distance* –engaged with society but in principle distant from worldly power. Actual positions will vary according to circumstances, one situation calling for greater engagement, another for greater distance, but both elements must be present in some measure for Sufism to remain true to its own religiosity.[13]

The Sufi order that has been the most engaged with society and politics is the Naqshbandiyya, which is also fundamental to this research as two of the most influent Turkish Islamists of the 20th

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[11] Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 67.
[12] Heck, "The Politics of Sufism", in *Sufism Today*, 13.
[13] Ibid.

century, Said Nursi and Mehmet Zahid Kotku, were both important representatives of the Naqshbandi tariqa. Not only the Naqshbandiyya is the most politically active Sufi order, but it is also useful as a study case to understand the interaction between religion and politics in Turkey.[14] The order was for centuries a social and political actor in the Ottoman Empire and also managed to survive to state repression during the earliest decades of the secularist Turkish Republic, finally re-emerging in the public space in the multi-party era since the 1950s.

The Naqshbandi order arose from the mystical tradition of Central Asia, namely 12th century Transoxiana, as the result of a chain of early Sufi masters. The name of the order derives from the eponymous figure of the sheikh Bahaeddin Naqshband (d. 1389), which is said to have been involved in public affairs before rejecting such an involvement and keeping himself distant from the rulers.[15] However, it is Bahaeddin to accept and complete the basic tenets of the tradition already elaborated by the predecessors in his *silsila*. Two of these teachings are crucial to understand why the Naqshbandiyya distinguishes itself from other tariqas: *safar dar watan* (traveling within the homeland) and *khalwat dar anjuman* (solitude in the crowd). The first is a rejection of the common practices of wayfaring among dervishes and an invitation to inner journey without leaving the place in which the Naqshbandi resides or losing connection with it.[16] The latter principle is even more remarkable, as it implies the characterizing interest of the Naqshbandi in the society surrounding them. First of all, the Naqshbandi affiliate must remember that his being involved in material occupations and his being an active part of society does not necessarily divert his attention

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[14] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 133-134.
[15] Demirci, *Modernisation, Religion and Politics in Turkey. The case of the İskenderpaşa Community*, 91.
[16] Ibid., 89.

from God. Second, the principle of *khalwat dar anjuman* historically allowed the order to expand as craftsmen and traders could join the tariqa without giving up their activities.[17] Being active in society then became a fundamental feature of the Naqshbandiyya as compared to other Sufi orders and these two tenets are the most important example of "mobilizational method" utilized by the Naqshbandis.[18] After Bahaeddin, it was another important master in the *silsila* of the order to leave his mark on the history of Naqshbandiyya: 'Ubaydallah Ahrar (d. 1490). Ahrar is remembered for his social activities and the political role he played by establishing good relations with the Timurid dynasty ruling Central Asia during his lifetime. He was himself a landowner, at the same time a sheikh and a "politician"[19] of 15th century Transoxiana, and his advice was valued by Timurid rulers. One can say that, since when Ahrar set this precedent, the Naqshbandis' political agenda openly started to revolve around influence on political leaders in order to "establish and enforce Islamic practices".[20] This turn represented by Ahrar's activity is in fact consistent with and developing from the *khalwat dar anjuman* tenet of Ahrar's predecessors: to take an active part in the society is also a duty of the man who is internally concentrated on his bond with the Divine. The socio-political involvement of the Naqshbandis continues and remains as a core value of the order until today. Following the example of Ahrar, another milestone in the Naqshbandiyya's history is set in India by Ahmad Faruqi al-Sirhindi, also known as Imam Rabbani (d. 1624). Sirhindi is remembered as the founder of the *Mujaddidi* (renewalist) sub-order

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[17] Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya orthodoxy and activism in a worldwide Sufi tradition*, 28.

[18] Mardin, "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", in *Islam in modern Turkey*, 135.

[19] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 135.

[20] Buehler, "The Naqshbandiyya in Timurid India: The Central Asian legacy", 211.

within the Naqshbandi tariqa. This renewalist Naqshbandism started as a reaction to Mughal rulers of India as they were promoting a combination of Islam with the Hindu pantheism in a way that, according to Sirhindi, would have weakened and annihilated the Islamic religion. For this reason, Imam Rabbani began an activism meant to revitalize true Islam and to implement his idea that worldly experience must not be refused in the quest for union with God. For Sirhindi the Muslim must be aware of, and active within, the realities of the world, in which his task is to "establish the reign of Sunni morality".[21]

The Sunni character of the Naqshbandiyya is especially important when we consider the order's political role in the Ottoman Empire. Differently from most Sufi orders, the Naqshbandiyya makes itself connected to the figure of the *rashid* caliph Abu Bakr, the immediate successor of the Prophet as leader of the earliest Muslim community.[22] This particular genealogy indicates the deeply rooted Sunni identity of the Naqshbandis, a characteristic that very significantly affected their history and their activities. The identity of the Naqshbandiyya is particularly meaningful in relation to the order's history of political mobilizations – e.g. the first Mujaddidi mobilization against Hindu disturbances in Indian Islam. This political activism has recurrently been formed around the opposition against the abovementioned "other" and, in parallel, around the self-image that the Naqshbandiyya variously shaped during every confrontation with its adversaries according to different historical and geographical scenarios. Naqshbandi Sufism was already present in the Ottoman lands when its Mujaddidi offshoot arrived in Istanbul in the 18th century.[23] It was however with the

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[21] Mardin, "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", 126-127.
[22] Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya orthodoxy and activism*, 11.
[23] Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A short history*, 225-226.

proselytizing activity of sheikh Mawlana Khalid al-Baghdadi (Mevlana Halid in Turkish, d. 1827) that the Mujaddidi Naqshbandiyya born in India crucially grew and expanded its influence on the Ottoman Empire.[24] He was a Kurd from Shahrazur and he was initiated into Naqshbandiyya in Dehli, at the hands of the Mujaddidi sheikh Ghulam 'Ali Dihlawi.[25] When Sheikh Khalid arrived in Anatolia, he was convinced that the Muslim community as a whole, the *umma*, was in decline and that the cure for worsening moral and social conditions was to be found in the enforcement of sharia and Sunni Islam. Most interestingly, the cause of this deviation from the right path was in his opinion a consequence of the wrong direction taken by the rulers of the State. The Khalidi (or *Halidi*) suborder of Mujaddidi Naqshbandiyya expanded inside the Ottoman Empire through its inclusive policy and proselytism, by stressing social and political engagement more than other Sufi networks of the time.[26]

The main goal of a Khalidi Naqshbandi sheikh was then "to influence rulers and bring them to follow sharia rules".[27] A crucial point here was that, even if criticizing the rulers as the main responsible for the direction taken by the umma, the Khalidis were strong supporters of the Ottoman Sultanate. Besides, the success of the of the Khalidi branch of Naqshbandiyya in 19th century Ottoman Empire was firstly a consequence of its alliance with the state.[28] The state elite of the time shared with the Naqshbandis the fear of non-Sunni Islam's diffusion and influence on society. For instance, the expansion of Naqshbandiyya in its Khalidi version was favored by the Ottoman Sultan in the 1820s

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[24] Mardin, "The Nakshibendi Order of Turkey", 212.
[25] Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A short history*, 227.
[26] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 136.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Yavuz, "The matrix of modern Turkish Islamic movements: the Naqshbandi Sufi order", in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia*, 132.

in order to replace the heterodox Bektashi Sufi order, which had gained great popularity especially among the Janissary troops.[29] However, the alliance with the state stopped when the Khalidis began to mobilize against the Westernizing *Tanzimat* reforms of the mid-19th century and even provoked the violent Kuleli Incident of 1859 as a result of this dissent.[30]

What is remarkable about the Khalidi Naqshbandiyya and crucial for the present study is first of all the fact that it constitutes the original model – the ideological "matrix", as Hakan Yavuz puts it – of today's main Turkish Islamic movements, as well as 20th century Turkey's main Islamist parties. In addition, the important feature of Khalidism that is particularly relevant for this research is the politically Pan-Islamic attitude of this Sufi network, which was attempting include as much affiliate as possible and to expand beyond Ottoman borders in the name of solidarity among all the believers. The abovementioned proselytism of Mawlana Khalid, who gave instructions to his disciples to "propagate mobilizational activities" to every corner of the Muslim world, are described by Mardin as the signs of a "Pan-Islamic project" carried out by "international agitators".[31] It was with the start of the Khalidi era in the history of Naqshbandiyya that the vital image of the antagonistic "other" became the image of the colonialist West. On the background of sheikh Khalid's rise there was a contextual change in world communications amplifying and facilitating contacts among members of any community. The Muslim world was also affected by this change and, at the same time, at the end of the eighteenth century, it experienced a growing encroachment of the European powers inside its

[29] A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A short history*, 278-279.
[30] H. Yavuz, "The matrix of modern Turkish Islamic movements", 133.
[31] Ş. Mardin, "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", 130.

lands – Crimea, Egypt, Caucasus.[32] This combination of these external threats perceived by the politically aware Naqshbandis and this reinforcement of the linkage between affiliates through faster communications at the beginning of the nineteenth century favored a decisive turn in the Naqshbandiyya's history. The Sufi order became a modern Pan-Islamic network, growing in dimension and political involvement. At the same time this Pan-Islamic front grew compact throughout the century as a staunch opponent of the West. The Naqshbandis "appeared on the modern scene with a violent anti-secular and also anti-imperialistic stance. Accompanying this transformation was the shift of the traditional Naqshbandi "other", the magical garden or pantheism, onto Western European Christian culture. By the very nature of this confrontation, a field which in the beginning was theological became cultural".[33] This idea of the West as an "adversary culture", says Mardin, also represented the development of an ideological Islam among the Naqshbandi affiliates.

A remarkable example of this direction taken by the Khalidi Naqshbandiyya is the figure of sheikh Ahmed Ziyaeddin Gümüşhanevi (1812–1893), the most important of the order's leaders following Khalid's death. The *tekke* headed by Gümüşhanevi in Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century century became a famous Sufi center visited by members of the Ottoman élite as well as by many Muslims from abroad.[34] The political engagement of this sheikh and his followers is also indicated by their direct participation to the Ottoman military defense during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The wave of Westernizing reforms of those years saw the strong opposition of

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[32] Ş. Mardin, "The Nakshibendi Order of Turkey", 210.
[33] Ibid., 212.
[34] A. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A short history*, 228.

Gümüşhanevi and his disciples, something that led to threats of exile from the state elite.[35] It was in this context the the Naqshbandiyya firstly adopted modern concepts such as the concept of *vatan*, the motherland, which was initially adapted to this contemporary meaning by the Young Ottomans and in particular by Namık Kemal. In those years of anti-Tanzimat struggle, the Naqshbandi "Islamist" opposition to the reforms directly collaborated with the Young Ottomans, the main introducers of these modern Western concepts in the Ottoman Empire.[36] During the war against Russia, Gümüşhanevi asked his followers to mobilize in order to protect the motherland (*vatan*), religion (*din*) and the state (*devlet*).[37] The Naqshbandi mobilizational discourse during that war is therefore an example of the mixing of religious discourse with the political one in the Ottoman context. As Hakan Yavuz puts it, "Islam was treated as an ideology of resistance and restructuring".[38] The Naqshbandiyya of the nineteenth century was then "a vehicle for the preservation of Islam and a motivating force for mass mobilization against the penetration of capitalism and modern institutions that unsettled traditional society", as well as against any kind of relative Western influence.[39] In that society, this Sufi order became to represent all those small entrepreneurial groups that did not accept economic reforms in the name of modernization.

The anti-Western sentiments and the loyalty to the *vatan-din-devlet* trinity made the Naqshbandis full supporters of the Turkish nationalists during the Turkish War of independence (1919-1922). However, with the end of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of

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[35] Mardin, "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", 132.
[36] Ibid., 131.
[37] Yavuz, "The matrix of modern Turkish Islamic movements", 133.
[38] Ibid., 133-134.
[39] Ibid., 134.

the Republic of Turkey in 1923, a period of persecution began for the Sufi orders in Turkey. The Kemalist abolition of tariqas in 1924 opened a series of anti-Sufi laws that were made harsher after the Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925 and other pro-Islamic riots like the famous Menemen rebellion of 1930, organized by the local Naqshbandis in the homonymous Aegean town.[40] It is during this period that the Sufi orders decisively lose their prestige in society and the very Turkish name to indicate a Sufi order, *tarikat*, starts to be synonymous to backwardness and obscurantist religious reaction.[41] In order to circumvent the abolition law and to distance from the pejorative meaning acquired by the word *tarikat*, the term *cemaat*, "community", began to be preferred in Turkey to indicate Sufi orders surviving during the repressive policies of the early republican era.[42]

According to Hakan Yavuz, it was thanks to three factors that the Naqshbandiyya survived to the apocalypse of Ottoman tariqas and emerged as the most successful Sufi order in the Kemalist Republic of Turkey. First, when the state closed all the Sufi lodges in the country, the Naqshbandiyya did not suffer the closure as much as other orders. Thanks to its more flexible structure and less outward religious rituals, the Khalidi Naqshbandiyya managed to survive and also to take advantage from the weakening of other tariqas. Secondly, the Naqshbandis were successful in adapting themselves to the new reality of the Kemalist state. In the 1920s, many of them obtained civil service jobs at the newly founded Directorate of Religious Affairs and many state-owned mosques were used by them as new Sufi centers where the tariqas continued their activities as "mosque communities". Another

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[40] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 140.
[41] Mardin, "The Nakshibendi Order of Turkey", 205-206.
[42] Silverstein, *Islam and modernity in Turkey*, 101.

factor for their survival was the Naqshbandiyya's success in filling the void left by the Republic's secularist policies, as they did not contemplate the spiritual dimension of the individuals, and in simply siding with the segments of the population that did not feel represented by Kemalism".[43] "The Khalidi Naqshbandi order", as Yavuz puts it, "thus emerged as the Sufi order best suited to provide a matrix for the revival of organized Islamic sociopolitical movements in the thawing period of the 1950s".[44] Even before that thawing period, the Khalidis seemed to adopt a very pragmatic attitude and smart flexibility favoring their survival in the republic context. The clandestine survival of the order in Istanbul until the 1940s was assured by sheikh Hasib Efendi (1865–1949), who maintained the activities of the community at the minimum level so as to avoid repression.[45] The pragmatism and ability to see the advantageous side of such a situation of tension and state control is testified by the words of sheikh Abdülaziz Bekkine (1895-1952), who also led the order in Istanbul in times of forced secretness and until his death:[46] "Those *tekke*s deserved to closed. Among them the ones who were maintaining Islam had dramatically diminished. And so Allah closed them".[47] This statement indicates the idea among contemporary Naqshbandis of Turkey, who are not challenging the Republican regime, that the closure wanted by the Kemalists was actually a good thing as it purged Sufism from the contamination of superstitions and ignorance allegedly common at the end of the Ottoman Empire.

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[43] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 140.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Demirci, *Modernisation, Religion and Politics in Turkey*, 98.
[46] Mardin, "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", 133.
[47] Cited in Silverstein, *Islam and modernity in Turkey*, 91.

Bekkine's successor, when the sheikh died in 1952, was Mehmet Zahid Kotku (1897–1980), who I mentioned above as one of the main figures in the history of Turkish Naqshbandiyya and political Islam. The relevance of Kotku for this research lays not only in his being the leader of one of the most influential Turkish religious communities, the Istanbul-based İskenderpaşa community, but especially in his role in the foundation of the National Outlook Movement and NOM's first party incarnation in 1970: the MNP. By exploring the literature about Kotku, his own meaningful writings and the accounts on his person left by his followers, it is possible to find the ideas that this very influent Sufi leaders had about politics and world politics in particular. In his writings we can find the continuation of the Pan-Islamic ideals born in the nineteenth century and the adaptation to the new Cold War context as previously mentioned here. Kotku's ideas, in line with the Khalidi and Gümüşhanevi tradition, are highly political and reveal a deep awareness of social, economic and political realities of Turkey. This political awareness, also consistently with the Naqshbandi tradition explained so far, takes the form of a strong anti-Westernism that is the necessary starting point of Pan-Islamic ideas in modern times.

Mehmet Zahid Kotku, Esad Coşan and the İskenderpaşa Cemaati: links with the NOM and Pan-Islamist visions

Sufi networks, as they always transcended classes, clans, ethnicities and state borders, can be considered per se a form of "traditional transnationalism" in the Muslim world.[48] Therefore, it is not incorrect to include them in the sphere of the Pan-Islamic phenomena. As mentioned above, the Naqshbandiyya took the form of

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[48] Mandaville, *Global Political Islam*, 281.

anti-imperialist and anti-Western Islamic movement throughout the nineteenth century, especially under the leaderships of Mawlana Khalid and Ziyaeddin Gümüşhanevi. The Khalidi network, created in a time of constantly rising Western colonialism, was also used by Sultan Abdülhamid II in the framework of his Pan-Islamic purposes, says Mardin.[49] Islam's universalist nature, the Naqshbandi brotherhood's belonging to the mostly transnational Sufi tradition, and especially the history of Khalidi and Gümüşhanevi Naqshbandiyya's involvement in Pan-Islamic Anti-Western activities since the nineteenth century, make Pan-Islamist ideas among Sufis in general and Naqshbandis in particular certainly unsurprising. Mehmet Zahid Kotku, also known as Zahid Efendi or *Hocaefendi*, did not differ in this sense. He was born in Bursa in 1897, in a family of immigrants from the Caucasus, and at the age of 21, after serving in the Ottoman army during the First World War, he entered Khalidi-Gümüşhanevi Naqshbandiyya as a *murid* of sheikh Ömer Ziyaeddin in Istanbul.[50] When he became the leader of the order in 1952, the Bekkine Efendi had already created a more open environment by making the community more visible and establishing "informal relations" with members of bureaucracy, academicians and university students.[51] It was in those first years of the multi-party era that the Sufi order could enjoy a friendly attitude adopted by the government, now in the hands of the Democrat Party (DP). In 1958, Zahid Efendi was appointed as imam-hatip to the İskenderpaşa mosque, where he served until his death on November, 13th 1980.[52]

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[49] Mardin, "The Nakşibendi order in Turkish history", 132.

[50] Yaşar, "Mehmet Zahid Kotku", in *İslamcılık*, 327.

[51] Yaşar, "Dergah'tan parti'ye, vakıf'tan şirkete bir kimliğin oluşumu ve dönüşümü. İskenderpaşa Cemaati", in in *İslamcılık*, 326.

[52] Özal, "Twenty years with Mehmet Zahid Kotku: a personal story", in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia*, 166.

Kotku is remembered as someone whose life was "immersed in politics".[53] In particular, Zahid Efendi showed special attention to economy and the economic situation of his country. Kotku thought that economic progress and industrialization were the best ways "to ease the iron grip of Kemalist authoritarianism".[54] The idea was that if the Muslim man pursued his individual realization, his economic success and independence, he could gradually rise in power and class and start reshaping society according to his values. Controlling wealth and technology meant for the Muslim to control his own destiny. To summarize this idea, Kotku modified the old Sufi saying "*bir lokma, bir hırka*" – [all a person needs is] a morsel of food and a cloak [to cover oneself] – in "*bir lokma, bir hırka, bir Mazda*.[55] In brief, Kotku advocated both religious and worldly liberation, and the ongoing trauma of Kemalist repression of Sufi orders pushed him and his disciples to believe in the private enterprise as the main way to pursue an advancement of their ideals in opposition to the dominant secularist élite. His disciples were encouraged to become involved in trade as opposed to seeking jobs in the civil service, since success in trade, for Kotku, freed individuals from dependence on state authorities. According to Kotku, religion was a container of shared moral teachings to be internalized in the soul of each Muslim individual. The duty of the Naqshbandi Sufi is to organize those teachings cognitively in order to apply them in the external world, to build a bridge between them and the society. Disciplining the individual according to Sunni morality and spirituality against materialism is then the main goal of Sufis, as it is

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[53] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 141.
[54] Ibid., 142.
[55] Ibid.

the necessary basis for the gradual change of society on the path to the latter's Islamization.

Zahid Efendi's community, the mosque-based İskenderpaşa Cemaati, takes advantage from the climate of the 1950s in which traditional religious brotherhoods re-emerge as a political actor. In those years, Sufi orders and communities directed their votes towards the center-right parties (DP in the 1950s, AP in the 1960s), which represented a less rigid attitude towards politically active religious groups than the Kemalist CHP. Although for Kotku political parties were "substantially wrong establishments ruining the unity [of society]",[56] he is usually remembered as the one who first encouraged for the foundation of the National Order Party (MNP).[57] According to other accounts, this encouraging was rather a reluctant authorization.[58] Nevertheless, it is remarkable how the party founders – Necmettin Erbakan, Hasan Aksay and others – certainly consulted Kotku, considering his opinion and the support of the *cemaat* before proceeding with the creation of Turkey's first Islamist party. What is certain is that Kotku never wanted to engage directly in politics and that he never supported the idea of a radical Islamist party aiming at revolutionary or subversive goals. His preference was evidently a gradual change in Turkish society through the Islamization of morality and culture. In the first years of the National Outlook Movement, also when it reincarnated as the National Salvation Party (NSP) in 1972, there was a clear resonance of Kotku's ideas in the party program and in its electoral campaign rhetoric. Especially Zahid Efendi's ideas about economy and industrialization were visibly echoing within the political

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[56] Yaşar, "İskenderpaşa Cemaati", in in *İslamcılık*, 331.
[57] Mardin, "The Nakshibendi Order of Turkey", 222.
[58] Yaşar, "İskenderpaşa Cemaati", in in *İslamcılık*, 331.

discourse of Necmettin Erbakan and his party. It is also confirmed by the MSP member and İskenderpaşa affiliate Korkut Özal that Kotku remained an advisor to consult for National Outlook figures like him also during the 1970s, when Özal was personally encouraged by him to run as MP for the 1973 general elections.[59]

One of the first issues to emerge during the 1973 MSP campaign is the idea of moral and spiritual development as necessary to achieve the material development needed by the country – the abovementioned moral and material emancipation promoted by Kotku – to reach a more just distribution of health and to eradicate the problem of emigration to Europe. A solution for Turkey's economy would be a "heavy industrialization" (*ağır sanayileşme*), especially for the production of machinery. Industrializing inner and eastern Anatolia would solve disparities between the poor and the rich areas of the country. For the MSP, only a "*happy minority*" has enjoyed the AP's policies based on exploitation and interest rates (interests are prohibited in Islamic law). Kotku's idea about industrialization as a means to make Turkey internationally independent are clearly expressed in his writings, as I am going to expound in the following paragraphs.

In a speech at an MSP assembly in Konya, in July 1973, party president Süleyman Arif Emre added that Turkey could develop "like Japan or West Germany", but Turkish governments "have wasted this opportunity" because of their "mentality"[60] leading to injustice and unemployment. Later in August, party officials such as Oğuzhan Asiltürk and Orhan Batı, explained their ideas about economic

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[59] Özal, "Twenty years with Mehmet Zahid Kotku: a personal story", 175-176.
[60] "MSP G. Başkanı Emre'nin Konya Konuşması", [MSP President Emre's Konya speech – first part], *Milli Gazete*, (1 August 1973).

development through heavy industrialization.[61,62] State institutions, like the State Planning Organization, will not be the owner of factories and companies. They will be projecting, financing and managing the industrialization process, but it will be private citizens, possibly people living in the region were the new factories are built, to own and run the means of production. To do this a new structuring of state offices for industrialization is needed. Batı calls this idea of the state at the service of citizens "horizontal statism" (*ufkî devletçilik*). It will function on moral and righteous bases, providing a solution for geographical or elitist imbalances in the country.[63] In the NOM's vision, there will be no more conflicts between workers and employers, tells Erbakan. There will be a "society of brothers" with a fair "division of labor" among those working in beneficial ways for the development of their homeland, where they will work with the "love of devotion" (*ibadet aşkıyla*):[64] this was the MSP's stance on labor and society. The individual must work for the progress of the whole community with a religious reference ("ibadet" means the worshippng of God) to service as a duty of every good Muslim – indeed at the service of God – toward his community. However, Erbakan stresses the importance of individual economic success to distance the NOM also from the "collectivist mentality"[65] of leftist parties: "the most honorable person is the person who works, who *serves* with sweat and tears, who

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[61] Abdullah Lelik, "Ağır sanayi hür hayatın teminatıdır", [Heavy industry is a guarantee of free life], *Milli Gazete*, (5 August 1973).

[62] "MSP Türkiye'yi 'Sanayi ülkesi' yapacaktır", [The MSP will make Turkey the 'The Country of Industry'], *Milli Gazete*, (11 August 1973),

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] "Abdi İpekçi'nin MSP Konya Milletvekili Prof. Necmettin Erbakan ile yaptığı ve Milliyette yayınlanan konuşmanın tam metni", [The full text of the conversation with Konya deputy Prof. Necmettin Erbakan made by Abdi İpekçi and published on Milliyet], *Milli Gazete*, (14 September 1973).

profits".[66] This reflects Kotku's encouragement to his disciples to work in the private sector instead of entering the bureaucracy. Being employed in the civil service was perceived by Kotku as a limitation to one's freedom and a dangerous dependence on state authorities.[67] In order to free himself, the Muslim individual should seek prosperity and emancipation in private enterprise and trade.

As regards industrialization, Kotku is also remembered for inspiring the creation of a factory, the Gümüş motor factory, founded by Necmettin Erbakan in 1956.[68] Kotku's successor, and biographer, Esad Coşan tells us that organizational matters about the factory's foundation were discussed and decided in Zahid Efendi's presence and that it was part of the sheikh's guiding activity, specifically about indicating the right path (irşad) to politicians.[69] For Kotku, it was through a national industrialization that Turkey could free itself from the hegemony of the West. Once again, the private enterprise is the instrument on which Muslims must count in order to avoid subjugation and reach the prosperity they need to put forward their values in the contemporary society. In his book about his personal experience as Kotku's disciple and the teachings of his spiritual guide, also Ersin Gürdoğan stresses the attention Kotku always payed to politics and economy in particular. Within this account about Kotku's thoughts towards the economic, technological and cultural hegemony of the West, one can detect the anti-Westernist preconditions for the development of the international economy and foreign policy

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[66] "Türkiye'miz Sanayileşecek, çalışan hakkını alacaktır", [Our Turkey will be industrialized, the worker will achieve his rights], *Milli Gazete*, (4 September 1973).
[67] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 142.
[68] Dinçer Gökçe, "Erbakan Hoca'nın Gümüş Motoru sustu" [Prof. Erbakan's Gümüş Motor shut], online *Hürriyet*, (3 February 2012), http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erbakan-hoca-nin-gumus-motor-u-sustu-19838676
[69] Çoşan, *Mehmed Zahid Kotku*, 90.

approaches embraced by the Islamist circle on which the sheikh had influence. In this work – first published in 1987 –, Gürdoğan recollects events related to Kotku and the İskenderpaşa Cemaati, as well as the teachings of his master, then he exposes his own ideas as an Islamist thinker. The first encounter between the two happened in 1968, when Gürdoğan was working at the State Planning Organization (DPT), the state institution advising the government about economic development policies and projecting Five-Years plans to achieve economic goals. An important part of the DPT officials, tells us Gürdoğan, was also part of Kotku's community of disciples, and aspired to the creation of an economic world power born from the collaboration of all Muslim countries as an alternative to Western "sphere of influence".[70] Among these men, there were several future important Islamist figures, like the Islamist thinkers and journalists Rasim Özdenören, Akif İnan, Erdem Bayazıt, but also future politicians: Bahri Zengin, Hasan Seyithanoğlu, Nabi Avcı.[71] In the 1960s, this group aspired to the development of economic policies that would look exclusively at the "real needs" of the country and thought that joint investments and Turkey's cooperation with other Muslim countries in the fields of trade and industry would have favored this process of emancipation from the West.[72]

These ambitions are detectable within Kotku's own writings, where he tries to find solutions for Turkey and the Muslim world as he sees it suffering because of the moral and material foreign occupation it experiences. The duty of all Muslims, for Kotku, is to defend the umma from this alien influence that has ruined the spirit and the material development of the Muslim world. This is for him the basic

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[70] Gürdoğan, *Görünmeyen Üniversite*, 32-33.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

meaning of the *jihad* (*cihad* in Turkish).[73] He also explains that the jihad is the overall effort Muslims have to make to protect Islam, be this effort physical (*lesser jihad*) or, most importantly in Sufism, an inner struggle against "false desires" and evil instincts of the "self", i.e. the *nefs* (*greater jihad*).[74] Kotku's search for economic, cultural and political solutions for Muslims was then for him a part of this general sacred duty he pointed out. Therefore, it is not surprising that the collection of Kotku's sermon that is most relevant to the present study is the one called *Cihad*. In this book it is possible to find the ideas on which Kotku built his view about world issues and proposed solutions to his disciples.

First of all, if one looks at his ideas about economy there is a strong condemnation of consumerism, which only serves the interests of the Western powers. This position against capitalist society and consumerism is also repeated by Gürdoğan in relation to the sheikh's teachings about material progress.[75] The diffusion of "artificial needs" among Muslims is for Kotku a sign of the moral decline caused by Western influence. This moral and spiritual decline provokes a material decline distracting the Muslim masses from the pursuit of their own prosperity:

> "If we want to save ourselves, we must not blindly imitate (*taklit*) infidels, heathens, Europeans. It is instead necessary to avoid dissipation (*israf*) as much as possible, and to work with a determination that will possibly overcome them, with a complete loyalty to religion (*din*), nation (*millet*) and motherland (*vatan*)."[76]

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[73] Kotku, *Cihad*, 13.
[74] Ibid., 57.
[75] Gürdoğan, *Görünmeyen Üniversite*, 87.
[76] Kotku, *Cihad*, 40-41.

For these reasons, says Kotku, it is vital to get rid of Western goods – unnecessary or harmful goods in particular, only representing a source of waste and dissipation – as they come with consumerism, i.e. a destructive product of Western culture and morality. It would be preferable, he argues, that Turkey and other Muslim countries developed their own industries and favored investments in local factories and enterprises. This would also be in his opinion a way to contrast the problem of Turkish emigration to Germany,[77] another point one can also find in the NOM parties' discourse. A second fundamental idea of Zahid Kotku is then this idea of national industrialization, linked to his perception of consumerism, luxury and moral decline brought by the West. For the sheikh, goods made by in Muslim countries should be the only ones to be bought by Muslims, as Kotku's disciple Gürdoğan recalls in his book.[78] From this tenet one logically passes to the third one that is possible to identify in Kotku's writings and that leads to his Pan-Islamist vision: economic solidarity with the other Muslim countries. "We have to help our Muslim brothers in other Muslim countries," Kotku says, "we have to save them too from the economic bondage of Europeans and foreigners."[79] In his writing called "The necessity of unity for victory in the jihad", the *Hocaefendi* begins by saying that "the purpose of Islam is unity" ("*Müslümanlığın gayesi vahdettir*"), while

> "the goal of infidels is to divide the Muslims in many small parts and to weaken the Muslims, so that they can pursue their infidel goals. Consequently, if the Muslims who are deceived in this way do not awaken and gather their strengths, they must know

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[77] Ibid., 44.
[78] Gürdoğan, *Görünmeyen Üniversite*, 58.
[79] Kotku, *Cihad*, 37.

that they will be responsible for the greatest act of enmity against their own nation (*millet*) and religion (*din*)".[80]

This is the kind of Neo-Pan-Islamist stance appearing in the Cold War era, during which the independence obtained by the old colonies of the Western empires had stimulated the growth and the hopes of the Islamic movements around the world, including Turkey. The possibility that these newborn post-colonial Muslim polities could ideologically embrace Islamism was then a great hope of Islamist figures like Kotku:

> "From Gibraltar to the gates of Vienna, Crimea and the Black Sea coasts, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, all the coasts of the Mediterranean, they were all possessions of the Muslims. Today, thanks God, 42 countries of Islam obtained freedom and a community of about one billion Muslims arose. God willing, other Muslims that find themselves prisoners under the yoke of Christians will gain their freedom as well. Later, they would all come together hand in hand and constitute the most immense and indestructible state in the world. Later on, everyone in the world would live in peace, that is all."[81]

By depicting the creation of such a utopian and peaceful Muslim "caliphate",[82] Zahid Kotku launches an inspiring message to his disciples who will elaborate Pan-Islamic strategies in accordance with such an unrealistic final goal. Even if the Islamist utopia of a single unified state for all Muslims was never going to be seriously embraced by Turkish Islamist politicians, such a vision remained implicit in their Pan-Islamist discourse as the ideal final result of constant cooperation

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[80] Ibid., 127.
[81] Ibid., 134.
[82] Ibid.

and integration among Muslim countries. This vision transcends the subtle border between the original Pan-Islamism of the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Caliphate still existed as a weak possibility of political unity, and the post-Ottoman and post-colonial Neo-Pan-Islamism of the second half of the twentieth century. The utopia survives in both periods but weakens dramatically with the passage to the latter, then fading away definitely in the political discourse of the main Islamist parties of Turkey.

To sum up, the contribution of Mehmet Zahid Kotku to Turkey's political Islam was multifaceted. On one side, he essentially encouraged, even if passively, the foundation of the National Outlook and its first party the MNP at the very end of the 1960s. Therefore, one can consider his role fundamental in terms of mobilization of political Islam, as he assured the support of his Sufi community to the political project of his disciple Necmettin Erbakan. On the other hand, from the ideological and theoretical point of view, he stressed in his sermons the importance of material development to match the spiritual one. He gave particular weight to the project of a national industrialization based on the rejection of Western-made products. Consequently, his anti-Western view about world issues, already appearing in the Ottoman Naqshbandi tradition at the time of sheikh Khalid, adapted to his times as he rejected consumerism and further cultural or economic integration with "the West" or non-Muslim countries. Communism was also to be condemned as an external threat to religion and in Kotku's texts it is associated with the other evil of masonry, also aiming at destroying religion and diverting Muslim individuals and societies from the one true path, i.e. Sunni Islam.[83] It is on these fundaments that Kotku built his Pan-Islamic vision of a united Muslim

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[83] Kotku, *Tevhid*, 16-17.

world in the wake of decolonization. A Pan-Islamic vision that, though contradictorily maintaining utopian elements, continues to survive and evolve by taking into account changing international circumstances.

In studies on the National Outlook Movement and Turkish political Islam, Kotku is usually remembered for his supportive and mobilizational role to the foundation of the MNP, in order to underline the party's connection with the Sufi *cemaat* of İskenderpaşa or Sufism in general. However, one has to point out also the importance of his writings and ideas per se, as theoretical contributions he gave to Turkish Islamism until his death in 1980. Therefore, even if his writings are mainly concerned with Sufism and religion and he has never been directly involved in politics, I demonstrated above that Kotku can be studied as a thinker who contributed with his ideas to the formation of twentieth century Turkish Islamism. Kotku's writings become political as he visibly follows the Naqshbandi tradition of observing society and proposing solutions in order to conduct the surrounding world towards Sunni morality. As Hakan Yavuz puts it, "in Kotku's appraisal, the high Islamic tradition is flexible and enlightened enough to address contemporary needs. […] Kotku's focal point was disciplining the appetite/soul and constructing and cognitive map within each believer that could be followed to form a well-ordered society".[84] In this sense he does not elaborate or detailed political programs, but as an intellectual and Sufi master with a role of guide for his followers, he suggests starting points for solutions and inspires his Islamist public with utopian final goals like his Pan-Islamic vision. The latter reflects the kind of Cold War Pan-Islamism that came back to life

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[84] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 142.

in the 1960s and that became globally known through the work of much translated Islamists like Maududi.

When Kotku died in 1980, the *cemaat* leadership passed to his son-in-law Esad Coşan (1938-2001). What immediately emerges from a comparison between Coşan and his predecessor is their different formation and style. Though carefully prepared by Kotku to be his heir,[85] Coşan was not the traditional sheikh formed in religious schools and *tekke*s. He was born in a religious family, his father being already affiliated to Naqshbandiyya, but he followed a secular education at Istanbul University where he graduated in foreign languages (Arabic and Persian) and literature and pursued academic career, studying Turkish classical religious literature and becoming professor at the Theology Department of Ankara University in 1973.[86] As Yaşar puts it, when Kotku died, the *cemaat* did not need a "sheikh", but a "leader", someone who could "represent the modernizing face" of the İskenderpaşa community, who could "assure the support of a wider informal Naqshbandi network" and make it survive in a changed context.[87] The context was certainly hard to live when Coşan took control of the *cemaat*: the 1980 coup d'état had variedly hit all political parties and the National Outlook's party, the National Salvation Party (MSP), was closed in the aftermath of the coup. This caused also the arrest of several politicians and activist and also a limitation to the freedom of movement of groups such as the Naqshbandis and İskenderpaşa, who had canalized so much of their strength in the MSP.[88] However, the community re-emerged stronger, also enjoying the "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" theory, i.e. a mix of Islamism and

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[85] Yaşar, "Esad Coşan", in *İslamcılık*, 336.
[86] Ibid., 333.
[87] Ibid., 332.
[88] Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan*, 26.

Turkish nationalism, which was promoted by the army in that moment with a consequent tolerance and encouragement to political Islam for its anti-communist function. In 1983, Coşan and his *cemaat* founded the monthly *İslam* magazine. This publishing activity of the community represents an important symptom of renewal. In a couple of years "İslam" is followed by the birth of two other magazines published by the *cemaat*: "İlim ve Sanat" (Science and Art) and "Kadın ve Aile" (Woman and Family). All these magazines, though often paying tribute to the history of Naqshbandiyya and to the figure Zahid Kotku, adopted an accessible communicative style, an easy, direct language to treat everyday topics, science, politics and religion in a way that everyone in Turkey can understand.[89] From the direct conversations with the sheikh, one passes to far reaching communication provided by periodicals sold in the whole country.[90] These magazines, the most important being "Islam", became the mouthpieces of the İskenderpaşa community since their first publication in the 1980s and for the entire 1990s, a way for the *cemaat* to make his voice heard and to pursue its traditional Naqshbandi goal of shepherding society and politicians towards the right path of Sunni morality. Every issue of Islam usually begins with an editorial by Coşan, writing under the pseudonym of *Halil Necatioğlu*, and ends with a posthumous religious sermon by Kotku. Editorials by Coşan are instead political most of the times, and the great attention "İslam" pays to foreign affairs and issues regarding Muslims around the world is particularly striking. The magazine shows a generally Pan-Islamist view of the world, seeing it as sharply divided between Muslims and infidels (*kafirler*), auspicating the unity and the cooperation of all

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[89] Yaşar, "İskenderpaşa Cemaati", in *İslamcılık*, 336.
[90] Ibid.

Muslims, and denouncing the evils of imperialist assaults and oppression perpetrated by the infidels (be they capitalist or communist).[91] Among the events and themes that provoked the interest of Coşan and his magazine in the area of world politics, the most recurring are the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Palestinian question, the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf War and the Turkish application of 1987 to access the European Community.

In an editorial appeared on Islam in 1989,[92] Coşan discusses the European Community question. For him the EC is a violation of Turkish sovereignty and above all a violation of İslam: "does our religion allow such a radical, close, irreversible and unchangeable unification with the non-Muslims?", he rhetorically wonders. The Naqshbandi describes the project of accession to Europe as something that goes against the interests of Turkey and that represents a limitation to its freedom. A Turkish accession, according Coşan would be an attack to the country's core values, specifically its religion, and a betrayal to the nation. Europeans would occupy the lands, specifically the "fanatical Greeks",[93] would legally invade the country and Christian missionaries would spread their propaganda. This is unacceptable for Coşan as it would mean a denial of all the history of enmity between Muslims and Christians. This religious, and most importantly civilizational, divide is a constant feature of Islamist view of international issues, an assumption of incompatibility that shapes also Islamist foreign policy approaches. Only one party, he says in the

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[91] Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan*, 32-33.
[92] Necatioğlu, "Gündemdeki en mühim konu", [Today's most important topic], in *İslam*, February 1989.
[93] Ibid.

article, has remained opposed to this mingling with the Europeans,[94] referring to Erbakan's Welfare Party. As a Naqshbandi leader, Coşan does not refrain from giving instructions to his followers and sets six points for a mobilization against Turkey's application to the EC:

"We all have the duty to: 1) Follow carefully all the official decisions and agreements, 2) Collect and study all the local and foreign literature about this topic, 3) Collect in one file all the documents, ideas, critiques, questions and answers, 4) Always discuss the various aspects of the question with known scientists, experts and intellectuals, 5) Warn the people and the community with words, with writings, with conferences, with seminars, about the conclusions [of this research], 6) Rapidly take all the necessary individual and collective measures, and ensure security."[95]

It is significant how Coşan stressed the importance of international issues and world politics and linked it to the necessity for Muslims to engage in the related debate. More than his predecessors he expressed his understanding that such concrete developments in foreign relations could affect the everyday life of Muslims and the Islamization of society that the Naqshbandis had been auspicating and encouraging for centuries. The renewal brought to the *cemaat* by the presence of Coşan came also with a transformation of the relationship with National Outlook – represented since the 1980s by the Welfare Party (RP) – and its leadership. The respect Erbakan and his circle had for Kotku and his guidance, started fading after the sheikh's death and with Coşan's rise. The *cemaat*'s endorsement became less vital for the party, and Coşan could not have any influence on the RP. While the RP was beginning to function as a real mass party, with his own

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

widespread structure and communication, the İskenderpaşa community was detaching itself from any direct involvement in political activity, investing less resources in a party that recognized only Erbakan's authority and starting to see all parties on the same level.[96] Already in 1983, when new free elections were authorized by the post-1980 coup military government, Coşan's community sided with the ex-MSP member Turgut Özal's new center-right party, the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*, ANAP). Although reluctantly, the *cemaat* supported the ANAP – which included many affiliates to the community within its "religious fringe" – because the RP was not able to run in the 1983 elections.[97] However, when the NOM re-gained strength in the following years, the *cemaat* returned to support it openly, especially because of the incompatibility with the liberal and pro-Western stances of the ANAP, among which the will to obtain the EC membership was possibly the most divisive.[98] The definitive break between the party and the *cemaat* is marked by an article by Coşan, published on "İslam" in 1990. The central point in this clash was the competition about the authority to be exerted on the Islamic movement created at the end of the 1960s. The once "dual authority"[99] of Erbakan, the party leader, and sheikh Kotku, the spiritual guide behind the scenes, had fallen with the death of the latter. Coşan's figure, though respected and charismatic, was not invested with the aura of sanctity like that of an Ottoman-born Sufi master: as mentioned above, Coşan was more a community leader than a traditional sheikh, and this made his authority much easier to challenge. Erbakan, on his side was continuing a centralizing trend that made his leadership undisputable within the NO.

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[96] Yaşar, "İskenderpaşa Cemaati", in *İslamcılık*, 338.
[97] Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan*, 40.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

This led to the final break of January 1990, when Coşan tries to warn his readers about the grand authority of the religious figures to which many Muslim politicians had to gratitude, respect and obedience:

"The real caliphs of the umma, those blessed wise scholars of Islam (*ulema*) and sheikhs in contact with the truth, are not despotic politicians! So many faithful and conscientious believers in their right minds, statesmen, emirs, viziers and even sultans… they all bound themselves to them, kissed their hands, asked for their prayers, carried out their commands: they made them their guides, they knew to be at their orders and at their service."[100]

There is in this passage a clear personal reference to the attitude of the RP's leader and his refusal to consult with the *cemaat* or follow the community's instructions in its political activity. In a subsequent article, Coşan declares the İskenderpaşa's position toward the relation with the RP and the National Outlook, again without naming it or its leader:

"Our contribution to a known Islamist (*islamcı*) political movement has been significant. At times we have warned against and showed our disapproval of certain directives and behaviors of some party officials that were contrary to friendship, brotherhood, and cooperation, as well as they were against Islam's high morality and Sufism's refined teachings, against fidelity to promises and gratitude for good deeds. But no one listened or understood. […] With sadness, I point out that politicians tried to separate us from brothers whom we have served and supported. They confused their ideas and hearts. […] But we also need friendship, respect, protection and support, because also our load is heavy to bear and we remain helpless and weak. It is

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[100] Necatioğlu, "Din alimlerinin tartışılmaz değeri", [The undebatable value of the religious scholars], in *İslam*, January 1990.

not reasonable for us to bear everything. We do not have the time or strength to take on a great political organization!"[101]

The article denounces the ungrateful behavior of the RP's officials towards the *cemaat* and, in a way, it criticizes the lack of democracy within what has become the party of Erbakan: "This cause is not a personal property of anyone. It should be possible to change the people in charge when necessary".[102] While the general reason for the end of the *cemaat*-party marriage, as Çakır says, can be described as the question of who should have more authority, a more specific reason is to be found in the result of the 1987 general elections. In that occasion the RP obtained only the 7.2% of the national vote and did not manage to enter the parliament. As it appears in the editorial above, as well as in an interview to Coşan pubslihed on the same issue of *İslam*, such a failure triggered the controversy between the *cemaat* and the RP as the former started to criticize and to push for a renewal within the latter. In the interview, Coşan reminds about the *cemaat*'s deep historical connection with the NOM parties (also the MNP and MSP) and the presence of many "brothers" in the ranks of the party "from its highest echelons to the lowest of local branches". [103] He wonders why in a Muslim country like Turkey the religious party has taken only the 7.2 percent at that election.[104] "It appears", he says in the editorial, "that the general party establishment has lost his capacity to appeal to all believers and encompass all brothers".[105]

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[101] Necatioğlu, "Bir parti ve biz", [A party and us], in *İslam*, July 1990.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Somuncu, "Prof. Dr. M. Es'ad Coşan'la", [With Professor Doctor M. Es'ad Coşan], in *İslam*, July 1990.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Necatioğlu, "Bir parti ve biz", in *İslam*, July 1990.

Significantly, the same interview on *İslam*'s July 1990 issue touches upon world affairs and reveals once again the Pan-Islamist views of Coşan. The mentioned division occurring within the Turkish Islamic movement as a whole is implicitly related to the division among Muslims within the world umma, and Coşan elaborates on the subject with an interesting reference to Turkic peoples:

"We must look for ways to understand each other, we must try to put an end to this hostility, to enmity. Turkey needs this. [...] Besides, it does not appear responsible about its own problems only, but as a country that can be beneficial to the region and to the whole world. […] A currently discussed topic is [Turkey's] situation of friendship with the peoples of Islam, whose presence extends to Central Asia, to certain regions of Russia, to Chinese regions and to South East Asia. This situation allows [Turkey] to establish authority over them. From this point of view, we in Turkey can understand more easily people of our same culture, coming from the same history, belonging to the same past. We must manage to embrace the other Muslims in the world and we need to display better attempts in this direction. If I do not understand my fellow countryman, my brother, in Turkey, how can I understand a Pakistani, or an Indonesian? How can I understand a Central Asian?"[106]

There is, in these words, also a reference to Turkey's role as a leader in the Muslim world, responsible for the fate of the entire umma. This is a recurring peculiarity of Turkish Pan-Islamism, as we will see in the next chapters.

Cutting the strong ties with the party, did not prevent the *cemaat* from engaging in the political debate through its publications, with Coşan editorials and its affiliate journalists. In a way, this divorce freed

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[106] Somuncu, "Prof. Dr. M. Es'ad Coşan'la", in *İslam*, July 1990.

Coşan's community from party connections and give it more independence, saving it from other conflicts and allowing it to survive until today. Interestingly, world politics and Turkey's foreign relations remained central especially in the *İslam* magazine. In an article of September 1990, Coşan discusses the crisis occurring in the Gulf, taking an anti-government position as the ANAP government was displaying an interventionist attitude in planning to support the US-led coalition force. Coşan denounces the intention of Western imperialists, his supposed NATO allies, to divide and conquer the Middle East by "turning Muslims against Muslims".[107] Turkey is guilty of ignoring the natural unity of all Muslims and their natural need to cooperate and express themselves as one. This wrong attitude, for Coşan, is reflected in both domestic and foreign policy: "Our foreign policy did not give enough importance to the Middle East. On the domestic front, our Muslim people have been distracted and kept passive by highly skilled maneuvers".[108] He further elaborated its position on the Gulf War once again while Operation Desert Storm was underway in February 1991. Not only Coşan declares his (and the *cemaat*'s) position against the war and the imperialist allies of Turkey, but he adds a general analysis about the Muslim world and its destiny in the post-Cold War era: "By ending the Cold War, the Eastern and Western blocs brought an atmosphere of spring to Europe. Consciously, foresightedly and devotedly, they removed the threat of war from there. Now sinister black clouds have settled over the helpless Islamic countries".[109] According to this interpretation, the Western superpower has found in the Muslim world its new enemy. The Western coalition forces proclaim themselves

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[107] Necatioğlu, "Ciddi günler", [Grave times], in *İslam*, September 1990.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Necatioğlu, "Ortadoğu'da vahim oyunlar", [Dangerous games in the Middle East], in *İslam*, February 1991.

protectors of freedom, but their real interest is, for Coşan, the protection of their oil wells and Israel.[110] Moreover, Western countries hope the map of the Middle East to change in favor of the expansion of the states they support in the region, says the *cemaat*'s leader.[111] In his view, such an intention was already visible as the Americans had previously supported Saddam Hussein while he was fighting against Iran during the 1980s:

> "Just yesterday the Western powers instigated and supported Saddam to use him against Iran. Today they are encouraging us to destroy him. Tomorrow they will set up games to destroy us. […] If you ignore the crusade mentality of the Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Greek Cypriots, Bulgarians and Russians, if you ignore the goals of the imperialists, in the end you will be harmed and full of regret, but it will be too late".[112]

In an article from 1995, Coşan keeps on tackling the question of foreign policy on a wider perspective. What immediately emerges from this text is how the author sees the world and world politics divided along religious-civilizational lines. He denounces the good relations between Greece and Russia and talks of plans to establish an Orthodox alliance with the aim of forming "a front against Turkey".[113] In his opinion, those responsible for Turkey's foreign policy have acted with the "anti-Islamic logic of Christians and Jews".[114] The real allies for Turkey should be Muslim countries, among them Iranians, whose Islamic Republic was admired the *cemaat* in spite of its Shiite confession,[115] and with which Turkey should sign an agreement.[116] The

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Necatioğlu, "Dış politika'da yeni ufuklar", [New horizons in foreign policy], in *İslam*, January 1995.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan*, 33.
[116] Necatioğlu, "Dış politika'da yeni ufuklar", in *İslam*, January 1995.

other allies should be the African countries – especially since Africa is "half Muslim" – as well as Turkic people and Muslims minorities everywhere.[117] This change in foreign policy would bring peace, safety and especially those material advantages that would push Turkey towards development and growth. In Coşan's view, this is fundamentally the will of God as it is also through material development that Islam would grow stronger in the world, an idea that one already finds central in Kotku's thought:

"Our foreign policy makers do not mind establishing friendship, unions and alliances with our historical arch-enemies, but they stay cold, uninterested, opposed or unhelpful towards our neighbors, with which we have religious, linguistic, historical and cultural ties. […] As you can see, there are possibilities and opportunities before us. It may be difficult for our foreign policy makers to see them. As a people and especially as well-educated Muslims, we must at once initiate trading, industrial and cultural cooperation with our Muslim neighbors. […] We will continue to improve ourselves, to spread and to grow. By the will of Allah, we will establish the good and the truth everywhere".[118]

It is identifiable, in Coşan's writings, a set of elements that can already be pointed out to delineate an adhesion to the general Islamist foreign policy discourse as it develops in Turkey on a path that starts in the 1960s and shows consistency until today. One of these is certainly the ideal of a sacredly united umma and its indivisibility, an ideal that in the eyes of Islamists is constantly violated by the lack of cooperation among Muslims turned against each other. For Coşan, this was both fault of the Western political, economic, military and cultural aggressions on the Muslim world, and a responsibility of the Muslims themselves as they were not capable of "awakening" and start being united as they

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[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

should. Secondarily, these texts reveal the recurring idea in Islamist discourse about secret plans to expand Israel and destroy Muslim polities in the Middle East. Moreover, as stated above, one finds in Coşan's writings the ideal of Turkey as a leader of the Muslim world on the basis of its Ottoman past as protector of the umma and seat of the caliphate. This is the element that mostly characterizes Turkish Islamism and in particular its Pan-Islamist views on foreign policy, as it mingles with nationalism in a way that is not permitted for instance in the case of Arab Islamism. This idea of the exceptionality of the Turks as leaders of Islam seems to go against the strong anti-nationalism of the Islamist discourse around the world, as political Islam cannot recognize any legitimacy for modern states and the related nationalism, especially if they had their "artificial" borders drawn by the West. However, Turkish Islamists' perspective about a leader Turkey envisions Turks as shepherding the other Muslim nations towards a peaceful cooperation that derives, in their views, from the idealized harmony of the Ottoman Empire and its strong tie to Islam before the nineteenth century. This is then an important difference between Turkish Islamism and other local incarnations of political Islam, but one can still say that, even if nationalism influences this Turkish variation, it does not necessarily prevail on the Islamist idea of solidarity among Muslims. In brief, nationalism and Islamism stay distinct although they intertwine in Coşan's as in most Turkish Islamists and nationalists' discourses. These two types of discourse have many commonalities in the Turkish case, but one can still differentiate between the two. In his Pan-Islamist discourse, Coşan shows signs of this Turkish nationalist tendency, but it remains within the boundaries of political Islam, as the Turks leadership would be in his mind the leadership to a higher and bigger "nation", which is the nation of Islam.

The Naqshbandiyya order in Turkey, notwithstanding the many years of state persecution, reemerged in the multi-party era maintaining its characteristic active approach towards society and politics. This attitude did not cease to produce mobilization as well as a political discourse that flourished in the context of the renewed Islamism of the 1950s and 1960s. The Naqshbandi İskenderpaşa *cemaat*, contributed to that discourse through the oral and written production of its two most important leaders of the twentieth century, Mehmet Zahid Kotku and Esad Coşan. It also played a crucial role as the meeting point of the founders of the most successful Islamist movement in the multi-party era, the National Outlook Movement, whose political parties reached governmental positions in many occasions. In this sense, the İskenderpaşa represented the passage from a political Islam born as the result of the traditional commitment to politics of a particular Sufi order, to a political Islam acting in the framework of a modern multi-party system. The tie between the *cemaat* and the Islamist party ended when the former found itself with a new leader and a more public and open communication, transforming cooperation into rivalry. However, the two actors did not cease to listen to each other. Most importantly, the inputs given by Kotku's *cemaat* to the National Outlook from the ideological point of view marked Erbakan's parties remained visible in its discourse. Interestingly enough, this is true in particular for economic issues and for their views on foreign affairs.

Said Nursi's anti-communist Islamic Union

Although historiography on Turkish Islamism gives the İskenderpaşa community the role as the Sufi matrix of the National

Outlook movement,[119] one must not forget the importance of another vast religious group that supported the NOM at least during its first years: the *Nur* movement, founded on the teachings of the sheikh Said Bediüzzaman Nursi (1876–1960). Notwithstanding the İskenderpaşa's more direct role in the creation of the NOM and its first two parties, including deep ideological connections with Erbakan's movement, the immense influence of Said Nursi on Turkish Islamism as a whole cannot be ignored or separated from the history of distinct but contacting Islamist groups. Said Nursi, even if considered the founder of a separate community of thought, was firstly influenced in great measure by Naqshbandi sheikhs and formally initiated to the Naqshbandiyya.[120] Therefore, one can say there is a Naqshbandi origin that binds Nursi to the most politically active Sufi tradition in the history of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. What makes Nursi's community different is its being "print-based", as Yavuz puts it.[121] This means that instead of needing a central personality, a leader at the top of the community's hierarchy, the Nur movement remained fundamentally revolving around the texts authored by its founder. The main writings of Said Nursi are collected in the corpus of the Epistle of Light (the *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı*, RNK). Şerif Mardin identifies two important features of Nursi's message: the first one is this replacement of the instructions of the charismatic leader with the written text, the second is the attempt to make the Quran and religion more accessible to a wide audience, a popularization of the Quran.[122] After Nursi's death, this prevalence of text on any leading personality paves the way to a modern kind of mobilization, combining with the technological

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[119] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 142.
[120] Cornell and Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey", in Current Trends in Islamist Ideology, 46.
[121] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 161-162.
[122] Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey.* 36-37.

developments making political discourse transmittable through mass media. Nursi's followers, the *Nurcu*s, will always put emphasis on communication and accessibility of information, namely the access to religious sources like the Quran and to the RNK more specifically.

Said Nursi was born in the Eastern Anatolian village of Nurs in 1876, in a family and in a society that were deeply rooted in Sufi Islam, Naqshbandi teachings being an important part of its early education. As regards political activity, Nursi used to divide his own life between the "old Said" and the "new Said", a separation that described the passage from direct engagement to a more meditative existence dedicated to introspection.[123] For instance, during the first part of his life, Nursi was strongly against the absolutism of sultan Abdülhamid II, but when the Young Turks government disappointed him, he entered the Pan-Islamist paper *Volkan*, to which he contributed with several essays.[124] The paper was the mouthpiece of the Mohammedan Union (*İttihad-ı Muhammedi*), which advocated the implementation of sharia as the method to save the Ottoman Empire from disintegration. When in 1909 this group, led by sheikh Vahdeti, instigated a violent revolt against the government, Nursi himself was arrested during the repression. After being acquitted, he lived most of the last years of the Ottoman Empire in its east, in the area of Van. He actively took part to the First World War by organizing Kurdish tribes against Russo-Armenian advances in Eastern Anatolia, then he was captured by the Russians and kept prisoner until the end of the war.[125] During the Kemalist era, Nursi, though avoiding any direct political activity, started to represent a danger in the eyes of the new republican state, as his views against

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[123] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 152.
[124] Ibid., 153.
[125] Ibid., 154.

materialism and secularism were spreading. He was consequently exiled to a hamlet in western Turkey, where his activities were put under control by the state.[126]

In the 1950s, with the advent of the multi-party era, also the community of disciples gathering around the teaching of Said Nursi started to gain more visibility and freedom to express itself mainly through publications. In those years the Nur movement also started to openly declare its endorsement to a political party, namely the Democrat Party, the first non-Kemalist and Islam-friendly party to rule the Republic of Turkey. Mardin identifies here a third phase in Nursi's life, a phase in which he was not directly involved in politics, but encouraged his followers to take part in it.[127] This support or participation to political parties was, as Yavuz says, a reason for division in the Nurcu community, as fragmentation began after the leader's death and every group of disciples started to imagine its own Nursi.[128] However, it is not possible to ignore that even when staying aloof from politics, Nursi inserted in his speeches long-term goals such as the revitalization of Islam in society that eventually made its discourse enter the political sphere.[129] When the Erbakan's MSP became the most promising Islamist force in the country, a group *Nurcu*s, who had already become critical towards the ruling Justice Party at the end of the 1960s, directly supported the new Islamist party and some of them, like Tevfik Paksu, Hüsamettin Akmumcu, Sudi Reşat Saruhan and Gündüz Sevilgen, became themselves members of the party.[130] Therefore, a strong *Nurcu* support for the MSP appeared in

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[126] Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*, 36.
[127] Ibid., 98.
[128] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 173.
[129] Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*, 159.
[130] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 174.

the 1970s and continued at least until 1977, when the compromises accepted by Erbakan's party in the framework of coalition governments caused discontent among *Nurcu*s.[131] This rupture with the National Outlook, led most Nurcus to abandon the MSP and successively support Turkey's center-right parties.

As mentioned above, the ideological aspects of the Nur movement are to be detected in the writings of its founder, which are the immutable, though interpretable, reference around which the community has been revolving until today. In these writings, as it was in the writings by Naqshbandi leaders like Kotku and Coşan, it is possible to identify elements that contributed to the elaboration of the Pan-Islamist discourse and to Islamist perspectives on foreign policy in the Turkish context. The immense importance for Turkish Islamism of a figure such as that of Said Nursi, in addition to the actual participation of the Nur movement to the growth of the National Outlook in the 1970s and the direct involvement of some of its members, are sufficient to investigate Nursi's ideas on foreign affairs and to search for commonalities between these ideas and the foreign policy discourse of the NO. Moreover, the Pan-Islamist element that is present in Nursi's texts can be compared to the Pan-Islamism produced by other religious figures leaving their mark on Turkish political Islam, e.g. the figures previously studied in this chapter. In his fundamental work about Nursi, Şerif Mardin notes three dimensions around which the mature Nursi's thought revolves when elaborating the idea of a future Islamic community. They represent the three steps towards the realization of the Islamic community, to which the Muslims must dedicate their social and political activities. The first one is the perspective of a revitalization of Islam based on the appearance of an elect man (or men) who will

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[131] Ibid.

have the duty to "strengthen faith" by regenerating the spiritual message shaped throughout centuries by all men of religion (Sufi sheiks mainly). The second duty of the "elect of God" will be to apply the sharia integrally, something that needed a still unreached and unrealistic material power. Thirdly, the final stage of this Islamization of society is the unification of the Islamic world: "He believed his work, the *Risale-i Nur*, would make the Shi'ites join forces with the Sunni. Bediüzzaman consigned steps two and three to an indefinite future. He advised his followers not to come to the erroneous conclusion that the time was ripe for their implementation."[132] Thus, in Nursi's thought there is the idea that a Pan-Islamic political integration only represent a remote possibility and a utopian project. As a utopia though, the Islamic union he had in mind was the ultimate reason for the Muslims to act within society. It represented the final aim towards which the community of believers had to direct itself. In Nursi's writings, as well as in those of other contemporary Islamist thinkers, such a global perspective of unification among all Muslims was a fundamental ideological dimension. In other words, even if it remained overtly unfeasible in concrete terms, the imagined Islamic union set an essential point within Nursi's thought and, in general, within political Islam as an ideology.

One of the occasions in which Nursi expressed his views on specific foreign policy issues was the creation of the Baghdad Pact, signed in 1955 by Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Great Britain with the US support. In a letter written to the Turkish government, Said Nursi greets the new alliance with favor:

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[132] Mardin, *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey*, 99-100.

"We congratulate wholeheartedly with you for the successful alliance with Pakistan and Iraq that you obtained for the nation with all sincerity, joy and contentment. In my spirit, I sensed this alliance of yours as the decisive initial step to assure, God willing, general peace and common salvation to four hundred million Muslims."[133]

Notwithstanding the inclusion of a non-Muslim state like the UK in the Baghdad Pact, Nursi's enthusiasm here demonstrates that the priority for him and his movement during the 1950s is the fight against communism. This constitutes an example of how, in the Cold War context, anti-communism has become a strong feature of Islamist foreign policy views in Turkey, sometimes prevailing on other components. Another occasion in which Nursi expresses his anti-communist stances is the Korean War. During this conflict, Turkey's DP government led by Adnan Menderes sent troops, between 1950 and 1953, to assist the United States, the UK and South Korea against the communist forces of North Korea, helped by China and the USSR. Nursi assessed this Turkish involvement as a righteous action for which the Menderes government must be praised: "The government is sending soldiers to Korea, if they only allowed me to do that, I would go there myself with 5000 *nur* students to fight against the communists as a voluntary."[134]

Nursi's opinions about the specific cases of the Korean War and Baghdad Pact are reflections of the general Pan-Islamic visions that he expresses in speeches on the "Islamic Union", parts of the RNK that were collected and published by his followers after his death. For

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[133] Yıldırım, *Meczup Yaratmak*, 142.
[134] Ibid., 127.

instance, in one of these speeches, Nursi considers the Islamic Union (*İttihad-ı İslam*) the only recipe for world peace:

> "Yes, the abuses and the oppression perpetrated by those monstrous foreigners have accelerated the trends of freedom, independence and Islamic unity in the world of Islam. Conclusively, these have determined the formation of independent Muslim states. God willing, the United Republics of Islam will also come into existence and Islam will rule as sovereign to the entire world."[135]

In such passages one encounters the general world order vision of Said Nursi from which specific stances about foreign policy derive. Despite the more direct connection with political activity of another sheikh like Zahid Kotku, promoter of the first Islamist party, Nursi appears more prolific in elaborating political ideas and instructing his disciples about their practice. This is true also in the sphere of foreign affairs and world order views. Nursi's "third phase" Islamism, i.e. the Islamism taught to his followers, reveals similarities with the "instructive" Islamism of a non-Turk like Maududi who theorized and instructed his readers about the "Islamic State" to be founded. In his Pan-Islamist speeches, Nursi refers explicitly to the politicians and what they should do, as he refers to the ideal political unification of the Muslim world in a polity called "United Republics of Islam", based on Sharia and on the institution of the *shura*.[136] Instead of the "bribe" given to the

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[135] Nursi, *İttihad-ı İslam-Islamic Union*, 11.

[136] Consultation. Based on Quranic injunction to Muhammad to consult with his followers and to Muslims to consult with each other in conducting their affairs. Modern scholars consider *shura* to be the basis for the implementation of democracy. Liberal scholars argue that *shura* declares the sovereignty of people in electing representative leaders to democratic institutions designed to act in the public interest. For conservative thinkers, *shura* must be based on the principle of the ultimate sovereignty of God and geared toward implementation of traditional

West, the "politician in this country" should pay attention and care for the cooperation with other Muslims in the world.[137] Consistently with the abovementioned enmity towards USSR and its ideology, Nursi's conviction, already in the 1940s, was that eventually the West would have been forced to support an integrated Muslim world as a bulwark against the communist bloc:

> "Now, in this moment, there is only one solution to the major dangers of atheism, irreligiousness, anarchism and materialism: to embrace the truths of the Quran. Otherwise, the human catastrophe that in a short time led the old China to communism, with the use of just political and material strength, would not fall silent. Only Quranic truth can make that calamity stop. […] For this reason, the real strength of our current government would be to rely on the Quranic truths and to serve accordingly. In this way, it would win the reserve force of 350 million brothers in the framework of Islamic brotherhood and Islamic union (*ittihad-ı İslam*). In the past the Christian states were not supportive to this Islamic union. But now, since communism and anarchism emerged, both America and European states are compelled to support the Quran and the Islamic Union".[138]

Thus, the fight against communism is vital and an alliance with the West is acceptable if it aims at the defeat of communism and the USSR. This idea of Nursi is actually very important in Turkish history, and specifically in the history of Turkey's political Islam. Because this position will justify the support of many Turkish Islamists to the country's NATO membership and an ambivalent attitude towards the

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<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2199>.
[137] Nursi, *İttihad-ı İslam-Islamic Union*, 16-17.
[138] Nursi, "Emirdağ Lahikası", *RNK*, cited in M. Yıldırım, *Meczup Yaratmak*, 132.

Western defense pact. The envisioned Islamic Union stands in this logic as the natural and expected result of decolonization and the West is optimistically seen as necessarily in favor of it. According to Nursi, the Islamic Union is the ideal place for Turkey, but before its establishment it is necessary to do everything to stop the communist threat, even by collaborating with the "Christian states". There are three main reasons one can determine for this prioritization of atheist doctrines as enemies of the Muslim world. First of all, among the enemies of Islam, atheism is perceived as the greatest menace to religion and the non-believers, i.e. those without religion, are seen as the pre-Islamic heathens fought by the Prophet. Secondly, the long-standing threat represented by the ancient enemy Russia in the eyes of the Ottomans, now replaced by contemporary Turks in the same fear of Russian expansionist or imperialist goals. Finally, for people like Nursi, the spread among Turks of communism as an ideology, a doctrine incorporating atheism within itself,[139] was more frightening than the hated capitalism and its materialist nature. Communism or anarchism were perceived as the worldviews in which religion was overtly attacked. Moreover, at the time of Nursi's texts, such ideologies were starting to penetrate Turkish society, as it would be evident in the two decades following his death.

Another enemy identified by Nursi in the RNK is nationalism. This constitutes the main instrument through which "cruel Europeans" have divided Muslim lands in order to colonize them. Nursi believed that spreading the nationalist ideas among Muslims has created the fragmentation that prevented the umma from rising as a single great power.[140] For Nursi, the nation to which every Muslim must be primarily affiliated is the nation of Islam, a "sacred nationhood"

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[139] Nursi, *İttihad-ı İslam-Islamic Union*, 12.
[140] Nursi, *İttihad-ı İslam*, 22.

conceptually standing above any other feeling of national membership rejected as "tribalism".[141] However, he distinguishes between two kinds of nationalism, leaving space to a positive one. There is of course the negative nationalism, the kind of nationalism born in Europe and attempting to destroy Muslim unity. But there is also a "positive nationalism":

> "Positive nationalism arises from an inner need of social life and is the cause of mutual assistance and solidarity; it ensures a beneficial strength; it is a means for further strengthening Islamic brotherhood. This idea of positive nationalism must serve Islam, it must be its citadel and armor; it must not take the place of it. […] So, however strong national brotherhood is, it may be like a veil to it. But to establish it in place of Islamic brotherhood is a foolish crime like replacing the treasure of diamonds within the citadel with the citadel's stones and throwing the diamonds away."[142]

It is interesting how Nursi leaves space to nationalism as a useful instrument and an initial step for Muslims in the ideal realization of their primary belonging to the universal *umma*. This "positive nationalism", if it does not obscure "Islamic brotherhood" and it is understood as compatible with it, is for Nursi a precious ally in the defense of religion and unity of all Muslims. In the specific case of Turkish nationalism, it is reminded that it makes sense only if it is understood within the framework of transnational Islamic brotherhood:

> "Wherever there are Turks, they are Muslims. Turks who have abandoned Islam or who are not Muslims, are also no longer Turkish. […] O my Turkish brother! You watch out in particular! Your nationhood has fused with Islam and not be

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[141] Nursi, *İttihad-ı İslam-Islamic Union*, 8.
[142] Ibid., 65-66.

separated from it. If you do separate them, you will be finished! All your glorious deeds of the past are recorded in the book of Islam's deeds. Since these glorious deeds cannot be effaced from the face of earth by any power, don't you efface them from your heart because of the evil suggestions and devices of Satan!"[143]

The relevance of religious brotherhoods for the development of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism

In this chapter I outlined, through the words of their main authors, the ideological contributions of two religious circles (the İskenderpaşa cemaatı and the *Nur* movement) that have been of extreme importance for Turkish political history and political Islam in particular. More specifically, in questioning their influence, I explored the writings of these authors in search for their ideas about foreign affairs and world order. I preliminary searched these ideas to see successively if their reflections are recognizable in the texts belonging to Islamist politicians and thinkers that represent the focus of this research. Moreover, this chapter leads to a useful comparison between the three authors taken into account, as that allows to see both commonalities and differences within the frame of Pan-Islamist thought elaborated by Turkey's most influential religious leaders.

In their writings, the authors analyzed touch upon specific arguments that begin to represent some core elements of the general Turkish Islamist approach to foreign policy that I intend to investigate through this research. While Kotku insists on economic matters to describe Turkey's dependence on the West as a part of the Western imperialist plan to oppress the Muslim world, we have more writings by

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[143] Ibid., 67.

Nursi on the utopian Islamist project of an Islamic Union to counterweight the West. However, they both stand within the Pan-Islamist framework as they both espouse talk of a universal Islamic nation that needs to unite politically in order to defy the superpowers and being an alternative bloc. Such a view of an Islamic bloc, is also reiterated and reinforced within the İskenderpaşa community by Kotku's successor Esad Coşan in the 1980s. Thus, both the *cemaat* and the *nurcu*s adopt an Islamic Third Worldism, which constitutes a first detectable element of Pan-Islamism in Turkey as in other countries. Islamic solidarity can be considered a fundamental premise to Pan-Islamism, and it consolidates the ideological basis of utopian messages like the call for an Islamic Union or bloc during the Cold War. According to the writings of Kotku, Coşan and Nursi, Islamic solidarity in the international arena must be applied to create the abovementioned Islamic bloc. Although Coşan belongs to a different generation and context, hence his departure from the "sheikh" tradition and his more direct communication style, his texts maintain the idea of an oppressed Muslim world in need of foreign policies based on Islamic solidarity.

From this element of Islamic Third Worldism descend the two parallel elements of anti-Westernism and anti-communism. Here one can find an interesting difference between Kotku and Nursi. Even if both authors embrace anti-Western and anti-communist ideas together, they seem to put more emphasis on one or the other. For instance, while Kotku denounces more often the evils of Western-made consumerism and modern Turkey's cultural-economic dependence on the West, Nursi, as seen in the previous section of this chapter, is more concerned with communism as the nemesis of Islam on the ideological level. More interestingly, Nursi seems to moderate his anti-Westernism as he justifies temporary support for Western powers and NATO in the

struggle against the communists. This position is particularly interesting if one considers Turkish Islamist parties' position regarding NATO throughout their years in government coalitions and compares it with their programs and their ideological bases. Moreover, the approach of communism to religion, plus the statist element, were seen as bigger threats in comparison to the materialism and the consumerism coming from the West. It has been suggested that lesser degree of hostility towards the West was probably related to Turkey's never being directly colonized.[144] However, a crucial factor in the attitude of Turkish Islamists is also that Western-made liberalism, as it is evident in the writings of Kotku and Coşan praising the private enterprise and the free market, contained economic principles that Islamists considered *per se* virtuous.

Conclusively, in the Islamist texts explored in this chapter one can also recognize the element that evidently characterizes Turkish Islamism the most: Turkish nationalism. As it has been argued by Turkish scholars like Çınar and Duran,[145] Turkey's political Islam never broke its ties with nationalism. This is visible in the constant reference to Turkey's destiny as leader of an Islamic Union in Islamist authors' texts, and in particular the exaltation of the Turks as natural leaders of the umma. For instance, it is evident in Kotku's attention to the economic condition of Turkey as the motherland (*vatan*), Coşan's vision of Turkey exerting influence on other Muslim countries, Nursi's conceptualization of a positive Turkish nationalism that cannot be separated from the Islamic identity.

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[144]Çınar and Duran, "The specific evolution of contemporary political Islam in Turkey and its 'difference'", 23.
[145] Ibid.

International affairs discourse of key Islamist authors in Republican Turkey

Islamist intellectuals, who are responsible for a certain "production of symbols and values", are those who define and transmit the ideology of the Islamist movement through newspapers periodical and books.[1] In order to detect the distinctive elements of Turkish Islamism and, for the sake of this research, the features of the foreign policy discourse it produced in Turkey's multi-party era, it is then necessary to investigate the ideas of such thinkers. The importance of intellectuals in the history of Turkish political Islam justifies their being considered one of the core groups of Islamism in the country at the same level of political organizations and religious orders.[2,3] In Turkey's case, one has to consider the kind of relations between these three groups in order to delineate a history of Islamism in the country. There is an especially strong connection between most Islamist thinkers and the religious groups like the Naqshbandi Sufis and the Nur movement, whose representatives and texts were influential in the formation of the most important Islamist authors in Turkey. For instance, as Yavuz puts it, "it was the writings of Nursi and Sufi groups that played the most vital embryonic role for the present generation of Muslim intellectuals and community leaders".[4] At the same time, the visibility and influence of this thinkers were sometimes affected by their relations with Islamist

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[1] Meeker," The Muslim intellectual and his audience: A new configuration of writer and reader among believers in the Republic of Turkey", 153-88.
[2] Çınar and Duran, "The specific evolution of contemporary political Islam in Turkey and its 'difference'", 25.
[3] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 21.
[4] Ibid., 11.

political parties, namely the parties of Erbakan's National Outlook Movement.

In focusing on the world order discourse produced by Turkish Islamist intellectuals, this chapter will explore the Pan-Islamist ideas of key authors. After briefly introducing earlier Pan-Islamist manifestations in Turkish language, I will take into account texts produced between the 1960s and the 1980s. For this study I include four key Turkish authors, which can be selected in this framework for mainly two reasons. First reason is the vital role that they had in the "formation and diffusion of the Islamist worldviews",[5] particularly in the case of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1904–1983), who is considered one of the most important Islamist intellectual in the history of modern Turkey. Kısakürek's main works were published in the 1960s, and he had already managed to found Turkey's first Islamist magazine in the 1940s. In the 1970s, when Islamist publication had already multiplied, Kısakürek's role in the environment of Islamist intellectuals was transmitted to Sezai Karakoç (b. 1933), another prominent Islamist writer and poet. According to Karasipahi, today's "Muslim thinkers were nurtured and influenced by [Karakoç's] journal and thoughts".[6] Not only both Kısakürek and Karakoç had been of great importance for Turkish political Islam, but they were both significantly attentive to international matters. Notwithstanding some important differences that distinguish Kısakürek from Karakoç, the fact that they embraced ideals of Islamic solidarity in international affairs makes them both enter the sphere of Turkish Pan-Islamism. The latter is indeed the second, more specific criterion through which I chose the Islamist authors that are studied in this chapter: attention to international matters, i.e. the

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[5] Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey*, 50.
[6] Ibid.

production and diffusion of ideas that contributed to constitute foreign policy perspectives for Islamists in Turkey. It is for this reason that I include in this chapter the less studied figure of Salih Özcan, journalist, publisher, translator and member of the parliament in the 1970s with the NOM's National Salvation Party (MSP). Özcan's works reveal a particular concern with foreign affairs. Moreover, his biography shows Özcan's crucial role as a link between Turkish political Islam and foreign Islamists, in the context of both his role as publisher and his political activity. Özcan's affiliation to both the Nur movement and, in the 1970s, to the MSP, make him also cross all the three macro-groups of Turkish Islamism identified above. The fourth Islamist writer taken into account for this chapter is Abdurrahman Dilipak (b. 1949). The main difference between Dilipak and the three authors mentioned above is the former's belonging to the last generation of influential Islamist intellectuals. In Ali Bulaç's periodization, this is the third generation of Islamists,[7] to which Bulaç himself belongs. Not only Dilipak, a prolific journalist, is one of the most eminent within that category, but the writings taken into account here are examples of the kind of Pan-Islamist views reinvigorated during the 1980s and the 1990s. In particular, his being editor-in-chief of the Islamist *Dış Politika* (Foreign Policy) magazine, published between 1988 and 1990, makes him especially relevant to this study.

Conclusively, these four authors are crucial examples to understand the permanence of Islamist views on foreign policy in Turkey throughout the decades in question. The analysis of these thinkers will be the basis of following comparisons with the discourse produced in the same field by Turkey's main Islamist parties.

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[7] Bulaç, "İslam'ın üç siyaset tarzı veya İslamcıların Üç Nesli", in *İslamcılık*, 48-50.

Pan-Islamist discourse in late Ottoman and early Republican context

As we already mentioned in the introductory chapter about Turkish Islamism, the first relevant promotion of Pan-Islamic ideas was made by Sultan Abdulhamid II, together with non-Turkish thinkers like al-Afghani and Abduh, at the end of the 19th century. What was the Pan-Islamist discourse produced by Ottoman intellectual circles at the time? In this section I will consider the traces of that early Pan-Islamist trend in Turkish language from the late years of the Ottoman Empire until the first decade of the multi-party era in Turkey (1950s), just before the more evident proliferation of "republican" political Islam starting with the 1960s. To do this, it is necessary to look at the writings of the first generation of Turkish Islamist, starting from those collected in the precious anthology of Islamist authors and texts compiled by İsmail Kara in the 1980s.[8] Successively, other Turkish Islamist authors from the republican era and their publications will be considered.

The aim of this section is to take into account the category of Islamist intellectuals, excluding the previously analyzed leaders of religious groups belonging to the same generation. In spite of the many possible connections and comparisons between the texts of those religious leaders and those of the authors to be studied in this chapter, the former category remains distinct from the latter. Sufi sheiks like Kotku and Nursi were in socially different position as spiritual leaders. Besides, for this reason they could decisively influence views, structures and projects of a religious brotherhood. Thus, although they contributed to the intellectual history of Turkish political Islam, their role and the tradition they followed determines such a separation from the category of public intellectuals of the same era. Of course, this does

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[8] Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler/Kişiler*, Vol. 1-2.

not imply that these two first categories, as it happens also with a third category that is Islamist politicians, do not cross in terms of affiliation to the same group or party, historical context and especially political ideas. Comparisons among these coeval categories of Turkish Islamists are to be made in a distinct conclusive chapter on the intellectual production of Turkish Islamism by excluding the discourse produced by NOM's Islamist parties. The latter category, i.e. party discourse and politicians as authors, is analyzed in a separate second part of this thesis as the ideas expressed in that framework have to be more directly related with political activity and action in comparison with the theorizations, recommendations and opinions of religious leaders and public intellectuals.

In the late Ottoman period, which Yıldız calls the "era of accommodation" in his context-based periodization of Turkish Islamism,[9] one of the first eminent Ottoman authors to discuss the matter of an "Islamic" foreign policy is the Grand Vizier and Islamist thinker of Egyptian origins Said Halim Paşa (1863–1921). In his writings one can see the intention to break the Western misconceptions of a fanatic and retrograde Islam, and his belief in the possibility for the Muslim world to enjoy freedom and progress without cutting its ties with religion. When investigating Said Halim's ideas, it is evident that the birth of Islamism, and the related Pan-Islamic views, is strongly connected with the reaction against Western economic, political and technological superiority. Said Halim was a member of the reformist Young Turks movement and its organization the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) since 1905.[10] In a way, his ideas about the Muslim

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[9] Yıldız, "Transformation of Islamic Thought in Turkey since the 1950s", in *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*, 41.

[10] Şeyhun, *Islamist thinkers in the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic*, 148.

world in relation to the West are a continuation of the work of Young Ottomans like Namık Kemal, although Said Halim puts more emphasis on the religious values and, in this specific case, goes further in the production of clearly Pan-Islamist visions. In Said Halim's writings, the Muslim world should react to the oppression perpetrated by the West by finding new strength in the tradition and religion it has neglected. Conclusively, according to the Pasha, the first duty of the Muslims is to morally re-Islamize themselves and their societies. Eventually, this will lead to a unification of all Muslim nations in the name of the same spiritual values that truly unify them as the umma. In his 1919 work *Buhranlarımız* (Our crises), which is actually a collection of articles previously appeared on the Islamist periodical *Sebilürreşad*, he addresses the question of an Islamic union quite straightforwardly:

> "The world of Islam is a grand family. The nations that compose it represent the branches of this noble family. These branches have two kinds of duty. The first ones are the individual duties that these branches hold towards themselves, while the other ones are the duties they have as regards the other branches. As the realization of the latter relies on the completion of the former, individual duties come before general duties.
>
> As regards the nature of these duties, individual duties are the elevation of the individual's moral and intellectual level, the effort to apply the moral, social and political fundaments of Islam in a more precise and complete form. On the other hand, general duties are to show respect to the freedom and traditions of the other Muslim nations by standing in complete solidarity with them and helping them to develop and grow. This includes saving those among the Muslim nations who are subjugated to a foreign power or are in such danger. Because, when a nation has lost its freedom and its independence, it has strayed from the way of development, it has put at risk its own existence, and Islamic

solidarity cannot tolerate such a situation. Islamic unity (*İslam birliği*) is the equivalent of the union of innumerable forces, elements and factors that exist inside a complete and harmonious whole within the creation."[11]

When Said Halim wrote this passage, the most urgent issue was the fear of a beaten and colonized Ottoman Empire. This appeal certainly reflects the hope to maintain the integrity of the country and to remind that all Muslims have to join forces by supporting the Ottoman caliphate and react together to Western oppression. As usual, personal moral development is linked by the author to material development and emancipation of Muslim individual and societies. The idea of *İslam birliği* emerges as a consequence of Islamic solidarity in the form of a political solution on international scale. In the author's reasoning, it appears as a natural phenomenon, re-discovered rather than invented or planned. It assumes the form of final goal. It is a status that will be automatically reached after the realization of "individual duties", return to the application of religious principles by Muslim individuals and "nations". Even if Said Halim was a CUP member and had opposed the former Sultan's government, this kind of Pan-Islamism is similar to the Pan-Islamist doctrine of elaborated by that government under Abdülhamid II's rule. Said Halim did not advocate the abolition of the caliphate as an institution, on the contrary, he was calling for an Islamic union among all Muslims in order to reject colonialism and save the old Ottoman Empire together with its religious identity. Freedom must be achieved within the framework of Islamic institutions:

"The problems that existed during the Hamidian era did not emanate from the regime itself, which was suited to the

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[11] Said Halim Paşa, *Burhanlarımız*, cited in Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler/Kişiler*, Vol. 1, 226.

social and cultural structure of the country, but from an absolutist government and a paranoid ruler. Therefore, it would be wrong to equate the *ancien regime* with the Sultan's government, because political regime and government are not necessarily one and the same."[12]

In another passage, the former Grand Vizier, writes about Pan-Islamism after the Ottoman Empire's defeat in the First World War and during his last years as an exile in Italy. In a book published in Rome in 1921, he attacks nationalism and interestingly touches upon the idea of a Muslim internationalism based on Western models: "Once humanity has survived the catastrophic consequences of the First World War, it will adopt internationalism. In the West, socialism will create this internationalism, whereas in the East, the Muslim lands will be united by Islamic internationalism."[13]

Successively, he directly addresses the question of Pan-Islamism by presenting it as extremely feared and misunderstood by the Western powers:

"The apprehension felt by the European powers about their Muslim colonies was caused by their misconception of the nature and aims of this Pan-Islamic revival. […] Pan-Islamism […] was the leading voice of progress and liberty in Muslim societies. The idea of Pan-Islamism represented the desire of the intellectual elites of Muslim countries to ensure the salvation of the Islamic world through liberty and progress. Pan-Islamism represented the revival of an Islamic consciousness among Muslims all over the world who were determined to liberate themselves from the shackles of ignorance and servitude by

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[12] Said Halim Paşa, *Crise Politique*, cited in Şeyhun, *Islamist thinkers*, 163.
[13] Said Halim Paşa, *Les institutions politiques dans la société musulmane*, cited in Şeyhun, *Islamist thinkers*, 157.

improving their intellectual prowess, capacities and material condition. The oppressors of the Muslim peoples were not only their Western colonizers, but also their own despotic rulers, who were directly responsible for the present degradation of Muslims by keeping them, through coercion, in a state of ignorance and servility and hindering their development. Muslims had to unite not only against European colonialism, but also against despotic potentates who ruled over them oppressively, even if one of these were the caliph himself."[14]

It is important how Pan-Islamism is associated immediately with empowerment and liberation of all Muslims from Western and local oppressors. Here we find echoes of the key point of this generation of Islamists, i.e. saving the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world from disintegration due to Western colonialism. Said Halim refuses the existence of class division within Muslim societies, hence the impossibility of political parties like the European ones.[15] However, as it happens in the West, struggling against oppressors is necessary in Muslim countries too, but instead of class conflict, the conflict is between the umma as a whole and the Western powers supported by local tyrants. Among those tyrants there can be the caliph himself, the Pasha writes, and there is a clear allusion to both Abdülhamid II and the then Sultan Mehmet VI Vahdettin, who had signed the Sèvres treaty with the Entente powers after the Ottoman debacle. Conclusively, Islamism becomes the equivalent of socialism as a political idea that aims to defending and liberating the oppressed.

Liberation of the oppressed Muslims in the context of a reinforcement of the Ottoman Empire as Islamic bulwark against Western powers is the defining trait of late Ottoman Islamist thought,

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[14] Ibid., 160.
[15] Ibid., 158.

which was then often revolving around international matters. As in Said Halim, the same Pan-Islamist view of Islamic solidarity as the method to fight colonialism and to strengthen the Ottoman Empire is detectable in the writings produced before the First World War by the Islamist journalist Şehbenderzade (or Filibeli) Ahmed Hilmi (1865–1914). Like Said Hilmi Paşa, also this intellectual is part of that strand of late Ottoman Islamic thinkers that, though sharing social and political links with the Young Turks, rejected their known anti-religious inclinations.[16] In 1908, immediately after constitutionalist revolution carried out by the Young Turks and their CUP, Şehbenderzade founds in Istanbul the first of several Islamist newspapers: *İttihad-ı İslam* (Islamic Union), a weekly on which he publishes many Pan-Islamist articles.[17] Ahmed Hilmi participates to the debate on the identity of the Ottoman State and defines it as primarily Islamic. The Empire represents, he says, the only alternative to non-Muslim domination for Muslim peoples under its rule, be they Albanians or Kurds: if the Ottoman Empire collapses, they are bound to be subjugated by colonialist powers as it happened to North Africans.[18] Other independent Muslim countries like Iran or Afghanistan, observes Ahmed Hilmi, are too weak to defend the umma as a whole, and the rest of the Muslim world is already colonized by the Christians. In Ahmed Hilmi's writings we found what was the concept of Muslim world signifying for the first generation of Islamists. It was corresponding to the Ottoman Empire, the provinces it had lost to colonial powers, plus other colonized lands and the very few and weak independent Muslim countries. Consequently, in a context like that of the 1910s, one can say

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[16] Bein, "A 'Young Turk' Islamic intellectual: Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi and the diverse intellectual legacies of the late Ottoman Empire", 607.

[17] Şeyhun, *Islamist thinkers*, 165.

[18] Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *Yirminci Asırda Alem-i İslam ve Avrupa*, cited in Şeyhun, *Islamist thinkers*, 170.

that the Pan-Islamist ideal was espoused also as an option for "domestic" matters, still internal to the Empire. For this reason, in the late Ottoman context, the concepts of "Islamist" and "Pan-Islamist" are significantly overlapping. However, on the foreign policy side, Islamists like Ahmed Hilmi hoped for a significant ability of the Ottoman Empire to mobilize Muslims living under colonial rule, as he reminded the importance of this asset in any potential alliance with European powers:

> "Currently Europe is divided into two camps: the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Due to our intense relations with Europe we cannot remain immune to this political and military polarization. […] Both of the European alliance groups know very well that our friendship is valuable and beneficial to them. The religious and even political influence of the Ottoman Caliphate over the millions of Muslims living under British and French colonial rule should not be underestimated. European Powers are fully aware of this. Nevertheless, so far they have preferred to ignore or not to admit this important reality." [19]

Such an alliance with a European power was instrumental to the strengthening of the Ottoman Empire as protector of the umma as well as to the successive liberation of Muslim lands from colonial rule. Ahmed Hilmi hoped that such an international recognition by one of the mentioned two camps would have led to the revival of the Muslim world. Economic and cultural cooperation among Muslim nations across political boundaries would have been a consequence of such a revival.[20] The lack of unity among Muslims is also a result of a Western influence that is exporting decadent cultural products to the Muslim

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[19] Ibid.
[20] Bein, "A 'Young Turk' Islamic intellectual: Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi", 615.

world. Cultural and economic oppression are major Western threats to the umma, says Ahmed Hilmi. Socialist and nationalist trends in the Ottoman Empire are also the result of this nonmilitary attack to Islamic unity, as they can both cause the disintegration of Muslim societies.[21]

The same hopes for a politically Islamic Ottoman Empire to be the guide of the umma in repelling Western oppression are harbored by another representative of this first generation of Turkish Islamists, Ahmet Hamdi Akseki (1887–1951). During the last Ottoman years, this author was one of the most active Islamist intellectuals coping with the matter of the relation between the Islamic religion and the condition of backwardness and oppression experienced by most Muslims in relation to the West.[22] After the proclamation of the Republic, Akseki managed to enter Republican institutions as he was employed by the Directorate of Religious Affairs, established in 1924. At the end of the 1930s, his career inside the DRA brought him to top positions within the institution, whose presidency he occupied between 1947 and 1951.[23] In one of Akseki's writings appearing on the journal *Sebilürreşad* in 1914, thus in a pre-War and Ottoman context in which the caliphate was still fueling Islamist hopes for a revival of the Muslim world, there is an example of Pan-Islamist view of the time, echoing the abovementioned concept of Muslim world as depicted by 1910s Islamists:

> "As we said before, today there is only one way to save the world of Islam. This remedy is to establish a real unity among all Muslims and a true brotherhood as that is compulsory in Islam. This is to be done by removing both a series of superstitions that constitute an obstacle to Islam's development,

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[21] Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi, *Yirminci Asırda Alem-i İslam ve Avrupa*, cited in Şeyhun, *Islamist thinkers*, 168-169.
[22] Karslı, Bahset. "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Din-Siyaset Tartişmalari: Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Örneği."in Electronic Turkish Studies, 9.5, 1295.
[23] Türk İslam Ansiklopedisi, "AKSEKİ, Ahmet Hamdi", 294.

and the ideas of nationality that separate Muslims from each other. It does not matter by which means: if such a unity occurs among Muslims, from that moment we will be able to consider the Muslim world saved from catastrophe, open to the future that has been promised to it. It is probably well known that nationalism (*milliyet fikri*) is dangerous in the same proportion as atheism (*dinsizlik fikri*) is harmful to this country."[24]

As in Ahmed Hilmi, unity among all Muslims is the remedy to the catastrophe imposed by European domination and to the cultural decadence that the West is exporting to Muslim lands. This text proves once again how nationalism was felt by Islamists of this generation as a key part of this Western-made cultural attack to the Ottoman Empire, both on the domestic and on the international side. In the 1910s, the country was damaged by nationalist ideas circulating among his Muslim and non-Muslim citizens and, at the same time, it was not able to obtain sufficient support from the Muslims living outside its borders. According to Akseki, as to many other Islamists, it is through nationalism that Europeans managed to divide Muslims and to "swallow the world of Islam".[25]

Another very important Islamist of the same generation is Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873–1936), the first of the series of poets assuming the role of cornerstones in the intellectual history of Turkish political Islam. His relevance as a writer is also proved by his being the author of the Turkish national anthem still in use and his being recognized as one of the main poets in the history of Turkish literature. In Mehmet Akif's writings too it is possible to find reflections about

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[24] Ahmet Hamdi Akseki, "Her kavmin kendi başına hareketi İslam için felekettir!", Sebilürreşad, XII, n. 290, cited in Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler/Kişiler*, Vol. 2, 813-814.
[25] Ibid., 813.

the transnational nature of Islam in relation to world politics. In an article of 1913, starting from the idea that there is no possible nationalism in Islam, he considers the instillation of nationalist ideas in the Middle East the way in which the West has managed to suffocate the world of Islam.[26] In this framework, the role of the caliph is so crucial that, in Mehmet Akif's opinion, Muslims do not need to unite in one political entity to found one enormous Muslim government, but rather they necessitate to rally around the Ottoman Empire and the caliphate, the only force that can keep the umma united and strong against non-Muslim powers.[27] Here the author does not advocate an "Islamic Union" as one single polity, not even as utopian destination to be kept in mind to set a direction for an Islamist foreign policy, nor he calls for an "Islamic bloc" to be established as an alliance in the international theatre. Consistently with the idea of defending the role of the Ottoman dynasty and the Ottoman State itself, he primarily urges the elite of the Ottoman Empire to act against Western colonialism in solidarity with Muslim communities everywhere. At the same time, Mehmet Akif says, it is by fighting nationalism and divisions in the name of Islam that the caliphate can be maintained and the Muslim umma liberated. In brief, Mehmet Akif is proved to be one of the main the representatives of this first type of Pan-Islamism, i.e. the intellectual strand aiming at the survival of the Ottoman Empire and the umma through the binding force of religion.[28]

Mehmet Akif was one of the main contributors to one of the most influential journals of his time, *Sebilürreşad*, which was firstly published between 1908 and 1925, including the period of the Turkish

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[26] Mehmet Âkif, "Hutbe ve mevaiz, Bayezid kürsüsünden vaaz", Sebilürreşad, n. 230, cited in Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler/Kişiler*, Vol. 1, 435.
[27] Ibid., 436.
[28] Bostan Ünsal, "Mehmet Akif Ersoy", in *İslamcılık*, 72.

War of Independence (1921–1922). The other eminent personality at the core of this early Islamist publication is its founder and main contributor Eşref Edip Fergan (1882–1971), whose Pan-Islamist ideas were an evident trait of Sebilürreşad's political orientation. Like his colleague Mehmet Akif, he does not believe in the possibility of unified Muslim polity to gather all the diverse Muslim peoples of the world in one state. His Pan-Islamic views are based on hypotheses of "cultural union, economic union, agreements in various fields, alliances".[29] More interestingly, he is the first author to talk of the Republic of Turkey's responsibility to be the chief promoter and the leader of any Pan-Islamic project:

> "Since the Turks have fought for centuries against the Crusade armies, all the Muslim nations recognize the Turks as leaders. In the framework of great causes, few temporary and regrettable events have no relevance. In this respect, why must it be just a dream, why must it be an impossible thing to gather and reunite such scattered forces that can bring together hundreds of millions of people? The only one able to do this, among all the nations of the Muslim world, is the Turkish nation. […] Must one neglect any policy of uniting these hundreds of millions of people with the bonds that are possible in accordance with world politics and the requirements of current time? In this way, a third force would be created in world politics and the Turks would be its leaders."[30]

These stances are expressed by the author after the Ottoman defeat in the World War. Consequently, they represent an interestingly pragmatic adaptation of Ottoman Pan-Islamist views to a completely

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[29] Conversation between Eşref Edip and Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in 1921, cited by Arabacı, "Eşref Edib Fergan ve Sebilürreşad üzerine", in *İslamcılık*, 111.
[30] Ibid.

different scenario. In this new scenario, Eşref Edip's views appear imbued with the kind of "religionized" Turkish nationalism that will characterize most of Turkish political Islam in the 20th century. This imagined consensus of all Muslims on Turkey's leadership as the heir of the Ottoman Empire is suggested by Eşref Edip's rhetorical questions as an almost obvious reality. More importantly, these are his suggestions to Turkey's Republican élite for a concrete and realistic foreign policy to be based on such historical and religious connections. Eşref Edip's being a relatively pragmatic and politically active intellectual is demonstrated not only by his work as a journalist, but also by his unsuccessful attempt to organize a Pan-Islamic congress in Ankara in 1921, during the Turkish War of Independence, with the collaboration of Mehmet Akif.[31] Such a congress would have been an assembly of representatives from Muslim states supporting the Turkish nationalist cause in the war and it would have been authorized by Ankara's government.[32] For military reasons, the congress was not held, but an authorization by Mustafa Kemal would not have appeared contradictory, as the future President of the Republic had already tried to mobilize foreign Muslim support during the war through congresses.[33]

The kind of Islamist perspectives on foreign affairs expressed by Turkish intellectuals before the end of the Ottoman Empire is evidently centered on the Empire and the Caliph as the only institutions able to save the entire Muslim umma. In the texts of the authors selected here, this initial Pan-Islamism is generated by the perception of the necessity to react against Western political, economic and cultural hegemony.

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[31] Ibid., 112.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Kramer, "Congresses." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World Oxford Islamic Studies* <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0159>.

Such a trend derives from the modernist Islamist environment of which intellectual groups like the Young Ottomans had been representatives in the 19th century. As Namık Kemal, Said Halim too intends to refuse any rejection of Islam in the name of modernity, but rather intends to demonstrate that the Islamic religion is not to blame for the backwardness suffered by the Muslim world. However, Said Halim's ideology is more centered on Islam as a socio-political project, therefore more Islamist in the contemporary sense, while Namık Kemal's Islamism was more cultural than political.[34] For Said Halim, it was Islamization of individuals and societies that would have led to the necessary Pan-Islamic solidarity to unite the Muslim world against Western domination. In the pre-WWI and WWI framework, the Ottoman Pan-Islamists see the Ottoman Empire as the only power that can make the umma rise against the West. It is evident also in the passages by Şehbenderzade Ahmed Hilmi and other Islamists cited here, that Pan-Islamist views were embraced as a challenge to the West and an ideology of liberation for the oppressed Muslim world. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was depicted by these authors as a catastrophe not only for the Empire itself, but also for every Muslim living outside its borders. For this reason, before the feared disaster happened, they avoid any exaltation of the Turkish nation over the umma and denounce the peril of nationalism as the most dangerous cultural product exported by Westerners to destroy Islam.

With the cited passage by Eşref Edip Fergan one sees clearly the transition from Ottoman Pan-Islamism to Turkish Pan-Islamism. This transition appears as an outcome of the Ottoman defeat in the World War and the immediate adaptation of Pan-Islamists ideas to a reality in which the Kemalist nationalist forces seemed to represent the only

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[34] Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, 341.

concrete hope for a Muslim independence in a post-War occupied Anatolia. Such an adaptation is also affected by the interest of the Kemalist élite to utilize Islam as a binding factor in the struggle against occupying forces.[35] It consequently represents the result of a reciprocal need between secular nationalists and religious nationalists during the Turkish War of Independence. This instrumental Kemalist support for Islamic groups and for Islamic religion as an identity marker of Turkishness begins to disappear right after the end of the War of Independence and definitely ends with the abolition of the caliphate in 1924.[36] The series of secularist reforms of the early Republican period cause a turning point in the history of Turkish Islamism. In this period, the religious brotherhoods and movements take an underground path and are forced to either being absorbed in Republican institutions like the DRA or acting clandestinely until the end of the single-party era in the 1940s (e.g. the Islamist journal Sebilürreşad was closed in 1925 and could reopen in 1948). In the context of political liberalization and the closure of the single-party era, the ruling Kemalist party, the CHP, started a series of concessions to the Islamist electorate.[37] However, it was in the 1950s that the new Democrat Party (DP) government started a reassertion of Islam in the public sphere. This reassertion was essentially cultural and implied policies like the building of mosques or the reintroduction of Arabic as the language of the call to prayer. This approach to religion in the early multi-party era, was meant to repair the fractures between the State and Turkish society.[38] Moreover, it led to the support of religious groups like the *Nur* Movement for the DP government, as we have seen in Said Nursi's praise for the

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[35] Kayalı, "The struggle for independence", in *The Cambridge History of Turkey,* 129.
[36] Çağaptay, "Islam, secularism and nationalism in modern Turkey", 11-14.
[37] Ahmad, "Politics and Islam in modern Turkey", 9.
[38] Ibid., 10.

government's actions. In particular, the DP's foreign policy being deeply focused on integration within NATO led to the Baghdad Pact in 1955. The Pact, which originated from the American and British concern for security in the Middle East, included Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan. Although it also "cast Turkey in the image of docile tool to Western powers",[39] the Pact was praised by the Nur movement for its anti-communist function and its representing an alliance between Turkey and other Muslim countries. Therefore, certain Islamist writers like Nursi, presented this Western-made treaty to Turkish readers as a further reason to keep supporting the pro-NATO government of the DP. This Islamist appreciation for a pro-Western foreign policy is symptomatic of a decade in which Turkish Islamists needed to regain public space and enjoyed the concessions given in this sense by the Democrat Party in power. Once again Pan-Islamism tries to adapt to a new reality in which not only Turkey is a modern nation state, but it is also integrated in the Western and anti-communist camp within the Cold War framework. It is also for this reason that the Nur movement keeps supporting the DP. For the same reason, a first essentially Pan-Islamist essay of the multi-party era, published in 1957, included praises for the DP government's foreign policy and the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. This work, written by the obscure author Hasan Tahsin Başak, probably represents the first Turkish expression of a Neo-Pan-Islamism that differs from the late Ottoman Pan-Islamism for reasons that have already been mentioned in the introductory chapter and will emerge again clearly through a content analysis of the text in question.

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[39] Karpat, *Turkey's foreign policy in transition: 1950-1974*, 116.

The reemergence of Pan-Islamism in Cold War Turkey

When Turkish Islamism regained strength in the DP-ruled Turkey of the 1950s, and groups like the Sufi brotherhoods began to reemerge in the public sphere, also the religious circles revolving around publications like *Sebilürreşad* were more tolerated by the government. With the beginning of the multi-party era, new Islamist books and journals started to be published in Turkey,[40] but the old Islamist ideology, based on tenets like the protection of the caliphate, could not exist anymore. This ideology had been surviving throughout the decades of the secularist single-party era by adapting itself to the new Republican reality. On the domestic side, Turkish Islamists did not oppose the Republican system, as they favored the non-liberal social engineering aspects of Kemalist Republicanism[41] and often used Turkish nationalism as a legitimizing "refuge" from secularist repression.[42] On the international side, they had to adapt the old Pan-Islamism to the framework of the Cold War. As previously mentioned, this ideological adaptation was most influentially promoted in the 1950s and 1960s by the Islamic anti-imperialist views of internationally known Islamist thinkers like Maududi and Qutb. The influence of their works on Turkey's political Islam would grow especially during the 1960-1980 inter-coup period, when political liberalization allowed also an increase of Islamist publications including translations of such foreign authors. The Neo-Pan-Islamism that was adopted worldwide by the new generation of Islamists in the Cold War framework, as previously explained, was an Islamic Third Worldism aiming at the

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[40] Çınar and Sezgin, "Islamist political engagement in the Early years of multi-party politics in Turkey: 1945-1960", 332-333.
[41] Çınar, "Kemalist Cumhuriyetçilik ve İslamcı Kemalizm", in *İslamcılık*, 176.
[42] Duran, "Cumhuriyet dönemi İslamcılığı", in *İslamcılık*, 135.

establishment of an international bloc of states founded on religious ties. Echoes of such a renewed approach both to modern nationalism and to foreign affairs appeared in Turkish Islamism too, as it is to be highlighted in the following sections on key Turkish Islamist authors.

However, the first known Turkish book concerning specifically the topic of a Pan-Islamic union in the Cold War era is *İslam Birliği - İttifak ve İttihat Nazariyesi* (The Islamic Union - A theory of alliance and unity), written by Hasan Tahsin Başak and published in the Black Sea city of Kastamonu in 1957. According to Landau, Turkish Pan-Islamism had been "dormant for a generation or more" during the single-party era, and gave signs of awakening "with the revival of Islam in Turkey during the 1950s and its reentry in general politics in the 1960s and 1970s".[43] For him, the book by Başak is the first originally Turkish example to be mentioned in this context as a representative example of the kind of Pan-Islamism reemerging in the multi-party era, more specifically, during the DP years.[44] For this reason, I chose to deepen this text's analysis here. According to the frontispiece of his work, Hasan Tahsin Başak had served as regiment's imam in the Ottoman army a was a war veteran. Other books published by Başak in the same period are similar examples of the resurgence of Islamism under the DP's rule. Some of these titles immediately suggest a connection with the political sphere going beyond merely religious topics, namely *Monition to the Missionaries*[45] - a pamphlet against Christian missions – and *Being a Turk is not separable from being a Muslim*.[46] When analyzing the content Başak's *Islamic Union*, one

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[43] Landau, *Pan-Islam: History and Politics*, 181.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Başak, *Misyonerlere ihtar*, Doğrusöz Matbaası, 1953.
[46] Başak, *Türklük Müslümanlıktan ayrılmaz*, Doğrusöz Matbaası, 1960.

identifies four main elements composing the Islamist (and Pan-Islamist) discourse emerging in Turkey in the 1950s.

The first element is the conceptualization of the Islamic society and, accordingly, the idea of the "Islamic civilization" as the globally homogeneous representation of the entire Islamic umma, the world Muslim community transcending the national borders. According to the author, the Islamic civilization has enlightened humanity with its moral principles.[47] A Muslim society is based on the mentioned Islamic principles, as contaminations by harmful ideologies like communism and capitalism can only represent unnatural and destructive events.[48] It is for this reason that, by extending the focus to the global framework, Muslim countries have to be considered territories of one single entity, whose geographical contiguity is optimistically highlighted by Başak.[49] This Pan-Islamist narration of the Muslim world is then reinforced by the author's organicist conceptualization of the umma as one single body, whose pain can come from the suffering of only one of its parts.[50] This fundamental representation of a homogeneous umma is quite traditional and complies with the idea of the Muslim world embraced by Ottoman Pan-Islamist thinkers: a naturally monolithic body that external forces want to divide and conquer. One can also say that this vision of the umma as one single entity complies with the Islamic concept of *Dar al-Islam*, meaning the "abode of Islam", i.e. a definition for the totality of territories in which Islam prevails, a geopolitical unit including the entire Muslim world.

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[47] Başak, *İslam Birliği- İttifak ve İttihat Nazariyesi*, 13.
[48] Ibid., 6.
[49] Ibid., 29.
[50] Ibid., 57.

It is the political action suggested in this 1957 book to mark the difference between the old and the new kind of Pan-Islamism. Such adaptation becomes visible in the Islamist foreign policy theories based on this religious conceptualization in the changed international scenario. These plans are now focused on the establishment of united bloc of Muslim states to compete, according to Pan-Islamist authors, with the two camps led by non-Muslim superpowers both aiming at the imperialist exploitation of the Muslim world. The theorization of a Pan-Islamist foreign policy is the second element to single out in the analysis of Başak's book, as it makes the text a perfect example of the Neo-Pan-Islamist trend as reflected in Turkish Islamism. According to Başak, all the nations of the Muslim world need to unite in order to achieve freedom and prosperity. Such a peaceful union will then cause the establishment of an alliance that will lead the world and conduct it to harmony and peace.[51] The author stresses several times the importance that the Islamic Union would have in the achievement of world peace, connecting this idea to high values of Islam like justice and solidarity. Unity among all Muslims, says Başak, will be achieved by overcoming nationalisms, social divisions and conflicts based on divergences between different Islamic school of thoughts.[52] In this text, this idea of global alliance is not elaborated in further details, but the reference to the Cold War framework is already clear. Such a reference indicates the abovementioned turning point in the history of Islamism as well as in the process of elaborating a possible Islamist foreign policy in the Turkish context. Besides, Başak affirms that the Islamic Union would bring back the umma to the glories of the original Muslim community led by the Prophet.[53] In that original community there was no division

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[51] Ibid., 8; 31.
[52] Ibid., 62.
[53] Ibid, 31.

of any sort and that is the model that the entire Muslim world should replicate with the means of the 20th century to become a uniform entity with a uniform foreign policy.

This vision comes from the Islamist observation of a Muslim world that continued to suffer non-Muslim domination and imperialism, an umma threatened by the evils of Western and communist immorality and oppression. In the changed context in which Turkish Islamism reemerges from his dormant phase, these arguments are illustrated by Başak when he refers to historical or almost coeval events in order to support the necessity of the creation of an Islamic bloc in the international arena. This is the third element that is possible to extrapolate from this early Neo-Pan-Islamist Turkish text, i.e. a legitimizing description of world politics issues from an Islamist point of view. From such point of view, as it is exemplified by this text, the Christian world has attempted many times in history to destroy the Muslim world. These attempts began with the Crusades – as Başak refers to Christians as Crusaders (*ehl-i salip*) – and arrived to the 1950s efforts to create a European Economic Community as a "Christian Union".[54] However, argues the author, none of these attempts is logical and natural as an Islamic Union would be, since Christians are not able to be united and fraternal among themselves as Muslims are. To describe how threatened the Muslim world is, Başak recalls some recent events demonstrating the immorality of non-Muslim powers. Among these events he mentions the Suez crisis of 1956, described as the violent act of Crusades supported by Jews in their fight against Islam. On the other hand, the Soviet repression in Hungary, also happening in 1956, is recorded by the author as an example of communist atrocity

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[54] Ibid., 37.

against humanity as a whole.[55] Another issue recalled by Başak is the Cyprus dispute, as he accuses the Greek Cypriots the British as responsible for the oppression suffered by Muslims on the island.[56] Once again, the solution indicated to end such atrocities, promote peace and eliminate the mentioned threats is the formation of the Islamic Union as an alternative power in world politics.[57] In the 20th century, argues the author, it is necessary to create a bloc of states to achieve any results in an international context.[58] Hence, the response of all Muslims to these historical and ongoing attacks to Islam seen both as a religion and as a community must, for Başak, be a general alliance among all Muslim states and possibly an organized international bloc.

In this text, nationalism is rejected as the Turks are considered part of the Muslim nation (*millet*) and the leadership of the projected Islamic Union is assigned to Muslims in general.[59] However, not only the Republican system is here accepted and supported, but also its secularist founder Atatürk is praised for certain reforms. Interestingly, Başak praises in particular the Kemalist abolition of the *tarikat* in the 1920s as it prevented, in his opinion, superstition from damaging the real faith through unorthodox Sufi practices and beliefs. According to the author, the religious brotherhoods were indeed a cause for division and weakness among Muslim Turks.[60] This fourth recognizable element of the text is a feature of Republican Islamism emerging in Republican Turkey and it is an example of how political Islam can adapt to a changed political context. It is the pragmatic idea that the only way to reach political Islam's goals is to embrace the existing Republican

[55] Ibid., 27.
[56] Ibid., 53.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.,62.
[59] Ibid., 61-62.
[60] Ibid., 41.

system. When the single-party era ended, and it was clear that an alternation was possible at governmental level, the DP's rise made the Islamists realize that there was a possibility to be recognized by the government as political interlocutors. Consequently, most Islamists became aware that they could benefit in terms of public space and freedom of speech and association, in exchange for the support to a non-Kemalist party and the complete acceptance of the Republican institutions. This is visible in Başak's book as he praises the pro-Western Baghdad Pact of 1955, the Middle Eastern international treaty that had been positively valued also by major Islamist figure like Said Nursi. In the text, Başak propagandizes the Baghdad Pact as a great success of the DP and PM Adnan Menderes.[61] The support for the DP government's foreign policy is evident: "Adnan Menderes is currently working for the realization of the sacred goal of the Islamic alliance, God let him succeed!".[62] This exaltation of a non-Islamist politician and the Republican institution he represents is particularly significant of the mentioned adaptation experienced by Turkish political Islam.

Başak's ideas are representative of the 1950s Turkish Islamism that intended to build some direct influence on Republican institutions with the final goal to produce an Islamization of Turkey's domestic and international policy. It is then a state-oriented type of Islamism, if still not aiming at controlling Republican institutions directly, certainly recognizing already the existing political regime and institutions as the only possible sources of legitimation for the Islamist movement in Turkey's public space, as well as the only instruments to achieve Islamist goals once the Islamists had gained strength in Turkish politics. As proved by this early Neo-Pan-Islamist text, the Pan-Islamist views

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[61] Ibid., 10.
[62] Ibid., 29.

of the past were also adapted to the new Turkish Republican context, and the author praised the government for what he saw as positive foreign policy accomplishments on the path to the establishment of an international Islamic bloc. Moving away from this very specific and little-known example of Neo-Pan-Islamist text, which is a useful prove of such a trend in Republican Turkey, it is now necessary to look at some very influential Islamist intellectuals and journalists of Cold War Turkey, in order to see if and how the abovementioned Neo-Pan-Islamist, Islamic Third Worldist elements were also present in their writings.

Necip Fazıl Kısakürek: a Turkish leadership of a united Muslim world

The figure of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1904–1983) is paramount to Turkish Islamism for at least one crucial reason: Kısakürek is the real initiator of the second generation of Turkish Islamist thinkers. Even if elements of novelty and adaptation to the Republican context are visible in the works of mentioned authors like Eşref Edip and Mehmet Akif, Necip Fazıl's thought matures completely in a Republican and Kemalist framework. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek is the first influential theorist of political Islam to develop his ideas from within a society in which secularism was promoted and applied by the state itself as a part of the Republic's official ideology. For this reason, namely the different socio-political context in which Kısakürek lived, it is correct to consider him the founder of Turkey's Islamism as a distinct phenomenon in relation to the Ottoman Islamism of mentioned thinkers like Said Halim and the others.[63] If Başak's Pan-Islamist pamphlet is a product of the new kind of Turkish Islamism adapted to the changed context of the multi-party era, Kısakürek was the author that started to shape that

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[63] Özdenören, "Necip Fazıl Kısakürek", in *İslamcılık*, 143.

adaptation already in the 1940s with the establishment of his magazine *Büyük Doğu* (The Great East). In Kısakürek's thought, the more visible nationalist element was possibly the most important distinctive feature to differentiate him from the thought of the old generation of intellectuals calling for a return to Islamic values for the preservation of the Ottoman State. After the Kemalist reforms of the 1920s and '30s, the Republic of Turkey was the only possible reality with which Turkish Islamist had to cope. Together with another important Islamist author of this new generation, Nurettin Topçu, Kısakürek is considered the first promoter of the idea that Turkish identity and Islam are indivisible parts of the same civilization.[64] However, Topçu was more focused on Turkey's social issues and maintained a relatively non-hostile vision of the West by avoiding condemnation of Western civilization altogether.[65] Kısakürek's thought, on the other hand, led to an assertion of "religious, cultural and ethical superiority of Islam over the West".[66] Besides, according to Duran and Aydın, Necip Fazıl maintained the "anti-colonial Pan-Islamic historical consciousness" of the late Ottoman era.[67] Thus, in the writings of this thinker considered the father of contemporary Turkish Islamism, one can also find an adaptation of Turkish Pan-Islamism to the Republican and then multi-party era context. With his influence on both Turkish Islamism and Turkish nationalism, which he unified in his vision, Kısakürek's work represented together with Topçu's, Ersoy's or Fergan's a crucial component for the intellectual roots of the so-called "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" theory that would emerge more visibly in the 1970s and

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[64] Duran, "Cumhuriyet dönemi İslamcılığı", in *İslamcılık*, 136.
[65] Guida, "Nurettin Topçu: the 'Reinvention' of Islamism in Republican Turkey", 27.
[66] Duran and Aydın, "Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought", 499.
[67] Ibid., 490.

1980s.[68] Besides this, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek was the one author who widened this "nationalized" Islamism to the sphere of Pan-Islamism, thus becoming a particularly influential representative of the Neo-Pan-Islamist conscience in the Turkish framework.

Necip Fazıl was born in 1904 in Istanbul, in a well-off family, and was educated in modern schools based on Western models. As a student of philosophy, immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, he was sent to continue his studies in Paris, for him the "symbol" of Western civilization, where he began to lead a "bohemian" lifestyle and experienced a spiritual crisis.[69] In 1934, after his return to Turkey, his life took a turn when he met the Khalidi Naqshbandi sheikh Abdülhakim Arvasi in Istanbul. This is an example of how Sufi orders kept religious inspiration and education alive during Atatürk's time amid the official repression of such manifestations of religiosity in the public sphere. After the meeting with Arvasi, Necip Fazıl changed his life towards the adoption of Islamic values and behaviors, and became the main intellectual figure to promote Islam as an all-embracing ideology and alternative to Kemalism in the context of Kemalist Turkey.[70] With this objective, he founded the Islamist periodical *Büyük Doğu* as early as 1943. He then continued to publish it until 1978 with many interruptions caused by thirteen forced closures due to the anti-Kemalist positions of the magazine. At the same time, he managed to publish many poems about alienation in the absence of spiritual values and became a distinguished poet and playwright. Like Eşref Edip Fergan had done with *Sebilürreşad*, also Kısakürek managed to give to

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[68] Çetinsaya, "Rethinking Nationalism and Islam", 369.
[69] Duran, *Transformation of Islamist political thought in Turkey from the Empire to the early Republic*, 203.
[70] Ibid., 206.

his own publication a role of "hub of Islamist political engagement",[71] with the additional difficulty that he founded it in a strictly Kemalist context. *Büyük Doğu* was then a magazine and at the same time a dynamic Islamist network constituted by the numerous contributors to the periodical. Moreover, *Büyük Doğu*, Great East, is the name that Kısakürek and his followers give to his Islamist ideology as the intellectual exposes it in his most famous book: *İdeolocya Örgüsü*, translatable as "The Web of Ideology", or "The Knitting of Ideology". The idea of a complex knitting to describe the ideology of the Great East is functional to convey the image of an all-encompassing worldview that is symbolically based on the division and competition between West and East. In Kısakürek's view, the East submitted itself to the West and was contaminated by Western materialism for the sake of a supposed "modernity". The Muslim World, by taking conscience of their belonging to this Eastern cultural pole based on spirituality, would then revive itself as a rival civilization against the West. In particular, while the Kemalist state was inducing a West-imitating secularism in Turkish society, Kısakürek suggested to fight the alienation produced by such materialist doctrines with a reinforcement of "Islamic practices of being" in all fields, including an Islamization of Turkish society and a reorganization of the state on the basis of Islamic morality.[72] In Kısakürek's work, the fundamental concept of a spiritual "Great East" versus a materialist West is then the symbolic basis for the elaboration of Islamism as an all-embracing, "knitted" ideology, meant to guide Muslims in the framework of the modern Republic of Turkey. The Great East must then be considered a symbolic

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[71] Çınar and Sezgin, "Islamist political engagement in the Early years of multi-party politics in Turkey: 1945-1960", 332.
[72] Atasoy, *Islam's Marriage with Neoliberalism: State Transformation in Turkey*, 98-100.

reference for the Islamist movement in Turkey, and is not per se referring to any transnational Pan-Islamic project. However, as already mentioned, Kısakürek does not avoid touching upon world politics. In fact, the Pan-Islamic awareness, generically binding the Turks to the Islamic, Eastern civilization in Kısakürek's thought, is more specifically reflected in the author's frequent observations on the world order. In other words, even if the everyday purpose of the Great East formula is to encourage an Islamic-oriented change in Turkish society, its foundational argument is the identification of the antithesis between Islam and the West, and this initial pattern is unavoidably leading to Pan-Islamic reasoning around world affairs.

The first edition of *The Web of Ideology* was published in 1959, then it was perfected and enriched during the following decade. To explain the importance of this work for his entire intellectual biography, in a very short preface to the 1968 edition, Kısakürek tells the reader that *The Web* represents for him his "entire existence":

> "I was created to knit this work together, like the bee is in charge of projecting its comb. My poems, my plays, my short stories, my essays, they are nothing but a set of 'annexes' around the building outlined by this work…"[73]

In the book's first chapter, Kısakürek deepens the explanation of the concept of Great East, which is the "key we thought to find in some foreigners' pocket".[74] The Great East is depicted as a "whole belief and vision", a "symphony",[75] which has to be searched inside the individual on the spiritual plan in order to be able to act in the external world. This invitation to an interior search to enable the Muslim to act in society

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[73] Kısakürek, *İdeolocya Örgüsü* (1968), 4.
[74] Ibid., 11.
[75] Ibid., 13.

shows us the deep-rooted connection between Necip Fazıl and the Khalidi Naqshbandi tradition. The description of the contraposition between East and West is also a continuation of the Khalidi anti-Western stances of the 19th century. However, the Khalidis articulated their anti-Westernism in relation to Western colonialism. Kısakürek, who writes in the 1950s and '60s, transfers this point of view into the framework of a much more Westernized society, facing a state modelled on Western Europe and a deep penetration of Western standards in Turkish culture. The "imitation of the West" has made the nation lose its roots and forget its belonging to the East. For Kısakürek, the nation (*millet*) was saved only on material dimension of space, not on the eternal dimension of time, which represents spirit and meaning. The real salvation comes with the discovery of the Great East, which is nothing but being "adjutants of Islam".[76] The "Great East" is then the revitalization the currently submissive and weak East in the name of Islam. The opposition between East (Islam) and the West is depicted as a rigid contraposition between "two opposite worlds", and the current situation is described as one in which the Eastern world has lost any strength to defend itself from the aggressive and "poisonous" West that made all Easterners (Muslims) look like "monkeys wearing ties".[77]

In order to understand the importance of Kısakürek's work for the evolution of Turkish Islamism and its great contribution to the ideological ground on which Turkey's Islamist parties were built, it is possible to identify several crucial points within his writings. Among these points one can detect those that are most relevant for a development of an Islamist discourse on world politics. First, the global contraposition and incompatibility between an ideally Eastern Islamic

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[76] Ibid., 12.
[77] Ibid., 17.

civilization and Western civilization. Second, the nature of Kısakürek's nationalism and his definition of Turkish national identity in relation to his Pan-Islamist perception of the *umma*, i.e. the role of Turks within the umma and Turkey's relation with the Muslim world. Third, it is important to understand Kısakürek's views on the Cold War's opposite blocs and ideologies, in particular his anti-communism and the related perspectives on Turkey's relations with communism inside and outside its borders. Conclusively, it is opportune to take into account the attitude kept by Kısakürek towards Turkey's political life, and in particular political parties, during the multi-party era.

As Pan-Islamist worldviews are always originating from the opposition of Islam versus the non-Muslim civilizations and specifically the Judeo-Christian Western world, Kısakürek's approach too derives from the Islamic division of the world between *Dar al-Islam* and *Dar al-Harb*. The already mentioned confrontation and submission of the East to Western power is explained by Kısakürek on the basis of an analysis of the West's nature and its ways to deceive the Muslims. For Islam, says Necip Fazıl, humanity is divided between Muslims and infidels, and "infidelity is one single nation" (*küfür tek bir millettir*).[78] This latter sentence will also be a slogan for the entire Neo-Pan-Islamist discourse in the following decades. In Kısakürek's writings, another concept that derives from this view of the world is the idea of mindless imitation (*taklit*) of the West, directly connected to the imitators' loss of authenticity and personality (*şahsiyet*) that must be regained: the passive collaboration on the Muslim side is for Kısakürek the way in which the West has been facilitated in the conquest and oppression of the East.[79] Interestingly, such concepts were to become

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[78] Ibid., 30.
[79] Kısakürek, *İman ve Aksiyon*, 32.

also slogans and keywords of Necmettin Erbakan's National Outlook Movement and its political parties from the 1970s. As regards the intrinsic differences between West and East, the Western man, says Kısakürek, is subjugated by matter and has forgotten his spiritual side.[80] On the other hand, the East found its realization in Islam,[81] but it could not defend itself on the basis of unity established with the expansion of the Islamic religion and civilization: that unity was lost, and the West took advantage of such a decline among Muslims everywhere. The Great East that Muslims must search apply as a model is essentially tied to Islam and its morality.[82] East and West are different because they interpret everything towards opposite directions, i.e. Islamic profoundness and materialist shallowness respectively:

> "What occurs between East and West on every plan, from politics to military matters, from philosophy to science, technology, art or economics, cannot be based on anything but on the sad difference of methods and structures that derives from the Eastern interpretation of goods and facts toward profoundness and, on the opposite side, the Western understanding directed towards shallowness".[83]

In this way, Kısakürek articulates his view on the East-West divide and structures the comparison between Islam and the Western civilization on the idea of divergent interpretation of reality leading to opposite and incompatible conceptions of "righteousness", or "truth", (*hak*) and consequently divergent sets of values. The East-West divide in Kısakürek's thought corresponds then to the deepest and most comprehensive contraposition between spirit and matter, profound

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[80] Kısakürek, *İdeolocya Örgüsü* (1969), 47.
[81] Ibid., 45.
[82] Ibid., 36.
[83] Ibid., 39.

truth and idolatry of material goods. For the poet, the Western civilization was facing a crisis due to its failure in embracing spirituality. This crisis had led to world wars and to the Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union. In Kısakürek's opinion, all these conflicts were bound to worsen because every Western ideology from Nazism to communism had not been able to find a cure to the lack of spirituality and morality characterizing Western politics and society.[84] On the opposite side, the Muslim world has to pursue a revival that must not be confused with reformation or "reinvention" of Islam. As Kısakürek specifies, Islam is "eternally new": it is not the renewal, but rather the rediscovery of Islam to constitute "the Great East and the basis of the awaited revolution".[85] Kısakürek's utopian project of an Islamist revolution to oppose other ideologies and powers on a world scale is structured on several phases, which include the (re-)Islamization of generations of Muslim through the elimination of Western influences. More interestingly, successive "phases of the revolution" are the "the action for the complete spiritual and operative cooperation and unification in the Muslim world", as well as the "the framing of an ideology (*ideolocya*) that can show to the West that the cure and remedy for any illness is found in Islam".[86] This two ideal goals are the greatest examples of how Kısakürek conceived and indicated a certain Pan-Islamic direction while "knitting" his Islamist ideology in the Turkish Republican and multi-party context within a wider Cold War framework. The cooperation among all Muslims is then a precondition to show a different model to the West and eventually reach freedom and salvation in this world.

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[84] Duran and Aydın, "Competing Occidentalisms of Modern Islamist Thought", 487.
[85] Kısakürek, *Dünya bır inkılap bekliyor*, 51.
[86] Ibid., 56-57.

However, there is an immensely relevant element with which one needs to deal in the elaboration of a world order theory based on Islamic religion: the concept of nation and the possible nationalist viewpoints deriving from it. As already said when introducing the figure of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, this thinker gave a great contribution to the ideological background of the rightist doctrine that was later named "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis". The reason for this is that Kısakürek always exalted the virtues of the Turkish nation, the importance of the Turks in the history of Islam, and the indissolubility of the bound between "Turkishness" and "Muslimness".[87] Therefore, when it comes to world politics, Turkey has a leading role to play in relation to the rest of the Muslim world.[88] Although Kısakürek, as most Islamist thinkers, condemns nationalism as the adoration of a false idol,[89] he is not excluding Turkish identity and the exaltation of Turks from the construction of his Islamist discourse. In fact, the idea of nation is not for him neither an invention nor a useless concept. Nationality exists within the wider and superior Islamic identity. As Kısakürek puts it, "in the Islamic revolution the view on nationality is the opposite of false nationalisms, as it is conceived as a content and not as a container, as spirit and not as matter, as time and not as space".[90] Within the limits set by the superior Islamic identity, Turkish identity exists as a spiritual category in the framework established by belonging to Islam. In this way, it was possible for Kısakürek to bring together Islamism and glorification of Turks as a nation. Such a synthesis is still a distinguishing feature of Turkish Islamism. The ideological construction that Kısakürek calls the Great East is an

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[87] Kısakürek, *Türkiye'nin Manzarası*, 82-84.
[88] Kısakürek, *İdeolocya Örgüsü* (1968), 46.
[89] Ibid., 213.
[90] Ibid., 211.

essentialist vision of the Eastern civilization as the abode of spirituality that reaches its highest fulfillment with the advent of Islam and adhesion to it. Within this framework, as argued by Kısakürek, the "Turkish race" has become "the representative of the whole East in the confrontation between East and West".[91] In the *Web of Ideology*, the Turks are depicted as one of the greatest nations in *Dar al-Islam* together with the Arabs and the Persians, but they are always exalted for their fundamental role as leaders of the umma. The memory of the ruling and protecting role of the Turkish nation within the Muslim world is described as the lost treasure from a past that the "European trap" made the Turks forget by poisoning them with materialism.[92] When the Muslims eventually unite and rise against their Western oppressors, the Turks will be those in charge of leading the entire umma towards the achievement of freedom and the foundation of a world order based on Islamic models. The Turkish nation, says Kısakürek, must be able to save itself and then to save the entire "East": the only way to do this and reach salvation is of course the way of Islam.[93]

> "To save ourselves, we have to reach a strength that allows us to save also that part of the world to which we are connected, a strength that lets us show to everyone the superiority of that part of the world. […] In order to save oneself and then the entire Eastern world, subsequently in order to obtain some salvation for the whole world and humanity, the way needed by the Turkish nation is the most elaborate, the most intimate, the most profound comprehension of ISLAM".[94]

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[91] Ibid., 63.
[92] Ibid., 70-73.
[93] Ibid., 84-85.
[94] Ibid., 85.

This theory based on steps starting from Turkey's socio-political Islamization and arriving to radical world change made by a Turkish-led Muslim bloc is also an idea that would characterize Turkish Pan-Islamist discourse for the following decades. It is an ideal of progress in which an Islamic world order is always the final goal and it is obtained through the cooperation between Turkey and the rest of the Muslim world.

When Kısakürek looks at the contemporary world order, he reacts with a vehemently anti-communist stance that pushes him to dedicate essays and conferences about the danger represented by the influence of communism on Turkey and its people. The division of the world into two separate blocs along the line of the capitalism vs communism clash is not for Kısakürek the natural division that is part of the human condition: that is only the division between the materialist West and the spiritual Asia (intended as the abode of Islam).[95] Communism, in this sense, is considered an evident expression of the same materialism that stimulates materialism in the rest of the non-Muslim world. Besides, it is considered a threat because of its stances against religion:[96]

> "What is communism? It is what breaks, blocks and suffocates every noble effort included in the manifestation of any beyond-matter system of belief or its foundations."[97]

From the ideological point of view communism is considered dangerous because of the inherent materialism of the Marxist views that makes it, for Kısakürek, possibly more devastating than European or American capitalist detachment from spiritual values. From the

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[95] Ibid., 193.
[96] Kısakürek, *Türkiye'nin Manzarası*, 107-109.
[97] Ibid., 107.

point of view of world politics, when reading Kısakürek's works, the influence of the Soviet Union seems even scarier for him than the influence of the capitalist West on Turkey and the Muslim world. More specifically, says Necip Fazıl, the USSR looks at the external world as assuming the role the of "provoker and destroyer".[98] These considerations lead again to the conclusion that the world order needs to be restructured along the real dividing line that characterizes humanity: Great East, a.k.a. Asia, a.k.a. the Muslim world (*Dar al-Islam*), versus the West, i.e. the non-Muslim world, a.k.a. *Dar al-Harb*. This implies Kısakürek's theory on the creation of a Pan-Islamist (explicitly Pan-Asian at the same time) bloc to unite the Muslim world in the confrontation against the West, i.e. both the capitalist and the communist world. The Pan-Islamist utopia, in Kısakürek's work, is accompanied by an institutional side:

> "a great anti-Western policy that should include the entire Eastern world and be its guide against the West, by integrating Islam and the whole East… and for such a policy, a thousand and one constructions and institutions both in spiritual and in material terms. This is the way and it is the only one".[99]

Conclusively, speaking of institutions, it is important to understand what was Kısakürek's position about Turkish political parties and, more precisely, the National Outlook Movement's Islamist parties led by Necmettin Erbakan. Necip Fazıl, despite the great influence exerted on Turkey's political right and Islamist movements in particular, never joined a party nor he got involved in professional politics. However, the stances of a major Turkish Islamist thinker like Kısakürek on the NOM, namely his varying support for the NOM's

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[98] Kısakürek, *İdeolocya Örgüsü* (1968), 79.
[99] Kısakürek, *Türkiye'nin Manzarası*, 102.

parties – the MNP and the MSP – during the 1970s are important as they indicate the evolution of the relation between the party/movement and the roots of its ideology, i.e. the relation between Islamist politicians and Islamist intellectuals in Turkey when Islamism became effectively present in the political life of the Republic. Already at the end of 1960s, before the foundation of the MNP, Kısakürek showed great support for the Islamist activities organized by Erbakan and its circle. His presence at the first large meeting of the NOM in Konya in 1969 is remembered as sign of this support and Kısakürek's intention to express his prestigious endorsement to the movement.[100] This endorsement is shown again in 1970 in the occasion of the MNP's birth, which is saluted by the Islamist ideologue and poet with great emphasis as the birth of the only political party embodying the real spirit of the Turkish nation, while all other parties are the self-harming result of a continued "imitation" of a Western-made model:

> "All hail the longing for a national order, pulsing like a vein in the spiritual roots of the Turk, on which every party has solely poured vitriol and always failed to dry it out for a hundred years. All hail to the party that will pave the way for such a longing!"[101]

This favorable stance changed completely in the second half of the 1970s, when Kısakürek started to criticize the MNP's successor, namely the MSP, in a strong and irrevocable manner. Most notably, he expressed his disappointment regarding Erbakan's party in 1977, just before the general elections, switching his support to the Turkish nationalist MHP led by Alpaslan Türkeş, who pledged allegiance to

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[100] Yorgancılar, *Milli Görüş 1969-1980*, 79.
[101] Kısakürek, *Hitabeler*, cited in Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler/Kişiler*, Vol. 3, 353.

religious values, but cannot be called an Islamist and was considered an enemy by Turkey's religious movements.[102] The reason for this change was, as stated by Necip Fazıl himself, the great disappointment caused by the MSP's entering a coalition with the Kemalist CHP, also declaredly positioning itself on the left of the political spectrum in the 1970s. According to his renewed view on the political situation in 1977, Islamists must support only those parties that "promise to destroy and topple" the CHP, which is "the hearth of blasphemy".[103] On the contrary, the NOM's MSP has "ruined his Islamic strategy and has wasted our holy intents".[104] This change of support can be considered emblematic of the relationship between the NOM as a political actor, and actual policy-maker, and Turkey's Islamist intellectual environment starting to elaborate the ideological background of the movement long before the foundation of the MNP with the goal of shaping those policies. A certain degree of separation between Turkey's Islamist intellectuals and Turkey's main Islamist movement always remained until the 1990s. This is particularly evident when studying the figure of another major Turkish Islamist thinker: Sezai Karakoç. Karakoç, despite his being considered an inspiring and influential political author by many Islamist politicians, always kept himself distant from any participation to the political activities of Erbakan's NOM and preferred to dedicate himself to poems, political essays and even his personal micro-party in the 1990s.

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[102] Yorgancılar, *Millî Görüş 1969-1980*, 336-337.
[103] Kısakürek, Interview appeared on the daily *Tercüman,* 4 June 1977, cited in Kara, *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi, Metinler/Kişiler*, Vol. 3, 355.
[104] Ibid.

Sezai Karakoç: the clash between the Islamic and the Western civilization

Sezai Karakoç (born in 1933) is mainly known as one of the most important Turkish contemporary poets. However, Karakoç's work too exceeds the field of poetry and literature, as for many years he published a large number of articles – successively collected in books – that pushed his work and his figure into the political sphere. His influence on a whole generation of Turkish politicians has been widely recognized, especially as it is considered a "source of inspiration"[105] by many members of today's Justice and Development Party (AKP). Former President of the Republic Abdullah Gül has acknowledged this in a 2010 documentary about Karakoç.[106] Although others among the main Turkish Islamist intellectuals – the most important in this regard being Necip Fazıl Kısakürek – had written about the "union of Islam" (or "Islamic union")[107] and analogous suggestions about a transnational Muslim bloc, Karakoç emerges as the one who expressed himself more frequently on such ideals as well as on actual foreign policy issues. Though embracing the idea of a united Muslim nation based on the umma, Kısakürek, often considered the most important Islamist intellectual of modern Turkey, largely flirted with nationalism – as well as with Turkey's nationalist party MHP.[108] In the same years, Karakoç stays colder both toward nationalism and toward parties in general. For this reason, though both Kısakürek and Karakoç somehow represented the Maududi-style new Pan-Islamism,[109] I chose Karakoç for this

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[105] Gürcan, "Seventh son of the East: Sezai Karakoç"

[106] Documentary by director Ensar Altay titled "Gün Doğmadan" [Before sunrise], 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=khUgDXDbyuM&list=PLJsirqbhzQHDpA_BeB2Bqjmi2O5afFfYB&index=1

[107] Kısakürek, *İdeolocya Örgüsü*, 195.

[108] Guida, "Founders of Islamism in Republican Turkey", 118-119.

[109] Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey*, 189.

analysis. While Karakoç, as we will see, equally invests Turkey with the role of leader of the Muslim world, he expresses less attachment than Kısakürek to Turkish nationalism and more apprehension about the condition of the umma as a whole.[110] In this regard, Karakoç appears particularly interesting both because his political ideas have been less studied than Kısakürek's, and because he is described as a key architect of an ante litteram Huntington-style clash between the West and the "civilization of Islam" on which he constructs a Pan-Islamist vision of the contemporary world.[111]

I will proceed by considering the three preeminent cases that can exemplify the position of these Islamist authors, namely the creation of renewed relations with Muslim countries, the association with the European Economic Community and, conclusively, the Cyprus question. As one highlights these three as the main foreign policy topics considered by the authors, it is incorrect to assume that they neglected other relevant issues such as the fate of Muslim and Turkish communities abroad or the Palestinian question.

While the creation of stronger ties with the Muslim world is the core tenet of their worldview, meant to overcome the Kemalist idea of nation[112] and linked to Ottoman-time Pan-Islamism, the stances about the EEC and Cyprus are directly linked to specific issues of the post-1960 coup era, both including a high symbolic value correlated to identity matters. The consolidation of ties with the European Economic Community, established with the 1963 Association Agreement, though having economic contents, symbolized a successful political achievement towards the completion of Turkey's westernizing trend

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[110] Karataş, "Sezai Karakoç: bir Medeniyet Tasarımcısı", in *İslamcılık*, 981-982.
[111] Ibid., 984.
[112] Aydin and Duran, "Arnold J. Toynbee and Islamism".

initiated with the *Tanzimat* reforms in the 19th and pursued by Kemalism in the 20th century.[113] The Cypriot crisis, comprising the intercommunal violence of the 1960s and the 1974 military intervention that caused the de facto partition of the island, produced an unequaled emotional impact on Turkey's electorate.[114] The perception of the "national" bond with Turkish Cypriots was possibly heavier within the Islamist discourse, because, within that discourse, the idea of "nation" encompassed not only the ethnic, but also the religious element.

Sezai Karakoç was born in 1933 in the southeastern town of Ergani, near Diyarbakır. In the 1960s, he started publishing, along with his most successful poems, the articles that later proved him an influential political thinker. The fundament of Karakoç's thought was the idea of "resurrection" or "revival" (*diriliş*) of the Islamic civilization, a notion after which he named the Diriliş review founded by him. In 1990, he also founded the Diriliş Party, which never participated to elections.[115] His idea of civilization, as of something that lives throughout a circle of rise, fall and resurrection, is based on religion.[116] Whereas, for him, the western civilization has developed by distancing itself from spirituality and by espousing materialism, the Islamic civilization is the one who has adopted the divine truth and preserves spiritualism as its core. According to this dualistic vision, this fundamental difference infuses all the cultural aspects or the scientific production of the two opposed "black" and "white" civilizations.[117] The spiritual values are, in his doctrine of revival, at the basis of material prosperity as well. In Karakoç's view, the unity of the Muslim world is

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[113] Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, 148.
[114] Ibid., 174.
[115] Karataş, "Sezai Karakoç: bir Medeniyet Tasarımcısı", 986.
[116] Aydin and Duran, "Arnold J. Toynbee and Islamism".
[117] Karakoç, *Sûr*, 59.

a condition for the needed revival of the Islamic civilization. In a world divided between the capitalist and the communist camps, he envisions an Islamic third bloc stemmıng from this civilizational revival.

The resurrection of Islam, says Karakoç, must be the global aim of all Muslims. This resurrection, he specifies, is the rebirth of the people of Islam, not its principles, for they were never dead and can never die. First, the Islamic nation conceptualized by Karakoç is the sole home for the Muslims, as it reemerges *naturally* against the *artificiality* of state borders imposed by the West to prevent the Middle Easterners ("we, the Middle Easterners") from finding their own identity. [118] This is a rediscovery of a "natural union"[119] that has never disappeared, but needs to be recognized firstly by its own members. Its existence is demonstrated by "geographic, historical, cultural, religious and economic conditions" and it will be impossible for the Muslims to achieve a *liberation* from external forces without acknowledging their being part of this entity.[120] For Karakoç, the technological superiority of the West is insufficient to convert the whole world to its ideals without imposing them with its strength. This is because it lacks sincere spiritual values and its materialism has led it to a wrong idea of nation based on elements such as race or language. The "nation (*millet*) of Islam", he says, "is based on belief and on conscience"; it is the community of those who believe in the prophetic revelation and the unicity of God.[121] Islam is an "open nation", tells Karakoç by contrasting it and Judaism: "this nation is a blessed nation. The Quran is its fundamental law. His symbol is the crescent", and it brings everyone together, "Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Blacks, Indians", with no

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[118] Karakoç, *Sütun*, 35-36.
[119] Ibid., 112-114.
[120] Ibid., 111-112.
[121] Karakoç, *Dirilişin Çevresinde*, 118.

discrimination, in a fraternal fight against the enemies of Islam.[122] Following this idea of nation, the first and fundamental step for achieving a global renaissance of the Islamic civilization is the creation of a large Islamic bloc against the Western (and Russian) imperialism. For Karakoç, the people of Turkey are part of this wider nation, but the Republic has turned away from the Middle East, his own "natural and historical geopolitical habitat".[123] Turkey must break the artificiality of current borders and recognize its Middle Eastern identity:

> "we must reestablish cultural and natural ties with the people of the Middle East; we must share with them the responsibility of being Middle Eastern".[124]

Karakoç compares Turkey to an apple that has been picked from a tree to be grafted into another:[125] a return of Turkey to the Middle Eastern sphere will again strengthen it and the whole region. For the author, the Westernization of Turkey has been equal to a "self-colonization"[126], which has led the country to a foreign policy "without doctrine", a soulless attitude based on the mere rejection of the Ottoman heritage.[127] The general fear characterizing Turkish foreign policy has prevented it from fulfilling the country's duty as member (and former leader) of the Islamic nation. For Karakoç, this happened all the times that Turkey has sided with the Westerners.[128] In his view, the figure of Sultan Abdülhamid II, which he calls "political genius", could have been exemplary for the pursuit of a truly "national" Turkish foreign policy after the First World War, when the artificial Muslim states

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[122] Ibid., 122-124.
[123] Karakoç, *Farklar*, 25.
[124] Ibid., 26.
[125] Karakoç, *İslamın dirilişi*, 25.
[126] Ibid., 20.
[127] Karakoç, *Dirilişin Çevresinde*, 192.
[128] Ibid., 193-194.

forgot their belonging to the greater Islamic nation.[129] After the Second World War, he says, Turkey wasted opportunities that the Ottomans had not had, e.g. when the new African states gained independence and needed a "leader" to guide and protect them in the international arena. Turkey had the historical responsibility of becoming that leader: "we were the most natural leader; we were responsible. We could have been the voice and the protectors of every oppressed people. We would have succeeded through a patient, constant, planned and conscious foreign policy".[130] For these reasons, Turkey should "utilize the opportunity given by history" and combine its foreign policy with a vision of breadth (genişlik) to be sustained by the "doctrine of Islam" in its being "original, history-based and realistic". For Sezai Karakoç, Turkish foreign policy must be united to an "ideological perspective", without which the country risks being "swallowed by Europe".[131]

The final goal of this foreign policy would then be the collaboration with other Muslim states for the creation of an Islamic "bloc", or "pact", or "union"[132] to establish a "real third world"[133] or a "fourth world"[134] (in opposition to the Non-aligned Movement) as an alternative to both the capitalist and the communist camps. For Karakoç, the emergence of such a bloc is necessary and spontaneous, but the active commitment of Muslim people and leaders is also a needed condition. In his book Sütun, collecting articles originally published the 1960s, Karakoç explains the possibility of an "Islamic Common Market", as, he says, "Islam has a specific vision of economy"; "it is neither communist, nor capitalist, nor it derives from

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[129] Karakoç, *Sütun*, 115-116.
[130] Karakoç, *Dirilişin Çevresinde*, 194-195.
[131] Ibid., 197.
[132] Karakoç, *Sütun*, 117.
[133] Ibid., 110.
[134] Karakoç, *Yapı Taşları*, 23.

a compromise. It emerges from our worldview, it provides for development in liberty, it values private property and free enterprise […] and it is not against human nature; it opposes the capitalist oppression against labor".[135] He reiterates and elaborates this issue in the following decades, in Sûr and Yapı Taşları ve Kaderimizin Çağrısı II. The intellectuals of the Muslim world, he says, did not understand the importance of an "Islamic Pact", an "Islamic Bloc" or an "Islamic Common Market". They "turned away from their culture, civilization and mores", therefore "it is not possible to expect any farsighted foreign policy vision" from such a ruling class that bent itself to "foreign ideologies".[136] In the wake of the Gulf War, he publishes an article addressing the Muslim leaders and urging them to finally found an effective "Islamic Defense Pact", made even more necessary by the gradual Western occupation of the Middle East that he claims to be predicting "for thirty years" at the time of writing.[137] For Karakoç, the Muslim governments should transform the Organization of the Islamic Conference into an "effective, real, military, economic and cultural Union".[138] The realization of an all-encompassing Islamic Union would have led, in Karakoç's view, Turkey and the other Muslim states to an independent foreign policy within the "Islamic bloc", to the liberation from Western intrusions, to internal peace and prosperity, to the failure of "the imperial dream that Israel and its supporters intend to realize in the Middle East".[139] When he imagines addressing the leaders of the Muslim states, he reminds them that the nation of Islam ("our nation") is indeed one, in spite of the divisions imposed from outside:

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[135] Karakoç, *Sütun*, 45.
[136] Karakoç, *Sûr*, 89.
[137] Karakoç, *Yapı Taşları*, 197-199.
[138] Ibid., 200.
[139] Karakoç, *Sütun*, 235-236

"this nation is one nation. This homeland is one homeland. It has been, and it will always be so. The current situation is temporary".[140]

Karakoç's style remarks itself the ideological framework of its writings. The dualism between the two "white" and "black" civilizations, between good and evil, is a constant element of Karakoç's discourse in a way that is normal for ideological texts.[141] There is in his writings a reiteration of contrapositions between "we" and "they". This contraposition reflects the one of Western civilization (including both capitalism and communism) vs Islamic civilization, liberation vs oppression, or the "return to Islam" vs complete extinction.[142] His solemn language often drifts into fervent invocations to the Muslim community.[143] A frequent reference to "nature" and "history" serves then to remark the inevitability, and not only the righteousness, for a Muslim to choose the Islamic – and Islamist – camp.

In Karakoç's articles of 1960s and 1970s, the main concerns about a possible unification of Europe is that if the Europeans had achieved the result of a complete integration, there would have been an even harder struggle for the Muslim world to emancipate itself from their domination. Karakoç says that a united European state, integrated both economically and politically, is an old idea that, if finally concretized, would create new problems for the Middle Eastern countries.[144] For this reason, it is necessary to accelerate the process of

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[140] Karakoç, *Yapı Taşları*, 200.
[141] Van Dijk, "Ideology and discourse analysis".
[142] Karakoç, *Dirilişin Çevresinde*, 197.
[143] Karakoç, *Yapı Taşları*, 202. "Muslims, be aware, unite, be one hand, one body";[143] "I warn you […] and the whole world of Islam, the great nation of Islam. I blow the trumpet (*sûr*, a reference to the trumpet announcing the Day of Resurrection in Sura Yā Sīn of the Quran) of awakening and resurrection".
[144] Karakoç, *Farklar*, 50-51.

integration and eventual unification among the Muslim states, in order to avoid bowing to an even stronger European imperialism.[145] Thus, Karakoç also reports the ideal of a European Union as an example of "unity ideal"[146] that is useful to observe as the Islamic civilization necessitates a similar project. Obviously enough in Karakoç's thought, the place of Turkey is outside any possible European political union, as that would be against the country's natural stand within the Middle Eastern and Muslim framework. For him, the economic and political unification of Europe is meant to protract the Western continent's "world hegemony".[147]

In a piece originally published in the 1980s, Karakoç comments the possible Turkish accession in the European "Common Market" describing it as an "extension of world capitalism", to which some people with a strong "inferiority feeling" could not find any possible alternative.[148] However, he says, the industrial development of the country has begun to reverse this sense of inferiority and the "psychological reckoning" with the Common Market. Europe has begun to fear the entrance of Turkey into other markets such as the Middle Eastern one. The Common Market must not be afraid of these developments: they are normal in the context of global competition, towards which Europe should adopt a more flexible strategy "taking into account the framework of natural data", as Turkey's trading behavior is certainly not a real threat for its economy.[149] Europe should stop worrying about Turkey and "accept its potential to occupy the

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[145] Ibid., 51.
[146] Karakoç, *Sûr*, 92-93.
[147] Ibid., 79.
[148] Karakoç, *Çağ ve İlham IV*, 37.
[149] Ibid., 38-39.

place it deserves in the world economy": the right place for Turkey is rather the "Islamic Common Market".[150]

In the 1960s, intercommunal violence between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots exploded together with the system of government decided with the Zurich and London agreements of 1959. In his articles, Karakoç highlights the deep emotive impact of the news of violence suffered by the Turkish minority in Cyprus on Turkey's public opinion. The whole country seems unified, he says, as every compatriot talks about it, "at home, on the bus, at work, in the streets".[151] In his highly vivid style, he describes the everyday life of a Cypriot Turk as a constant "heart attack", as "every night comes scarier than the previous one". Cyprus is compared to crucified Jesus asking God why he has forsaken him.[152] Karakoç accuses Turkey's government of this abandonment and affirms the necessity of an active, evidently "paternal", Turkish role in this matter. In his view, negotiation must be carried out with Greece only, as it is the organizer of Cypriot disorders, and this must be done in an assertive and determined way, by discussing not only the status of Cyprus, but also that of Aegean Islands. This is an example of the independent and assertive foreign policy imagined by Karakoç. In an article of 1964, as republished within the book *Farklar*, he states that a coexistence of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots within the same political entity is impossible and that a project of *taksim* (partition between two states) is "completely realistic".[153] In defending this thesis, Karakoç quotes the British historian Arnold J. Toynbee, whose theories about the incompatibility

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[150] Ibid., 39.
[151] Karakoç, *Farklar*, 33.
[152] Ibid., 33-34. In Karakoç's own words, "We can adapt his [Jesus's] sentence to today's Cypriot situation" as "Turkey, Turkey, why have you forsaken me?"
[153] Ibid., 80-81.

among encountering world civilizations were appreciated and often quoted by the author.[154]

Starting from Toynbee's statements about the impossibility of a common Turkish-Greek state in Cyprus, he assumes that the logical consequence of this observation would be the partition of the island.[155] In addition to this, Karakoç believes that religion is a fundamental element in the Cyprus dispute, and the solution he suggests tends again to be Pan-Islamic. Another article of *Farklar*, i.e. a comment on the meeting between Pope Paul VI and the Patriarch Athenagoras I of Constantinople in January 1964, demonstrates this. According to Karakoç, the reinforced dialogue between the Catholic and the Orthodox Church expressed through that meeting was clearly a sign of the foundation of a "political union": "against whom? Surely against the Muslims".[156] The aim of such a union will be to create a confederation of churches operating coordinately in matters of foreign policy, a union against which all Muslims must be prepared to fight "a World War on the spiritual plan".[157] This perceived pan-Christian alliance – as he seems to affirm after the massacres suffered by Turkish Cypriots in December 1963 – has started to claim Muslim victims on behalf of a "Crusade Spirit".[158]

To conclude, the analysis of Sezai Karakoç's ideas in relation to foreign affairs and an Islamist world order reveals him as a key representative of Turkish Pan-Islamism. Through the study of his writings one can identify some key topics that have been of crucial

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[154] Aydin and Duran, "Arnold J. Toynbee and Islamism".
[155] Karakoç, *Farklar*, 79-80.
[156] Ibid., 53.
[157] Ibid., 53-54.
[158] Ibid., 54. "In Cyprus the Crusade Spirit, which haunts even Christmas, their most sacred day, has spilled Muslim blood, has killed children and women with the support of the whole Christian world".

importance for Turkey's foreign policy and for Turkish Islamist discourse on foreign affairs. Moreover, elements like the exaltation of the Ottoman imperial past and the importance of Turkish people in Islamic history, helped the author to declare Turkey's destiny as leader of the Muslim world. This particular and utopian aspiration about a Turkish state managing to unify an international bloc of states on the sole basis of religious affiliation, combined with some delusional claims about Christian or Zionist plots to rule the world, was the product of a mixed nationalist-Islamist vision of foreign policy that has distinguished Turkish Pan-Islamism from the Pan-Islamism produced, for instance, by Saudi Arabia during the Cold War.

A key figure to understand the contacts between the Turkish Islamist camp and the wider sphere of world Islamism, including non-Turkish Pan-Islamist phenomena, is the less known and less studied figure of Salih Özcan, who in the 1960s and 1970s played a crucial role in this regard.

Salih Özcan: Islamist writer, publisher, and "Nursi's foreign minister"

The Muslim World League (MWL, *Rabita al-'Alam al-Islami* in Arabic) is still today an important non-governmental international organization maintaining the official goal to discuss the main concerns of the umma and propose solutions for its problems. As the MWL was established in 1962 as a Saudi project, being funded by the KSA since the beginning and based in the city of Mecca, it is commonly considered a "mouthpiece of the Saudi government",[159] committed to promote Saudi views and fight communism and secularism in the

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[159] "Muslim World League". In *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1652>.

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Muslim world through Pan-Islamist methods. The efforts of such a ramified organization, whose members come from the entire Muslim world, converged on a concrete promotion of Saudi Islamism as well as Saudi economic interests also in Turkey. The influence of the MWL on Turkish Islamism is then also followed by Saudi investments in Turkey in the wake of the economic liberalization of the post-coup 1980s, one of these investments being the establishment of the Islamic financial institutions like Faisal Finans. Another important phenomenon in Turkey's multi-party era, and in particular during the period between the coups of 1960 and 1980, is the liberalization of the political sphere, with a consequent enlargement of the legal political spectrum. As previously mentioned, this led to an increase in the number of Islamist texts published in Turkey, including magazines and translations of Islamist essays by influential non-Turkish authors. Both the active Pan-Islamism of the Saudi initiatives and the increasing visibility of political Islam in Turkey in the 1960-1980 period are vital factors for the development of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamist trends in those years.

The figure of Salih Özcan (1929-2015) is a key figure in which all these phenomena crucially intersect in that historical context. Not only he was an Islamist author contributing to the ideological elaboration of political Islam in democratic Turkey – for this reason I include him in the chapter dedicated to intellectuals –, but also a professional publisher, journalist, translator and politician that can be comprehensively considered an activist for the promotion of a renewed Pan-Islamism in Turkey from the viewpoints of both ideology and economic cooperation with the Muslim world. A disciple of Said Nursi, Salih Özcan was the founder of the *Hilal* (Crescent) publishing house, the newspaper *İttihad* (Union) and the *Hilal* magazine. His publishing

house was among those who first introduced to Turkey the works of world-known Islamists like Maududi, of which Özcan himself appears as translator. Besides, he published with Hilal political essays of his own. As concerns the abovementioned MWL, Özcan was among the founding members of the MWL's first assembly as a representative of Turkey, and his connection with the Saudis continued until the 1980s when he became a major partner of the Islamic bank Faisal Finans.[160] In addition to all this, Özcan was also a member of Erbakan's MSP and member of the Turkish parliament for the MSP between 1977 and 1980.

Such a complex figure will be analyzed below from the point of view of its different roles of essayist and journalist, publisher/translator and member of both the MWL and the MSP. Conclusively, it is possible to say that in all these roles Özcan was representing both theoretical and practical reflections of Cold War Pan-Islamism in the framework of multi-party Turkey, and that through the analysis of his diverse work one can observe how the Pan-Islamist ideology was promoted and actively embraced in that context.

Salih Özcan was born in 1929 in the small village of Şahinalan, near Urfa, in a family of farmers that provided him with a traditional and religious education during his childhood. During his high school years in Urfa, Özcan got in contact with the *Nur* Movement for the first time and was successively introduced to the master himself, Said Nursi, at the beginning of the 1950s.[161] This was a beginning of a friendship lasted throughout Özcan's university years in Ankara and until Nursi's

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[160] Özkan, "Yarım yüzyıllık örgütlenme: Rabıta'nın çocukları", *Birgün Gazetesi* online,
http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/yarim-yuzyillik-orgutlenme-rabita-nin-cocuklari-125021.html

[161] Özer, *Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili Seyyid Salih Özcan*, 16-20.

death. In the same years, Özcan began its publishing and writing activities that led him also to found the abovementioned publishing house Hilal in 1958.[162] To analyze Özcan's Islamist thought, it is necessary to discern his political writings from his reports about its activities as publisher, participant to Pan-Islamist initiatives or politician.

In the brief introduction to his main book, Turkey and the Muslim World (*Türkiye ve İslam Alemi*), Özcan elaborates his ideas about the West-Islam civilization and explains his position as an Islamist. More specifically, he insists on the incompatibility between Islamic values and Western materialism, and clarifies that Muslims should follow the technological developments of the West without embracing Western habits and immoral principles.[163] Moreover, in the same context, Özcan refers to the recent history of the Republic of Turkey and comments on the world powers interest in keeping Ankara down and out of the Muslim world, separate from its "Muslim brothers" and deprived of its true "personality":

> "I believe that when we restore our brotherly ties with the Muslim nations of the world and accept only science and technology from the West, we will regain our true personality (*şahsiyet*) and retake the place that we deserve among nations."[164]

In the same book, Özcan includes the text of an interview in which he reveals his views on Islam as the basis of a civilization that is naturally in opposition to the Western one. In this interview, he explains that communism and Zionism are, in his opinion, the two most

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[162] Özcan, *Türkiye ve İslam Alemi*, 40.
[163] Ibid., 9.
[164] Ibid.

dangerous threats to Islam. In Özcan's view, Islam is a "perfect system of life" (*hayat nizamı*) that encompasses every aspect of existence and cannot be compatible with Western materialist mores.[165] It is for this reason, says Özcan, that any contamination of foreign doctrines like communism or Zionism must be avoided at any cost in an Islamic society. Özcan's most important essay is "The Goals of Zionism", a 1961 book that revolves around the depiction of Israel as the worst menace for the Middle East and the Muslim world in general, based on the conspiracy theory on Israel's goal to expand in the region and create a Jewish state extending "from the Nile to the Euphrates".[166] In Özcan's view, this plan is the real reason of the foundation of the State of Israel and Zionism has been a historical manifestation of Western imperialism in the Middle East and animosity against Islam. The final objective of Israel, says Özcan, is the removal of Muslims from the region and the foundation of an "Israeli Empire".[167] In this theorization Zionism is then compared once again to communism as they are depicted as two sides of the same coin: non-Muslim plans to dominate and eventually destroy the Muslim world:

> "Now Israel has been summoning all the Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe for more than 35 years. This situation is the last phase of a plan that for centuries Zionism has desired to realize. This is unmistakably an action that aims at the foundation of a great Israeli Empire. Such an action will be undoubtedly an incomparable curse for Turkey, the United Arab Republic,[168] Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and for the entire world. In this book, Zionism appeared for what it is: an

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[165] Ibid., 30.
[166] Özcan, *Siyonizmin Gayeleri*, 23.
[167] Ibid., 51.
[168] Between 1958 and 1961, the United Arab Republic was the unsuccessful political union of Egypt and Syria.

ideology that is as dangerous as communism for the entire world and especially for the Middle and Near East. "[169]

These theories end up resulting in mere antisemitism when Özcan seems to imply the participation of "all the Jews" in such evil plans for the destruction of Islam and its people: "The Jewish propaganda was condensed in the prophecy of the Torah about a Kingdom of Israel".[170]

As publisher and translator, Özcan is probably the most responsible for the diffusion of non-Turkish Islamist works in the country. In 1956, Özcan's Hilal publishing house began to import to Turkey the books of Islamist authors such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and especially Abul A'la Maududi.[171] Therefore, Salih Özcan contributes very decisively to the transnational circulation of Islamism across borders. His work is also directly linked to this circulation of ideas as he personally translates some of the foreign Islamist literature published by Hilal since the late 1950s. In a very significant preface to a 1958 translation of one of Maududi's essays on Islam as a "system of life", Özcan explains what he thinks is his mission as publisher and translator.[172] This text is particularly interesting because he begins his reasoning from neo-Pan-Islamist observations about the necessity for all Muslims to defeat artificial nationalism in order to liberate the umma from non-Muslim oppressors that plan to fragment and poison it with their misleading ideals.[173] In this preface to Maududi's book, Özcan insists that it is necessary to "found a union" of all Muslims in

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[169] Ibid., 67.
[170] Ibid., 38.
[171] Özkan, "Turkey's Islamists: from power-sharing to political incumbency", 76.
[172] Özcan, "Mukaddeme" ["Preface"], in Maududi, *Hak Din İslamiyet* [*Islam, the True Religion*], 3-9.
[173] Ibid., 3-4.

which Islamic principles would finally applied without Western interferences.[174] Thus, translating and publishing Islamic texts and Islamist authors becomes, in Özcan's view, the necessary preparatory work to build such an integration of the Muslim world, a world in which more and more Muslim countries will be free from colonialism and able to join in one grand union meant to represent the entire umma as a global actor. Özcan sees Hilal as the instrument to fulfil four fundamental duties:

> "We find useful to summarize the questions that are the closest to you, with the goal of participation to the effort of reviving our religious heritage in a new and contemporary order.
>
> 1- Rediscovering the precious studies and fine arts in the Library of Islam and republishing them with the necessary explanations of their contents, with syntheses and summaries.
>
> 2- Translating writings about Islam from everywhere. Responding to errors and showing the arguments of calumniators of Islam to expose these errors and bring those who go astray back to the true path, like an Islamic scholar does.
>
> 3- Facing the social, economic and political problems of this era will be possible only with texts that are easy to understand, but filled with profound thoughts and universal ideas. In these works, people should find a remedy to their illnesses through reaching the true path of Islam. They should be wholeheartedly in peace, for in the eyes of God the one and only Islam is suitable to every era and it is the true path and blessing to the believers.
>
> 4- Printing cheap and useful books with the aim of creating the condition for an easy diffusion of Islamic knowledge among the people, establishing think tanks with assemblies led by Islamic scholars, publishing an Islamic magazine with the same

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[174] Ibid., 5.

functions and spirit of periodicals like *az-Zahra*, *al-Manar*, *al-Shahab*.

[…] Let's use our natural weapons, our traditions, against the attack of invaders that occupy the hearts and minds of our youth and threaten us with a corrupt and rotten materialist philosophy."[175]

These four points summarize perfectly what was the mission of an Islamist publisher like Özcan in his historical context. The conquest of more public space and the education of a new generation of believers able to act visibly in society and change it: this is the central goal of Salih Özcan and a clear link with the philosophy of the previously analyzed Naqshbandi activism. The fact that the declaredly vital instrument of this project was print is an evident connection with the history of the *Nur* movement, which founded its success on the diffusion of printed materials, its leader's main work being the most important.[176] Most interestingly, Özcan sees the "Library of Islam", i.e. the cultural and scientific heritage of Muslims, as a global patrimony for every believer to explore and absorb regardless of geographic, ethnic or linguistic distance. Thus, in Özcan's view, the translation and publication of Islamic essays from everywhere is part of the preparatory cultural work to establish a real transnational Pan-Islamic entity on solid bases. To enhance the conscience of the umma's oneness among common Muslims, these politically Islamic books must be accessible, simple and cheap as it is necessary when one aims at communicating an ideology to masses of people. In Özcan's words there is the belief that society must be changed through communication and proselytism from below by spreading the word of Islamists as

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[175] Ibid., 6-7.
[176] Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 162.

much as possible. Hilal Publishing's global self-image as a "publisher for the umma" is also demonstrated by the fact that it had books printed not only in Turkish, but also in Arabic, English and French.[177] As concerns the homonymous magazine, *Hilal*, and the newspaper *İttihad*, Salih Özcan explains in the aforementioned interview the mission he envisions for these publications:

> "[Through my work] I intend to animate the national and local tradition. It would be great if we could bind the entire Muslim world to a single center. This is my necessary ideal. But to reach this goal one must overcome wide seas and swollen rivers. Until today they have kept the world of Islam so disunited that, we see it, binding all the Muslims of the Muslim world to a center is an almost impossible work to do. Nevertheless, we Muslims do desire and want such a thing."[178]

By "center" Özcan probably means a global organization like the MWL or better, an intergovernmental Pan-Islamic institution like the Organization of the Islamic Conference, still not founded in 1963, when the interview was released. Regarding the term "national" (*milli*), it is related here to the concept of non-ethnic "Muslim nation", in opposition to "local", or "ethnic" (*kavmi*), which is probably standing for "Turkish" in this case. The Pan-Islamist position of the magazine *Hilal* throughout the 1960s and 1970s is clear, as the periodical usually included articles on the importance of unity among believers in Islam,[179] reports and news from foreign Muslim countries[180] and

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[177] Özer, *Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili Seyyid Salih Özcan*, 29.
[178] Özcan, *Türkiye ve İslam Alemi*, 30.
[179] Examples: Papatya, "Birlik Olalım, Ama Nasıl?", in Hilal vol.6, n.71, 7 (June 1967); "Birliğe Doğru", in Hilal vol.8, n.90, 2-3 (February 1969); Afir, "Müslümanlar Birlik Halinde", in Hilal n.137, 6 (February 1973).
[180] Examples: Özcan, "Pakistan Notları", in Hilal vol.4, n.43, 12-15 (December 1963); Inamullah Khan, "Endonezya'nın son durumu nedir?", in Hilal vol.6, n.69, 8-9 (April 1967); "Abu Dabi", in Hilal, n.130, 3-19 (July 1972).

editorials calling for the political integration of the umma as a single global actor and similar neo-Pan-Islamist stances.[181] Moreover, many translations from foreign Islamist authors like Maududi and Qutb were often published on Hilal magazine about topics like the political application of Islam, the clash between "Islamic and Western civilization" or the formation of global Islamic bloc of countries against non-Muslim imperialism.[182] Besides Hilal's articles expressing hostility towards Zionism[183] and communism,[184] Islam's worst enemies in Özcan's view, it is interesting to take into account the emphasis given by the magazine to the Cyprus issue, a question of great importance to Turkish Islamism.

There are three main Cyprus-related points that we can extrapolate from Özcan's magazine in the 1960s, and more specifically in 1963-4 and 1967, in the wake of the two most vehement eruptions of the Cypriot intercommunal violence of that decade.[185] First, the anti-*enosis* idea that Cyprus has nothing to do with the Greek state, as a Greek state has never controlled the island, which consequently should have been "given back" to Turkey in the framework of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923.[186] Secondly, as seen previously with Karakoç, Hilal too describes the Greek and Western position on the Cyprus issue as

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[181] Examples: "Dünya İslam Kongresi", in Hilal vol.4, n.38, 10 (July 1963); Asaf Mahmut, "Birlik İhtiyacı", in Hilal vol.8, n.86, 26-27 (October 1968); "Emperyalist Güçler İslam'a Karşı Tek Zümredir", in Hilal vol.15, n.172, 1 (June 1977).

[182] Examples: Maududi, "İslam'da Siyaset Nizamı", in Hilal vol.6, n.72, 9 (July 1967); Maududi, "İslam ve Garp Medeniyeti Çatışması", in Hilal vol.7, n.77, 8 (December 1967); Qutb, "Doğu-Batı Bloku Arasındaki İslam Alemi", in Hilal vol.7, n.78, 3-5 (January 1968).

[183] Examples: "Şu 'Birleşmiş Devletler' dedikleri…", in Hilal vol.7, n.75, 2-3 (October 1967); al-Husayni, "Mescid-i Aksa ve Siyonizm", in Hilal vol.9, n.107, 12-15 (August 1970); Tunç, "Siyonizm", in Hilal, n.136, 12-14 (January 1973).

[184] Examples: Kanbek, "Komünisti Teşhis", in Hilal vol.4, n.40, 1-3 (September 1963); Erdem, "Komünizm ve Din Düşmanlığı", in Hilal vol.4, n.48, 8 (December 1964); Raslam "İslam ve Komünizm", in Hilal vol.6, n.72, 7-8 (July 1967).

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[186] Uygur, "Kıbrıs konusuna bir bakış", in Hilal vol.4, n.45, 8-10 (April 1964).

another manifestation of Christian anti-Muslim sentiments and the project for a new "Crusade expedition in disguise".[187] Third, in 1967 Hilal published an analysis of Turkey's options regarding Cyprus, coming to the conclusion that in that moment Turkey could either be silent about the injustices perpetrated on Turkish Cypriots, or it can intervene militarily on the island. Both the options were discouraged on the basis that they would both mean trouble for the country and would not solve the Cyprus problem, notwithstanding the promises of Turkish politicians of the time. A Turkish military success was not considered probable in this analysis. However, suggested the article, a more active foreign policy on the Cyprus dispute and especially the support of the Muslim world had been the only step to reach the hoped solution of a Turkish participation in the government of the island.[188]

Özcan's activities as a member of Pan-Islamist organizations began in 1962 with its participation to the foundation of the MWL in Mecca. Thanks to his work as publisher and translator, and also to several trips outside of Turkey, Özcan had managed to create a network of contacts in the Arab world – including eminent figures like the Palestinian mufti Amin al-Husayni and the Saudi king Faysal –[189] that allowed him to be an autonomous founding member of the MWL in spite of Turkey's refusal to send an envoy or to encourage the participation of any Turkish representative to the Saudi Arabia-based organization.[190] As a member of the MWL, Özcan's activity revolved around several Pan-Islamist proposals he advanced in the framework of the MWL's assemblies and commission works. These proposals were sometimes visibly related to Özcan's interests as an Islamist

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[187] İnan, "Kıbrıs ve ötesi", in Hilal vol.4, n.44, 6 (January 1964).
[188] "Kıbrıs gene bağrımıza saplı kaldı", in Hilal vol.7, n.77, 2-3 (December 1967).
[189] Özer, *Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili Seyyid Salih Özcan*, 41-42.
[190] Özcan, *Türkiye ve İslam Alemi*, 42.

publisher, namely the proposal about the establishment of an "Islamic radio station", called "The Voice of Islam", to broadcast in every language; the proposal of "an editorial office" to manage the publication of Islamic works in every language; the proposal to publish books in favor of the liberation of Muslim countries from Western hegemony.[191]

In general, one can say that in the MWL congresses of the 1960s Özcan mainly worked in the field of cultural cooperation among Muslim countries. However, Özcan's proposals at the MWL in those years regarded also an economic cooperation and integration in the Muslim world, and more specifically the idea of an "Islamic Common Market" based on the European example and of a boycott of Western products when equivalent goods can be imported from a Muslim country.[192] Another question that Özcan put forward at the MWL was the Cyprus question, about which he intervened at the 1966 MWL assembly by denouncing the mistreatments against Turkish Cypriots and obtaining the active solidarity of the MWL and the Muslim world in unanimously condemning Greek Cypriot actions with formal protests in the framework of intergovernmental organizations like the UN.[193]

His association with the MWL and the Saudi elites probably led Özcan to become one of Riyadh's key interlocutors in Turkey, as in the 1980s he became partner of the Saudi-owned Islamic financial institute Faisal Finans, said to be funding "more than fifty publishing companies, newspapers and magazines known for their religious

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[191] Ibid., 43.
[192] Ibid., 46.
[193] Ibid., 17-18.

activities".[194] Moreover, the MWL activities in Turkey went on for decades beginning in the 1970s with important donations and funding for activities like "the organization of conferences and youth camps, publications, and the construction of Islamic centers and mosques".[195] MWL also paid the salaries of a number of Turkish imams for some years during the 1980s.[196] The relevance of such an organization as an instrument of Saudi interests in Turkey forces to recognize the importance of the figure of Salih Özcan in such a context. Besides, Özcan's involvement in these Saudi-dominated Pan-Islamist initiatives makes him a distinct figure in the framework of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism. Differently from other Turkish Islamists of the same era, Özcan exalts the role of Turks in the history of Islam,[197] but he does not speak of a Turkish leadership of the *umma*. Although one can place Özcan in the field of writers and intellectuals because of his cultural activities as publisher and translation, this is probably due to Özcan's familiarity with the practice, rather than the theory of Pan-Islamism, and his consequent connections with Saudi Arabia. In other words, Salih Özcan was also a politicized businessman and an activist that embraced Islamist and (neo-)Pan-Islamist ideals while at the same time he assisted Saudi initiatives to such ends, profiting from Saudi investments as Turkish representative of those initiatives since the 1960s and throughout at least three decades.

Another Pan-Islamist organization to which Özcan participated since the 1960s is the Pakistan-based World Muslim Congress (WMC, *Mu'tamar al-'Alam al-Islami* in Arabic). Founded in Karachi in 1949,

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[194] Köni, "Saudi influence on Islamic institution in Turkey beginning in the 1970s", 104.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid., 105.
[197] Özcan, *Türkiye ve İslam Alemi*, 106.

the WMC is another major organization of the neo-Pan-Islamism emerging during the Cold War. However, its origins can be traced back to the 1926 Mecca Conference that had been organized with the goal of finding a suitable replacement for the abolished Caliphate.[198] Throughout the Cold War era, the Pakistan-funded WMC's activities continued to be fundamentally revolving around the ideas of peaceful Islamic unity and the propagation of Islam with the production of numerous publications and seminars.[199] Salih Özcan himself, in an article appeared on Hilal in 1967, considers the MWL and WMC the two most important international Islamic organizations, to which he is honored to participate.[200] Özcan takes part to a WMC for the first time in Baghdad in 1962 and is invited to the WMC council in 1967 in the presence of WMC's secretary general, Inamullah Khan, and Jerusalem's Mufti Amin al-Husayni.[201] In the framework of the WMC meetings and the related visits to Pakistan, Özcan aims at demonstrating Turkey's Islamic identity and the country's potential as a fundamental ally in every Pan-Islamic initiative, as well as he draws attention to the problems that Turks as members of the Muslim umma have to face in both domestic and international contemporary scenarios:

> "I know that your affection and your hospitality are not as directed to me as to the Great *Mujahid* Turkish Nation, which for a thousand years has borne the standard of the World of Islam. The nation that has carried the flag of Islam till China and to your blessed lands, the Nation that stepped with its horses on

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[198] Khan, "World Muslim Congress", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, online version.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Özcan, "Dünya İslam Kongresinden geliyorum", in Hilal vol.6, n.71, 23 (June 1967).
[201] Özcan, *Türkiye ve İslam Alemi*, 106.

the Crusade flags, that nation is the heroic Turkish nation. It is the nation that planted the flag of Islam in the middle of Europe, just in front of the walls of Vienna. We are still brother peoples as we used to be when the Pakistanis helped the Turks in the Balkan Wars and in the War of Independence."[202]

Also in this context, Özcan does not miss the opportunity to warn about the threats represented by communism ("Red Russia" and "Red China") and by "ignorance" (*cehalet*) contaminating the Muslim world. Two enemies, says Özcan, that must be fought through unity of all Muslims and initiatives like the WMC.[203]

To sum up, in the 1960s Özcan is very active in Pan-Islamist organizations and he dedicates himself to the establishing of personal contacts with many foreign figures of political Islam, not only Saudis like Faisal, or Pakistanis like Maududi, but also Syrians, Lybians, Iraqis and Tunisians. This is possibly the period in which he earns the nickname of "Nursi's foreign minister", as he travels the Muslim world as a representative of Turkey's Islamism and Islamist entrepreneurship.

In 1977, Salih Özcan was elected as member of the then bicameral Turkish parliament for Erbakan's party, the MSP. The relation between Özcan's publishing house and the National Outlook Movement is attested by articles appeared on Hilal in the early 1970s. In these articles, the birth of the MSP was celebrated by suggesting that this party would have been different from the other Turkish political parties because it was not revolvıng around its own leadership, but around "our ideals".[204] Erbakan's early speeches about the ideal of the "National Outlook" (*Milli Görüş*) were described as the truths the

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[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.
[204] H. Asyalı, "Hadiselerin Ardından", in Hilal, n. 133, 16 (October 1972).

nation needed to hear.[205] When Salih Özcan himself entered the National Assembly as the National Salvation Party's MP from the Urfa district in 1977, he started as vice-President of the Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission.[206] In his time as MP of the 16th legislature, i.e. from June 1977 to the military coup of September 1980, the executive was headed for two times by Süleyman Demirel, leader of the center-right Justice Party (July 1977 – January 1978; November 1979 – September 1980) and from January 1978 to November 1979 by the Kemalist CHP's Bülent Ecevit. The first of the two Demirel governments of this period is known as the Second Nationalist Front – the First being the one already ruling Turkey between 1975 and 1977 – and it was a coalition of rightist forces including the Justice Party, the MSP and the nationalist MHP. For his biographer, it was thanks to his support for the military during his time as MP that Özcan managed to avoid incarceration or similar problems after the 1980 coup d'état.[207] However, Özcan's interest continued to be mainly related to foreign affairs, as it is attested by his parliamentary speech of January 16, 1980. In this intervention, Özcan presented his party's stance on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, then a top priority for the Islamists in the field of foreign affairs and a fundamental case to prove the oppression suffered by the Muslim world. Özcan asks the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to help the Afghan refugee in Pakistan and to support them politically and economically without seeing pan-Islamist positions like this as anti-Western actions:

> "May the Muslim world open its eyes and present itself as one body. May Turkey never imagine itself outside of this one body community, because if Turkey does so, this community

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[205] H. Asyalı, "Hadiselerin Ardından", in Hilal, n. 139, 17 (April 1973).
[206] Özer, *Bediüzzaman'ın Hariciye Vekili Seyyid Salih Özcan*, 51.
[207] Ibid., 52.

remains nothing but a vision. Turkey too is absolutely part of the Muslim world, and it is bound to integrate itself with the Muslim world. In the opposite case, it would not be able to defend its own life. This is our belief. Yes, we will make our friendship with our Western friends continue, our friendship with them can be permanent, but it will never be possible to tear us away from the Muslim world".[208]

It is interesting to notice how Özcan's reference to the West is here much more moderate and "friendly" than in the strongly anti-Western Islamist discourse one usually encounters in the texts of Turkish political Islam. This reflects the already mentioned pragmatic Pan-Islamism of Özcan, especially when assuming the role of Islamist politician rather than writer.

In conclusion, this pragmatism is a crucial difference between Özcan and the other Islamist authors studied here as the most significant for the development of modern Turkey's neo-Pan-Islamism. Özcan's pragmatism is the first distinctive feature of this Islamist author. Secondly, and most importantly, Salih Özcan was a hybrid figure that included multifaceted roles and was critical for the interconnection of Turkish Islamism – and Pan-Islamism – with the transnational phenomenon of Islamism beyond Turkey's borders. As a publisher, translator, writer and politician, Özcan deeply contributed to Turkish Islamism and its outlook on world politics until the early 1980s. He played a crucial role by maintaining a low profile and being a key for foreign Islamism to enter Turkey during the Cold War.

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[208] Archive of Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem:5, Cilt:13, Birleşim:30, 733 (16 January 1980).

Abdurrahman Dilipak and *Dış Politika*: Pan-Islamist ideas at the end of the Cold War era

It was in the last years of the Cold War era that a new generation of Islamist intellectuals, including writers and journalists like Ali Bulaç, İsmet Özel and Abdurrahman Dilipak, became predominant with its more individualist approach to the advancement of Islamic principles in society. The latter author, Abdurrahman Dilipak (born in 1949) is the one who most visibly discussed foreign policy matters and contributed to the foreign policy discourse of Turkey's Islamism. This is because of two main works that Dilipak produced during the late 1980s. The first is the Islamist essay *Vahdet ama nasıl?* (*Unity: how?*), which is signaled by Landau in his comprehensive book as an example of recent Turkish Pan-Islamism.[209] The second reason to choose Dilipak as a champion of this third generation of Turkish Pan-Islamism is his role as founder and director of the journal *Dış Politika* (*Foreign Policy*), which the Turkish scholar Sayarı indicates as a crucial and understudied source to understand Islamist perspectives on foreign policy in those years.[210]

Abdurrahman Dilipak was born in 1949 near Osmaniye, in the Southern "Mediterranean Region" of Turkey. In the 1970s he studied at the Institute of Journalism and Public Relations of the Istanbul Academy of Commercial Sciences and after that he started his activity as journalist, also founding *Yeni Devir* (*The New Era*), an Islamist newspaper linked to Erbakan's National Salvation Party.[211] Currently, Dilipak writes his editorials for the Islamist newspaper *Yeni Akit* (*The New Covenant*). Karasipahi's book on Muslim intellectuals highlights

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[209] Landau, *Pan-Islam: History and Politics*, 257.
[210] Sayarı, "Islam and International Relations in Turkey".
[211] Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey*, 56.

Dilipak's views on laicism as an enemy of Islam and Turkey. *Laicism* (*Laisizm*) is also the title of a book by Dilipak in which the author treats the subject as an imported alien phenomenon, "an instrument of oppression against the Muslims".[212] For Dilipak, the Kemalist policy of putting religion under state control is a "Byzantinism", as it reveals the intention of utilizing religion according to the government's needs.[213] In other words, in his writings Dilipak intends to demonstrate how unjust and unnatural is the separation of religion from the public sphere in Turkey, especially considering its most severe Kemalist version in the Republican era. Such observations are based on the fundamental thought of incompatibility and conflict between Western and Islamic "civilizations", the latter of which is subjugated by the former. This is the same fundamental tenet that returns in Dilipak's thoughts on international affairs.

In his book *Vahdet*, Dilipak's approach reflects the more individualist attitude pointed out by Bulaç when identifying the main feature of the third generation of Islamist thinkers. Dilipak, though reconnecting himself to the thought of the father of contemporary Turkish Islamism Kısakürek in referring to Islam as faith and action, starts from the idea of life as an individual exam, a test to pass firstly on the personal level to successively reach further steps and higher goals, the highest being the unity of all Muslims.[214] The general everyday struggle in the name of Islam (*jihad*), says Dilipak, is a force attracting all Muslim towards a single center, towards unity.[215] In Dilipak's discourse, the core of the political struggle of Islam is clear as he considers Islam a religion that aims at fighting oppression and

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[212] Dilipak, *Laisizm*, cited in Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey*, 81.
[213] Ibid., 82.
[214] Dilipak, *Vahdet ama nasıl?*, 73.
[215] Ibid., 65.

working for the oppressed.[216] When it comes to discussing the practical aspects of a consequently political, and not only spiritual, transnational union of all Muslims, Dilipak is more explicit than his predecessors in calling a political integration of Muslim countries a "utopia".[217] He points out the extreme diversity of the Muslim world in terms of economy, culture, politics, language and intra-religious differentiations. However, Dilipak does not discard this utopia and even insists to reinforce it as an ideal in the mind of his readers:

> "To solve the problem of unity in today's Muslim world, we need to overcome many obstacles. There are borders. Different regimes, different law structures, different opinions, leaders, languages, cultures and traditions. Knowledge, experience, fears and hopes are different. Since they have been separated from their own truths for a long time, [Muslims] are losing in great measure their common characteristics and finding themselves under the influence of foreign elements they took from other systems. […]

> We can mention the institutions that are on the way to unity. Islamic Union, Culture and Education Union of the Islamic Countries, Islamic Common Market, Islamic Defense Pact… with whom shall we realize these things? With Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Somalia…? Are we ready to deal with the powers that will be against this union of ours when we start to realize it? Maybe we need to keep alive this as a utopia, but we must keep alive also the necessary collective and individual process of transformation. Otherwise, the organizations that today's political regimes are going to create will not be made to serve Islam, but as anti-Islamic forces. […] We just have to keep this

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[216] Ibid., 77.
[217] Ibid., 89.

enthusiasm alive and to start building an agenda for projects going in this direction [of unity]."[218]

In this passage, Dilipak's general approach to the "Pan-Islamist utopia" is evident. There are mainly three points to single out here. First of all, the mentioned realization and explication of the utopian nature of the goal. This utopian nature is then exalted for its being per se the useful energy that Muslims need on the way towards a more just and Islamic society and then the liberation of the oppressed. In this logic, like a constructive circular effect, the utopia of a potential Muslim union ignites an "enthusiasm" that – consistently with the tenets of the third Islamist generation as defined by Bulaç – revives Islam by starting from the individual level. Because of this circular effect, thinks Dilipak, the diffusion of Islamist ideals is then fostered in society and is conclusively able to reach the level of world politics, i.e. Pan-Islamic aspirations from which the process has gained strength in the first place. Secondly, we see the influence of previous Pan-Islamist thinkers, and especially Karakoç, when Dilipak indicates the disconnection of Muslims from their true identity as the consequence of Western influence and implicitly the reason of the Muslim world's weakness. Third, we see in Dilipak's words the attempt to present these thoughts in a pragmatic and aware fashion, with references meant to imply a comprehensive knowledge of the concrete difficulties of realizing Pan-Islamist projects in his time.

On the other hand, whereas Dilipak exposes these difficulties and presents unity as a utopian task, the "individualist" approach from which he starts allows him to highlight the "simplicity" of the general method to reach Islamist, and then Pan-Islamist, goals. This method,

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[218] Ibid., 90-91.

says Dilipak, is nothing but the embracing of Islamic values, of Islamic truth, which is "indivisible" and cannot be divisive.[219] The same Islamic truth, the comprehensive Islamic *hak*, represents for Dilipak – as it did for Kısakürek and other Islamist thinkers – the fundamental difference between the civilization of Islam and the rest of the of the world. For Dilipak too, the incompatible sets of values are what marks the duality of a world still based on the distinction between *Dar al-Islam*, the abode of Islam, and *Dar al-Harb*, in which the non-Muslims are nothing but "one single nation", as in Kısakürek's old slogan "*küfür tek millettir*". While justice and spirituality are the main feature of the Islamic spirit, the monolithic Western civilization is based on violence. Dilipak's views on the West are straightforwardly expressed in a book called *The Reality of Geographical explorations*:

> "[The West] founded its entire civilization on the grounds of the usurped rights, blood, and tears of other people. The basis of Western civilization is colonialism. It is the character of the West. The democracy of ancient Greece cannot be considered as a unique Western culture. An order constructed on the grounds of the usurped rights of others that culminated in failure and dissatisfaction cannot be presented as a model for the rest of the world."[220]

A culture of usurpation and oppression is then how Dilipak, as well as other Islamists of his generation, keeps seeing the West as a homogeneous whole. For Dilipak, the West tries to impose its unjust methods to the rest of the World by instilling materialism or using violence to destroy the Muslim culture and reach its imperialist goals. This is quite clearly an important starting point to understand the

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[219] Ibid., 113-114.
[220] Dilipak, *Coğrafi Keşiflerin İçyüzü*, cited in Karasipahi, *Muslims in Modern Turkey*, 69.

persisting Pan-Islamist views of Dilipak's generation and Islamist ideas on foreign policy matters in Turkey at the end of the Cold War.

A fundamental source to research on these ideas is certainly *Dış Politika* (*Foreign Policy*), the four-monthly journal published between 1988 and 1990. Dilipak was the founder and director of this journal and, in those years, he gave Islamist intellectuals like Bulaç, or Islamist politicians like National Outlook's Hasan Aksay and others, the opportunity to present their views on international affairs in an academic-style publication. The publishing house of *Dış Politika*, *Risale* (*The Epistle*), is a well-known Islamic publisher whose name is itself a religious reference and a possible reference to Nursi's texts. In its first issue, the journal is presented as a response to the needs of the Muslim reader in a globalized "new world" in which everything is "re-discussed": a Muslim has the responsibility of being aware of what happens around the world.[221] In this very first issue of March 1988, we find interesting articles by Islamist authors like Ali Bulaç (on the current fragmentation of the Muslim world) and Nevzat Yalçıntaş (on Turkey's stance towards the European integration). Dilipak himself commented the situation of Afghanistan at that time. Dossiers on topics like Tunisian politics and the Iran-Iraq War were also contributing to give the journal a comprehensive approach to world affairs, making it the first Islamist periodical in Turkey explicitly and coherently created to address and analyze foreign policy matters.

As in the case of the abovementioned article by Bulaç, *Dış Politika* maintained itself open to Pan-Islamist views and calls for unity in a Muslim world fragmented by historical Western oppression and by

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[221] "Başlarken", in *Dış Politika*, n.1, 5 (March 1988)

Muslims applying wrong model to their societies.[222] The idea of Western culture as incompatible with the Turkish-Muslim worldview is also recurring among the journal's contributors when it comes to address the problem of Ankara's relations with the European Community. A *Dış Politika* article of July 1988 by Ersin Gürdoğan (b. 1945), an eminent Islamist intellectual of the "third generation" (also studied by Karasipahi as one of the most important together with Bulaç, Dilipak and Özel), is particularly interesting as it combines a renewed Pan-Islamist vision "for the 21st century" with this West-Islam incompatibility theory as applied to the question of European integration:

> "The 21st century, no matter what they say, will be for Muslim countries the era of unification and integration from the economic, social and cultural points of view. […] Muslim countries are going to be a defining force in world politics as they are going to be certain of their culture, social structure and economy. […] What is the right place for Turkey? It is not easy to give a clear-cut answer to this question now. Is it our right place next to European countries, or is rather on the Muslim countries' side? This question has been under discussion for a long time in Turkey as well as in Europe. […] [The *Refah* Party] (National Outlook's Welfare Party) says that our right place is not the EC, that inside the EC we will disappear not only culturally, but also economically. However, they do not say what we have to do to avoid this, what we have to do to bring Muslim countries together. We certainly do not want to be European. But what is the way to follow? What should we do in the short and long term? We never discuss these things! […]

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[222] Bulaç, "İslam Dünyası, Kırık bir tablo", in *Dış Politika*, n.1, 27-28 (March 1988)

World-level cultural and economic superiority is passing from the West to the East. Turkey is a cultural and geographical crossroad. Whatever our choice is going to be, it will affect the West as much as our historical background, which is represented by the Muslim countries. If we see salvation in binding ourselves to European culture, it is sure that we will face destruction, regardless our entering the EC or not. On the other hand, if we see salvation in Islam's values and norms, no matter if we become a member of the EC or not, we will continue to be a source of hope for both the Muslim world and the West. […] Our place among other Muslim countries depends on the cultural confrontation we must have with Europe. From the Turkish point of view, the problem is not being a member of the EC or not, it is being unprepared to have this settling with the EC. As long as we are not prepared to this confrontation with Europe's culture, both if we were member of the EC and if we were not, we are going to lose a war we already lost more than once. […] We, as Muslims, will have to face Europe in every situation. There is no escape from this confrontation."[223]

This passage is an example of how, in the Turkish Islamist discourse of the late 1980s, the EC membership could be a secondary issue when compared to the importance of the West-Islam cultural and moral incompatibility as a general tenet and more urgent problem for Turkey's Islamist intellectuals. For Gürdoğan, Turkey could also enter the European Community, a concession that Islamists of the previous generation could never accept. The most important issue – and here is the distinguishing feature of this generation of Islamists once again – is that Muslims never renounce to their Islamic principles. The necessity for Muslim societies to preserve their Islamic identity to avoid

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[223] Gürdoğan, "Biz ve Avrupa", in *Dış Politika*, n.2, 7-14 (July 1988)

destruction when facing the Western civilization's materialism, they would say. The Pan-Islamist aspiration of an Islamic bloc, and united Islamic entity as a world actor, is never abandoned. However, the emphasis is put more than ever on the cultural side. This echoes some of the ideas of older Islamists like Karakoç, but it seems once again more focusing on the actions of Muslims as individuals.

We can take Gürdoğan's article as an example of *Dış Politika*'s relevance in being the most complete and exhaustive periodical of Turkey's Pan-Islamism in the 1980s. Although hosting writings by NOM politicians and figures that are external to Turkish Islamism (foreign authors, non-Islamist authors) in this journal's pages one can find Dilipak's ideas on world politics as well as the neo-Pan-Islamist theories as they had evolved at the end of the Cold War era. In Gürdoğan's piece, the emphasis on the attachment Muslim identity regardless of Turkey's accession to the European Community reveals how the behavior and the feelings of individuals gained more importance in a globalized scenario, at least among Islamist intellectuals outside of political parties. Conclusively, in the case of Turkey's Muslim thinkers, the "Pan-Islamist utopia" born during Ottoman times survived until the 1980s and early 1990s as one of the ideal images that, first, the Muslim individual must keep in mind in order to initiate a process of Islamization of society and, second, the inevitable future consequence of that process. According to this approach, the full embracing of Islamic principles by Muslims and Muslim societies would allow the so-conceived Islamic civilization to win the cultural and economic struggle against the Western civilization. For Gürdoğan, in his 1988 article, the Muslim world is inevitably going to prevail in the world, and the Turks must embrace their "true Islamic identity" if they want to avoid "extinction".

It is also important how *Dış Politika* maintains its contact with the National Outlook Movement, then incarnated in the *Refah Partisi* (RP, Welfare Party) by including its most eminent officials as contributors or interviewees (i.e. Aksay,[224] Kutan,[225] Erbakan[226] and others). This is going to be relevant for the present research when it comes to explore the Pan-Islamist discourse produced by NOM politicians.

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[224] Aksay, "İslam Dünyasının Birliği", in *Dış Politika*, n.2, 15-32 (July 1988)

[225] Kutan, "Müslüman Ülkelerin Sanayileşmesi", in *Dış Politika*, n.1, 67-76 (March 1988)

[226] Erbakan, "Şahsiyetli Dış Politika Temel Hedefimizdir", in *Dış Politika*, n.7, 190-197 (October 1989)

The Islamist discourse on foreign affairs in Turkey's Islamist magazines

After exploring how the most eminent Turkish Pan-Islamist intellectuals elaborated their ideas on foreign affairs and foreign policy throughout Turkey's multi-party era until the end of the Cold War, in this chapter I intend to look at the Islamist foreign policy discourse as expressed through the press, and more specifically through political magazines of the same decades. This different kind of source and wider perspective allows us to complete the analysis, both by inserting the previously studied authors in the wider political and intellectual context of those years, and by singling out the world politics events that most crucially marked the history of foreign policy discourse in Turkey's Islamism. Secondly, this chapter will conclude the study on the foreign policy discourse produced by Turkish Islamist thinkers by singling the main elements of the Islamist foreign policy views analyzed so far, as well as their evolution throughout the decades considered here.

The study of Turkish political Islam through its magazines, especially those from the period considered here, is still a new field on which the most focused research is being done today by Turkish Islamic research institutes like İLEM İlmi Etüdler Derneği (Association for Scientific Studies),[1] which has produced the research project called İDP (*İslamcı Dergiler Projesi,* Islamist Magazines Project). This ongoing project aims at digitalizing, cataloguing and studying the Islamist political magazines and journals published in Turkey from 1960s to 1980s. The project is described as the first systematic exploration of these historical sources that are so vital to understand the much-debated

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[1] İLEM website: http://www.ilem.org.tr

development of Islamist thought in Republican Turkey.[2] In the wake of this wide-ranging İDP and other historical researches using Islamist magazines as sources,[3] a more narrow and focused exploration of such recently emphasized and still little-known publications is to be done here on the specific issues regarding international affairs and the foreign policy that, in those years and in the first half of the 1990s, Turkish Islamists imagined for their own country to adopt. By doing this, this chapter is going to collect instances of foreign policy discourse from Turkish Islamist periodicals that are less known than the already mentioned *Sebilürreşad* or *Büyük Doğu* magazines, and sometimes focused on foreign policy as much as the already mentioned *Dış Politika*, even when maintaining a less academic and more militant style.

As already seen when exploring the ideas of Sezai Karakoç, one of the main foreign policy issues considered by Turkish Islamists in the 1960s was certainly Cyprus. Consistently with Karakoç's stances on the incompatibility of Christian and Islamic civilizations, Turkish Islamist authors in those years were convinced of the "crusade" nature of the communal violence for which they blamed Greek Cypriots. When taking into consideration Islamist reviews of the 1960s, apart from the already considered *Diriliş* edited by Karakoç, the Cyprus question emerges among the most relevant ones for Turkish Islamist authors. In their views, the clashes between Muslims and Christians in Cyprus are among the most emblematic reminders of the worldwide perennial conflict between Islam and the West. While "the West is uniting" under the Pope's blessing, says an article on *Tohum* (The Seed), the world of

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[2] İDP website: http://idp.org.tr/proje-hakkinda
[3] For instance, Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan*.

Islam needs the same unity and awareness:[4] this is the recurrent perspective (and warning) of the *Dar al-Harb* vs *Dar al-Islam* vision as in Karakoç. Therefore, while the Islamist views on the Cyprus crises of the 1960s have already been explored in the chapter about Sezai Karakoç and his magazine, it is more opportune here to consider the other major foreign policy question that was deeply concerning Turkish Islamists: the Palestinian issue. Together with the "more Turkish" Cyprus issue, the Palestinian issue affects the thoughts of Turkish Islamists as much as those Islamists in other countries. Though certainly not circumscribed to the period in question, the Palestinian issue is crucial for the Islamist discourse of the late 1960s and 1970s because of the series of armed conflicts starting with the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, also known as the Six Days War.

From the Turkish Islamist standpoint, the difference with the previous Arab-Israeli wars is that in the 1960s Turkey's Islamists could finally be more vocal on such questions and express themselves on the then vital Islamist magazines. In the magazines of this period, the condemnations of Zionism, as seen with Özcan's main publications, become a fundamental recurring element of Turkish Islamist discourse. In 1968, the Islamist magazine *Tohum* published several articles associating the Zionist ideals with the Jewish identity itself, condemning Jews for their supposedly "ancient desire" to eliminate Muslims from the Middle East[5] and for their waging "a desecrating war against Islam and its holy sites":[6] "The fundamental objective, the political, national and religious ideal of the Jews is to destroy the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and build the Great Jewish Temple on the

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[4] Kaya, "Hristiyanlık Birleşiyor", in *Tohum*, n.31, 12 (September 1967)
[5] Karaman, "Yahudi Dolapları", in *Tohum*, n.44, 16-17 (November 1969)
[6] Ayaşlı, "Filistin'de Oynanan Büyük Facia", in *Tohum*, n.35, 7 (January 1969)

same site."[7] This linkage between Zionism and Jewishness is an example of how anti-Zionist rhetoric in Turkish Islamist circles began to blend with anti-Semitism.

It was especially in the mid-1970s, after the temporary slowdown of publishing activities due to the 1971 coup, that Turkish Islamist magazines started to be more focused on international affairs and some new Islamist periodicals specializing in world news and foreign policy started to come out for the first time. In the 1970s, along with the general Pan-Islamist calls for unity and Pan-Islamist projects, the two more specific matters of Cyprus (especially with the 1974 Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus) and Palestine continued to be among the most debated world politics questions in Turkey's Islamist publications. It is interesting to see how national history was commonly used to strengthen arguments about contemporary foreign policy issues. In the Cyprus case, the Islamist press of the 1970s perpetuated not only the idea of "crusade spirit", but also the suggestion of the anguishes suffered by Turkish Cypriots as consequences of the decisions taken at the signing of the 1923 Lausanne Treaty,[8] which determined modern Turkey's borders after the Turkish War of Independence and is frequently depicted by Turkish Islamists as the insufficient result of a continuing Western oppression.[9] An important Islamist magazine of those years was *Sebil* (The Way), which started to be published by the well-known Turkish Islamist journalist Kadir Mısıroğlu (b.1933) in 1976 and kept itself close to the MSP, the then party incarnation of the National Outlook Movement, until 1980.[10] Although not only focusing

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[7] Ayaşlı, "Filistin'de Oynanan Büyük Facia", in *Tohum*, n.36, 6 (February 1969)
[8] Bilcanoğlu, "Lozan hezimeti Kıbrıs'ta tekrarlanıyor", in *Tebliğ*, n.6, 10 (March 1977).
[9] Mısıroğlu, "Ege'deki İhtilafın Ortaya Çıkardığı Acı Gerçek: Lozan Hezimettir", in *Sebil*, n.30 (July 1976).
[10] İDP website: http://idp.org.tr/dergiler/sebil

of foreign affairs, Sebil touched often upon such issues and showed its own evident Pan-Islamist orientation. In its four-year life, before being closed in the wake of the 1980 coup d'état, Sebil's foreign affairs articles were expressing the recurring Islamist stances on the "Jewish oppression against Muslims in Palestine", the communist threat to Islam, the Western "crusaders" attacking the Muslim world, the Cyprus question, the hopes for Pan-Islamic organizations of which Turkey should be the leader (also a recurring idea revealing Kısakürek's and other fundamental Turkish Islamists' influence). These elements can be considered the main ingredients of Islamist foreign policy views that developed in the Republic of Turkey and became more visible during the 1960-1980 inter-coup period on the Cold War background. As regards the Cold War, Sebil also exemplifies the "Islamic Third Worldist" position of Islamist in those years by reminding its readers that Soviets and Americans, communists and capitalists are one nation as long as they are infidels: once again the Kısakürekian slogan "*küfür tek bir millettir*" is repeated.[11]

Sebil demonstrates its Pan-Islamist orientation already in March 1976, when the focus of its issue is the necessary foundation of the "Islamic Common Market", which the unsigned articles identifies as the only remedy to the economic and political hegemony of the West:

> "Even if the flags that used to show the Westerners' rule are not waving anymore, those of the international economic enterprises, i.e. the logos of Western companies, are filling boulevards and alleys. These company logos, which express the continuation of the now hiding old exploitation, demonstrate in the most manifest way the economic exploitation and tyranny of the Christian Western world. The only remedy to be saved from

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[11] Mısıroğlu, "Küfür tek bir millettir", in *Sebil*, n.19, 2 (May 1976).

this would be the unification of the Muslim world. […] The European Common Market, which has been established with the final goal of transforming Europe into a single political community, began first with realizing unity and cooperation among member states in material and economic fields. The Muslim world should learn from this and take example to move in the same direction."[12]

For the author of this article, as it was for Sezai Karakoç,[13] in the 1976 context the EEC could be a model, an example that Muslims could use to reach political integration and unity by beginning with material questions. Interestingly enough, for the first time in this research, also the recurring image of Turkey as the leader for the Muslim world is more related to material development than to the historical responsibility of Turkey as heir of the Ottoman Empire:

"Considering that no other Muslim country today is as developed as Turkey in terms of industry, the leadership of a common market to be founded among Muslim countries is a responsibility that naturally and necessarily falls on Turkey."[14]

The same Pan-Islamist lines were to be drawn again by Mısıroğlu's magazine in 1978 in an article that called for the establishment of a similar Pan-Islamic union in the field of military cooperation, in order to oppose both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.[15] Sebil was certainly one of the most interesting Islamist magazines of the 1970s, and it covered both domestic and foreign policy issue in articles that are very useful to understand the discourse produced by

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[12] Mısıroğlu, "İslam Ortak Pazarı kurulmalıdır", in *Sebil*, n.10, 2 (March 1976).
[13] Karakoç, *Sûr*, 92-93.
[14] Mısıroğlu, "İslam Ortak Pazarı kurulmalıdır", in *Sebil*, n.10, 3 (March 1976).
[15] "Varşova Paktı ve NATO karşısında 'İslam Paktı' kurulmalıdır!", in *Sebil*, n.127, 2 (June 1978).

political Islam in those years characterized by a high level of militancy in Turkey's political scene. However, as already mentioned, the main contributions to the elaboration of general Islamist views on foreign policy in the Turkish Islamist environment of those years have been given by some less comprehensive and foreign policy-focused Islamist magazines appearing in the same period of Sebil.

The first of these less known magazines is *İslam Alemi* (The Muslim World), appearing in 1975. In its very first issues, İslam Alemi introduces itself as a new magazine responding to the urgency of collecting "news from the increasingly unified Muslim World".[16] The most important articles in this short-lived magazine of 1975 were those regarding Cyprus, whose northern part had been occupied by Turkish forces the previous year. Articles on İslam Alemi concerned the international Muslim support for the Turkish Cypriots as an example of the usefulness of Pan-Islamist projects.[17,18] Other news published by this magazine were regarding Israel and the Palestinian issue,[19] and especially the civil war beginning in Lebanon in 1975.[20,21] Nonetheless, the most important aspect of this magazine is its evident intention to show the importance of cooperation between Turkey and other Muslim countries, not only concerning the Cypriot question, but more specifically about the economic advantages of such a cooperation. The countries shown by İslam Alemi as the most desirable allies and

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[16] "Çıkarken", in *İslam Alemi*, n.1, 1 (August 1975).
[17] "Suudi Arabistan Büyükelçisi: "Bütün İslam Alemi Kıbrıs Türk'ünün yanındadır", in *İslam Alemi*, n.2, 24-25 (September 1975).
[18] "Denktaş Müslümanlar grubunda konuştu: Müslüman kardeşlerimin desteğini istiyorum", in *İslam Alemi*, n.3-4, 31-32 (October-November 1975).
[19] Example: "Birleşmiş Milletler'de FKÖ de konuşacak", in *İslam Alemi*, n.5, 17 (December 1975).
[20] Example: "Lübnan'da kanlı çatışmalar devam ediyor", in *İslam Alemi*, n.2, 27 (September 1975).
[21] Example: "Lübnan'da Müslüman Katliamı bütün şiddetiyle devam ediyor", in *İslam Alemi*, n.3-4, 36 (October-November 1975).

economic partners of Turkey in the Muslim world are Saudi Arabia,[22] Libya[23] and Pakistan.[24] The following passage from an article on the ministerial meetings of the Saudi-led Organization Islamic Conference shows the basis of the magazine's position on Pan-Islamic cooperation:

> "If some Muslim countries do not give the necessary importance to meetings that show the way to the Muslim world's becoming an effective force in political, economic and military terms, it is a historic political mistake, a sin that weighs much in front of the Islamic nations. […] Our state may be formally secular, but we must not forget: almost all out people are Muslim. Moreover, the national matters that we need to solve, require the political and economic support of the other Muslim countries."[25]

Here İslam Alemi, like the rest of Turkish political Islam, protested Turkey's little commitment towards the Islamic Conference and similar Pan-Islamic initiatives. Besides, it warned its readers once again against the "anti-Muslim crusades" still threatening Islam although "changing their tactics".[26] It is an example of how material and spiritual elements characterizes the same anti-Western discourse in the Turkish Islamist circles such as the one revolving around İslam Alemi in 1975. As it is to be shown by the chapter on the electoral campaigns of National Outlook parties, this attention to economy reflects how the Islamist discourse in Turkey was characterized by a

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[22] Example: Dorsay, "Suudi Arabistan'ın finansman ve yatırım kurumları", in *İslam Alemi*, n.3-4, 21-22 (October-November 1975).

[23] Example: "Türk-Libya kardeşliği meyvalarını vermeye başladı", in *İslam Alemi*, n.1, 23-24 (August 1975).

[24] Example: "Kardeş Pakistan dünya siyasetinde aktif rol alıyor", in *İslam Alemi*, n.3-4, 39 (October-November 1975).

[25] "İslam dış bakanları ve biz...", in *İslam Alemi*, n.3-4, 25-26 (October-November 1975).

[26] Ibid., 25.

call for industrialization and economic independence of the Muslims. Such an emphasis on industrialization is an element of Turkish Islamism to which sheikh Kotku, as we have seen in the chapter on religious brotherhoods, and his disciple Erbakan's political parties directly contributed.

Also in 1975, two other Pan-Islamist periodicals appeared in Turkey: *Adım* (The Step) and *Gölge* (The Shadow). Both the magazines represented Turkish manifestations the neo-Pan-Islamist trend developing in the Muslim world throughout the Cold War era. However, the former was owned by Abdurrahman Dilipak's uncle,[27] also happening to be the brother of Hasan Aksay (b.1931), a high-level member of Erbakan's National Outlook Movement and co-founder of the NOM's party MSP. In contrast, the latter magazine was owned and co-authored by Salih Mirzabeyoğlu (b.1950), a disciple of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and a Naqshbandi[28] who would later be known as the leader of the terrorist organization called "Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front" (in Turkish, *İslami Büyük Doğu Akıncıları Cephesi*, İBDA-C). İBDA-C, which is an extremely anti-Semitic and anti-Christian organization based on the violent application of Kısakürek's "Great East" ideal, was still particularly active in Turkey until the late 1990s, as it continued to carry out assassinations and bombings.[29] However, the series of arrests that began in those years made İBDA-C much smaller and less dangerous. Among the arrested İBDA-C terrorists there was also the man known as "the commander", Salih

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[27] Dilipak, "Dayım vefat etti!", on:
http://www.habervaktim.com/yazar/21578/dayim-vefat-etti.html
[28] İDP website: http://idp.org.tr/yazarlar/salih-mirzabeyoglu
[29] McHugh, "Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front", in Martin, ed. *The SAGE encyclopedia of terrorism*, 234.

Mirzabeyoğlu, who was jailed in 1998 and sentenced to death for "the armed attempt to overthrow the constitutional order".[30]

Therefore, it is particularly interesting to see how differently, or how equally, Pan-Islamism manifested itself in 1970s Turkey by comparing these two Islamist magazines. Though they similarly focused on foreign affairs, and intended to show Turkey as part of the world *umma*, they evidently belonged to two different grades of Turkey's Islamist spectrum: while *Adım* was linked to an Islamist movement represented by a party in political elections and in parliament, *Gölge* was the press organ of a certainly more radical extra-parliamentary group, led by a man that was destined to become the head of an Islamist terrorist organization. The more militant style of Gölge is visible as its articles are deeper analysis and opinions on world issues that affect the umma, while Adım is richer with news but also more superficial: it mostly reports news from the Muslim world trying to show all the violence and difficulties suffered by Muslims as a result of Western/Zionist/communist oppression. This kind of news appear in Adım in a section called "The Muslim World" with the permanent tagline "Muslims of all the world unite!".[31] As proved by this general attention to world affairs and specific focuses on the Islamic Conference,[32] Pan-Islamism is certainly one of the main ingredients of Adım and among the core ideals of its contributors, including Abdurrahman Dilipak. Moreover, anti-Zionism (sometimes combining with mere anti-Semitism) is an important feature of Adım, and this reveals how animosity against Jews, and not only against Israel or its

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Example: "İslam Dünyası: Lübnan'da Kan gövdeyi götürüyor", in *Adım*, n.5, 5 (February 1976).
[32] Example: Yalçın, "İslam Konferansını Demirel açacak", in *Adım*, n.8, 10 (May 1976).

government, was a common element of the Islamist discourse in Turkey. The following passage is from an article sent by a student to Adım and awarded with an entire page on the magazine as the best article from the readers:

"Jewish imperialism has been sucking the blood of the Muslim blood and exploiting it like a vampire for more than a century. The Muslim world's enslavement to the godless Jews is a cruelty against Faith, it is a revolt against God, it is lack of Faith and amity towards Satan. […] When the world of Islam stands against Jewish and European imperialism with an Islamic Union, the blasphemy of imperialism will be destroyed. […] Turkey's recovery [from decadence] means the recovery of the Muslim world for the Return to Islam, to the Civilization of Faith and to the Islamic Union. It means the challenge of Muslim world, under the leadership of a Muslim Turkey against the Jewish, crusade and communist imperialist heathens."[33]

Then the author of the article passes to enumerate the several Pan-Islamic organizations that could unite the Muslims of the world: an Islamic Common Market, a Bank of the Islamic Union, a Union of the Armies of the Islamic States etc. This kind of text is certainly rougher than other excerpts cited so far, and it is authored by a simple reader of Islamist magazines. However, it is nonetheless important as it shows us the "echo" of all the core ideas of Pan-Islamism as they were welcomed by the Islamist readership, and in this case by a possible representative of the militant Islamist youth of 1970s Turkey. It was exactly in the mid-1970s that the Islamist youth of the country, especially the one linked to the NOM, became actively independent

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[33] Çitli, "Bir yarışmamız var: İslam and Yahudi Emperyalizmi", in *Adım*, n.3, 15 (December 1975).

from other rightist youth organizations and started to organize itself in nationwide groups, i.e. the famous *Akıncılar* ("The Raiders") and its ramifications.[34] A text like the one above once again summarizes the Islamist ideas of a world divided between Islamic civilizations and "infidels" divided among themselves as Zionists (or simply Jews), communist and capitalist "crusades". The writings of a simple supporter of Islamism like this young reader of Adım show how core tenets of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism of the Cold War era were absorbed by the wider sphere of Turkey's political Islam outside of the narrower circles of writers and journalists. Therefore, such a text shows how not only ambitions about domestic policy and the Islamization of Turkish society, but also Pan-Islamist foreign policy ambitions enjoyed some degree of popularity among the wider Islamist public. Moreover, the space given by an NOM magazine to this article shows how little "moderate" the discourse on such matter was, regardless the fact that the National Outlook's National Salvation Party (MSP) was a legal political party participating to the country's democratic institutions. Such a participation did not prevent the NOM from maintaining a radical attitude at least in its discourse, or from promoting this kind of harsh rhetoric.

Adım ceased to be published already in 1976, one year after its first issue, but it remains an eloquent example of a periodical representing a linkage between the NOM elite and its basis, and specifically in the case of the Pan-Islamist discourse. Other minor and short-lived Islamist magazines from the 70s had appeared as early as 1970 and were direct emanations of Erbakan's NOM. These publications, like *Nizam'a Doğru* and *Milli Görüş*, also contained

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[34] Bayraktar Akkaya, *The National Outlook and its Youth in the 1970s in Turkey*, 65-66.

elements of the neo-Pan-Islamism of those years,[35,36] especially about the dangers of Turkey's relations with Europe, but they were more reprints of the NOM parties' (MNP and MSP) programs rather than political magazines enjoying a wider readership and including more original contributions.

The abovementioned Gölge magazine was certainly independent from the NOM and, as we have seen, it was the product of an extremist group that would later engage in terrorist activities. However, despite this crucial difference, the radical rhetoric of Gölge was not so different from the rhetoric that one could have observed on other Islamist magazines of the 1970s, e.g. Adım. A more important difference that emerges when one compares this Pan-Islamist magazine to the NOM-linked Pan-Islamist Adım is the deeper elaboration of the Pan-Islamist discourse in Gölge's articles. The intention of Gölge's authors seems to be the explanation of a Pan-Islamist ideology that is certainly deriving from Kısakürek's "Great East", but at the same time wants to be more sophisticated and original than the one merely repeating the foreign policy-related slogans of the NOM.[37] From an Islamist point of view, Mirzabeyoğlu's magazine analyzes the situation of Muslims everywhere, from Cyprus to Eritrea, from the Philippines to Lebanon. However, rather than just reporting the news and pointing out the oppression suffered by these Muslims like Adım, Gölge contributes more to the Islamist discourse on foreign affairs by elaborating more on such issues and dealing with them from a wider perspective:

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[35] "Ortak Pazara giriliyor", in *Nizam'a Doğru*, n.1, 1 (November 1970).
[36] "Ortak Pazar", in *Milli Görüş*, n.1, 1 (September 1973).
[37] The following chapters will analyze the electoral manifestoes of the National Outlook, as well as Erbakan's and other NOM politicians' declarations, on Pan-Islamist views and foreign policy.

"The tail of imperialism is shivering everywhere. The desires and unbreakable wills of the oppressed nations are pushing towards liberation wars against the hegemony of exploitation. And this is making imperialism shake its tail more and more frequently every day. Before waging a total war against imperialists, the oppressed peoples in Asia and Africa are forced to fight against the local associates of imperialism in their own countries. The intense guerrilla conflicts of our era are a result of this. […] The situation in Cyprus is comparable to the situation of the Philippines. In both places, two completely opposite belief communities – which have opposite religions despite their common linguistic and ethnic roots – have been forced to live together under the same roof. Only the Philippine Muslims understood that this was part of the strategy to erase Islam from the world. So, they started an armed fight against the crusade cruelties of imperialism. […] Western imperialism sees its interests in making two linguistically, religiously and ethnically different communities live under the same roof of a single independent state. This is the status that the West wants to create in Cyprus at any cost."[38]

In this article one can see that even if the style is more composed than the aggressive rhetoric often appearing on Adım, the thoughts of the author in relation to foreign matters are not vague suggestions of Pan-Islamist projects fostered by a general hate towards non-Muslim forces accused of oppressing Muslim people and Islamic principles. A typical Gölge article by Mirzabeyoğlu or his associates aims at giving ideas for practical actions, sometimes violent actions like in the case above, which show the pragmatically militant and radical attitude of the group behind this periodical. This attitude also originates from the

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[38] "Kıbrıs Müslümanları ve gerilla stratejisi", in *Gölge*, n.1, 28-29 (December 1975).

neo-Pan-Islamist conception that the Islamic separation between *Dar al-Islam* and *Dar al-Harb* is to be applied to the Cold War context, in which an "Islamic Union" should emerge as an independent bloc to fulfill this Islamic vision of the world. The difference between Mirzabeyoğlu and other Turkish Islamists like Dilipak – and those that were closer to the NOM's élite – is that the former seemed to consider the ideal of an Islamic Union more as a basis for even violent action, and less as a utopian vision to be kept alive to increase cooperation among Muslims. The idea that Turkish Cypriots should take example from, and possibly establish contacts with the Philippine Islamist fighters is a dangerous result of such an understanding of neo-Pan-Islamism in the 1970s and '80s. It originates from the Islamist slogan that non-Muslims are one single front against which the only alternative is the creation of a transnational Muslim bloc. In Mirzabeyoğlu's case, the idea that creating this bloc from below implies all Islamist militants should engage in an armed fight shows the most violent face of neo-Pan-Islamism. Gölge represents an example of this extremism in the Turkish context, but since this research intends to focus on Pan-Islamism among Turkish Islamist writers and politicians, no further attention will be given to its connection with violent and terrorist activities. Mirzabeyoğlu's contribution to Turkish Pan-Islamism is relevant as it seeks practical applications without connections to political parties, but for the same reason it is particularly dangerous as his "pragmatism" paved the way to Islamist violence and terrorism.

The 1979 Iranian Revolution was a critical moment for Islamism in Turkey and elsewhere. The creation of the Islamic Republic in Iran was welcomed with great favor and support by many Turkish Islamists,

especially youth movements.[39] However, this pro-Iranian position led to some frictions between those groups of young activists (the MSP-affiliated Raiders *in primis*) and Erbakan's MSP. The critical point was the party officials' understanding of the Iranian Revolution as a Shiite revolution. The fact that the party's youth and the youth movements in general were not making such a distinction between the Shiite affiliation of the Iranian Revolution and the Sunni nature of Turkish Islamism was worrying for the NOM's leadership.[40] However, the sources exposed in the following paragraphs reveal that this initial cautiousness of the party, making it less enthusiast than its youth branches, did not prevent the National Outlook's leadership to later overlook sectarian divides and voice its support for the Iranian Revolution through Islamist magazines, especially in 1980, when the Islamic Republic was already a stable outcome of the revolution. The revolutionary process in Iran certainly created "sympathy and even enthusiasm among Sunni radicals" in the Muslim world, as it "served, at least temporarily, as an example and source of inspiration",[41] but later managed to seduce also less radical Islamists like those involved in party politics. This "ecumenical" admiration for the Iranians, including the debate generated especially by its Shiite nature, was certainly affecting the general Islamist discourse in Turkey. Turkish Islamist magazines published during the Iranian Revolution can be an important source to understand that debate and the reaction of Turkey's Islamism to the creation of the Iranian Islamic Republic in 1979. For this reason, three important foreign affairs-focused Islamist magazines

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[39] Bayraktar Akkaya, *The National Outlook and its Youth in the 1970s in Turkey*, 74.
[40] Ibid., 78.
[41] Sivan, "Sunni Radicalism in the Middle East and the Iranian Revolution", 26.

of the period in question are to be considered: the already mentioned *Sebil*, *Tevhid* (Oneness) and *Hicret* (Hejira, Emigration).

Tevhid emerges as the most evidently Iran-focused among these three magazines. The first issue of Tevhid, in December 1978, is indeed dedicated to the situation in Iran, with a central article titled "We pray for victory in Iran".[42] The article is a report of a discussion on the Iranian situation among the three top contributors to Tevhid, the Islamist journalists Selahaddin Eş Çakırgil, Hüsnü Aktaş and Ali Bulaç. The article is an early example of Turkish Islamists' support for a pro-Islamic outcome of the ongoing revolutionary process in Iran. "I think that the revolt carried out by Muslims in Iran might be the most important event of this year or even the most important of this century", says Aktaş in the article, "God willing, the sultanate of blasphemy will be destroyed and Muslims of the entire world will be taking a very important step".[43] In another article appeared on Tevhid, Ali Bulaç, which I have already mentioned as one of the most important Turkish Islamists of the 20th century, expresses his position on the Iranian situation and his support for Iranian Islamists. Bulaç makes clear that someone in Turkey is interested in keeping Turkish Islamists away from any contact with Iranian Islamists, and that highlighting the Sunni-Shia divide as the supposed proof of the incompatibility between the two groups is just instrumental to these anti-Islamist interests. Bulaç singles out three points to express his position on the Islamist movement leading the revolution in Iran: a) the "imperialist powers" and secularists in Turkey are bound by their common interest in keeping the Muslim world divided, a goal to which emphasizing the Sunni-Shia split is instrumental; b) Turkish Muslims must understand

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[42] "İran'da zafere duacıyız", in *Tevhid*, n.1, 3-4 (December 1978).
[43] Ibid., 3.

the oneness of Islam and overcome sectarianism as Iranians "expect the support of all Muslim people"; c) the declarations of Iranian Islamists reveal the oneness of Islam, a rediscovered vision of unity.[44] The same support to Iranian Islamists and to the Iranian revolution is then shown by Tevhid with articles appeared in the following months, calls for univocal support for the Islamic Republic[45] and embracing the thoughts of Khomeini.[46] In every weekly issue of the short-lived Tevhid magazine, which was published between the end of 1978 and the half of 1979, there was at least an article on Iran and the radical changes happening there. One can say that Tevhid briefly and specifically functioned for some of the most known Islamist intellectuals of the time as a space to express their thoughts on the events in Iran and signal Turkey's Islamism support for Khomeini and his followers.

A similar position on the Iranian revolution was held by the more enduring publication Sebil, which I already introduced as one of the clearest examples of Pan-Islamist magazine in 1970s Turkey. In the turbulent months preceding the March referendum in Iran and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, Sebil celebrated positively the escape of the Shah[47] and hoped for a lasting success of Iranian Islamists. The magazine's position on Iran is exemplified by an article appeared a couple of weeks after Khomeini's return to his country. Sebil's editorial board, said the article, embraced a cautious though "optimist" view on the Iranian question, i.e. the view of those non-Iranian Islamists who observed the "Islamic nature" of the revolts,

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[44] Bulaç, "İran hadiseleri ve Türk Müslümanları", in *Tevhid*, n.2, 7-8 (January 1979).
[45] Bulaç, Aktaş, "İran'da Acem, Kürt, Türk yok, İslam ümmeti var", in *Tevhid*, n.8, 12 (February 1979).
[46] "Birlik olun ki, Anayasamızın kaynağı Kur'an olsun", in *Tevhid*, n.13, 3 (March 1979).
[47] "Şah mat oldu", in *Sebil*, n.160, 2-3, (January 1979).

but were worried by the possibilities of Soviet interferences.[48] Besides, the article implied that the establishment of an Islamic Republic in Iran, later to be celebrated by Sebil after the March referendum,[49] was to be considered a step towards the creation of a strong Pan-Islamic Union:

> "When politics is carefully followed in the Middle East, it is evident that Muslims are going to constitute a great power. On one hand, there is Russia, fearing the US-supported revolts meant to break the Soviet domination, on the other hand, the United States, losing their old hegemony in the Middle East. It is possible for the Muslims, who wriggle between these two, to form one power to bring all superpowers to their knees. If Muslims reach victory, a union to be established among Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, with the even reluctant contribution of Iraq and Syria, can cause great changes in the balance of powers in the Middle East in a near future."[50]

To conclude this exploration of the views of Turkish Islamist magazines on the Iranian revolution, it is important to single out at least two articles appeared on Tevhid and Hicret. These two articles are important because they indicate the connection between the milieu of Islamist editorial boards and the political movement founded by Necmettin Erbakan. Moreover, they both show the favorable position of Turkey's main Islamist party on the issue of an Islamic revolution occurring in Iran. The first article is an interview to Necmettin Erbakan himself, published on Tevhid in December 1978, where the Islamist leader assessed the situation in Iran. In this interview, Erbakan shows his solidarity towards those Iranians advocating the establishment of a political system based on religion. He criticizes the Shah for not giving

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[48] "Orta Doğu'da zulmün temelleri çatırdıyor", in *Sebil*, n.164, 8, (February 1979).
[49] "İran İslam'ı benimsiyor", in *Sebil*, n.170, (April 1979).
[50] "Orta Doğu'da zulmün temelleri çatırdıyor", in *Sebil*, n.164, 9, (February 1979).

Iranian people what they long for: the possibility of "living according to their beliefs".[51] For Erbakan, the Shah does not respect his own people's will and prefers to act in harmony with foreign powers demanding obedience to Iran. The Shah's assertion that the creation of a Sharia-based system in Iran would damage neighboring countries, and lead to conflicts with them, is highly criticized by Erbakan, as the latter affirms that such a change in Tehran would in no way affect Ankara. In fact, says Erbakan, the fulfillment of the Iranian people's will would bring nothing but peace and stability in the country: an outcome that could only please neighboring countries like Turkey.[52] This interview was still a cautious evaluation of the events in Iran, as there was still no certainty about the possible results of the ongoing turmoil occurring in the country. However, the article appeared on Hicret in 1980 represents the more definite and comprehensive view of the NOM on Iran after the establishment of the Islamic Republic.

Hicret, which was published as a monthly between 1979 and 1980, was owned and directed in collaboration with Dilipak by Hasan Aksay, one of the National Salvation Party's main figures and member of the parliament from Adana. In the issue of June 1980, Aksay himself authored an article on the Iranian Revolution. Here he firstly reported his leader Erbakan's position on the Iranian Revolution as "a return to Islam" making the foreign powers desire to destroy Iran.[53] After that, Aksay singled out the three main points that constituted a significant National Outlook analysis concerning the Iranian Revolution. First, the Iranian Islamic Revolution was going to be durable because it "was not a reaction", said Aksay, meaning that it was not the mere result of the

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[51] "Erbakan: 'İran halkının isteğini saygıyla karşılamak gerekir' dedi", in *Tevhid*, n.1, 12 (December 1978).
[52] Ibid., 13.
[53] Aksay, "İran İslam Devrimi", in *Hicret*, n.3, 4 (June 1980).

opposition to one of the two dominating ideologies, i.e. it was not the substitution of capitalism with communism, of "an exploiting tyrannical élite with another".[54] This revolution was in fact, for Aksay, "a movement to make Islam dominant" in Iran.[55] Secondly, the Islamic Revolution had, in Aksay's opinion, an "exportable nature", and it had created a series of important positive and negative reactions across the world. This is related, observed Aksay, to the fact that the Iranian Revolution was the example of an "action depending on Islam"[56] and therefore an action that could not be limited to one country. Third, Aksay concluded by saying that it was the first time an anti-American action was not invalidated by the "sickness of communism".[57] This analysis made by a National Outlook high-level official can be interpreted as a reference to the intentions of Turkey's main Islamist group, and as a way to explain the trans-sectarian common denominator of Islamism in Turkey and Iran beyond the Sunni-Shia divide. Aksay here intended to reaffirm the ideological and political "purity" of Islamism, i.e. its distance from every other affiliation and especially "non-Islamic" ideologies. The implicit suggestion of Aksay – reflecting Erbakan's and National Salvation Party's line – was to consider Turkish and Iranian Islamists as part of a single transnational and Pan-Islamic movement, whose success in Iran had to be seen as a success of the entire umma and a step towards other successes in other parts of the Muslim world. The Pan-Islamist position of the strongly NOM-linked Hicret was evident from the beginning. The cover article on Hicret's first issue in 1979 is indeed titled "The Islamic Union must be founded: Islamic United Nations, Islamic common market and

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[54] Ibid., 5.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

currency, common defense organization of Islamic countries, organization for the cultural cooperation of Islamic countries".[58]

The publication of Islamist magazines in Turkey suffered the consequences of the 1980 military coup and could only be revived after the end of the military government and the return to democratic life at the end of 1983. It is starting from 1985 that relevant Islamist magazines reemerge in Turkey, in the period characterized domestically by a politics dominated by PM Turgut Özal and his center-right Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*, ANAP), and internationally by the final phase of the Cold War and a Muslim world troubled by the ongoing Lebanese Civil War and Soviet-Afghan War, the First Intifada and the Iran-Iraq War. In this context, two important Islamist magazines in Turkey were the already mentioned *İslam*, published by Esad Coşan's Naqshbandi İskenderpaşa community, and *Dış Politika*, the foreign policy-focus review directed by Abdurrahman Dilipak. The present chapter is going to widen the analysis of 1980s Turkish Islamist magazines to include another important periodical of those years, namely *Girişim* (The Initiative). While Girişim is considered a radical Islamist publication, this does not imply that it was a minor publication or that its contributors were necessarily close to violent circles like the one revolving around Mirzabeyoğlu. In other words, "Girişim's radicalism does not reach revolutionism, as it prefers ideological struggle, propaganda of Islamist thought, to political struggle".[59] The magazine was directed by Mehmet Metiner, an Islamist journalist and activist, member of the NOM as well as of its renewed 1980s party emanation: the Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*, RP). Among Girişim's contributors there were also important Islamist

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[58] "İslam birliği kurulmalıdır", in *Hicret*, n.1, cover (September 1979).
[59] Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan*, 154.

authors like Ali Bulaç and Abdurrahman Dilipak. Girişim paid much attention to international affairs and held a Pan-Islamic stance when addressing world politics topics. In this sense, without being specifically focused on foreign policy, one can say that Girişim was the heir of the Pan-Islamist Turkish magazines of the previous decades. According to Çakır, a key ideal of Metiner and other writers at Girişim was the goal of unity among Islamist movements on a world scale, and the most important ideologues for Metiner were both Turkish (Kısakürek, Karakoç) and foreign Islamists (Qutb, Maududi, Khomeini, Ghannouchi).[60]

In five years (1985-1990), Girişim dedicated many articles to two international topics that emerge as the most discussed by Turkish Islamists in those years: the Iran-Iraq War and the anti-Soviet fight in Afghanistan. As regards the former, Girişim followed a pro-Iranian line, also questioning the notion of the Iran-Iraq War as a "war among brothers": the people of Iraq, says an article published on Girişim in 1985, are certainly Muslim, but they have been dragged by Saddam into a war they do not want against a truly Islamic government.[61] For the Turkish Islamist magazine, Iraq was waging a war against Islam itself, and both the US and Russia were supporters of Saddam Hussein. Following the cruel chemical attack on Kurdish civilians in Halabja in 1988, Ali Bulaç and others published on Girişim condemning articles in which the Iraqi dictator was described as "more merciless than Stalin and Hitler" and the massacres were called "a second Hiroshima".[62]

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[60] Ibid., 151-153.
[61] "İran-İrak Savaşı ve düşündürdükleri", in *Girişim*, n.1, 10 (October 1985).
[62] Aydın, Dilipak, Bulaç, "Hiroshima 88'in öyküsü", in *Girişim*, n.32, 14 (May 1988).

The pro-Iranian position of Girişim was clearly expressed in January 1986 in an article by Metin Aydın. This article represented a reply to the "mistakes in good faith" that, in Aydın's opinion, were made by the important Islamist author İsmet Özel in assessing the Iranian Revolution. More specifically, Özel had stated his concerns about the emergence of a "Khomeini cult" in Iran, which he had called the "Moscow for Muslims". Girişim's journalist defended the Islamic nature of the Iranian Revolution and denied the existence of such a Maoist-like cult of personality: Iranians, he wrote, were holding pictures of Khomeini because of their gratitude and respect, and there was nothing un-Islamic in that.[63] However, despite the unquestionable support for the Islamic Republic, particularly in its conflict against Iraq, and in parallel with the unequivocal condemnations of the Iraqi regime, Girişim reveals a slight departure from the initial pro-Iranian enthusiasm showed by most Turkish Islamists in the immediate post-revolution phase. This is visible in an article by Mehmet Metiner published in a 1989 issue, in which Girişim's director tries to set the basis for a renewed debate on the Iranian Revolution ten years after the foundation of the Islamic Republic. What is interesting here is that Metiner, whose general admiration towards the Iranian regime is evident, invites his readers to avoid both the anti-Iranian propaganda and, at the same time, an "excessive affection" that would make Turkish Islamists look "more Iranist than Iran".[64]

A consistent support for the anti-Soviet mujahidin in Afghanistan is visible in Girişim's articles and it is an indication of a general admiration for the Afghan Islamist fighters and political groups among

[63] Aydın, "İran Müslümanların 'Moskova'sı mıdır?", in *Girişim*, n.4, 13 (January 1986).
[64] Metiner, "İran İslam Devrimini doğru değerlendirmek sorunu", in *Girişim*, n.42, 34 (March 1989)

Turkish Islamists. A long report on a press conference held by the Afghan Islamist leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in Istanbul appears on one of Girişim's first issues in 1985. The report is authored by one of the most relevant contributors to the magazine, Hüseyin Okçu, and tells the readers that Abdurrahman Dilipak was also present at the conference, organized by the newspaper *Milli Gazete* (National Daily), the main press organ of Erbakan's National Outlook Movement.[65] On this issue, the Afghan jihadist's words on his plans to lead the creation of an Islamic state in his country are highlighted,[66] and followed by an article exalting the universalist ideals of Islamist militants fighting in Afghanistan:

> "The war of the Islamic mujahidin of Afghanistan will not end with the expulsion of the occupying Soviet forces from Afghan lands. The Afghan mujahidin are fighting at the same time to establish an Islamic order in the country. A "War of Independence" is waged in a definite territory, and it ends when the final goal is achieved. But "Jihad" is universal. It is an infinite fight that will not end as long as the universe keeps turning, the fight of faith against infidelity, truth against falsehood, oneness (of God) against polytheism."[67]

Once again, a Pan-Islamist idealism is revealed by these words. The universal nature of Islam is transferred to the Islamist ideology that, at least in its theorization, could not accept having a regional nature or being characterized by specific geographical or historical circumstances. This presumption of universality is then an unavoidable symptom of the Islamist ideological galaxy's presumption of

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[65] Okçu, "Afganistan Hizb-i İslâmî lideri Gülbeddin Hikmetyâr'ın basın toplantısı", in *Girişim* n.3, 3 (December 1985).

[66] Ibid., 4.

[67] Yavuz, "İslami bağımsızlık için bir direniş cephesi: Afganistan", in *Girişim* n.3, 10-11 (December 1985).

representing the political equivalent of religious truths considered universal and eternal. As other "fronts" of Islamism elsewhere, the war of the mujahidin against Soviet occupation in Afghanistan was presented by Islamists in Turkey as a part of the war that all Muslims should have fought against anything that threatened Islam. It was narrated as the struggle for the "independence of Islam" from alien oppressors not only in Russian-occupied lands, but everywhere. This narration of the Soviet-Afghan War is one of the most evident Pan-Islamist narrations in the 1980s, and the words of Turkish Islamists on relevant publications like Girişim are a clear example of that.

Unsurprisingly, the Palestinian issue emerges as another important topic among those discussed on Girişim, especially after the First Intifada at the end of 1987. As usual, the support for the Intifada was accompanied by strong animosity towards Zionism. This anti-Zionism, as we have seen in previous chapters and in the writings of Turkish Islamists, was frequently overlapping with mere anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism. In other words, in Turkey's Islamist discourse investigated so far, criticism to Israel or its government was never clearly separated from negative considerations on Jews in general and on the "evil nature" of Judaism. Islamists authors were intendedly using the words Zionist (*Siyonist*) and Jew (*Yahudi*) as if they were absolute synonyms. Girişim was not different in this sense, and hostility towards Israel overlapped with hostility against Jewish people and Jewish religion, which was considered the "racist" ideological basis for the oppression of Muslims and for Jewish plots to take control of the world starting from the Middle East.[68] This anti-Zionist/anti-Semitic conspiracy theories were very popular among Turkish Islamist

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[68] Yavuz, "Siyonizmin Ortadoğu'daki yayılma planı", in *Girişim* n.8, 38 (May 1986).

and they were shared also by the leadership of the National Outlook Movement, as we will see in the next chapters. An example of this kind of rhetoric, identifying imperialism/Zionism with Jewishness and reiterating delusional claims on Jewish conspiracies, can be found in an article by Girişim's contributor Serap Yavuz:

> "Religious Zionism, based on the myth of the chosen race and the promised land, is the plan of Jews to achieve world hegemony. Their holy books indoctrinate Jews with this idea: everywhere they live, Jews must adapt to the color of local politics, get respect by increasing their financial strength in every illegal way, organize their secret Jewish organizations and reinforce their minority with material support. Jews managed to avoid assimilation to other people, as they always hid their true nature in every country where they lived in minority or exile, but never renounced their religious goals."[69]

The author tries to convince the reader that Judaism as a religion incites domination and supremacy of the Jews on other peoples. Echoes of this opinion are consequently present in Girişim's reports on the Palestinian Intifada. In article of February 1988, Okçu tries to highlight the Islamic features of the ongoing Intifada, although he recognizes the mostly secular nature of Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). More specifically, the article underlines the importance of the anti-Israeli revolts in Gaza and in the West Bank as part of the "historic mission of Islam against the so-called religion of Judaism".[70] Later that year, in December 1988, Okçu violently criticized Arafat for his will to recognize the State of Israel through the

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[69] Yavuz, "Dini Siyonizm", in *Girişim* n.45, 38 (June 1989).
[70] Okçu, "Gazze'den gelen ses", in *Girişim* n.29, 7 (February 1988).

PLO's acceptance of the UN's Security Council Resolution 242. Okçu's attack reached worryingly harsh tones as he wrote:

> "[As it happened with Egypt], now there is a risk that Palestine too is going to waste its greatness and honor. Accepting Israel, agreeing with Israel means to betray the Islamic *umma*. Anwar Sadat paid for his treason with his life. It is still unknown how the PLO or Arafat are going to pay."[71]

It is this kind of statements, possibly more than the magazine's position on the Iranian Revolution, that let us describe Girişim as a radical publication. The strong anti-Zionism that characterizes Turkish political Islam is once again emerging in the 1980s in the articles of Girişim. Once again, this anti-Zionism, like anti-Westernism, is based on a civilizational-religious interpretation of international affairs. This ideological interpretation developed by Islamists considers Zionism, as well as Western imperialism, the automatic consequence of the tenets of Jewish and Christian "untrue", "materialistic" or "racist" religions. For Islamists, Western power in the world and Zionism in the Middle East are just other aspects of the non-Islamic civilizations built upon false religions. In the same way, communism is always part of the same non-Islamic/anti-Islamic world that originates from Judeo-Christian intrinsic materialism and threatens Islam with its projects of hegemony and expansion. Once again, the famous Islamist slogan summarizes all this: "all infidels are one nation". This slogan also represents the quintessence of any Islamist view on foreign affairs, and the starting point for any Islamist evaluation on foreign policy.

In the wake of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Metin Aydın wrote on Girişim that a new world was about to emerge, and that the

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[71] Okçu, "Zafer mi hezimet mi", in *Girişim* n.39, 7 (December 1988).

European Community was going to grow as a greater power in the international arena.[72] In the same issue of Girişim (December 1989), another article expressed Islamist views on the consequences of the end of the Cold War for the umma. This article saw the defeat of the communist bloc as an opportunity to encourage Pan-Islamist ambitions in the Muslim world:

> "The only remedy is the establishment of an Islamic Dominion, which is bound to include all Muslim countries. This state will be big, rich and powerful. It will replace America, Russia and Europe. It will be one big state as it used to be in the past, and after that it will save all the peoples in the world, both those in the Western and those in the Eastern bloc, from America and Russia. Because the Islamic state is not a colonialist state. Politics of the Islamic state is not based on material interests. The Islamic state brings dignity and light to people. Its politics is based on the Islamic doctrine. Its goal is to spread Islam and sharia to the world."[73]

In the simplest and most straightforward way, this passage reveals the most radical and utopian components of the die-hard neo-Pan-Islamist vision as elaborated during the Cold War. It also demonstrates how that neo-Pan-Islamist vision was still alive at the end of the Cold War and bound to survive it. Although it is not expressed here by an eminent author, this essential, crude neo-Pan-Islamism is embraced and published by one of the most important Islamist periodicals in 1980s Turkey. The end of the Cold War was seen by Girişim as the right moment to publish such an explicitly Pan-Islamist article, because the end of communism was not imagined by Islamists

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[72] Aydın, "Yeni bir dünya kuruluyor!", in *Girişim* n.51, 22-23 (December 1989).
[73] Habeş, "Doğu Bloku'ndaki değişikliler ve İslam ümmeti", in *Girişim* n.51, 27 (December 1989).

as the beginning of an unending capitalist era, but as a new opportunity to establish a great Islamic power in the international arena. The message that Turkish Islamists wanted to communicate at that point – and one can see this confirmed by the NOM's electoral campaigns in the early 1990s – was that the "new world" of the Post-Cold War era could also be a more Islamic world. Therefore, in such a circumstance, there was no need to abandon the neo-Pan-Islamist discourse that had started as "Islamist Third Worldism" during the Cold War. In other words, as communist regimes collapsed, Islamists declared it a victory for themselves and pushed their Pan-Islamist rhetoric forward towards their ideal of "new world" and Islamic "just order".

In March 1988, Girişim published an important testimony of the Turkish Islamist debate on the West and in particular Turkish foreign policy towards its European allies and the EEC. These were the minutes of a panel chaired by Hasan Aksay and formed by the other Welfare Party (RP) officials Bahri Zengin and Süleyman Arif Emre, but also by Abdurrahman Dilipak and Ali Bulaç within the framework of the "First Istanbul Culture and Art Festival". The name of the panel was "Advantages and disadvantages of Turkey's access to the European Community" and was meant to discuss cultural, political and economic aspects of a possible Turkish membership to the Common Market. Ali Bulaç, even though declaring himself against Turkey's EEC membership ("the right place for Turkey is the world of Islam, not Europe"),[74] recognized here the existence of other two stances within the Islamist camp. The first point of view was based on the belief that, under any circumstance, Turkey was never going to be accepted into the EEC. More importantly, the second position, recognized by Bulaç as spreading among his fellow Islamists in 1988, was a growing favor

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[74] "AT, Türkiye ve biz", in *Girişim* n.30, 61 (March 1988).

towards Turkey's EEC membership. For the first time, many Turkish Islamists were starting to be in favor of Turkey's access to the Common Market. The reason behind this was that more and more Turkish Islamists had begun to believe that "at least", as Turkey "would need to adapt legally to the European standards in term of human rights and freedoms, Muslims too would be able to catch their breath a little".[75] This is very important, because it is an early testimony of the existence of pro-membership position among Turkish Islamists during the RP era (1983-1997). This stance was still marginal in the 1988 Islamist discourse, and Bulaç exposed it only to discard it, but it was to become the official EU position of RP's successor in the NOM's line of political parties, namely the Virtue Party (*Fazilet Partisi*, FP). As it will be analyzed in the next chapter, the radical discourse change occurring with the passage from the RP to the FP, especially in terms of foreign policy, represented an end of the historical NOM support for neo-Pan-Islamism as described so far. The very small Felicity Party (*Saadet Partisi*, SP), who can be considered the last "pure" heir of Erbakan's National Outlook, is today against Turkey's EU membership and seems to have come back to the Erabakanian Pan-Islamist slogans of the RP era.[76] However, the neo-Pan-Islamism preserved today by the SP through its declarations and conferences cannot reach an audience as vast as it could in the RP era. The closure of the RP and the FP turn of 1998, together with the irrelevance of today's National Outlook, irremediably deprived the neo-Pan-Islamist discourse of its previous importance in Turkey.

In the 1990s, two weekly publications played Girişim's role as the most relevant Islamist magazines in Turkey: *Yörünge* (The Orbit)

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[75] Ibid.

[76] SP program, on SP website, http://www.saadet.org.tr/program.pdf

and *Cuma* (Friday). The former, published for the first time in 1990, was owned by the Islamist journalist Resul Tosun and had among its main contributors Hasan Hüseyin Ceylan, who was bound to be elected as member of the parliament for the RP in 1996. Cuma's connection to Erbakan's political party is even more evident, as Hasan Aksay, one of the oldest NOM representatives and RP official, was in the original editorial board together with Abdurrahman Dilipak. The Islamist discourse of those years especially focused on issues related with the Muslim world, and in particular the Gulf War, the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, the war in Bosnia and in Chechnya, the Nagorno-Karabakh War. The latter was an armed conflict between the newly independent republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan for the control of the disputed area of Nagorno-Karabakh, and lasted from 1991 to 1994. Islamists were not the only ones supporting Azerbaijan in Turkey, as that support was also nourished by nationalistic views on Azerbaijan's actual ethno-linguistic links with Turkey.

Yörünge's affiliation to the National Outlook and to its party the RP can be also demonstrated by the several articles and interviews reporting the views of Necmettin Erbakan. During Erbakan's term as Prime Minister in 1996-1997, Yörünge continued to work as a mouthpiece of the RP and its leadership. This is particularly interesting for this research, as Erbakan's views on foreign policy and foreign affairs – something that will be discussed in depth in another chapter – appeared on Yörünge since the very beginning of this publication in 1990. In the first issue ("sample issue") of Yörünge, Erbakan suggested a mediating role for Turkey in the Gulf crisis and reiterates the NOM's (neo-)Pan-Islamist goals of an Islamic Defense Pact, a Common Market of Muslim Countries, an Islamic Common Currency, an Islamic

Cultural Union and an Islamic United Nations[77] – as usually, ignoring the already existing Pan-Islamic organizations and congresses like those attended by Salih Özcan. Although there is no intention to support Saddam Hussein when discussing the Gulf War – and it would have been difficult in the light of the pro-Iranian stance held by most Turkish Islamists during the Iran-Iraq War –, the two most important Islamist weeklies in Turkey did not hesitate to attack the US for its use of "double standard"[78] and for its being as "criminal"[79] as Saddam's regime. More specifically, the references made on Yörünge and Cuma are respectively the absence of Western indignation for the actions of Israel towards Palestinians,[80] and the "many crimes against humanity"[81] of which Cuma accuses the United States. Once noted these usual Islamist examples of harsh anti-Westernism, one can conclude that the animosity towards the West, and the US in particular, did not make Turkish Islamists forget their deep hostility towards Saddam Hussein, whose fight against the Islamic Republic was still fresh a memory in 1991. However, Erbakan's attitude towards the matter, and his suggestion of Turkey as a negotiator in the Middle East, can reveal the RP leadership's ideas regarding Turkey's leading and mediating role in the Muslim world.

As regards the Oslo Accord of September 1993, articles on Yörünge and Cuma exemplify how Islamist press in Turkey reacted to the Accord by harshly criticizing Arafat and the PLO for another

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[77] Dinler, "Erbakan krizde arabulucu", in *Yörünge*, örnek sayı (November 1990).
[78] Ceylan, "Körfez savaşında taraf olmanın mantığı", in *Yörünge* n.12, 34 (January 1991).
[79] "Bush da Saddam da insanlık suçu işleyen iki sabıkalıdır", in *Cuma* n.37, 2 (March 1991).
[80] Ceylan, "Körfez savaşında taraf olmanın mantığı", in *Yörünge* n.12, 34 (January 1991).
[81] "Bush da Saddam da insanlık suçu işleyen iki sabıkalıdır", in *Cuma* n.37, 2 (March 1991).

official recognition of the State of Israel and, even more, for the signing of an agreement with a country that, in their opinion, was an illegitimate occupying force. Yörünge, like Girişim before it, was not hesitating to perpetuate the old idea of Turkish Islamists that Zionism was part of the Judaic religion, which was commanding Jews to occupy lands in the Middle East and eradicate Islam through violence.[82] Therefore, in 1993, Yörünge unsurprisingly called the PLO's attempt to establish "a peace with the Jews" a treason.[83] The same was done by Cuma as an article appeared in September 1993 called the Oslo Accord "Arafat's treason".[84] The most important consequence of this turning point was the fact that since then the PLO was once for all rejected and considered illegitimate by Turkish Islamists. In another article published on Cuma, Dilipak confirmed the irreversibility of Turkish Islamism's repudiation of the PLO and endorsed Hamas as the sole legitimate representative of Muslims in Palestine.[85] The Islamist movement Hamas, said Dilipak, had the duty to replace the PLO and be the real defender of Palestinians. According to Dilipak, Hamas represented a "rebirth of the Islamic movement" in Palestine in the wake of the "suicide of Arab nationalism and Arab socialism".[86] This position corresponded to the endorsement of Turkey's National Outlook parties towards Hamas. Necmettin Erbakan's favorite interlocutors in Palestine were always Hamas and other Islamist groups, rather than the PLO. Erbakan himself used to describe Hamas as real patriotic movement fighting for the independence of Palestine

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[82] "İşte İsrail'in hayali işgal haritası", in *Yörünge* n.9, 17 (December 1990).
[83] Gülmez, "İhaneti adı barış", in *Yörünge* n.144, 17 (September 1993).
[84] Şimşek, "İntifada'ya Arafat ihaneti", in *Cuma* n.162, 2 (September 1993).
[85] Dilipak, "FKÖ öldü, yaşasın Hamas!", in *Cuma* n.162, 19 (September 1993).
[86] Ibid.

and, at the same time, always criticized Arafat's PLO for being willing to negotiate with Israel.[87]

As the idea of Zionism was linked by Islamists to their idea of Judaism itself, also international conflicts were interpreted by Turkish Islamism in terms of clashes between Islam and the camp of what they considered "infidelity" (*küfür*), encompassing all the other religions and their civilizations. This can always be considered a reflection, and an attempted actualization by Islamists, of the Islamic distinction between *Dar al-Islam* and *Dar al-Harb*. As it was already in the cases of Karakoç or Kısakürek in the previous decades, such a dualistic interpretation of international affairs was developed also by the third generation of Islamists in the 1980s and 1990s. To give some examples, one can see its application in articles appeared on Cuma and Yörünge regarding the wars in Bosnia and Azerbaijan, or in the case of the ongoing Cyprus dispute. In 1992, both Cuma[88] and Yörünge[89] called the Armenian army a "crusade" army and, within the context of such an "Islam vs Christianity" narrative, they denounced the apparent lack of action from Turkey and the Muslim world on the Azerbaijani side. In a commentary appeared on Cuma, Oğuzhan Asıltürk, one of the most important RP officials, also condemned the Turkish government's attitude towards the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Asıltürk also accused Ankara of sending weapons to the Armenians and supporting a US-led Western plan to prevent a Pan-Islamist "integration of newly independent Muslim countries under a Turkish leadership".[90] To that end, Asıltürk openly refers to the need for Turkey to adopt a "foreign

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[87] Bakır, "Necmettin Erbakan", in *Türk Dış Politikasında Liderler. Süreklilik Ve Değişim, Söylem Ve Eylem*. Ed. Ali Faik, 365-366.
[88] "Haçlı-Hilal savaşında yerin neresi Türkiye?", in *Cuma* n.88, 2 (March 1992).
[89] Ceylan, Akbaş, Gökçe, "Azeriler kimsesiz...", in *Yörünge* n.68, 7 (March 1992).
[90] Asıltürk, "Çözüm: Şahsiyetli dış politika", in *Yörünge* n.68, 11 (March 1992).

policy with personality",[91] a recurrent slogan of the NOM's political parties.

In the case of Cyprus, the recurring Islamist description of the Cyprus dispute as the clearest example of incompatibility between Muslims and Christians was preserved by Islamists during the RP era. In the 1980s and 1990s, this idea of Muslim-Christian incompatibility became the premise for the RP's discourse in favor of the annexation to Turkey of the island's Turkish side. As various articles on Turkish Islamist magazines prove, this pro-annexation idea emerged as a solid tenet of Islamists in Turkey, especially ten years after the declaration of independence of the self-declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) – recognized only by Ankara – in 1983. In a 1993 Cuma issue, an article intendedly simplified the Cyprus dispute or denied the existence of a "Cyprus problem", as the reality of "two independent states in Cyprus" was already a perfectly acceptable and stable situation for the author. In the light of the impossibility to reach an agreement with the Greek side, the annexation to Turkey would then be the natural final step of the process, and the only possible solution bound to solve Northern Cyprus's internal and external concerns.[92] To reinforce the same Islamist argumentation, an article published on Yörünge in 1994 reported the TRNC president Rauf Denktaş's support for the TRNC's becoming part of Turkey as an autonomous region.[93]

In those years, the Bosnian War was however the international matter to which Turkish Islamists applied the "Islam vs crusades" interpretation the most. Articles on both Yörünge and Cuma show how Islamists viewed the events in Bosnia. An article published on Yörünge

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[91] Ibid., 10-11.
[92] Kanber "Kıbrıs'ta S.O.S. sinyalleri", in *Cuma* n.166, 31 (October 1993).
[93] "Kıbrıs Türkiye'ye iltihak etmeli", in *Yörünge* n.180, 14 (June 1994).

in 1992 describes the ongoing Bosnian War as a conflict of Europeans against Muslims, and says that the real intention of the West is to prevent the creation of a (Bosnian or Albanian) Muslim state in Europe. This entire interpretation is declaredly based on the "all infidels are one nation" principle.[94] Turkey, Islamist publications denounced, was not doing anything to save Bosnian as it should.[95] In the Turkish Islamist magazines of those years, one finds the idea that post-Cold War NATO was considering Islam as its main enemy, and that Bosnia, afflicted by "Serbian barbarity and crusade mentality", was the example of such renewed Western enmity towards the Muslim world.[96] This Islamist interpretation of the international situation, and of NATO's position, was then once again a reason to reinvigorate the neo-Pan-Islamist ambitions honed since the 1950s and '60s: "Muslims must be united", says the author, and if any future agreement has to be signed between the Muslims and Christians, Turkey has to play a leading role.[97]

Already in 1991, as proved by a Yörünge article,[98] NATO was seen by Turkish Islamists as targeting the Muslim world. In the Islamist discourse, this interpretation is a sort of natural consequence of the Eastern Bloc's collapse. In other words, Islamists saw the end of the Cold War as the premise for the material unification of a US-led anti-Islamic world "nation of infidelity" against the Muslim world. The vision of an end of divisions in the non-Muslim World meant for Islamists the demonstration and the concrete realization of what they had been saying for decades: "all infidels are one nation". For these

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[94] Balcı, "Küfür tek milletdir!", in *Yörünge* n.101, 30 (November 1992).
[95] "Bosna-Hersek'ten imdat çığlıkları", in *Cuma* n. 148, 30 (June 1993).
[96] Kaçar, "Genel Sekreter Claess, azılı bir kâfir... İslam'a karşı NATO'yu kullanmayı düşlüyor", in Yörünge n.250, 42 (October 1995).
[97] Ibid., 43.
[98] Özfatura, "NATO üsleri bundan böyle İslam dünyasına karşı kullanılacaktır", in *Yörünge* n.19, 20 (March 1991).

reasons, the end of the Cold War was not to weaken the Cold War era-born neo-Pan-Islamism. In fact, the latter was in a way strengthened by the end of the Cold War. At least in Turkey, Islamists were exalting the Huntingtonian concept of "clash of civilization" as they had been anticipating it for decades in their religious interpretation of world affairs and in their vision of a Muslim Bloc vs an indistinct non-Muslim Bloc of "infidels". An article published on Cuma in 1992 is titled "The new enemy of NATO is the reviving Islamic conscience" and its author wondered what was the role a Muslim country like Turkey in such a "Christian organization using a cross as its emblem".[99] During the 1990s, the same Islamist idea of Turkey's being "in the wrong place" in the international arena continues in relation to the European Union. Turkey's Islamist journalists, as we understand from Islamist publications like Yörünge and Cuma, intended to convince their readers that the EU/EC was mainly a "religious, cultural and identity-based" union that is never going to accept Turkey.[100] The latter, says a 1993 article on Yörünge, should rather commit itself to the creation of alternatives like the "Islamic Common Market" (see next chapter) proposed by "the representative of National Outlook, the RP".[101] In this period, the main Islamist point when discussing the EU is the ongoing insistence of the Turkish government in pursuing a forced and "unnatural" "adventure of Europeanization".[102] The most recent step in this constantly failing process, said Islamist magazines at the end of 1994, had been the project of a EU-Turkey Customs Union. The Customs Union, which finally entered into force in 1996, was a key target of Islamist criticism in Turkey, as it represented concrete step

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[99] "NATO'nun yeni düşmanı dirilen İslami şuur", in *Cuma* n.117, 2 (October 1992).
[100] Temiztürk, "AT Türkiye'ye zırnık vermedi", in *Yörünge* n.151, 20-21 (November 1993).
[101] Ibid., 21.
[102] "Türkiye'nin Avrupalılaşma serüveni...", in *Cuma* n.228, 3 (December 1994).

towards integration with Christian Europe and it was simply considered an instrument of European hegemony. In a 1994 article on *Yörünge*, one of the most important RP officials Süleyman Arif Emre also called the Customs Union with Europe a "violation of sovereignty", as it was a "preparation for Turkey's accession to the European Union".[103] And, as we will see in the next chapters, the NOM/RP's ideas on such event were already clear: Turkey's entering the European club would have meant the "dissolution" of Turkey inside the EU. The NOM/RP's leader Necmettin Erbakan clearly affirmed this belief, not only in party programs and pamphlets (see next chapters), but also in interviews and articles on Islamist magazines, e.g. the one appeared in August 1996 on *Cuma*,[104] during Erbakan's term as Prime Minister.

The RP era ends with the party's official closure in January 1998, when the Constitutional Court banned it for violating the constitutional principle of the separation of religion and state, but it is reasonable to consider the RP already over in June 1997, when the Erbakan government fell months after the military pressures started with the Turkish Armed Forces' memorandum of February 28. Erbakan's term as Prime Minister represented the acme of the National Outlook's success, but also its end. Between the end of 1996 and the first half of 1997, one of the last initiatives led by Erbakan in his role as PM represented as well the culmination of the NOM/RP's attempt to implement an Islamist foreign policy based on neo-Pan-Islamism. This initiative was called the *Developing-8 Organization for Economic Cooperation* (D-8). Turkey's Islamist magazines celebrated the D-8 as the realization of a concrete first step toward the so much desired

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[103] Emre, "Gümrük Birliği egemenlik ihlalidir", in *Yörünge* n.206, 9 (December 1994).
[104] Erbakan, "Ortak Pazar Türkiye'yi Hristiyan Avrupa içinde eritme planıdır", in *Cuma* n.311, 6 (August 1996).

foundation of a Turkish-led international Islamic bloc, as imagined throughout the previous decades by more than one generation of Turkish Islamists.

The NOM, during the early 1990s and thanks to the long-standing personal contacts of its leader Erbakan, had already managed to establish an international Islamist platform called the "Union of Muslim Communities" (*Müslüman Topluluklar Birliği*, MTB), an annual non-governmental congress hosted in Turkey by the NOM's cultural organization, the Economic and Social Researches Center (*Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi*, ESAM). Many Islamist figures, politicians or writers, participated and are participating today to the still existing MTB congresses. Erbakan and the NOM/RP's leadership saw the D-8 as the intergovernmental continuation of the neo-Pan-Islamist efforts started with the non-governmental MTB. A short digression on the D-8 is necessary here to highlight the importance it had in the history of Turkish Islamism in the foreign policy sphere, as the most significant – though weak – realization of a concrete neo-Pan-Islamist project from a governmental standpoint.

This international organization, a brainchild of Necmettin Erbakan himself, was announced in October 1996 at a meeting with foreign state officials organized the Erbakan government in Istanbul and called "Cooperation in development".[105] After the first official meeting in June 1997, a final "Istanbul declaration" was issued, calling for improvements of member states' political and trade relations. The establishment of the D-8 has been favored by Erbakan's personally making contacts with foreign Muslim politician, as they were

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[105] D-8 Official Website: http://www.developing8.org/About.aspx/

consolidated throughout decades and emerged visibly during his official visits to Muslim countries after he became Prime Minister.[106]

The member states of the D-8 being Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan and Turkey, the organization has only one clear binding factor: religion. It was then harder for the D-8 to follow the paths of similar organizations possibly having geographic, political or economic connections and commonalities. It is mainly for this lack of consistency between these countries in terms of political regimes, economic systems and social structures that the D-8, though still existing today, has never managed to reach the importance and the influence hoped by Erbakan and his party. Moreover, after Erbakan's government ended in 1997, the following Turkish governments had not the same neo-Pan-Islamist foreign policy vision implying new world projects based on the enterprise of a revived and reunited umma. D-8 summits are still organized today, but, in spite of declarations and agreements, the theoretical integration among member states is still far. From the organizational point of view, the D-8 has a well-articulated structure. The principal organs are the Summit, the Council, and the Commission. The D-8 works are divided among ten main sectors within which tackling the goal of development and cooperation. These sectors are: trade; industry; telecommunications and information; finance, banking and privatization; rural development; science and technology; poverty alleviation and human resources development; agriculture; energy; environment; and health. Because of the division of labor for the

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[106] Bakır, "Necmettin Erbakan", 365-366.

coordination of D-8 activities, each sector is assigned to a member country.[107]

ESAM includes the D-8 as one of its main works besides the MTB, and explains the D-8's functions on its website. Besides this, the ESAM's website also gives us more information and details about the original ideal goals of the D-8. It is the ideological interpretation of the D-8 and its functions that allows to demonstrate the link between the D-8 project and the vision behind the MTB congress, which can be seen historically as its preparatory stage. ESAM describes the D-8 itself as the potential "seed" for a more comprehensive change in the international arena. As much as the MTB, the D-8 has the goal of fighting imperialism and oppression supported by wrong models that dominate the world without applying any of the implicitly religious moral values of truth (*hak*) and justice (*adalet*). Although D-8 means "Developing 8" and such name presupposes the common economic status of the member states, the most relevant common bond was religion[108] and therefore such values on which the D-8 was ideally founded. There were of course crucial material reasons for adhesion to the D-8, but they were different for each member.[109] Like the MTB, the D-8 depicts the Muslim world as victim of the oppression generated by Western imperialism and, as the only towards salvation, it proposes an alternative model based on the cultural (i.e. religious) values of its members. Moreover, the D-8 is conceived as an open organization, accepting accession of new members and aiming at extending its width to at least sixty members in a first phase (D-60) and finally reaching a much higher number of states successively changing name in D-160.

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[107] Ibid.
[108] Aral, "An inquiry into the D-8 experiment".
[109] Ibid.

Therefore, the D-8, though evidently starting as a pan-Islamic project, presents itself with a universal vision in the long term. Consistently with this universal approach, explicit reference to religion does not appear as the six principles are expounded: 1) Peace instead of war; 2) Dialogue instead of conflict; 3) Justice instead of double standard; 4) Equality instead of arrogance; 5) Cooperation instead of exploitation; 6) Human rights, freedom and democracy instead of oppression and tyranny.[110]

These tenets are the same we find in sources from 1997, like an article on the D-8 appearing on Yörünge that year.[111] The Islamist magazine calls the D-8 a "new hope" and celebrates one of its preparatory meetings along with the aforementioned principles, which are reiterated as the mottos of the organization. For Cuma, the D-8 was the "first step towards the Islamic Union" and a sort of Muslim alternative to the unjust Organization of the United Nations:

> "Although the creation of the D-8 is still a first phase, some groups considering this creation an illusion have begun with their attempts to ruin it. Some press organs joined these attempts and started to publish baseless news to cast a shadow over this meeting. […] These people still think that the UN can do something for Muslims. But the UN became a mechanism that does not bat an eye for Muslim people. […] However, we must always support alliances like this one, created to reestablish world peace, to make mothers stop crying, to prevent children from being orphans and girls from being raped. We want the always present oppression, torture and unending tears to stop,

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[110] ESAM website, D-8 section, http://www.esam.org.tr/d-8_k28.html
[111] Taşkın, "Yeni umut: D-8", in *Yörünge* n.312, 43 (January 1997).

and we do not believe that this will be done by the UN or the USA."[112]

Once again, as we notice in the Islamist discourse produced around the D-8, a neo-Pan-Islamist discourse is based on the identification and condemnation of an "enemy" or an "opposite", which always overlaps with the West and its emanations. This anti-Westernism is precisely the first of the three main elements of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism that we can extrapolate from the analysis on Turkey's Islamist authors and publications carried out so far. The second is certainly the repeated anti-communism as the fear of the Soviet Union, but especially the hatred and fear about the spread of the left in Turkey. A third element is the recurrent anti-Zionism, very often corresponding to overt anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism in the writings of Turkish Islamist authors. These three elements, as we will see in the next chapters, recur also in the writings of Islamist party officials when discussing foreign policy matters. Islamists often defined the groups towards which this enmity was directed as all part of the same "nation of infidels", in line with the dual worldview of Islamic civilization vs incompatible non-Islamic civilization, i.e. the modern description of the *Dar al-Islam* vs *Dar al-Harb* division. These three "*anti*s" concurred to form the ideological ground on which neo-Pan-Islamist ambitions, debates and initiatives have been built in Turkey throughout the multi-party era. These ambitions can be put under the comprehensive name of "Islamic union", a wide concept that for Islamists has included Pan-Islamic intergovernmental organizations of political, military, cultural or economic nature. What makes Turkish Islamist different from other Islamists in the Muslim world, as we have

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[112] Cerrahoğlu, "İslam birliğine doğru ilk adım D-8", in *Cuma* n.331, 14 (January 1997).

seen, is the intertwining between Islamism and Turkish nationalism, for instance when the envisioned Pan-Islamic organizations are imagined as necessarily led by Turks as they were heir to the Ottoman Empire. To conclude, the Islamist discourse on international and foreign policy matters in multi-party era Turkey was the expression of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism. The latter was formed by the three aforementioned enmities towards "others" combined with the ideal of a Turkey-led "Islamic union", which aimed at liberating the Muslim world from the oppression of all non-Muslim powers (Westerners, Soviets, Zionists) and their ideologies. The goal of the following chapters is to detect elements of Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism, as defined here, in the discourse directly produced by the NOM's political parties through their campaigns, programs, writings of their leader and parliamentary speeches.

Continuity and change in Turkey's Islamist discourse: a history of the NOM through its parties' electoral campaigns (1973-1999)

The National Outlook movement has been the main state-oriented[1] Islamic political movement in the history of multi-party Turkey. National Outlook, or National View (NO, *Milli Görüş*), is the name given by the movement to its core ideology, which is declaredly based on the goal of moral and spiritual development as a *sine qua non* condition for the pursuit of material development. To analyze the National Outlook movement, and the parties that have been included in its tradition, it is vital to consider contextually the adjective "national" (*milli*) as indicating a "religion-based nation". In the framework of this movement's discourse, the concept of "nation" revolves around the Islamic affiliation, which is consequently the most important feature of the national identity: their promises on "national and spiritual values" are to be understood as "the promotion of Islamic values"[2].

The first intention of this chapter is to review five electoral campaigns of the National Outlook, in the 1970s and in the 1990s, in order to highlight the main stances, proposals and slogans characterizing its discourse. The main source of this research is the newspaper *Milli Gazete* (National Daily), which is a useful tool to frame the National Outlook discourse for its being the "mouthpiece" of the

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[1] Yavuz, *Islamic political identity in Turkey*, 28-30. Yavuz divides Islamic movements into "state-oriented"/ "vertical" Islamic movements and "society-oriented"/ "horizontal" Islamic movements.

[2] Hale and Özbudun, *Islamism, democracy and liberalism in Turkey*, 5.

NOM parties[3]. Additional sources are NOM parties' election manifestoes as well as non-Islamist newspapers – Milliyet and Cumhuriyet – reporting about NOM campaigns. The choice of these five rounds of voting (1973, 1977, 1991, 1995, 1999), and the exclusion of several local elections and 1987 general election from deeper analysis, is linked to their representing five moments of relative success of the NOM parties, i.e. their accession to Turkey's National Assembly. Besides this, this selection is mainly due to the intention of comparing the NOM positions in the 1970s with those in the 1990s, in order to contrast the initial and the final decade of its political importance and assess the consistency of in its discourse over a wider span of time. The analysis conclusively manages to verify continuity and changes occurred within the NOM's discourse between the beginning and the end of its important role in Turkish political history. I let this period coincide with the life of the parties featuring the direct or indirect leadership of Necmettin Erbakan and overtly using references to the movement/ideology he had founded: *Milli Görüş*. The historical NOM parties are namely the MNP, the MSP, the RP and the FP,[4] even if, as I shall point out, the latter's belonging to this tradition has been debated. The FP (*Fazilet Partisi*, Virtue Party) can be considered the successor of the RP even with significant differences in its program,[5] and this continuity can appear so evident that RP and FP are sometimes mentioned as the same party.[6] This chapter aims also at contributing to the debate on the FP's continuity with the previous NOM tradition by looking at how the party's new self-image was reflected in its discourse during its campaign in 1999. This focus on electoral campaigns does

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[3] Perekli, "The Ideological Framing of the National Outlook Parties".
[4] Yavuz, Islamic Political Identity, 207-208.
[5] Rubin and Çarkoğlu, *Religion and Politics in Turkey*, 41.
[6] Yeşilada, "Realignment and Party Adaptation", 181-182.

not imply that campaign discourse can be the ultimate prove of continuity or discontinuity between parties of the NOM tradition. It rather suggests how the FP's shift in discourse, sometimes reported as a "radical shift"[7] in relation to the previous NOM parties, has represented an important turning point in the history of Turkish Islamism. Such a change in discourse, even if one considers it cosmetic or merely instrumental in the short-term, has created the opportunity for relevant and long-term developments in Turkish Islamism in the years following the FP's closure in 2001. The birth of the SP (Felicity Party) and the AKP (Justice and Development Party) illustrates the continuation of that transformation, which had already began with the FP.[8] A review of the positions expressed by the NOM parties during their election campaigns can contribute to the study of this transformation by highlighting its radicality in comparison with its predecessors' discourse. The FP leadership's strategic choice to make that dramatic shift in its discourse created the possibility for the younger generation of party officials to widen the fracture with the old guard.[9] Thanks to that shift made by the old FP's leaders, the so-called "reformists" were then able to keep presenting themselves as distant from the NOM tradition when they left the party and established the AKP.

The National Outlook from the MNP to the FP

The beginning of the National Outlook movement is usually set as 1969, when its founder and historical leader Necmettin Erbakan ran in parliamentary elections. At the same time, Erbakan himself was starting to develop the NOM's main tenets. In January 1970, Erbakan

[7] Dağı, "Transformation of Islamic Political Identity".
[8] Duran, "The Justice and Development Party's 'New Politics'", 81.
[9] Mecham, "From the ashes of virtue".

and his entourage founded the National Order Party (MNP, *Milli Nizam Partisi*), the first party organization to represent the Milli Görüş ideology, i.e. the first Islamist party led by Erbakan. Mehmed Zahid Kotku, leader of the İskenderpaşa community – a religious brotherhood affiliated to the Nakşibendi Sufi order – played a fundamental role in the foundation of this party[10]. The new party came to represent the interest of the Anatolian petite bourgeoisie, starting to feel threatened by the large industrial elites. At the same time, as Delibaş argues, "religious ideology emerged as an anchor for the displaced and distressed migrant masses" initiating Turkey's vast urbanization process in those years[11].

The Constitutional Court shut down the MNP in May 1971 – two months after the coup d'état – by accusing it of conducting anti-secular projects. The party was re-created, even though by new official founders, as the National Salvation Party (MSP, *Milli Selamet Partisi*) in October 1972. In 1973, the MSP participated to general elections gaining a successful 11.8 percent of the national vote. This was the beginning of the political importance of the MSP during the whole decade, since it started to participate to governments as a partner in coalitions with both the center-left Republican People's Party (CHP, *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) and the center-right Justice Party (AP, *Adalet Partisi*), with which it formed the so-called "National Front" coalition in 1975. Such a coalition was reestablished after the 1977 elections, when the MSP obtained the 8.6 percent. In 1981, in the wake of the 1980 coup d'état, the MSP was closed down by the military government together with all the other political parties. Moreover, the main MSP

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[10] Atacan, "Explaining religious politics at the crossroad".

[11] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 75.

representatives were tried because of their alleged anti-secular activities and they were banned from political activities for a period of ten years.

However, in 1983, when the National Security Council allowed the foundation of new parties, the MSP re-emerged under the name of Welfare Party (RP, *Refah Partisi*). The RP ran in the local elections of 1984, then to the parliamentary elections of 1987, when it obtained 7.2 percent of the national vote.

The rise of the RP went on with an increase of votes up until the mid-1990s, when it reached its peak. Then the RP obtained very good results at local elections in 1994 and at parliamentary elections of 1995, when it obtained 21.4 percent of the votes and became the strongest party in the parliament. Successively, the RP managed to enter the government and make Erbakan the Prime Minister as, in July 1996, a new strained alliance with the center-right True Path Party (DYP, *Doğru Yol Partisi*) was formed.

The frictions with the army led to another military intervention.[12] On February 28, the army-dominated National Security Council issued a document calling for curbing Islamist activities through a list of recommendations that Erbakan was then forced to sign. Erbakan hesitated to implement those recommendations and the mobilization against him grew very fast during the following month. He was eventually forced to resign in June 1997 in what was has been termed a "silent" or "post-modern" coup. In May 1997, the RP's trial had already started with the accusations of anti-constitutional activities. Even before the trial was over – with the closure of RP –, members of the RP had founded a new party called Virtue Party (FP, *Fazilet Partisi*) and led by Recai Kutan.

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[12] Rabasa and Larrabee. *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 44.

Two currents coexisted within the FP: the group of the so-called Gelenekçiler ("traditionalists") and the group of the Yenilikçiler ("modernists", or "reformists"). The first group included Erbakan and Recai Kutan as two of its most important representatives, the second one featured Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and other prominent figures of the party, such as Abdullah Gül and Bülent Arınç.

The party congress of 2000 was the beginning of the crisis within Fazilet and of the debate on the possible formation of two new parties from a split within FP. This process of deterioration was accelerated by the closure of FP on June 22, 2001. Even this time the party was closed down for accusations about its anti-secular activities. The closure of the party saw the split formalized with the creation of two different parties, each representing the traditionalist and the modernist souls of the RP/FP. The Gelenekçiler founded the Felicity Party (SP, *Saadet Partisi*) under the leadership of Recai Kutan, while the Yenilikçiler created the Justice and Development Party (AKP, *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*). The AKP was officially born in August 2001.[13]

The MSP and the 1973 campaign

The MSP was the first NOM party to contest elections, namely the first elections held after the 1971 coup. Democratic life had been suspended until 1973, when a period of military and technical governments ended with parliamentary elections on October 14.

The electoral manifesto of the MSP published in 1973 describes the National Outlook as the third alternative "outlook" or "vision" (*görüş*) in addition to the "leftist outlook", represented by the CHP, and the "liberal outlook" or "colorless outlook" represented by the AP. The

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[13] Ibid., 31.

NOM is described as the "rightist" (*sağcı*) outlook and the only one that can succeed in "unifying the state and the nation" (*devlet – millet*), which means shaping institutions and policies according to the people's principle that is, according to the MSP, "morality comes first"[14]. The other two outlooks dominating Turkey until then are both seen as materialist and unsuitable for the Turks. Therefore, the way in which the Turkish nation is depicted within the MSP discourse is crucial to understand the development of its ideology, which represents itself as a reflection of people's mentality and needs both on the material and on the spiritual plan. The MSP manifesto describes the "Saint" Turkish nation ("the greatest and most honorable nation") as the one with the "**most honorable history**", the one "who represented righteousness and justice through history", the one who "gave the most beautiful examples of justice in the relations with other nations". Besides, the elections manifesto contains references to both the Turkish War of Independence and Ottoman history (the conquest of Constantinople and the siege of Vienna are recalled).

One of the first issues to emerge during the campaign is **development**. Moral and spiritual development is necessary to achieve the material development needed by the country, to reach a more just distribution of health and to eradicate the problem of emigration to Europe. A solution for Turkey's economy would be a "**heavy industrialization**" (*ağır sanayileşme*), especially for the production of machinery. Industrializing inner and eastern Anatolia would solve disparities between the poor and the rich areas of the country. For the

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[14] *Milli Selamet Partisi 1973 Seçim Beyannamesi* [MSP 1973 Election Manifesto], 16.

MSP, only a "*happy minority*" has enjoyed the AP's policies based on *exploitation* and *interest rates* (interests are prohibited in Islamic law).

In a speech at an MSP assembly in Konya, in July 1973, party president Süleyman Arif Emre communicates this by adding that Turkey could develop "like Japan or West Germany", but Turkish governments "have wasted this opportunity" because of their "mentality"[15] that led to injustice and unemployment. Later in August, party officials such as Oğuzhan Asiltürk and Orhan Batı, will also explain their ideas about economic development through heavy industrialization[16,17]. State institutions, like the State Planning Organization, will not be the owner of factories and companies. They will be projecting, financing and managing the industrialization process, but it will be private citizens, possibly people living in the region were the new factories are built, to own and run the means of production. To do this a new structuring of state offices for industrialization is needed. Batı calls this idea of the state at the service of citizens "horizontal statism" (*ufkî devletçilik*). It will function on moral and righteous bases, providing a solution for geographical or elitist imbalances in the country.[18] An equal distribution of wealth through **tax reforms** and **elimination of interest** from credit to small entrepreneurs accompany this idea.

Neither the state, nor the "rich and colorless happy minority" will ever own the factories in Anatolia under the MSP's rule, says Erbakan

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[15] "MSP G. Başkanı Emre'nin Konya Konuşması", [MSP President Emre's Konya speech – first part], *Milli Gazete*, (1 August 1973).
[16] Abdullah Lelik, "Ağır sanayi hür hayatın teminatıdır", [Heavy industry is a guarantee of free life], *Milli Gazete*, (5 August 1973).
[17] "MSP Türkiye'yi 'Sanayi ülkesi' yapacaktır", [The MSP will make Turkey the 'The Country of Industry'], *Milli Gazete*, (11 August 1973),
[18] Ibid.

to his electors in Zonguldak[19]. The "nation", the people living where the factory is built will be the factory's owners: "our brothers the workers"[20]. In the NOM's vision, there will be no more conflicts between workers and employers, tells Erbakan. There will be a "society of brothers" with a fair "division of labor" among those working in beneficial ways for the development of their homeland, where they will work with the "love of devotion" (*ibadet aşkıyla*)[21]: this was the MSP's stance on **labor** and **society**. The individual must work for the progress of the whole community with a religious reference ("ibadet" means the worshippng of God) to service as a duty of every good Muslim – indeed at the service of God – toward his community. However, Erbakan stresses the importance of individual economic success to distance the NOM also from the "collectivist mentality"[22] of leftist parties: "the most honorable person is the person who works, who *serves* with sweat and tears, who profits"[23].

In his Konya speech, Emre criticizes the AP for not fighting immorality among young people, especially when the new generations are threatened by the "hippy" mentality and improper clothing habits that are against the "national morality"[24]. **Education** emerges as another important issue to face. Young people need to remember its own "national values" based on morality and spirituality (meaning

[19] "Türkiye'miz Sanayileşecek, çalışan hakkını alacaktır", [Our Turkey will be industrialized, the worker will achieve his rights], *Milli Gazete*, (4 September 1973).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] "Abdi İpekçi'nin MSP Konya Milletvekili Prof. Necmettin Erbakan ile yaptığı ve Milliyette yayınlanan konuşmanın tam metni", [The full text of the conversation with Konya deputy Prof. Necmettin Erbakan made by Abdi İpekçi and published on Milliyet], *Milli Gazete*, (14 September 1973).
[23] "Türkiye'miz Sanayileşecek, çalışan hakkını alacaktır", [Our Turkey will be industrialized, the worker will achieve his rights], *Milli Gazete*, (4 September 1973).
[24] "MSP G. Başkanı Emre'nin Konya Konuşması", [MSP President Emre's Konya speech – second part], *Milli Gazete,* (2 August 1973).

Islamic principles). Asiltürk declares that the moral decline of youth has led to the spread of anarchism[25] in Turkey. In a public speech in Erzurum, Erbakan urges the need for a "national education" (*milli maarif*) against materialism. The opening of faculties of "spiritual studies" is also promised.[26] Gain Education shall be reformed, declares Batı: the state will grant equality for everyone's right to education, "useless notions" coming from abroad are to be eliminated from school programs[27]. The "imitators" (*taklitçiler*), representing the leftist and the liberal outlooks, have ruined education with their materialist attitude. For a moral and spiritual education, it is necessary to start from elementary school, declares Erbakan: "we will not tell the children to play and sleep all the time; first of all, we will teach them everything about the Creator of the Universe; we will tell them: 'Mehmet, stand up, wake up, study! [...] Our education will not be neither materialist, nor colorless"[28]. The National Education will include religious education as one aspect of primary importance: teaching religion will distance young people from anarchism and materialism in general. The whole country will be a – moral and spiritual, i.e. religious– school (*mektep*). Erbakan addresses also **women**'s education: "we will teach pudicity (*iffet*) to our girls because felicity *(saadet)* of the society is felicity of the family".[29]

Another important issue in the 1973 electoral campaign of the MSP is the **Common Market**, i.e. the European Community and the

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[25] "Asiltürk: 'AP ahlâk buhranına seyirci kalmıştır' dedi", [Asiltürk: "the AP has remained a mere spectator to the moral crisis"], *Milli Gazete*, (15 August 1973).
[26] "Manâya dayalı bir Maarif sistemi getirilecek", [An education system based on spirituality will be provided], *Milli Gazete*, (27 August 1973).
[27] Ibid.
[28] "MSP Konya Milletvekili Prof. Necmettin Erbakan'ın Erzurum'da düzenlenen 'Maarif Mitingi'nde yaptığı konuşmanın tam metni", [Full text of the speech held by MSP Konya deputy Prof. Necmettin Erbakan at the "Education Meeting" in Erzurum], *Milli Gazete*, (9 September 1973).
[29] Ibid.

already existing association agreement between the Community and Turkey signed in Ankara in 1963. That agreement was seen by the MSP as the beginning of a harmful path that was leading the country to lose its sovereignty, its moral values and its economic potential. The fear of a possible EC membership for Turkey is so strong that Emre call it a "catastrophe"[30] that will leave the Turks deprived of their "Turkishness", as they will be mixed with other races (ırk) and nations (millet)[31]. Two weeks before the elections, in a crowded Taksim square, Istanbul, this is Emre's declaration about the Common Market: "at the next elections Turkey can choose the National Outlook, leading to industrialization, material and immaterial development, or it will dissolve itself into the *political* Union of Europe and disappear". "The Common Market is indeed a project for a political union", he adds, "Foreigners would be allowed to come, to install themselves in our land, as well as to buy lands and factories"[32].

These were most manifest points emerging throughout the electoral campaign of the MSP, as one looks at the party's official press. However, other issues were also taken into account, not only in the detailed election manifesto but also in newspaper articles and public speeches. For instance, the proposed **system of government** projected by the MSP in 1973 is the presidential system. The President of the Republic, as stated both by Asiltürk one month before elections[33], shall be directly elected by the people and retain the executive power. Every

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[30] "Emre: 'Ortak Pazar felakettir'", [Emre: "The Common Market is a catastrophe"], *Milli Gazete*, (15 September 1973).

[31] "Ortak Pazar, milli ve manevi hususiyetlerimizi yok edebilir", [The Common Market can erase our national and spiritual features], *Milli Gazete*, (16 September 1973).

[32] "MSP Taksim Mitingi çok muhteşem oldu", [The MSP Taksim Meeting has been wonderful], *Milli Gazete*, (1 October 1973).

[33] "Halk kanunları veto edebilecek", [The people will be able to veto the laws], *Milli Gazete*, (14 September 1973).

important decision shall be submitted to the judgment of the people through referendum. The parliament will have a unicameral structure with the abolition of the Senate[34].

In **foreign policy**, the MSP intends to build stronger relations with Turkey's neighbors in the Middle East, with which it shares "historical and cultural ties" (implicitly, also religious ties)[35].

As regards **infrastructures**, this are of course linked to the primary goal of industrialization. What is interesting here is the linkage created in the MSP's discourse between the building of new roads and bridges and the development of the **tourism** sector. According to the MSP leadership, tourism is a very small part of the future economic development, and building infrastructures for tourism is an insult to Turkish workers and peasants who need them.[36,37] Public investments in tourism or in the restoration of ancient sites are communicated during the campaign as one of the greatest wastes (*israf*) made by the "leftist" and "colorless liberal" governments.

To conclude, interesting tools of the MSP communication throughout this campaign were the evocation of Seljuk and Ottoman history as the examples for a new greatness as synthesized in the slogan "Great Turkey Again" (*Yeniden Büyük Türkiye*)[38]. As Erbakan declares during a very crowded public assembly in Konya some days before elections: "we gathered here like Seljuks. Be this gathering of ours the

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[34] *1973 Seçim Beyannamesi*, 17-18.
[35] "Emre MSP'nin dış politikası izah etti", [Emre explained the foreign policy of the MSP], *Milli Gazete*, (3 September 1973).
[36] "Bizans harabelerine yine milyarlar heba ediliyor", [Billions wasted again on Byzantine ruins], *Milli Gazete*, (2 October 1973).
[37] "Erbakan bütün gönülleri fethetti", [Erbakan conquered every heart], *Milli Gazete*, (17 September 1973).
[38] "Yeniden Büyük Türkiye", [Great Turkey Again], *Milli Gazete*, (9 October 1973).

beginning of a new era. Be it the point of foundation of a Great Turkey Again"[39].

The MSP and the 1977 campaign

A Great Turkey is a strong Turkey that knows its identity and rejects any imitation of the West (*taklit*). Erbakan reminds this to Turkish voters again during the MSP's electoral campaign for the elections of June 5, 1977.[40] Erbakan is now the president of the party and Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, as the MSP entered the coalition government with the AP in 1975. One of the main tools of the MSP during the 1977 campaign was indeed represented by claims regarding its actions as governmental party. The main ideas of the MSP about the abovementioned issues remains mostly unchanged. What is particularly interesting is the important variation of the priority level assigned to different topics. Claims and projects about **heavy industrialization** are still very important in the campaign as this process appears both on the election manifesto and on *Milli Gazete* as one of the greatest achievement of the MSP as member of the coalition government: "with heavy industry, a new era has begun in Turkey", says Erbakan in public speeches in Urfa and Adıyaman[41,42]. The process of industrialization will be completed, along with new infrastructures. In Amasya, Erbakan

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Mahmut Alagöz, "Kordela kesen makas elimizde değil gönlümüzdedir", ["The inauguration scissors are not in our hands, but in our hearts"], *Milli Gazete*, (11 April 1977).

[41] Ibid.

[42] "Faizi kaldıracağız", [We will eliminate interest rates], *Milli Gazete*, (25 April 1977).

promises factories in every district of Turkey and claims for the MSP the ability of "doing in 5 years what was previously done in 50 years"[43].

The important change to highlight in the context of this campaign is the relevance given to **foreign policy**, becoming one of the major points of the MSP's manifesto. In 1974 the MSP was part of the coalition government with the CHP when the decision to start military operations in Cyprus was taken. This event moved the party's focus to foreign policy in an unprecedented way, even more as the Cyprus issue was very relevant for the Turkish public opinion. One of the new slogans was "Turkey Leader Country" (*Lider Ülke*), in opposition to the "satellite" (*uydu*) foreign policy applied by other *taklitçi* (imitator) parties[44]. This is of course related to the discourse about Europe and the Common Market, but it is now applied to any other foreign policy issue. Erbakan explains the "new goals in foreign policy" to a cheering crowd in Adapazarı:

- Advanced cooperation and reciprocal aid with Muslim countries in every sector
- Removal of military defenses located in the Dodecanese
- End of oppression against Turkish population in Greece's Western Thrace
- End of oppressions against Muslim Turks everywhere in the world

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[43] "5 yılda elli yıldan fazlasını yaptık", [In 5 years we did more than what is done in 50 years], *Milli Gazete*, (28 April 1977).
[44] "MSP'nin hedefi 'anarşi değil, huzur'", [The aim of the MSP is "peace, not anarchy"], *Milli Gazete*, (19 April 1977).

- Existing relations with the Common Market to be revised according to Turkey's national interests[45,46]

Turkish foreign policy must have its own personality (*şahsiyetli*), says Asiltürk in a radio speech in May, reminding the condition of oppressed Muslim Turks everywhere[47]: the MSP has been the only one to promote such a foreign policy. According to him, for Turkey's becoming a Leader Country, stronger ties with Muslim nations are vital. This cooperation with other Muslims should be formalized in a new institution meant to act continuously and not episodically. Relations with Western countries should be also carried out taking into account Turkey's "national interests". The independence of a Turkish state in Cyprus should be proclaimed and defended by Turkey[48].

This more detailed elaboration of foreign policy in 1977 includes the idea of a national military industry – already envisaged before – who would also serve the interests of other Muslim countries in the abovementioned framework of international cooperation, as explained by Erbakan in a speech in Kırıkkale[49].

"Internal peace", already important in the previous campaign, gains even more relevance in 1977, with the rise of both left and right extremism in the country. For the MSP, anarchy and communism are the main enemy. They are a product of materialism and the only force able fight them is the NO, with its moral and spiritual values, and its

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[45] "Erbakan: Hizmet bizim işimiz", [Erbakan: service is our job], *Milli Gazete*, (9 May 1977).

[46] "Büyük işler sadece inançla gerçekleşebilir", [Great tasks can be achieved only through faith], *Milli Gazete*, (12 May 1977).

[47] "Lider Ülke Türkiye, şahsiyetli dış politika", [Turkey the Leader Country, foreign policy with personality], *Milli Gazete*, (27 May 1977).

[48] Ibid.

[49] "İşçileri fabrikalara ortak edeceğiz", [We will make workers shareholders of the factories], *Milli Gazete*, (30 April 1977).

project for a "national education"[50]. **Education** is once again one of the most relevant points of the MSP's program throughout this campaign. It represents the main tool for spiritual progress to be combined with the material one according to the NOM ideology. Moreover, education is presented as the main weapon against anarchism, violence and social instability in the country: spiritual (Islamic) values would pacify the country as well as its international relations. For these reasons, the MSP promised to increase the number of "spiritual sciences" universities.[51] In respect of **economic issues**, we still see the intention to protect lower incomes from unjust taxes and interest rates.[52] The MSP will increase the GDP. It will provide welfare for everyone and special assistance to children and women.[53,54] As regards the role of **women**, Erbakan's wife Nermin praises the role played by female militants to spread the NOM everywhere: "the MSP gives women the importance they deserve".[55] The MSP's daily tells us that the women of the MSP "wave their flag of jihad against blasphemy, oppression and darkness; […] they want respect for their modesty and their honor. They want Islamic colleges for their children. They want a government that would exalt spiritual values".[56]

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[50] "Erbakan: Hizmet bizim işimiz", *Milli Gazete*, (9 May 1977).

[51] "MSP zafer yolunda!", [The MSP on its way to victory!], *Milli Gazete*, (1 June 1977).

[52] "Dar gelirliyi, faiz ve vergi yükünden kurtaracağız", [We will save low-income people from interests and taxes], *Milli Gazete*, (29 April 1977).

[53] "Büyük işler sadece inançla gerçekleşebilir", [Great tasks can be achieved only through faith], *Milli Gazete*, (12 May 1977).

[54] "İşçiye refah", [Welfare to the worker], *Milli Gazete*, (2 June 1977).

[55] "MSP'yi kadın düşmanı ilan etmek gaflettir", ["Declaring the MSP an enemy of women means unawareness"], *Milli Gazete*, (20 May 1977).

[56] "Anadolu kadınları Selamet iktidarı istiyor", [The Anatolian women want Selamet to be in power], *Milli Gazete*, (10 May 1977).

From the rhetorical point of view, the 1977 campaign of the MSP is marked by a highly warlike language,[57] full of metaphors like "spiritual tanks" [58] or "colonels of the spiritual army"[59] referring to the party officials. This could be a reflection of the military intervention in Cyprus, for which the MSP wants to take credit. Moreover, in a public speech in Bilecik, Erbakan explicitly adds the Cyprus intervention in a list of famous military successes of the past. They include the Battle of Manzikert (decisive Seljuk victory for their penetration in Anatolia in 1071), the Battles of Nicopolis and of Kosovo (both decisive Ottoman victories in 1396 and in 1448 respectively), the Ottoman Conquest of Costantinople and the Turkish War of Independence. History is once again utilized as a legitimizing and glorifying tool to link the party's beliefs to an ancient national tradition, which is imagined as rich with moral and spiritual, i.e. Islamic, values. The importance given to symbols linked to Ottoman history is clearly visible in the promise by the MSP to reconvert Hagia Sophia – a museum since 1935 – into a mosque.[60]

The RP and the 1991 campaign

In 1983, the military power, which in the wake of the 1980 coup had strengthened its political power through the National Security Council, allowed only three parties to participate to elections that year. The newborn RP was not among them. Weakened by its closure as MSP, and by the absence of its natural leader Erbakan, which had been banned from politics along with the other pre-coup party leaders, the

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[57] "MSP sanki seçime değil Dünya Savaşına hazırlanıyor", [MSP acts as if it was preparing for World War, not for elections], *Cumhuriyet* (23 April 1977).
[58] "MSP'nin hedefi", *Milli Gazete*, (19 April 1977).
[59] "Meydan muharebesi başliyor", [The battle of the squares begins], *Milli Gazete*, (20 april 1977).
[60] "Ayasofya'nın ibadete açılacağı haberi sevinçle karşılandı", [The news about Hagia Sophia's future opening to the cult have been welcomed with joy], *Milli Gazete*, (16 May 1977).

Refah Partisi organized and adapted itself to the new context. The National Outlook ideology produced, in the 1980s, the so-called Just Order (*Adil Düzen*), i.e. a new name for the party's all-encompassing vision about society, economy and morality. Such a just system would have eliminated the dangerous "microbes" generated by capitalism – especially the interest rates – and would have made Turkey a "leader country" by freeing it from the dominating "slavery system".[61] Adil Düzen became the main RP's motto throughout all its life. The party, led by Ahmet Tekdal, ran in local elections in 1984, obtaining a meagre 4.4 percent. Then, after Erbakan's return to politics in 1987, it participated to general elections that year, with a result of 7.2 percent of votes. However, the 10 percent threshold introduced by the electoral law of 1983 prevented the RP from conquering any seat in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The party, thanks to the catchy idea of a Just Economic Order bringing welfare to everyone and to a very effective grassroots activism,[62] subtracted votes from leftist parties[63] and made the urban peripheries its strongholds throughout the first half of the 1990s.[64] The RP kept growing until the good results at 1989 local elections and the even better 16.9 percent gained at general elections of 20 October 1991, when it was also favored by the adherence of two other rightist parties to its lists: the Nationalist Task Party (MÇP, *Milli Çalışma Partisi*) and the Reformist Democracy Party (IDP, *Islahatçı Demokrasi Partisi*). It was then the party with the highest number of members, with the highest level of indoctrination and with the most active militants working for it year-round, (it is very important, as seen

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[61] "Köle düzeni yerine, adil düzen", [The just order to replace the slavery order], *Cumhuriyet* (11 October 1991).
[62] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 23-28.
[63] Gülalp, "Political Islam in Turkey".
[64] Hale and Özbudun, *Islamism, democracy and liberalism in Turkey*, 13.

above, the role of female activists). For these reasons, it is considered the only genuine example of mass party in Turkish political history[65,66].

The contents of the RP electoral campaign of 1991 were not very different from those elaborated by its "father" MSP in the '70s. The "Great Turkey Again" slogan was still the main one and the election manifesto stated that Turkey possessed the entire set of features necessary to be "Grand Again". These were: an "incomparable **history**"; its dimension; its resources (from natural resources to infrastructure and the **tourism** sector, now accepted as an important asset); its geographical position making it a crucial crossroad for three different continents; its industrious people and its growing population[67]. A general **development**, *spiritual and material*, was again the most important goal expressed by this NOM party in 1991: industrialization, credits without interest, welfare to underdeveloped regions, more just taxes. Rather than the still relevant call for further industrialization, the most important economic issue is now the fight against **inflation** through the abolition of interest and other tools of Islamic finance, such as refusing to treat money like a physical possession.

The main difference in the NOM propaganda in the 1991 was the more comprehensive quality assumed by the ideal of Just Order. The motto is applied to every field, as to represent a sort of all-encompassing order for every aspect of life. Just like the National Outlook was presented in the '70s, the Just Order was meant to be a third way in the clash between socialism and liberalism. But in 1991, the project sounded even more utopian as RP's politicians, as well as the party

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[65] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 24.
[66] Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish politics,* 92.
[67] *1991 Genel Seçimi Refah Partisi Beyannamesi*, [Welfare Party Manifesto for 1991 General Election], 113-114.

manifesto[68] started to present it as the basis of a "new world"[69], an ideology that will be spread everywhere, starting from Turkey. What it is possible to notice in the 1991 campaign is the more inclusive way in which the RP proposes itself, in the attempt to widen its basis in an unprecedented way.

For the first time an NOM party addressed directly the **Kurdish question**, previously a taboo in Turkish political discourse. The answer to that was found in Islamic fraternity between Turks and Kurds, as that would be a solution for the conflict in the Southeast: Islam is the solution[70]. This idea was adopted also by the leader of the Turkish nationalist MÇP, nowaday's MHP, Alparslan Türkeş, who declared: "Islam will save the country from division"[71]. While other *taklitçi* parties are destroying morality[72], the RP promises happiness to everyone and depicts itself as the only protector against the "freemasons" running the country[73]. Only the Refah will defend the real morality of the nation. The other parties are the parties of "discotheques and brothels"[74], representatives of "evil" and "imperialism": "by voting

[68] *1991 Genel Seçimi Refah Partisi Beyannamesi*, 84-85.

[69] "Refah Partisi yeni bir dünya düzeni kuracak", [The Welfare Party will found a new world order], *Milli Gazete*, (2 September 1991).

[70] Necmeddin Kelali, "Mazlum Kürt halkının sorunları ancak İslam nizamıyla çözülür", [The problems of the oppressed Kurdish people are solved only with the system of Islam], *Milli Gazete*, (11 September 1991).

[71] İbrahim Selim, "Türkeş: 'Herkesi Refah için çalışmaya çağırıyorum'", [Türkeş: I invite everyone to work for the Welfare Party], *Milli Gazete*, (29 September 1991).

[72] "Ahlak tahribatının öncülüğünü ANAP hükümeti yapmaktadır", [The ANAP government is leading the destruction of morality], *Milli Gazete*, (17 September 1991).

[73] "Özal'ın Mason olduğu açıklandı", [Özal's being a freemason has been revealed], *Milli Gazete*, (20 September 1991).

[74] Osman Cudi Yılmaz, "Erbakan: 'Bunlar pavyon diskotek partileri'", [These are brothels and disco parties], *Milliyet*, (5 October 1991).

for the RP, not only Turkey will be saved, but the entire humanity" will be rescued from the same "external forces" threatening Turkey.[75]

From the point of view of "moral and spiritual development", a preeminent issue was again related to **education**. It was the **headscarf controversy**, bound to last until the 2000s. The RP promised to remove the ban prohibiting students to wear headscarves in universities[76,77]. At the same time, in the RP's communication, much importance is given to **women** militants, who organize activities to moralize families and young people in every neighborhood they can reach, proclaiming that "the Just Order is the right place for a woman"[78].

Electoral propaganda about **foreign policy** also follows the lines already drawn in 1977. In the framework of a foreign policy "with personality" (*şahsiyetli*), more cooperation with other Muslim countries "against imperialist forces" is projected. While the other parties, "the colorless and the leftist" parties want to abandon Cyprus,[79] the RP promises to hold its adamant support for the independence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Other specific questions were about the post-Gulf War situation in Iraq (support for an autonomous but still Iraqi regional administration in North Iraq); the dispute about militarization of the Aegean (de-militarization of the Dodecanese); the protection of Turkish minorities in Western Thrace and elsewhere;

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[75] "Hayra motor şerre fireniz", [Your engine towards good, your brake against evil], *Milli Gazete*, (19 September 1991).
[76] Ahmet Kaplan, "Evren'in mirasını Özal taşıyor", [Özal carries on Evren's heritage], *Milli Gazete*, (14 September 1991).
[77] Nevzat Akay, "Başörtüsü zulmü devam ediyor", [Oppression on headscarf continues], *Milli Gazete*, (23 September 1991).
[78] "Adil Düzen'de kadının yeri", [Woman's place within the Just Order], *Milli Gazete*, (27 September 1991).
[79] Davut Güleç, "Erbakan: Halk 50 yıldır aradığı iktidarı bulamadı", [Erbakan: the people has not been able to achieve the power they have been seeking for 50 years], *Milliyet*, (13 October 1991).

generic support to Palestinians and to the ex-Soviet newly independent Turkic republics[80]. As regards cooperation with the Muslim world, a new important step was elaborated in the framework of the Just Order and to make Turkey a "Leader Country" (as stated already in the 1977 election manifesto). This new order was made of international Islamic organizations such as an "Islamic Common Market", an "Islamic Common Defense Organization", and an "Islamic Development Bank"[81]. The NOM party's ideas regarding the European Community as a political project that would devastate Turkish moral and economic basis were not changed in their substance. Quite the opposite, they were elaborated and expressed more deeply and radically in the party's communication. In a public speech in Kayseri, Erbakan accuses those in favor of Turkey's membership in the European Community of wanting to "leave the millennial Islamic world" and merge into "one state with those Christians"[82]. In the framework of his usual anti-Zionist discourse, Erbakan warns his electors: "the other parties want to enter the Common Market and be one state with Israel", as part of the plan to pursue the "ideal of a Great Israel"[83].

The RP and the 1995 campaign

The RP campaign for the general elections of 24 December 1995 was certainly the most successful, as the party came out first with a 21.4 percent, even without the support previously provided by other parties like MÇP. The party had a major instrument to promote himself: the success obtained at local elections of 1994. That year it obtained the 19.1 percent of votes, based above all on its popularity in urban areas

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[80] *1991 Genel Seçimi Refah Partisi Beyannamesi*, 166-168.
[81] Ibid., 168.
[82] Davut Güleç, "Erbakan", *Milliyet*, (13 October 1991).
[83] Cengiz Kuşçuoğlu, Bülent Hiçyılmaz and Bülent Okutan, "Erbakan: '20 Ekim'de adil düzeni kuracağız'", [Erbakan: on November 20 we will establish the just order], *Milliyet*, (12 October 1991).

as it conquered six of the fifteen largest Turkish cities,[84] including Istanbul and Ankara. The RP mayors of these two cities, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Melih Gökçek respectively, gained and maintained in those years a wide popular support. So their images and their achievements were presented throughout the RP campaign as success stories and examples of the RP's good work.[85,86,87]

As communicated in the RP's 1995 campaign, **economic development** was to be sought according to the following "recipe"[88]: through a boosting of local production to favor exports rather than imports; through incentives to Turkish-made products; through tax exemptions for lower incomes; removal of interest from credit to workers; introduction of Islamic finance principles; privatization of State Economic Enterprises; privatization of residences for MPs; revenues from privatizations to finance support to industry and agriculture. Like the Kurdish question, and the problem of terrorism, also the economic underdevelopment of the Southeastern region was to be solved in a context of "religious fraternity" between Turks and Kurds[89]. Solving the problem of unemployment, giving prosperity to everyone and saving the economy of Turkey were all goals of the Just Order. Especially the "**mobilization for production**"[90] would bring, as reported by Milli Gazete, new projects for local production (to be

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[84] Zürcher, *Turkey: a modern history,* 295.

[85] "Gökçek: tek başına iktidarız", [We are to govern alone], *Milli Gazete*, (4 November 1995).

[86] "Belediyeler RP'yi iktidara taşıyor", [Municipalities carry the RP toward power], *Milli Gazete*, (7 November 1995).

[87] Mehmet Canpolat and Şaban Kalafat, "Haydi bismillah", [Let's begin, bismillah], *Milli Gazete*, (18 November 1995).

[88] "İşte kurtuluş reçetesi", [Here's the recipe for liberation], *Milli Gazete*, (6 December 1995).

[89] Ibid.

[90] "Türkiye yeniden doğacak", [Turkey will be reborn], *Milli Gazete*, (8 December 1995).

funded by the State), and products that would be good, cheap and useful for a remarkable rise in exports. The Just Order was again presented as a third way meant to save humanity after the crisis of both communism and capitalism. It is a product of the "National Outlook Civilization" (*Milli Görüş Medeniyeti*)[91], which will bring a new "Era of Felicity"[92] (*Asr-ı Saadet*, an explicit reference to the golden age of Islam, the one in which the Prophet was alive). A "new world" will arise and Turkey will be its leader[93]. This idea of civilization is against Zionism, which is believed to direct "the imperialism of the Western civilization". In this ideal order, workers will not need strikes, or any other form of protest, because there will be no social conflicts. The state will intervene in the economy as a "waiter state", not as a "guardian state".[94] Entrepreneurs will be given any needed assistance by the state, but companies will stay private and in a free market context. The "state" and the "nation" (*devlet ve millet*) will walk "hand in hand" in a "real democracy" that will not "oppress the believers"[95] and will be clean from any accuse of dishonesty. A transparent "clean administration" that will not be made in "dark rooms"[96].

As regards **education**, the defense of a national education based on "national values" is accompanied by the attention to problems such as the already mentioned controversy about headscarves in universities and the employment of "teachers adopting a national outlook" (*milli görüş*).[97] The problem of security and Kurdish independentism in the

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[91] Ahmet Akgül, "Milli Görüş Medeniyeti'nin şansı", [The chance of the National Outlook Civilization], *Milli Gazete*, (12 December 1995).
[92] Ibid.
[93] *24 Aralık 1995 Refah Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi* [Welfare Party's Manifesto for the December, 24 1995 Election], 4.
[94] "Refah gelecek yüzler gülecek", [The Welfare (Party) will come, faces will smile], *Milli Gazete*, (10 December 1995).
[95] Ibid.
[96] *24 Aralık 1995 Refah Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi*, 23-25.
[97] "İşte kurtuluş reçetesi", *Milli Gazete*, (6 December 1995).

South-Eastern regions of the country is once again addressed by the RP within the framework of Islamic solidarity and unity. As reported by the daily Cumhuriyet, Erbakan declared: "Any regional solution cannot be planned, nor it can survive, if the Islam factor is not taken into account", as "the Kurds are an honorable people of the Muslim world".[98]

Once again, very interesting elaborations within the NOM party's program are related to **foreign policy**. Turkey needs to show its strength in order to help the Muslim world, from war-torn Bosnia to Palestine, Azerbaijan and Kashmir[99]. Turkey will be a "Leader Country". It will conduct an independent foreign policy and it will be even able to say no to Washington when necessary, says RP parliamentarian Abdüllatif Şener. As NATO and the UN did not manage to achieve their goals effectively, tells us Milli Gazete, an Islamic UN (*İslam Birleşmiş Milletleri*) and an Islamic Pact for Defense (*İslam Savunma Paktı*) are needed, as well as an Islamic Common Market (*İslam Ortak Pazarı*) and an Islamic Scientific and Cultural Cooperation Organization (*İslam İlim ve Kültür İşbirliği Teşkilatı*). Also an Islamic monetary union is included in this list of foreign policy ambitions: a Common Islamic Dinar (*İslam Ortak Dinarı*).[100] During a public speech at an assembly in Sivas, Erbakan describes the EU as a "Christian union, founded on the basis of the Treaty of Rome and under suggestion of Pope Pius XII". "The place of Turkey", says Erbakan, "is not the EU, but a World Union of Muslim Countries".[101]

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[98] "İslam dışı bölgesel çözüm olmaz", [No regional solution is possible if not Islamic], *Cumhuriyet*, (20 December 1995).
[99] "Güçlü Türkiye için Refah iktidarı şart", [For a strong Turkey, RP's rule is necessary], *Milli Gazete*, (24 November 1995).
[100] Ahmet Akgül, "Milli Görüş Medeniyeti'nin şansı", *Milli Gazete*, (12 December 1995).
[101] "Refah gelecek yüzler gülecek", *Milli Gazete*, (10 December 1995).

The already signed new Customs Union with the EU – successively coming into effect at the end of 1995 – was one of the main boogeymen emerging from the RP's discourse in 1995, as it represented a further step towards a possible Turkish accession to the European Union. The Customs Union is compared to the capitulations granted to Western powers by the Ottoman Empire in previous centuries:[102] it will destroy Turkish economy. It will make Turkey a lackey and a "prisoner of the *gavur* (infidel) countries", says Erbakan in a public speech in Yozgat: "we do not want to be a servant country; we want to be a leader country. Our goal is the foundation of the Islamic Union"[103].

To conclude this section about the 1995 campaign, it is important to highlight the use of **history** in the RP's discourse. Differently from what happens in the Kemalist discourse, the Ottoman past is glorified as much as, or even more than, the Republican era. References to the Ottoman conquests are frequent. Moreover, two weeks before the elections, Milli Gazete publishes a subdivision of Turkish history since the War of Independence (an event already use as a metaphor for mobilization during the 1991 campaign). The first era of Republican Turkish history starts with the War of Independence. The second era begins with the transition to the multi-party regime. The third era is that of the expansion of the National Outlook, starting in 1969 and lasting 26 years until 1995.[104]

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[102] İbrahim Aykut, "GB kapitülasyonlara tekrar dönüştür", [The Customs Union is a return to capitulations], *Milli Gazete*, (12 November 1995).
[103] "Adil Düzen özlemi", [The longing for the Just Order], *Milli Gazete*, (8 December 1995).
[104] "Yakın Tarihimizde Milli Görüş şahlanışları", [The surges of National Outlook in our recent history], *Milli Gazete*, (9 December 1995).

The FP and the 1999 campaign

The 1999 campaign is an evident sign of how the FP represents a deep change, or even a departure, from tradition line of the National Outlook parties. After the RP's closure in 1998 and the ban imposed on Erbakan and other key party leaders, the new party assumed a less radical and more liberal attitude, reorienting itself towards a much less prominent Islamist character. Partly because of the influence of external conservative and liberal politicians joining it, as well as of the *yenilikçi* trend; partly because of the previous experiences of forced closures and banishments, the main concerns of the new party, as presented in the 1999 campaign, looked very different from those of its predecessors. The "Just Order" slogan, which had been so attractive for electors, is not even mentioned in the FP's electoral manifesto[105], as the party was presenting itself as a wholehearted supporter of the **free market**[106]. The Just Order ideal was in favor of the private sector, but included a major role to be played by the state for a *just* planning and distribution of investments. This resistance against economic liberalism was removed.[107] The same happened to ambitions about Islamic banking and a complete abolition of interest.

The main topic emerging from the FP's pre-electoral communication is **democratization**, together with ideas on secularization (***laiklik***) and **freedom of belief**. The old tenet of morality and spirituality as a condition for economic development is maintained[108], but references to religion are reduced with the exception

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[105] *Fazilet Partisi - Günışığında Türkiye 18 Nisan 1999 Seçim Beyannamesi* [Virtue Party – Turkey under Sunlight, the Election Manifesto for April, 18 1999].
[106] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 94.
[107] "İşte kurtuluş reçetesi", [Here's the recipe for liberation], *Milli Gazete*, (2 March 1999).
[108] "Fazilet gelecek, zulüm bitecek", [The Virtue (Party) will come, the oppression will end], *Milli Gazete*, (9 April 1999).

of issues like the still existing headscarf controversy or the problem of imam-hatip schools. The main concerns in the field of **education** were related to these two problems. The imam-hatip schools, religiously oriented and originally created as vocational schools to train imams, were harmed by the introduction of 8 years of compulsory education and the extension of primary schools until 8th grade. These measures taken in 1997 had reduced possible years of learning in imam-hatip schools. Successive limitations for imam-hatip students to enter universities had worsened the condition of these schools. The FP depicted all these, together with the ban on headscarves in universities, as attacks to right to education and freedom of belief[109]. In this campaign, freedom of belief is repeatedly mentioned as linked to "real democracy" and the "end of oppression".[110] Human rights are then constantly mentioned in the new party leader Recai Kutan's speeches. The removal of **article 312** of the Turkish penal code against incitement of religious or racial hatred was also one of the most repeated goals of the FP during this campaign. The application of that article had caused the arrest of the then mayor of Istanbul Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who had read in public a poem considered too Islamist. The very figure of Erdoğan as the victim of anti-religious oppression is recalled many times in Kutan's speeches, and the enormous popularity of the ex-mayor was evident as cheering crowds were reportedly chanting "Erdoğan, prime minister!"[111,112] during his speeches.

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[109] Ali Cura, "Oylarınızı bölmeyin", [Do not waste your vote], *Milli Gazete*, (15 April 1999).

[110] Mustafa Yılmaz, "Baskılar sona erecek", [Oppressions will end], *Milli Gazete*, (12 April 1999).

[111] Mustafa Zateroğulları, "Sandıklardan FP çıktığında zindan bize saray olacak", [When the FP wins the elections, prison will be a palace to us], *Milli Gazete*, (17 March 1999).

[112] "Bu da geçer ya hu", [This too shall pass], *Milli Gazete*, (27 March 1999).

About one month before the 18 April elections, in a public speech in Istanbul, Kutan summarizes his party's main aims.[113] His first point is about "*democracy and law*", in accordance with the "standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights". The second was "*freedom of belief*", against an interpretation of "*laïcité* as religion, or religion as ideology": secularity must not be "a means of oppression to remove any kind of expression of religion from public life or to reduce freedoms of belief and conscience". For Kutan, the "grand and strong Turkey" envisaged by the FP is built on "democracy, development, contemporariness, justice and virtue". The emphasis on democracy is reinforced by the repeated reference to the **1950 elections**, which marked Turkey's democratic transition as the first alternation to power in the multi-party era.

During the campaign, the FP's leader tells his electors that, in order to reach this higher level of democratization, Western standards must be met. Here we encounter another important difference between the FP and its predecessors: its stances towards the **European Union**. In a speech in early March, Kutan supports Turkey's accession to the EU. Relations with the neighboring countries must be strengthened, but Turkey must also stay close to Europe. This newly favorable approach to the EU is noticeable also in parliamentary speeches by other FP members of the Grand National Assembly.[114] Besides, it must reinforce economic ties with the USA as well as with Central Asia. As regards Cyprus, "no solution that would not take into account the Turkish community's right to self-determination" will be accepted[115]. No more projects about new global Islamic organization is presented throughout

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[113] "Günışığında Türkiye", [Turkey under daylight], *Milli Gazete*, (21 March 1999).
[114] Tanayıcı, "Europeanization of Political Elite Discourses"
[115] "İşte kurtuluş reçetesi", *Milli Gazete*, (2 March 1999).

this campaign, even if Kutan urges the government to pay more attention to the tragic condition of Muslim in Kosovo. **Foreign policy** appears as the field in which the past ambitions of the NOM parties are most visibly inhibited and set aside as the FP is created. The priority for both the old guard of the NOM and its younger – but experienced – party cadres was to eliminate the possibility of another 28 February, as we understand from declarations by the banished, but still influent Necmettin Erbakan: "we all want democracy, human rights and rule of law" and a "livable Turkey". According to Erbakan, the National Security Council must be maintained, but its "proposal that are against the Constitution or the principle of secularity should be evaluated" by a civil power like the Council of Ministers[116].

As pointed out by Eligür, the FP's continuity with the RP is evident in terms of basic requests for a constitutional change,[117] mainly a reduced power of the National Security Council as instrument of military interferences on Turkish politics. The very persistence of the old guard at the helm and the traditionalist-modernist clash reveal the hard-die ties with the Refah.[118] Nevertheless, during the 1999 campaign, the shift in the FP's discourse appears remarkable. Even when we consider it part of its strategy to avoid a new closure,[119] such change is crucial as it pioneers new references for the Turkish Islamist discourse since then. The particularly dramatic change in the approach to foreign matters, and in particular to the EU membership,[120] has been maintained by both the AKP and the SP. One can argue that the AKP has not abandoned completely Islamism as the basis of its identity, but

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[116] "Erbakan: hedef 'yaşanabilir Türkiye'", [Erbakan: the goal is "livable Turkey"], *Milli Gazete*, (2 April 1999).
[117] Eligür, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*, 237
[118] Yeşilada, "The Virtue Party".
[119] Eligür, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*, 235.
[120] Usul, "The Justice and Development Party and the European Union", 178.

it has only changed its "world vision" especially in relation to the EU.[121] When one looks at the FP discourse, it is possible to add that this change of the AKP in comparison to its leaders' previous parties has continued the rejection of anti-Westernism as strategically formulated by the last incarnation of the Islamist National Outlook movement, namely the Virtue Party. As noted by Tanıyıcı, the EU norms were used by the FP as a "political opportunity structure", "a resource in its new identity, and in its efforts against the establishment". [122] A positive reference to EU democratic standards acquired an unprecedented role in Turkey's Islamists' struggle against its main adversary, namely the military.

A shift from a long continuity

In conclusion, in this chapter it was possible to identify the four wide fields of the National Outlook parties' discourse during election campaigns. These are: Turkey's economic growth, education, foreign relations and historical references to national history. These four fields prove all to be interesting in order to test continuity and discontinuity in the NOM's discourse and the image it wanted to project to the public. Although social developments in the country, as well as the advancement of globalization in the years between the MSP and the RP campaigns, have crucially affected the NOM's stances on issues such as tourism, and gave relevance to the Kurdish question, the fundaments of NOM's discourse do not seem to variate from 1973 to 1995. Development remains the primary focus of both MSP and RP. Even if MSP's concentrated more on the project of "heavy industrialization" and the RP presented a more comprehensive – though vague – "recipe" with its Just Order, the "Great Turkey" slogan was every time based on the core idea of the "spiritual" always siding the "material". Moreover,

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[121] Kösebalaban, "The Impact of Globalization".
[122] Tanıyıcı, "Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey".

the constant reference to "*maddi ve manevi*" (material and spiritual) – which remained even within the FP's discourse – was accompanied, until 1995 by the call for more just taxation and abolition of interests in compliance with the principles of Islamic finance. The matter of education also shows a high degree of continuity within the NOM propaganda between the 1970s and the 1990s. Both MSP and RP promised that, if elected, education would be based on "national" (*milli*), then religious, values and defended religious education. As regards foreign policy, continuity is also evident. Until the mid-1990s, the NOM parties have proposed an assertive and independent Turkish foreign policy, an identity-oriented foreign policy "with personality" based on links with the Islamic countries and characterized by explicit anti-Westernism – which "ran deep in Refah's ideology"[123]. Finally, historical references to Ottoman and Seljuk past were frequent in the NOM discourse in order to present the Islamist parties as the outcome of glorious national history, as well as Turks' religion and tradition. This attempt to present themselves as faithful protectors of Turkish people's heritage is also functional to the Islamists' foreign policy discourse as it recalls the great role played by the Turks in Islamic history as a whole. To sum up, even if one can accuse this whole discourse of vagueness in terms of concrete projects and proposals, it is also necessary to take into account the high consistency of its basic assumptions throughout decades. All the above-mentioned fields in the NOM discourse were composing the reiterated ideal of a "Great Turkey" to be rebuilt.

The striking change in the election discourse of the 1998-born FP is evident in relation to all of the four fields highlighted above. Even if the formula of a "material and spiritual development" was kept, in 1999,

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[123] Sayarı, "Turkey's Islamist challenge".

references to Just Order and Islamic finance disappeared from the party statements. Religious education was again defended – and this appears the field in which one can detect more continuity with previous campaigns –, but it acquired a new viewpoint in the light of human rights discourse and EU standards. As explained above, the most important and evident shift occurred in the approach to foreign relations in general and Europe in particular. Proposals of Islamic Union or Islamic Common Market were abandoned. Consistently with this, references to Ottoman and Islamic history were substituted by references to the 1950 general elections, the first example of alternation in the history of the Turkish democracy.

To conclude, the FP can be considered a continuation of the NOM tradition mainly because of its elite and structures remaining the same as those of the RP. Nevertheless, the radical shift in its discourse makes it crucially distinct from the other parties of its tradition. By depicting an evidently different image of itself through its discourse – as it becomes clear in the 1999 electoral campaign –, the Islamist movement incarnated by the FP has concretely paved the way for the successive developments in the history of Turkish Islamism. It was by adopting that new discourse that the younger generation of the NOM movement was able to discard the old party image – together with its old elite – and present a more convincingly different image of itself when founding the AKP. This contradiction between the FP's traditionalist elite and the reformed image it attempted to project through its discourse gave the party a hybrid nature within the history of the NOM. At the same time, it was that nature that allowed some of its officials to use it as a bridge for a new political organization.

Elements of neo-Pan-Islamist foreign policy discourse in the NOM's political parties (1970s-1990s)

As we have seen in the chapter on the electoral campaigns and election manifestoes of the National Outlook's political parties, foreign policy was always among the main subjects of the movement's Islamist discourse. The present chapter will be more specifically centered on the Islamist foreign policy discourse produced within the context of the National Outlook parties – i.e. by party officials or MPs and not by more or less external intellectuals – in the form of published writings authored by the founder and permanent leader of the NOM, Necmettin Erbakan, and in the form of parliamentary speeches and party programs contributing to the definition of a consistent NOM foreign policy line. These two types of sources have been selected for this research for being the most extensive and explanatory, and for their being officially presented by the NOM itself as representative of its political parties' ideals. When considering Erbakan's writings as one of these two sources, one must realize the importance that this founding and leading figure had for the NOM, sometimes simply called "Erbakan's movement", and the overlapping of Erbakan's ideas, firstly exposed in his book *Milli Görüş* (National Outlook) and the homonymous Islamist movement. Obviously, it is not hard to understand how the NOM ideology that Erbakan synthesized in his main writings was emerging from the wide and deep-rooted tradition of Turkish Islamism. Erbakan, an engineering academic and a Naqshbandi from sheikh Kotku's community, was a politician rather than a writer and, at the end of 1960s, he was the first to systematize the Islamist ideological discourse

of multi-party era/Cold War Turkey to the end of translating into the ideological backbone of a functioning Islamist party.

While the analysis of Erbakan's writings will treat the Islamist leader's discourse on foreign affairs comprehensively, as it has been done with other authors in the previous chapters, the study on the wider NOM foreign policy discourse through parliamentary sources (i.e. minutes from the archive of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, TGNA) and NOM party programs from 1970s to 1990s will not be focused on the authors, but rather on the main themes characterizing Turkish foreign policy and international affairs in that period. More importantly, this analysis will explore the NOM foreign policy discourse along the lines of the previously detected neo-Pan-Islamist components of anti-Westernism, anti-Zionism and anti-communism, together with possible proposals about Pan-Islamist initiatives.

Foreign policy views of Necmettin Erbakan

Necmettin Erbakan (1926-2011) was the de facto guide of the NOM parties even when he was not occupying any official post within them. His writings can be considered quintessential to the ideology of those parties. The pamphlets and collection of speeches signed by Erbakan, as well as his memoirs, reveal fundamental correspondences in the programs of the NOM parties until the 1990s. Not only can Erbakan be included in the list of Turkey's Pan-Islamists,[1] he arguably deserves a place among the most important ones, considering his role within the NOM as well as in Turkey's democratic institutions. For Erbakan and his parties, Islam becomes "a foreign policy principle," with an Islamic Union representing a future solution for both the

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[1] Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam*, 264.

external and internal problems of the country.[2] Necmettin Erbakan began his political career in 1969, when he was elected deputy of Konya in the Turkish parliament, later founding the first NOM party: the MNP (*Milli Nizam Partisi*, National Order Party). He took part several times in coalition governments and, with the electoral rise of his RP (*Refah Partisi*, Welfare Party) in the first half of the 1990s, he became Turkey's Prime Minister in 1996. In the field of foreign policy, he is remembered, among other things, for his role as Deputy PM during the 1974 Turkish intervention in Cyprus and for the creation of the D-8 (Developing 8) international organization for development cooperation among its eight Muslim member states.[3]

Necmettin Erbakan's thoughts on foreign relations can be observed in texts ranging from pamphlets, to interviews, to public speeches reported by newspapers. Moreover, Erbakan was the unrivaled historical leader of the National Outlook parties and the first promoter of their ideology. Because of this, it is possible to take into account the texts produced by his parties' programs or election manifestoes as being in harmony with his ideas. In his writings, Erbakan always establishes references to the practical, often economic, advantages of applying "national," "spiritual and moral" values to the policies he envisions. In his view, all the policies he proposes are justified by a return to the true spirit of the Turkish nation, which of course maintains Islam as its core characteristic. In this sense, it is necessary to understand the correspondence of what he calls "national values" with Islamic values. The policies Erbakan promotes in his general discourse are usually presented along with legitimizing

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[2] Dikici Bilgin, "Foreign Policy Orientation of Turkey's Pro-Islamist Parties."
[3] These were Turkey, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Pakistan.

allusions to an assumed common orientation of the people of Turkey towards those policies (e.g. a possible Turkish membership in the European Economic Community "does not comply with the will of the nation"[4]). This is part of the dualism characterizing Erbakan's discourse: he frequently divides policies that are in harmony with the people's "nature" from those that are against it. Using this logic, he constantly refers to "imitators" (*taklitçiler)*, i.e. all those politicians and intellectuals that led or intend to lead Turkey towards foreign-born, alien ideologies. In foreign policy, he argues, these alien doctrines have aimed at the Westernization of Turkey, preventing the country from taking advantage of the leadership role and material benefits it would obtain if it were to take the reins of the Muslim world, as permitted by its history, culture and religion, in a legitimate and natural way. As in the case of Karakoç, the clear-cut split between good and evil, Islamic and Western civilization, "we and they," serves to position the affiliation of one group in contraposition to another. This partition lays the foundations for the Pan-Islamic visions consequently depicted by Erbakan, and suggested by Karakoç. Erbakan's references to a link between the promoted policies and – implicitly or explicitly – Islamic principles at the base of national identity, can be seen also as an ideational attempt to involve the poorer or peripheral strata of Turkish society, while, vice versa, an indignant description of "imitators" reveals hostility towards the country's "Westernized" elites whom he depicts as blindly pursuing Europeanization.[5] Turkish foreign policy makers do not share or understand "the anguish of the peasant," "the problems of Turkey." Consequently, following the logic of Erbakan's discourse, these elite "representatives" of Turkey are "disconnected

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[4] Erbakan, *Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar*, 20.
[5] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 26.

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from the Turkish people" and that is why, in Erbakan's view, Turkey's foreign policy has been unfruitful.[6]

When he considers the "essential" cultural differences between Eastern and Western civilizations, in a dualist good/evil split that is similar to that designed by Karakoç, Erbakan relates those differences to two conflicting conceptions of righteousness (hak, meaning justice, right, verity; a term with strong religious connotations, versus a secular, Western notion of "right"). In Erbakan's view, Westerners base their concept of "right" on pillars such as strength, majority, privilege and material interest. Conversely, the Islamic civilization builds its hak on such values as equality of rights, fraternity, justice, and agreement.[7] In his book Milli Görüş (National Outlook) of 1975, Erbakan introduces the question of foreign policy by implicitly referring to that deep-rooted incompatibility, which stems from the values of hak and justice (adalet) that are an expression of "our historical character and honor."[8]

An early indication of Erbakan's views on foreign policy can be found in his book of 1971, Turkey and the Common Market (Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar), which consists of two parliamentary speeches given by Erbakan in 1970 on the topic of relations between Turkey and the European Economic Community. As Erbakan deals with this question, he supports the perspective of a common market among the Muslim countries, within which Turkey would be quickly strengthened by new economic opportunities. This "Islamic Common Market" would be based on "historical and cultural ties."[9] It is within the framework of the National Salvation Party (MSP), founded in 1972, that Erbakan's vision

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[6] Ibid., 55.
[7] Ibid., 90-92.
[8] Erbakan, *Milli Görüş*, 229.
[9] Erbakan, *Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar*, 39.

of an "Islamic Union" (İslam Birliği) takes a more definite shape, including projects of establishing Pan-Islamic international organizations.[10] Throughout the electoral campaign of 1977, Erbakan frequently expressed his idea of Turkey as a "Leader Country" in the Muslim world.[11] His idea of an Islamic Union is then analogous to that of Karakoç or Kısakürek, as they also referred to Turkey's historical background and its consequent leadership responsibility as the heir of the Ottoman State. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize a stronger emphasis on the role of Turkey and its material interests in Erbakan's rhetoric. Turkey's material interests are consistently central in Erbakan's discourse, this being related to his activity as a politician and party leader, an engineer with a strong belief in industrialization as a means of national emancipation. Yet, among the perpetual slogans and tenets of the National Outlook party, we find the construction of material development on a foundation made of spiritual and moral values.[12] In Erbakan's view, within the framework of the NO ideology, these values, consisting of the Islamic values constituting the core of Turkish identity, should also be the basis of a foreign policy "with a (strong) personality" (şahsiyetli).[13] According to Erbakan, if Turkey followed its own national values and character, it would easily succeed in obtaining economic development and independence.[14] The country's foreign policy, says Erbakan, needs to follow "our values," leaving aside the alien ideas of "imitators" that want to maintain Turkey's dependence on Western interests.[15]

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[10] Bakır, "Necmettin Erbakan", 365-366.
[11] Milli Gazete, 11 May 1977.
[12] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 79.
[13] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 82-84.
[14] This can be linked to the objective of a national "heavy industrialization," which was one of the main points of the MSP program in the 1970s, declaredly aiming to make Turkey more independent and to reduce emigration.
[15] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 84.

On behalf of his political movement, Erbakan writes about the necessity of restoring those international relations, "which have been neglected until today, with our neighbors sharing with us historical and cultural ties."[16] Thus, it is not surprising to find, in the NOM parties' texts from the 1970s to the 1990s, recurring proposals for the creation of Islamic international organizations as alternatives to Turkey's membership in Western alignments. For instance, the RP's election manifesto of 1991 expresses the idea of making Turkey a "Leader Country" within the framework of the "Just Order" (as the RP called its overall set of policies and goals). The manifesto envisioned that this new order could be represented on the global plane by international organizations such as an "Islamic Common Market," an "Islamic Common Defense Organization," and an "Islamic Development Bank."[17] As NATO and the UN had failed to achieve their goals effectively, the main NOM newspaper the *Milli Gazete* claimed in 1995, an Islamic UN (*İslam Birleşmiş Milletleri*) and an Islamic Pact for Defense (*İslam Savunma Paktı*) are needed. So is an Islamic Common Market (*İslam Ortak Pazarı*) and an Islamic Scientific and Cultural Cooperation Organization (*İslam İlim ve Kültür İşbirliği Teşkilatı*).[18] Erbakan argued frequently that Turkey is destined to be the leader of the Muslim world, as it is the only country with this potential, due to its "economic strength, geographic position, and historical background."[19] A stable rapprochement to the Muslim world, says Erbakan, will also increase Turkey's economic power, as those

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[16] Ibid.
[17] *1991 Genel Seçimi Refah Partisi Beyannamesi*, 168.
[18] Milli Gazete, 12 December 1995.
[19] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 29.

countries (especially the Arab oil producers) could become significant importers of Turkish goods.[20]

A Karakoçian dichotomy is visible when Erbakan deals with the question of Turkey's relations with the European Economic Community. When commenting on the formal Turkish application for EEC membership in an interview of 1990, Erbakan declares: "I see this application as a form of treason that is completely against our history, against our understanding of civilization, against our culture and, most importantly, against our independence."[21] This vehemence implies an understanding of Turkey's foreign policy as a constant, dramatic choice between an unnatural and unjust dependence on the West and the "bright future" of Turkey to be sought "within its historical background" and its moral-spiritual values.[22]

Erbakan's central assumption regarding the European Economic Community is its being mainly a political (rather than economic) project for the reestablishment of Europe's world hegemony after its decline following the end of Second World War.[23] In Erbakan's view, the Common Market was born as a "Catholic union,"[24] meant to exploit Muslim countries like Turkey as labor sources or "touristic paradises;" in sum, to colonize them and inhibit their economic development.[25] A section of an interview with Erbakan, published in 1991 in his book Turkey's Fundamental Issues (Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri), is titled:

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[20] Erbakan, *Milli Görüş*, 266.
[21] Ibid., 27.
[22] Ibid., 33.
[23] Erbakan, *Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar*, 16.
[24] Ibid., 52.
[25] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 44.

"the European Union has only one goal: the triumph of the Cross against the Crescent."[26]

All these references rehearse once again the abovementioned civilization-based dichotomy, between the West and Islam, in which Christianity is considered a fake religion, a falsely religious name for the West's materialism and its irreligious civilization. In a display of consistency upheld from the 1970s to the 1990s, the main concern about Europe conveyed by Erbakan was the possibility of a dissolution of Turkey's sovereignty and identity within the framework of the Christian European single state planned by the West. "It is not possible," he argues in a speech held in 1970, "to allow the dissolution of this Muslim nation inside a Christian community."[27] The European project threatens to "swallow" Turkey and destroy its core values and its independence for the sake of Western domination over the Muslim world. In 1991, in a public speech, Erbakan accuses those in favor of Turkey's membership in the EC of planning to "leave the millennial Islamic world" and merge into "one state with those Christians."[28] In his writings, Erbakan conveys a general fear of European supranational regulations, which, in his view, are meant to affect Turkey's sovereignty so deeply that the country's identity will be erased and replaced with a Judeo-Christian one. Israel itself aims at membership, he argued, so Turkey would be reduced to a mere province of the "Greater Israel."[29]

For Erbakan, the role played by Zionism is fundamental to understanding the goals of the European project. In his opinion, the

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[26] Ibid., 42.
[27] Erbakan, *Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar*, 21.
[28] Milliyet, 13 October 1991.
[29] Milliyet, 12 October 1991.

hegemonic plans of the EC/EU are decided and coordinated by Zionist interest groups dominating the world: the inclusion of Turkey –the "head of the Muslim world"[30] – in the European market and political community would finalize the Zionist plan to rule the world. To explain this plot, Erbakan describes Zionists as occupying the top tier of a hierarchical structure in which Europeans and other Westerners are immediately below them, employed in the service of capitalism. A third layer is needed, he affirms, and it is made of "slaves and workers:"[31] this is the layer into which the Zionists want to put the Turks and other Muslims. Entering the European common market (becoming a "Zionist toy")[32] would destroy Turkish industry and degrade its economy to that of a colonized country, wasting its sovereignty and its own "national and spiritual values" in a "cosmopolitan environment."[33] In his memoirs, Erbakan compares Western imperialism to a voracious crocodile whose brain is global Zionism.[34]

On the Cyprus question, Erbakan expresses a consistently and overtly inflexible position. The rights of Turkish Cypriots must be protected at any cost, and no compromise should be accepted.[35] The same Judeo-Christian alliance that pushed for Turkey's adhesion to the EU, Erbakan says in 1970, is showing a similar "crusade mentality" in relation to Cyprus.[36] It is important to consider that the MSP was part of the coalition government that in July 1974 opted for military intervention in Cyprus. Since then, the Cyprus question became an

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[30] Erbakan, *Milli Görüş*, 252.

[31] Ibid., 253.

[32] Erbakan, *Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar*, 63.

[33] Erbakan, *Milli Görüş*, 262-264.

[34] Erbakan, *Davam*, 118. "Zionism is like a crocodile. Its upper jaw is America, its lower jaw is the European Union. The brain is Zionism, the body is formed by the collaborationists."

[35] Erbakan, *Milli Görüş*, 233-234.

[36] Erbakan, *Türkiye ve Ortak Pazar*, 52.

opportunity for the NOM parties to claim credit for the very popular decision of sending the army to the island. In 1990, in the interview published in Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri, Erbakan declares that during the 1974 two-phased operation his party's aim, as a precondition for peace enforcement, was the complete control of the island. This objective, he says, was justified by Turkey's role as guarantor upon the whole island and by the presence of "many brothers" in southern Cyprus.[37]

Erbakan's idea of an incompatibility between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is evident and rather explicit. A clear-cut separation is necessary, he says, as the two communities should "live in different places."[38] That is why, for him, the solution is represented by a partition (taksim) of the island into two independent states. A federal solution is, in Erbakan's view, insufficient.[39] In the same interview, as in his memoirs, Erbakan reaffirms that "there is no such thing as a Cyprus question"[40] anymore, i.e., that since the military intervention, "the Cyprus question is over."[41] For him, the taksim was a de facto reality and just needed to be legalized internationally along with the recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

As he considers this issue, Erbakan's writings are filled with a Turkish nationalist language that is certainly not exclusive to the NOM's discourse on Cyprus. Yet, a more peculiarly Islamist discourse emerges and intertwines with the nationalist one in Erbakan's memoirs. There he introduces the topic by explaining the Muslim nature of the island, and basing this claim on the island's annexation to the Umayyad

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[37] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 72.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., 76.
[40] Erbakan, *Davam*, 170.
[41] Erbakan, *Türkiye'nin Temel Meseleleri*, 77.

Caliphate in the 7th century, as well as the Ottoman conquest of 1570, which "saved the island" from the Catholic force represented by the Venetians.[42]

If we want to find some connection between Erbakan's discourse on foreign affairs and the discourse produced on the same issues by the galaxy of Turkish Islamist thinkers writing in the same period, Sezai Karakoç is perhaps the most useful author with which establish a comparison. Though more articulate and detached from material questions emphasized by Erbakan (e.g. industrial development) Karakoç's thought had much in common with that of the NOM's founder. It is evident that not only Karakoç's, but also Necmettin Erbakan's thought is based on a sort of reverse Huntingtonian position, putting the concept of civilization at the center of its Islamist foreign policy discourse. The ideas of both Karakoç and Erbakan about a civilizational contraposition between Islam and the Western world represent a connection with the early 19th century Pan-Islamism. The fundamental reference to civilization that their world order visions have in common binds them to each other. More than others, they stand as bridges from early Pan-Islamist tradition to today's civilizational discourse in the AK Party's foreign policy.[43] Erbakan, as the founder of the political movement from which the AK Party eventually evolved, uses this Huntingtonian idea in his discourse as party leader. Karakoç, given the abovementioned influence acknowledged by AK Party officials, emerges as the Islamist intellectual who reasoned the most on this civilizational divide and its foreign policy consequences both in his writings published in Islamist reviews and within his collections of articles. An analysis of Karakoç and Erbakan's texts on foreign policy

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[42] Erbakan, *Davam*, 155-156.
[43] Ardıç, "Civilizational discourse."

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or world order shows the emergence of a Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism circulating in and out of political organizations. More specifically, the similitudes between their thoughts also suggests an influence of Karakoç's ideas on the National Outlook movement as well as on today's AK Party, whose foreign policy discourse, to say it with Ardıç, is still characterized by a civilizational discourse.[44]

Starting in the Cold War years, both Erbakan and Karakoç presented the Turkish version of the renewed Pan-Islamist ideal emerging at that time. They both proposed a transnational Islamic union, based on history, geography, and culture, as the ideal third bloc in the international arena. They both presented the idea of a completely independent foreign policy as the only viable option for their country, and they emphasized its compliance with the "real desires" or "the nature" of the people. For both, Turkey had to reclaim its historical and natural role as the leader of the Muslim world, a manifest destiny that Europe, with Israel and the US on its side, wants to break by attracting the country into its sphere of influence.

If one considers the context in which these messages were elaborated, or re-elaborated, by the two authors in question, it is useful to wonder why they were attractive to their readers and to whom they were directed. In the years between the first and the third coup d'état (1960-1980), there was in Turkey a re-emergence of Islamist groups, linking back to the old local religious brotherhoods and representing at the same time the Turkish version of more modern foreign Islamists like the Muslim Brothers. These groups though, differently from Islamist movements of other countries, oscillated significantly between political Islam and Turkish nationalism. Despite the very real influence of

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[44] Ibid.

foreign political Islam, as proved by references to foreign religious thinkers in Turkish Islamist texts, as well as by translations and contacts with foreign Islamist groups, Turkish Islamism maintained a significant distance from analogous phenomena in other Muslim countries. This difference was due to the pervasive influence of Turkish nationalism on Turkish Islamism. According to Duran, the nationalist element functioned for Turkish political Islam both as a vehicle, allowing it to enter institutions, and as a wall, limiting Turkish Islamists' influence abroad.[45] The idea of Turkey as the head of the Muslim world is an example of this nationalist-Islamist intertwining. However, even though this characteristic of Turkish Islamism makes it different from non-Turkish expressions of political Islam, one can find in the writings of two eminent Islamist thinkers that the anti-Western attitude among Turkish Islamists was not reduced by their distinctiveness in relation to their foreign counterparts. The nationalist feature of their religious ideology did not work against their anti-imperialistic and Pan-Islamic stances, but rather reinforced it.

While Saudi Pan-Islamism was originally led by the Saudi government as a Cold War counterweight to Egypt's Arab nationalism, Turkish Pan-Islamism developed within the circles of Turkish political Islam. Therefore, differently from the KSA's government, these circles lacked the power to engage in high politics and, during the Cold War, were entwined with Turkey's tradition of nationalism. This combination of Turkish nationalism – including exaltation of the Turks' imperial past – and utopian Islamism led to foreign policy visions of Turkey as a great power in the international arena and the natural leader of the umma. As a demonstration of this different kind of Pan-Islamism,

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[45] Çınar and Duran, "The specific evolution of contemporary political Islam in Turkey and its 'difference'", 23.

in the texts of politicians like Erbakan and writers like Karakoç –
representing the intersecting camps of Islamist political organizations
and Islamist intellectuals respectively – Turkey is described as the
legitimate leader of an envisioned anti-Western coalition of Muslim
states united in the name of Islamic Third Worldism. From their point
of view, this was the righteous and spontaneous combination of
nationalism as the exaltation of the Turkish people and Pan-Islamism
as call for the unification of the umma, against both the West and the
communist threat.

These anti-Western positions echoed the resentment that had been
accumulating since the end of the Ottoman Empire, and were favored
on the social level by the discontent of the new urbanized poor that saw
identification with Europe and the West as a characteristic of the rich
elites. By adopting a "contingent approach" to the rise of Islamist
movements, Delibaş argues that the rise of fundamentalist groups can
be explained as a reaction against the failures of the secular state,
"which is perceived as corrupt, [and] unable to solve economic and
social problems," mass-urbanization being one of them. It is also
evident that this Islamist trend in Muslim societies included a vision of
the West as a major source of oppression and sufferance for the
idealized umma.[46] Therefore, anti-imperialistic discourses – such as
those produced by political leaders like Erbakan and religious
intellectuals like Karakoç – could appeal significantly to these groups
of people in the context of mass-urbanization, and political
liberalization and fragmentation occurring in Turkey before 1980. The
nationalist element functioned, to say it with Duran, as a "vehicle" for
Turkish Islamism, not only to survive in the multi-party era, but also to
facilitate the Islamist appeal towards the electors and to promote

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[46] Delibaş, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, 16-17.

Islamist ideas among them as the "true values" and role of the Turkish nation, leader of the umma and heir of the greatest Muslim empire. The inclusion of this reference to the greatness of the Turkish nation helped to communicate and spread the Islamist and Pan-Islamist message and depict the secular élites as traitors loyal to the West.

Foreign policy views of the NOM parties through parliamentary debates

Although Necmettin Erbakan was already an independent MP at the end in 1969, founding the National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi, MNP) in 1970, an NOM party was directly voted into the Turkish parliament with the 1973 general elections. After the 1971 coup, the MNP was closed by the Constitutional Court and recreated the following year by Erbakan and others as the National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi, MSP), which finally obtained 48 seats in 1973. This led to the formation of the government established in January 1974, a strained coalition between the Kemalist CHP and the Islamist MSP. Since then, the MSP, whose presence in the Assembly was confirmed in the 1977 general elections, became a recurrent coalition partner in Turkish governments until the coup of 1980. As seen in the previous chapter, the election manifestoes of the NOM parties were always including foreign policy among their main points. One can notice that also official party programs of the early NOM parties were already suggesting links with the neo-Pan-Islamist principles that had been developed until then in the context of multi-party Turkey. In the MNP program (1970), which certainly is the less explicit and the more cautious in this regard, there is anyway a reference to the traditional "principles of the nation"[47] (millet) as the basis of the party's foreign

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[47] *MNP – Program ve tüzük*, 34.

policy vision. "Our foreign policy", says the program of Turkey's first significant Islamist political party, "will be a long-term, national, sovereign, stable and personality-based (i.e. identity-based) foreign policy, in accordance with our historical character and with the single objective and will of our nation".[48] In the NOM language, this is a way to implicitly mention the principles of Islam. The reference to "personality" (şahsiyet) and to "national" (milli, i.e. Islamic) values in relation to the party's foreign policy ambitions became recurring throughout the entire history of the NOM. Then the MNP program of 1970 declares the party being against "imperialist policies"[49] and, recurrently, against the material and moral occupation of Turkey by foreign powers. These are suggestions of the MNP's adherence to Islamist Third Worldist ideals characterizing the neo-Pan-Islamist discourse articulated more explicitly in Erbakan's writings of those years. Developing the same Pan-Islamist line in a more explicit way, the MSP program declared "the necessity to establish greater political relations with those neighbors with which we have historical and cultural ties, in order to increase the prestige of our nation in the international context".[50] As we have seen in the previous chapter, these few lines on the party program were developed and elaborated extensively by the MSP and its leadership, in the shape of evident neo-Pan-Islamist positions during the electoral campaigns of the 1970s on partisan media and on election manifestoes.

A study of parliamentary speeches through the Grand National Assembly's archive of parliamentary minutes is useful for a deeper understanding of these stances, as well as to see how they were

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[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] *MSP – Program ve Tüzük*, 12.

communicated in the everyday political activity carried out by Turkish Islamist politicians. This allows us to see how the Pan-Islamist theorizations studied so far in this research were actually reported to political practice in the parliamentary debate. Parliamentary minutes reveal how the previously detected core elements of neo-Pan-Islamism emerged overtly as parts of the NOM ideology and maintained a degree of consistency with the ideas produced by extra-party Islamist thinkers in the same decades. In addition, a study of parliamentary speeches can deepen our knowledge of neo-Pan-Islamism as the shaping ideology of the foreign policy vision of the NOM political parties, whereas these speeches touched more directly upon specific international affairs than party programs or Erbakan's more generic writings. Erbakan himself, intervened several times in parliament about foreign affairs since the 1970s. His speeches will be also considered for the purpose of this study.

At the time of MSP, Turkey's 1961 Constitution had established a bicameral system made of a National Assembly and a Senate dividing the Grand National Assembly into two chambers until its later reunification, as unicameralism was restored after the 1980 military coup. The 1970s in Turkey were characterized by fragile and unstable coalition governments that did not manage to solve the social and economic problems of those years. During the 1970s, Erbakan's MSP obtained seats in both chambers and governmental roles as coalition partner in different cabinets, both with the Kemalist Republican People's Party (CHP) in 1974, and with the rightist Justice Party (AP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) in the two so-called "Nationalist Front Governments", almost continuously in charge from early 1975 to the end of 1977. As we have seen previously, the MSP entered the Turkish parliament after the general elections held in

October 1973. During the two following parliamentary terms, starting in late 1973 and late 1977, the parliamentary debate on foreign affairs was understandably revolving around Cyprus, as Turkish forces occupied the island's north in July 1974. Despite the well-defined subject of the Cyprus question, a diverse range of neo-Pan-Islamist references, as I previously singled them out, is present in the parliamentary discourse of Turkish Islamists on Cyprus, whose occupation was carried out by the CHP-MSP government. The Islamist discourse on Cyprus leaves space to arguments that are mostly related to the neo-Pan-Islamist anti-Westernism, but also connect with Turkish political Islam's anti-Zionism and with the more or less utopian Pan-Islamist visions that are part of the overall Islamist worldview on international affairs. Moreover, some MSP MPs of the 1970s also intervened in several occasions with more general speeches on foreign affairs. As regards Cyprus, Erbakan's parliamentary intervention in February 1975 touches upon the Cyprus question by declaring the MSP's support for a fully independent Turkish state in Northern Cyprus, confirming the assumption of Turkish-Greek incompatibility expressed for years by Islamists[51] (e.g. Sezai Karakoç). This concept, which is a result an Islamist anti-Westernism and the idea of "protection of the boundaries" of Islam from its enemies, is expanded in the later parliamentary speech by MSP's Yasin Hatiboğlu (b.1935), who overtly talks about "the grandsons of Cruisade armies" exerting influence on the island's fate.[52] Hatiboğlu also explains the MSP's position on Cyprus by declaring that no federal solution could be accepted if that excluded the formation of an independent Turkish cabinet in Nicosia.

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[51] TGNA Archive, National Assembly's Journal of Minutes, (*Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi*, MMTD), 4th Term (*Dönem*, D), 9th Volume (*Cilt*, C), 40th Session (*Birleşim*, B), February 17, 1975, page 73.
[52] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D4, C12, B88, June 12, 1975, p.586.

This was necessary, according to this Islamist MP, as any governmental system in Cyprus should recognize "the reality of the relationship between the two communities", which must be considered, stated Hatiboğlu, "in every way separate from each other".[53] Interestingly enough, another of the neo-Pan-Islamist elements previously extrapolated emerges in the same speech from the usual animosity toward the West, namely, the proposal to establish deeper connections with the Muslim world to form an "Islamic bloc". This (neo-)Pan-Islamist alliance, or alliances, would be instrumental, according to Hatiboğlu and his party, to make "Turkey great again" and reinforce its position in the international context.[54] The same neo-Pan-Islamist views were extensively declared one year later in the National Assembly, by Mustafa Gündüz Sevilgen (b.1936), a representative like Salih Özcan of the Nurcu wing of the MSP. Muslim countries would have to react together to the injustices perpetrated by the West, they would combine their forces through collaboration in both the spiritual and the material fields, and they would do this in the name of the "historical, cultural and spiritual ties".[55] In Sevilgen's declaration, these typical examples of "Cold War Era Pan-Islamism" came also with the distinctive nationalist flavor that characterizes Turkish political Islam:

> "Turkey has certainly the greatest historical duty to reach these goals. There have been historical periods in which the Turks have exercised this duty in the best way. These were the happiest and most peaceful periods in the history of the Muslim world. […] The Muslim world wants to see Turkey as a leader country".[56]

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[53] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D4, C12, B88, June 12, 1975, p.587.
[54] Ibid.
[55] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D4, C19, B101, May 13, 1976, p. 480.
[56] Ibid.

The duties of establishing several degrees of collaboration with all the Muslim countries, both Sunni and Shia, are again narrated as a continuation of Turks' history and a sort of manifest destiny of the Turkish Republic. The mainly anti-Western origin of the Pan-Islamist visions about international Muslim entities makes the demonization of the West and this proposition of a Turkish-led Muslim bloc in foreign affairs decisively contiguous in the neo-Pan-Islamist narration and logic. During the same parliamentary term as Sevilgen, one of the NOM's most eminent figures, Süleyman Arif Emre (b.1923), contributed to the parliamentary debate on foreign policy by confirming his party's opposition to the European Economic Community. "Our relations with the Common Market", he declared, "should be directed towards our national goals", meaning that the MSP preferred for Turkey to follow a path of "competition" with European countries rather than become a member of their club, as he later explained.[57] Once again, stated Emre, the MSP's preferred option in foreign policy would be that Turkey acted "with personality" and turned to its fellow Muslim countries for cooperation through conference and agreements meant to emancipate the Muslim world.[58] For Emre, this kind of Pan-Islamic cooperation would be at the core of the competition with the West and strengthen Turkey's economy by boosting its industrialization. As seen in the previous chapter, industrialization was one of the key words of Turkey's Islamist campaigns during the 1970s, as the development of a national heavy industry (i.e. automotive, steelmaking, chemical etc.) was seen as a decisive tool to empower Turkey against Western hegemony in manufacturing and trade.

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[57] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D4, C24, B46, February 16, 1977, pp.64-65.
[58] Ibid., p.64.

The same overt anti-Western Islamist arguments came back during the following parliamentary term. An example of this is Erbakan's speech at the National Assembly in February 1979, when the NOM's leader declared to believe that Turkey's invasion of Cyprus was not the only reason for the US arms embargo on Turkey: for Erbakan this was part of the wider plan of "external forces" to "prevent Turkey from becoming great again".[59] Once again, in Erbakan's speech, the antidote was the collaboration with what he described as the vast Muslim world full of material resources and opportunities for Turkey to reach its "greatness" and defend itself without depending on the West.[60] In parallel to Erbakan's speech at the National Assembly, the MSP senator Ahmet Remzi Hatip (1930-2016) was outlining the same position on the Cyprus question and the American embargo in a speech at the Senate, also in February 1979. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus was, according to Hatip, a just a pretext for the American to start the embargo, and Turkey should deepen its relations with "the Third World" and especcialy "the Muslim world" if it wanted to pursue its "national interests".[61] The NOM discourse on Cyprus in the parliamentary context is developed by another important figure of the movement, Oğuzhan Asiltürk (b.1935). In 1979, Asiltürk reminded the Assembly about the active role played by the MSP, as partner of the coalition government, in the preparation and implementation of the Cyprus operation and declared it the right action to restore peace on the island.[62] "The victory in Cyprus", declared Asiltürk, "is a result of the MSP's personality-based foreign policy".[63] One could also translate the NOM keyword *şahsiyetli* (with personality), with "identity-based",

[59] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C10, B54, February 16, 1979, p.35.
[60] Ibid., p.38.
[61] TGNA Archive, CSTD, D5, C41, B37, February 7, 1979, pp.608-609.
[62] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C10, B60, February 22, 1979, p.718.
[63] Ibid.

basically an idea of independence and assertiveness and, once again, "emancipation from the West". As we have seen in the previous chapters, the adjective *şahsiyetli* was most important one associated with foreign policy in the discourse produced by the NOM. In the abovementioned speech, the occupation of Cyprus is overtly used, and appropriated, by a prominent NOM politician as an example of *şahsiyetli* foreign policy according to Turkish Islamists. On the contrary, said Asiltürk in this speech, the government (then a minority government led by the Kemalists) intended to lose that "personality", to forget about Turkish (and Muslim) identity, and to please the West with concessions about the Mediterranean island.[64] This was once again the occasion to enumerate the possible advantages of a stronger cooperation with the Muslim countries as an alternative to Turkey's "Western ties" and to suggest relations with Europe based only on "our national interest".[65]

However, in 1979, Iran became the most important topic in the field of foreign affairs, and Turkish Islamists in parliament started to show support for Iranian Islamists as they did outside the National Assembly or the Senate. An example of this is in the parliamentary speech by the MSP MP Şener Battal (b.1940) he held on the 13th of February 1979, after Khomeini had returned to Iran and the Iranian army had proclaimed its neutrality in the events occurring in the country. With his speech Battal officially declared on behalf of the MSP, the main political Islamic movement in Turkey, a sincere support for Khomeini and his followers. Amid the loud protests of the MPs from

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[64] Ibid., pp.718-719.
[65] Ibid., p.722.

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other parties, Battal addressed the assembly with the exhortation to recognize the Iranian Islamists as the new ruling force in Iran:

"Honorable President [of the National Assembly], esteemed representatives, it is satisfying for me to say that the Islamic revolution started by the Ayatollah Khomeini in our neighboring brother Iran has certainly reached success. I hope that this Islamic revolution can be even more successful and bring peace to humanity and to the Muslim world. […] In Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini strongly defended his belief and made the Iranian crowds accept, in their widest sense, the economic views of Islam and the order of Islam as an order of love and respect. […] The social justice in the Islamic message of Khomeini has become the greatest guarantee for those miserable crowds. The exploitation and the oppression perpetrated by a small happy minority has come to an end in Iran.

Esteemed representatives, the governments of the Republic of Turkey have often committed very big mistakes in foreign policy. [For instance, …] the Republic of Turkey has been the first Muslim country to recognize the State of Israel, which was put in the Middle East out of the blue. It is to avoid the repetition of this kind of mistakes that today we must recognize the new Islamic Republic led by Khomeini. Without waiting for the Russians or the Americans to express their positions, without being possessed by doubts as we wait for their declarations, we must recognize the Islamic Republic of Iran as soon as possible. This is what I say to those calling for a "foreign policy with personality (*şahsiyetli*)". […] It is not good to hesitate in foreign policy when it comes to protect national causes and national interests."[66]

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[66] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C10, B51, February 13, 1979, p.611.

Iran officially became the Islamic Republic of Iran after the referendum of April 1979. However, Battal declared in February that his party would act quickly and assertively in foreign policy (another example of "*şahsiyetli*" is given here), without waiting for the superpowers to express their positions. This speech is once again intended to show how the MSP supported a change of the status quo in Turkey's foreign relations and how this change had to be part of a vague wider plan to make the country as "independent" as possible, tied only to rest of the Muslim world an in a leading position. More specifically, Battal's speech of February 1979 demonstrates how Erbakan's party was in favor of the Iranian Islamic Republic. And this was also the reflection of the MSP Islamist social base's support for its Iranian counterpart in spite of the Sunni-Shia divide. Khomeini's project of an Islamic state in Iran is described as socially just polity based on Islamic values and liberation of the oppressed majority of Muslims in Iran. This narration about Iran seems to be in harmony with the idea of Islamic state honed in Turkey through the intellectual elaborations of local Islamist authors and the transnational influence of translated authors like Maududi. As we have seen in the chapter about electoral campaigns and Islamist propaganda in Turkey, it is also this idea of "Islamic justice" (see also Erbakan's explanation of "*hak*") that was going to be highlighted in the discourse produced by the RP starting from the 1980s.

For the NOM/MSP emancipation for Turkey in foreign affairs was emancipation from any superpower, but we have seen that throughout the history of Turkish Islamism this meant especially the break from Western ties, resulting in the kind of anti-Westernism that emerged in parallel to Pan-Islamism. This anti-Westernism is evident in the Turkish Islamist discourse about the birth of the Islamic Republic

in Iran, appearing once again in that case as one of the core elements, possibly the most important feature, of any Islamist position on foreign policy. This was still true in the early 1990s, as the NOM came back to the parliament after the difficulties of the post-coup 1980s, when the RP could participate only to the 1987 general election without managing to enter Turkey's Grand National Assembly. In 1991, when the RP started to obtain more and more votes until its becoming Turkey's first political party at the 1995 general elections, the most important topic in the Turkish debate on foreign affairs was certainly the Gulf War and the following American operations in Northern Iraq. In particular, it was Operation Provide Comfort (1991-1996), aiming at the creation of a safe haven for Kurds in Northern Iraq, to raise concerns in Turkey and to cause the protests of Turkish Islamists against what they saw as another Western military interference in Muslim lands. Moreover, this US-led operation included the deployment of US troops in military bases located in Turkish territory with the support of the Turkish government. Such support was met with strong protests, especially from the RP. At the end of 1991, this question was briefly addressed on behalf of the RP by a representative of the Konya district, Abdullah Gül (b.1950), future co-founder of today's Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, AKP) and future President of the Republic of Turkey from 2007 to 2014. During Erbakan's tenure as Prime Minister in 1996, Abdullah Gül was considered Turkey's "shadow foreign minister", as the real foreign ministry was headed by the RP's coalition partner, the True Path Party (*Doğru Yol Partisi*, DYP), but Gül had assumed the role of Erbakan's foreign policy advisor and kept assisting him in his visits in Muslim countries while DYP's Tansu Çiller was managing Turkey's relations

with the West.[67] Gül's dealing with foreign policy was already visible in these early debates about Provide Comfort, when he declared that this operation was just instrumental to the enhancement of American hegemony in the Middle East, and that it was meant to give the US the possibility to secure more oil for themselves and for the security of Israel.[68] As Erbakan later reminded the assembly that he and his party saw the American presence as a threat to Turkey's security as Kurdish terrorism was on the rise,[69] Gül declared the same concern about Turkish security[70] but he also added that this military operations were part of the wider American plan for the establishment of a "new world order"[71] after the end of the Cold War. We have already seen this analysis published on Turkey's Islamist magazines of the time, by Islamist that saw Islam as the new designated enemy of the Western world after the irreversible failure of the Communist bloc. This discourse maintained and renewed the anti-Western sentiment among Turkish Islamist after the end of the Cold War. An example of how this Islamist analysis of the international situation resonated in the parliamentary debates on foreign affairs is given in this speech by Oğuzhan Asiltürk of 1992:

> "I am here today to expose the RP's views on how Turkish foreign policy should be. Of course, when assessing our foreign policy, I find useful to briefly consider current world developments. As you know, important changes are occurring in the world. The most important is that we are passing from world politics as a balance between to weights, to a world politics based on one weight only. Before, the United States of America

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[67] Robins, Philip. "Turkish foreign policy under Erbakan."
[68] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C2, B18, December 19, 1991, pp.79-80.
[69] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C14, B89, June 26, 1992, p.197.
[70] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C26, B51, December 24, 1992, pp.410- 412.
[71] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C2, B18, December 19, 1991, pp.79.

and their allies could stand against their opposite power, and the same was possible for the opposite force, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic and their allies. As long as this happened, many conflicts around the world remained rather limited because of that equilibrium. […] But that equilibrium changed. After the disintegration of the USSR, America declared itself the only superpower. […] It seems now that after the collapse of communism, capitalism has become the sole ruler. We certainly experience the results of this with great pain… Very much of the actions taken today against Muslim countries, the embargoes and economic sanctions, [like that on post-Gulf War Iraq], actions reaching the most ravaging level, they are all increasing as a result of this lack of equilibrium. […] An order based on consumption and use of other countries' resources, an order based on this exploitation as an instrument to increase the well-being of one's own country, such an order cannot be sustainable in the long term. I believe that unexpectedly, but inexorably, in a not so distant future, that order will be shattered.

So, in such an unbalanced scenario, how must Turkey's foreign policy be? Turkey's foreign policy must be evaluated from the point of view of Turkey's own interests, regional interests and the region's Muslim countries, with their common interests, in the context of forming blocs. As you know, in North America there is an association between Canada and the US, the same happens in South America. European countries unite themselves as European Community or as EFTA, and this unions are in great measure built against America. There is also an African Union… Far Eastern countries are uniting, Pacific countries are uniting and also a Slavic union is forming after the end of the USSR. […] From the point of view of Turkey's interests, it is necessary, as it is unavoidable, that we form a

union with the Muslim countries. That market is a big market. Markets are the driving force of the economy. […]

I hope that these words of mine are to be valued by the esteemed Minister of Foreign Affairs and by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I hope that Turkey will pursue its own interests and desires, but not in the direction wanted by Western countries."[72]

This long parliamentary speech, which includes also the usual speculations on the possible cultural, economic or defensive features of the "Islamic international organizations", demonstrates how these visions of a multifaceted "Islamic bloc" in world politics are intertwined with anti-Westernism in the discourse produced by Turkish Islamists, as this discourse is reflected in the words of Turkey's most relevant Islamist parliamentarians at least until the 1990s. This speech also shows, as previously stated, how the end of the Cold War and the assumed "end of history", were seen by Islamists as a major threat to the world of Islam, and how the end of the communist bloc corresponded to a strengthening of anti-Western sentiments among Islamists in Turkey as the US stood as the winning side in need of a new enemy in the newly established "world order". In the RP's discourse, the idea of a "post-Cold War new world order dominated by the US" is recurrent and it is another "symptom" of the renewal and adaptation of Turkish political Islam's animosity towards the West in the 1990s. An analysis of the NOM/RP's discourse reveals how Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism, which had emerged as Islamist Third Worldism during the Cold War, was ideologically strengthened and perpetuated in the 1990s through the persistence of its centennial anti-Western roots. Moreover, in the framework of post-Cold War uncertainty, the fear of

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[72] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C7, B55, March 19, 1992, pp.340-350.

a unipolar post-Cold War scenario was a reason for Turkish Islamists to support the opposite idea of a possible multipolarity, in which detachment from Western alliances and formation of "Muslim regional organizations" could be more feasible goals than before. Another example of this anti-Western/neo-Pan-Islamist discourse on "new world order" can be found in a parliamentary speech by RP's Abdüllatif Şener (b.1954). For Şener, the "new world order" was being established by the US to defend "Western interests", and major international organizations like the UN, the IMF and NATO were instruments to reinforce this American hegemony.[73] Once again, the Islamist idea that the Muslim world was to replace USSR as the main enemy of the West emerges in Şener's speech.[74] One could also say that the end of the Communist bloc and the survival of only one superpower was an even better fit for the Islamist conception of a world made of two opposite camps, the abode of Islam and its nemesis that is the non-Muslim world as "one single nation of infidels". In the 1990s, other recurring topics used by Erbakan's parliamentarians in their attempt to prove the existence of this general "anti-Muslim Western plan" are the Bosnian War, the Nagorno-Karabakh war and the EU-Turkey Customs Union. To exemplify this, one can report a 1994 speech by Abdullah Gül, where Bosnia-Herzegovina was described as another Andalusia, a Muslim land that Western powers intended to Christianize:

> "Unfortunately, an unbelievable carnage is still going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The whole world is watching… The United Nations, NATO, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the Western European Union… in front of all these organizations. In fact, all these organizations were not observers, but somehow

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[73] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C48, B50, December 20, 1993, p.682.
[74] Ibid., p.682-683.

accomplices to the slaughter and – I even want to say this – unfortunately, I hereby want to classify them as the architects of this slaughter. Because these organizations, especially NATO and the United Nations, are those responsible of stopping this carnage and assuring safety for the people living there. They have claimed this responsibility for them. However, this carnage called "*ethnic cleansing*" (*in English in the original*) is nothing but the eradication of the last existing Ottoman trace in Europe, the same way it was done in Andalusia centuries ago. […] These [Western] plans include the submission of the militarily conquered lands to the Serbs in legal ways."[75]

In a following intervention on the same topic, Gül emphasized the idea of an anti-Muslim nature of the war in Bosnia and the Western attitude about it:

"There is no ethnic cleansing, there is no war, what is happening there is just slaughter. In the framework of its crusade mentality, in the framework of its crusade conscience, this slaughter, which is not based on ethnic distinctions, is just an expression of European intolerance for even the smallest Muslim state in the middle of Europe".[76]

The "West", including all the international organizations perceived as predominantly "Western", are accused of being part of the plan to eliminate Islam in Bosnia, and Gül uses comparisons with the distant past in a way that, as we have seen, is very familiar to Turkish Islamists. Here we have once again an example of the use of history in the Islamist discourse in Turkey, in parliamentary speech as in the propaganda of the NOM parties. After studying the recurrent slogans

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[75] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C73, B44, November 30, 1994, p.23.
[76] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C73, B46, December 6, 1994, p.184.

of Turkish Islamists, as well as their discourse entirely, one can note that this use of historical references had become in the 1990s a set of keywords that were still repeated to label and to simplify current events when explaining them to the Islamist audience. One of the most repeated slogans within the anti-Western discourse of Turkey's main Islamists was the historical reference "Crusade mentality" or "Crusade spirit", an expression we have seen many times throughout this research, a formula passing from the texts of writers like Karakoç to those of political leaders like Erbakan. One can say that such slogans or fixed images, which were born in the 1970s or earlier and repeated since then in Islamist texts on foreign affairs, could not be expressed in the 1990s without evoking a certain set of Islamist stances associating the West with a certain set of immoral characteristics. In other words, these often history-based fixed expressions were part of a "common Islamist language" in Turkey. For instance, they could evoke the "religious anti-Westernism" discussed in this chapter, as in the case of "crusade mentality", and they indicated an orator's or an author's belonging to the Islamist "group". When intervening in 1992 about the Nagorno-Karabakh War going on in the Caucasus for the occupation of a disputed region, RP's MP Şevket Kazan (b.1933) gave us another example of this "Christians vs Muslims" Islamist view on conflicts: for Kazan, the West was siding with Armenia against Azerbaijan in order to achieve a "new imperialist order" and a "crusade hegemony".[77] Once again, we see here the Islamist attempt to associate non-Muslim international actors with negative values and immoral interests. This is part of the common Islamist tenet (also Erbakan refers to it), according to which the Westerners (i.e. Christians and Jews) would have a wrong understanding of what is "just", and thus they would be "essentially"

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[77] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C20, B21, November 3, 1992, p.28.

immoral. The expression "crusade mentality" (*haçlı zihniyet*) was particularly useful for Islamists as it evoked greed and evil, and at the same time it immediately associated those negative features to Christian religion as *haç* means cross in Turkish. The expression "crusade", when used to portray "the incompatible West" set against Islam, is a keyword that can be considered a concentrate of the entire Islamist anti-Westernism in Turkey.

However, the anti-Western sentiment of Turkish Islamists was not limited to cases of armed conflicts. This sentiment was equally overt in the parliamentary debates of the 1990s as the RP expressed its stances on the plans for the Customs Union that would later bind Turkey and the European Union at the end of 1995. In a speech held at the Grand National Assembly in early 1995, RP's Cevat Ayhan (b.1938) compares the trade agreement in question with the Ottoman capitulations that had granted privileges to Westerners in the old Empire (another example of the use of history made by Turkish Islamists).[78] For Ayhan, Turkish goods would be disadvantaged in the competition with Europe. But for the Islamist party the Customs Union is not only disadvantageous for Turkey's economy, it is also against the religious nature of the Turkish people, says Ayhan:

> "This nation wants to be Muslim, this nation loves Islam, it wants to live Islam, but Europe says 'if you are Muslims you cannot be members'. […] It is not possible for us to enter the European Community, it is not possible for us to enter the Customs Union. God willing, we will be a new center of power, stopping the oppression experienced today by Muslim communities in the Third World. And we will do this with the Muslim countries, with the Islamic Common Market, with the

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[78] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C80, B81, March 1, 1995, p.301.

Islamic Defense Pact and, God willing, with the Islamic United Nations."[79]

Once again here, a Turkish Islamist was expressing the idea that any economic agreement with Europe, for its being part of a European integration process, had always a political meaning leading to political consequences that Islamists would abhor. The political nature of the Customs Union is stated as a warning in a following parliamentary intervention by MP Abdullah Gül, future President of the Republic. "It is completely ideological, completely political", said the future co-founder of today's AKP, "it is certain that Turkey will never enter the European Union", because "the EU is a Christian Union" and "all the European philosophers and main politicians are saying this".[80]

In the following years, Islamist MPs continued this specific part of their anti-Western discourse by addressing the European Union and its Christian nature. As it is evident from what we affirmed here about the "Christian-crusade" Islamist association, this idea of an alleged "Christian essence" of the EU was a useful instrument for Turkish Islamists in their attempts to suggest the impossibility of a Turkish membership. This is summarized in the 1997 speech of another RP parliamentarian, Hasan Dikici (b.1943):

> "The real goal of the EU is a political union that would advance step by step towards the United States of Europe, a union that would be based on the Christian Western culture and that would be increasingly assertive. The real goal of the EU is to work for the formation of a European polity. The Common

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[79] Ibid., p.304.
[80] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C81, B83, March 8, 1995, p.32.

Market is the Catholic European Union, established in accordance with a Christian ideology".[81]

Islamist Anti-Westernism, as already noted, is the main stimulus to Pan-Islamism in late Ottoman times, and to neo-Pan-Islamism during and after the Cold War. In other words, Pan-Islamist projects and proposals originated mainly from the Islamist desire to present an "Islamic alternative" to a world politics dominated by non-Muslim powers and alliances. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the surviving non-Muslim bloc appears to be the West, the original nemesis of Islamists now represented by the United States and the European Union. The present research has already highlighted many examples of the Pan-Islamic organizations proposed by Turkish Islamist throughout decades, and some of the parliamentary speeches reported here are exposing such utopian Islamist visions. The last trace of this kind of proposals, and the only Pan-Islamic intergovernmental organization that Erbakan's NOM managed to create, was the already mentioned "Developing 8" organization (D-8). At the beginning of 1998, during the last days of the RP, Abdullah Gül was still praising the creation and the permanence of the D-8 as one of his party's achievements in foreign policy.[82] In the same speech, Gül advocated the adoption of a "multidirectional" ("*çok yönlü*") foreign policy, abandoning the "indexation to Europe" that has weakened Turkey throughout the years.[83] We can interpret this promotion of multidimensionality as the continuation of the idea of "assertiveness", of "foreign policy with personality", that had been already circling in the NOM's discourse for decades. Moreover, this speech by Abdullah

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[81] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D20, C32, B127, July 29, 1997, p.101.
[82] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D20, C41, B38, January 6, 1998, p.785.
[83] Ibid.

Gül reveals strong connections with the "strategic depth" doctrine[84] developed by Ahmet Davutoğlu (b.1959), who is considered the architect of the AKP's foreign policy in the 2000s and early 2010s:

"Turkey is not a country with just 80-90 years of history, it is a country with great depth, a great country that played a role in history and occasionally shaped it. For these reasons, its foreign policy must certainly carry such a weight. Sometimes one wonders whether another country, any European country, would follow the same foreign policy we followed for many years if it had the same location as Turkey. […] Turkey still has a potential, still has its connections. When we look around us, if we do not focus on people's languages and appearances, all the historical buildings, all the great cultural centers, they are all our heritage. Therefore, it is impossible to suddenly ignore all this.

Naturally, a country with such a depth must follow a foreign policy that has depth. But unfortunately, Turkey has been drifting away from such a long-strategy foreign policy for many years now and it is not a country that has a weight in the region. Unfortunately, in the region, Turkey presents itself as a country that has entered the trajectories of others. From this point of view, Turkey is in the Middle East, in Europe and in Asia. Nevertheless, all these depths have been put aside and Turkey, unfortunately, as we see especially in the last years and in the last months, is not a leader country in the Middle East".[85]

The idea of Turkey being a "leader country" in the Middle East is another element, as we have seen so far, of neo-Pan-Islamism and Islamist views on foreign policy in Turkey, signaling the nostalgia for the Ottoman glory and ultimately the characteristic nationalism of

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[84] See Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik*.
[85] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D20, C41, B38, January 6, 1998, p.784.

Turkish political Islam. Besides this, we can notice in this speech how RP's neo-Pan-Islamism, at the end of the 1990s, was somehow fading. However, this change was still paving the way for the promotion of assertive and multidimensional foreign policy as advocated by derivate political parties like the FP (*Fazilet Partisi*, Virtue Party) and the AKP. The Islamist anti-Western idea of being "against the West and with the Muslim countries" was transfigured into the "multidimensional" idea of being "with the West, but not only, exploiting cultural, historical and geographical ties with the neighboring Muslim world". As showed in the previous chapter, this change was part of the apparent discontinuity in the general discourse produced by the NOM before and after the closure of the RP.

As we aim to isolate the anti-communist element within the Islamist discourse produced in the Turkish parliament, we must note that it predictably emerges most explicitly between in 1980, in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion, together with the following Soviet-Afghan war, became the main anti-communist argument for Turkish Islamists throughout the 1980s. The pro-mujahidin position held by Turkish Islamist magazines was equally maintained by the MSP at the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Solidarity to the anti-Soviet Muslim armed groups was expressed by Turkey's main Islamist party in early 1980, soon after the Soviet invasion of the Asian country, with a speech pronounced by Şener Battal:

> "The independent State of Afghanistan is suffering in this moment the occupation perpetrated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In these days, red imperialism has been showing itself at its worst with the bad example of persecution and napalm bombings on the Afghan people in rigid winter

conditions. Since mid-20th century imperialism has not been using brute force or occupations, but it has disguised itself through the way of economy, by buying a bunch of local state administrators forming the so-called 'new class'. In this way, the United State of America perpetuated economic imperialism, while Russia interfered with the sovereignty of certain states by training on its soil the administrators of those states. However, we see that in today's Afghanistan the 19th century brute force imperialism has reappeared, with all its ugliness, as one of the shameful pages in the history of humanity."[86]

In Battal's speech we see clearly how, from the Islamist viewpoint, the two superpowers – though distinct and competing – represent two faces of the same coin. "Red imperialism" is for MSP's Battal another emanation of the "enemy world" generally constituted by the non-Muslim powers. What is different in 1980 Afghanistan was that the Russians were being more "straightforward" in their use of force to install a friendly regime in Kabul. However, from the Islamist outlook underlying the MSP's statements in parliament, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was just another evidence of the non-Muslim world being one single entity monolithically determined to enslave Muslims and destroy their religion. In sum, the reactions to this Soviet occupation show how Turkish Islamists considered capitalism and communism competing forms of the same non-Muslim plan to create an "anti-Islamic world order". Battal's speech goes on, explaining the possible solution for Afghanistan as proposed by the MSP:

> "One year and half ago, when the Taraki[87] regime took
> power in Afghanistan, the National Salvation Party (MSP)

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[86] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C13, B28, January 10, 1980, p.657.
[87] Nur Muhammad Taraki (1913-1979) was the communist leader who overthrew the Afghan monarchy in 1978 and established a communist regime favored by the USSR. He was killed in 1979 and replaced by his comrade Hafizullah Amin. The

requested to everyone the support for the Islamic mujahidin there, the fighters of Islam, and showed its own support for the establishment of the Islamic Republic against the Red Taraki regime. Later, the spokespersons and the administrators of the MSP called for the support for the Islamic mujahidin's war against the servant of some other imperialist, a certain Hafizullah Amin, who had replaced Taraki. But no one, neither in Turkey, nor in Europe, nor in America, answered that call. They thought that if an Islamic Republic were founded in Afghanistan on the Khomeini model, it would represent a blow also to American imperialism, to Western capitalism. The National Salvation's dramatic appeal has been ignored for a year and a half now. Today's Russian invasion is the result of this indifference. Now red imperialism in Asia revealed Russia's policy of descending towards warm waters. […] In Afghanistan, the Islamic mujahidin will give the necessary answer to the invaders and to their servants. In Afghanistan, that kind of imperialism will be destroyed."[88]

The MSP's solution for Afghanistan, as the party voiced in this way its support for the anti-communist Islamist fighters, was the establishment of an Islamic republic. Once again, we see here how Erbakan's party considered the Islamic revolution in Iran a success story and model that could be applied elsewhere as an alternative to both American and Russian models. Most importantly, this speech explicitly shows the Islamist consideration of Western and Eastern bloc as different kinds of the same phenomenon, namely imperialism against the Muslim world. No one, said Battal expressing his party's position,

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continuing instability in Afghanistan and the ongoing clashes between the Afghan army and the Islamist guerrilla groups caused the Soviet invasion of December 1979.
[88] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C13, B28, January 10, 1980, p.657.

is going to fight the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, because for Islamists the Western bloc is another agent of the same anti-Islamic project of exploitation of the Muslim world. In early 1980, the MSP also contributed to the parliamentary debate on Afghanistan by exposing its position with another anti-communist speech, this time held by Salih Özcan, the multifaceted figure already presented in this research as one of the most important Pan-Islamists of Turkey's multi-party era. In his speech, which I mentioned in the chapter dedicated to him, Özcan declared to the Assembly that he had recently been to the "Afghan border", giving the idea that he was "reporting" about the situation there. Özcan warned his fellow MPs about the danger represented by the Soviet Union, comparing the invasion of Afghanistan to the Soviet interventions of the past in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.[89] Most importantly, in this speech he connected the Russian imperialist and expansionist tendencies to the abovementioned idea of the general plan of non-Muslim powers to conquer the Muslim world. For Özcan, this was why all Muslim countries needed to be warned about the "red danger" and the invasion of other Muslim countries, including Turkey, could not be excluded from such a consideration.[90] Once again, this was the premise for another call for an "Islamic Union" transcending all current borders, because "Turkey is part of the Muslim world and its unification with the Muslim world is then compulsory".[91] Here we see how also the anti-communist element of the Islamist foreign policy discourse in Turkey was necessarily leading the discourse itself to neo-Pan-Islamist visions of more or less utopian Muslim blocs as actors in international relations.

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[89] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C13, B30, January 16, 1980, p.733.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

As already observed throughout this research, and seen above here when exploring Necmettin Erbakan's writings, the anti-Zionist element of the foreign policy discourse of Turkey's Islamists is very often overlapping with a merely anti-Semitic sentiment revealed by the fact that the words "Jew", "Zionism" and "Israel" are used as synonyms.[92] There were several parliamentary speeches by the MSP and the RP's MPs indicating a reflection of Erbakan's anti-Zionism in their contribution to the parliamentary debate. These went, for instance, from Mehmet Zeki Okur (b.1936), saying in 1976 that "the Christian world" was "supporting the Jews" against Palestinians,[93] to Temel Karamollaoğlu (b.1941) standing twenty years later on the same line, as he declared in parliament that "the Jews have unfortunately founded a state by using terrorism" and "building on blood".[94] Also in Erbakan's already cited long speech of February 1979, one can find the Islamist leader's warning about the expansionist Israeli plan for a "Greater Israel" including the entire region "between the Euphrates and Nile".[95] However, the most revealing Islamist parliamentary speech on the NOM's stance towards Israel was given in 1992 by Oğuzhan Asiltürk. In the wake of the Madrid Conference of 1991, and in the context of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, Asiltürk strongly criticized the Arab countries participating to the conference as they recognized and legitimized the State of Israel. Interestingly, Asiltürk's speech also reveals how the NOM considered "Jews" and "Israelis" complete synonyms, as the MP blamed Jews in general for Israel's policies towards Arabs, thus accusing Judaism and "Jewish race" of evilness and knowingly mixing religion with politics as usual:

[92] Bali, "The image of the Jew in the rhetoric of political Islam in Turkey'".
[93] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D4, C16, B63, February 22, 1976, p.249.
[94] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D20, C4, B41, April 20, 1996, p.90.
[95] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D5, C10, B54, February 16, 1979, p.41.

"This Paris Charter says that the Jews should not be criticized. Be fair, be fair! This is not possible, this is not acceptable… Injustice is perpetrated against many people leaving as minority in several nations. None of their names is mentioned in the Charter. What kind of superiority does this Jewish race have? And our government, how do they back this, how do they keep on praising this Paris Charter. The Paris Charter speaks of the Jews only, about the fact that they should not be criticized. But let's be fair! Why couldn't they be criticized? Why are they going to be? If Israel is criticized, if the massacres in Palestine are showed, if a world public opinion against Israel is formed, Israel would not reach its goals, or it would have a hard time in reaching them."[96]

The "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" of 1990, a.k.a. Paris Charter, was adopted as its fundamental basis by the renewed CSCE (*Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe*, later renamed OSCE, *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe*) at the end of the Cold War. The charter functioned as the statute for the international organization of which Turkey was also a member, and declared democracy and human rights among its core values. It also concisely condemned "all forms of racial and ethnic hatred, antisemitism and xenophobia".[97] This reference to antisemitism without any specific mention of the Muslim world was possibly the pretext for this anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic speech by Asiltürk. His understanding of this condemnation of antisemitism as the condemnation of any criticism towards Israel, and a defense of Zionism, was certainly not coincidental or naïve. As a matter of fact, it was part a longstanding, well-rooted Islamist tradition of explaining Zionism as an intrinsic evil

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[96] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C3, B31, February 4, 1992, p.257-258.
[97] OSCE website: www.osce.org/mc/39516

characteristic of Judaism, described by Turkish Islamists as false religion meant only to oppress and exploit. Asiltürk was then perpetuating in the 1990s the old anti-Semitic sentiment expressed by political Islam since the foundation of the State of Israel and linked also to delusional conspiracy theories like those explicated by Erbakan in his memoirs.[98] In another 1991 speech by Erbakan, one finds the same theories and visions of world Jewry "conspiring" against the Muslim World for further expansion of Israel in the Middle East:

> "America means Greater Israel. America has made the establishment of Greater Israel one of its own objectives. Because, as we all know, the lobbies governing America are the Jews, the Armenians and the Greeks who destroyed the Ottoman Empire. After the First World War, they moved to America. But destroying the Ottoman Empire is not enough for them. Now, through the establishment of their lobbies in America, they are working for the disintegration of today's Turkey and for the creation of the Greater Israel in the Middle East. The recent Madrid Conference was done to record this. Because, although this conference declares to be aiming at the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East, its real goal is to legitimize the occupation of lands that Israel has done. Its real goal is to assure that Israel is recognized by its neighboring Muslim countries, so that today's status would be reinforced and a further step towards the Greater Israel could be taken. This is its real goal."[99]

In this speech, we see how Erbakan tightly combines his anti-Zionist (and anti-Semitic) views with the animosity towards America and the West. Once again, one can realize how these two different kinds of oppositions are just two aspects of the Islamist hostility toward the

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[98] See previous pages.
[99] TGNA Archive, MMTD, D19, C2, B20, December 25, 1991, p.252.

non-Muslim world, seen from the Islamist perspective as one monolithic actor. They constitute, together with anti-communism, the premises and the fundamental elements of the Turkish neo-Pan-Islamist discourse. As seen in the previous pages of this chapter with anti-Westernism and anti-communism (the latter being the hostility toward "red imperialism", as Turkish Islamists called it), also anti-Zionism represents the premise for Turkey's Islamist politicians to present their predictions or utopian plans about Turkey-led Pan-Islamic entities:

> "Today, in every Muslim country, there is a conscious movement that is aware of what imperialism and Zionism are. God willing, with the development of such awareness, the Muslim countries will save themselves from the exploitation and the aggression of Zionism and imperialism. For this reason, the current situation is a situation in which every Muslim country engages in a sort of true war of independence."[100]

Interestingly, Erbakan was talking here of a "true war of independence" in comparison with the Turkish War of Independence resulting in the creation of the secular Republic of Turkey founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. This is perfectly consistent with the core ideological tenet of the National Outlook Movement: the true identity of the Turkish nation is the Muslim identity. According to this fundamental principle of Erbakan's NOM, the real nation to liberate is the global Muslim nation and the Turks are the most "natural" and legitimate heirs to its leadership.

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[100] Ibid., p.254.

Conclusions

The present research has aimed at investigating the Islamist ideology from the point of view of foreign policy and how the Islamist discourse has been developed by Islamist political parties and thinkers in Turkey in relation with foreign affairs. This has been done here for the period of expansion of political Islam in multi-party Turkey, from the first appearance of the National Outlook Movement in the early 1970s to the end of its growth in 1990s. The study of this long period has revealed a high degree of continuity and homogeneity concerning the discourse on foreign policy, both from the viewpoint of extra-party intellectuals and from that of NOM political parties. This period of consistency ends crucially with the closure of the RP and the foundation of new political parties abandoning some defining contents of the previous foreign affairs discourse, e.g. a longstanding anti-Western attitude. However, as the end of Erbakan's strong leadership and the experiences of party closures following military coups caused this remarkable deviation from "traditional" Islamist stances, the "post-RP" parties adapted to new context but maintained some of the old party's eminent officials as well as some foreign policy slogans, e.g. "Turkey leader country". More importantly, it is possible to argue that the specificity of AKP's multi-dimensional foreign policy views of the 2000s, and Ahmet Davutoğlu's "Neo-Ottomanism", are to be sought in the Pan-Islamist tradition maintained by the AKP's predecessors like the MSP and the RP. In other words, the difference between the AKP's so-called "Neo-Ottomanist" foreign policy theories and other center-left or center-right "Neo-Ottomanisms" (i.e. proposals for a more assertive and multi-directional Turkish foreign policy) can be found in the Islamist and nationalist roots of the AKP. Interestingly, nationalism is one of the fundamental components of Turkish Pan-Islamism,

possibly the most distinctive one if we compare Turkish Pan-Islamism with expressions of the same ideology in other Muslim countries.

This research has focused on the two distinct and intertwining spheres of extra-party and intra-party political Islam, by analyzing the discourse on foreign policy and foreign affairs in Turkey's Islamist environments both inside and outside of the National Outlook Movement and its political parties. On one hand it has highlighted the importance of religious brotherhoods and their leaders for the shaping of Islamist ideology in Turkey. By following the studies of Hakan Yavuz, this dissertation has demonstrated the relevance of the Naqshbandi teachings for Turkish Islamism, and found them relevant also in the specific case of Pan-Islamism. Successively, this research has identified the writers that influenced the development of a Turkish neo-Pan-Islamism with their books, like Sezai Karakoç, or even with their publishing and entrepreneurial activities, like Salih Özcan. The works of these authors, together with those of highly influential Turkish Islamists like Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, has been analyzed here to find out the ideological elements at the heart of the Islamist thought on foreign affairs. To complete this analysis, it has been necessary to add a chapter on Turkey's most relevant Islamist reviews published between 1970s and 1990s. This latter part of the research has proved to be extremely important to obtain a wider comprehension of the Turkish Islamist context in the years under study.

On the other hand, this dissertation deepened the knowledge of the discourse produced by the National Outlook Movement throughout the history of the political parties that represented it in modern Turkey's history. This has been possible through an exploration of the NOM parties' electoral campaigns and programs. Moreover, an analysis of the writings of the NOM's founder and permanent leader Necmettin

Erbakan, together with that of the MSP and RP's most relevant parliamentary speeches on foreign affairs, has revealed the topics that most eminently interested Turkey's Islamist parties in this field. The Islamist response to the main foreign policy issues of Turkey's Cold War era emerges from these speeches. These response follows the previously detected neo-Pan-Islamist lines, revealing a high level of consistency between the general Islamist discourse on foreign affairs circulating in and out of political parties.

The core goal of this research has been to define the idea of an "Islamist foreign policy" through the study of its historical development in Turkey. This work has allowed me to single out the few elements composing neo-Pan-Islamism. This "neo-Pan-Islamism", which emerged in parallel with the Cold War, has represented the ideological basis for the vision of an Islamist foreign policy as proposed by Turkish Islamist parties in the 20th century. Turkish nationalism appears in the form of Ottoman nostalgia and visions of Turkey as leader of the Muslim world. As this nationalism is characteristic of Turkey's political Islam, it has to be excluded from the ingredients of transnational neo-Pan-Islamism, to which Egyptian and Pakistani authors like Qutb and Maududi crucially contributed. Nevertheless, it must be noted that nationalism has been a fundamental feature of Islamism (and neo-Pan-Islamism) in Turkey. Without nationalism, this ideology would not have gained the same strength among Turks.

This said, the Islamist discourse on foreign affairs in multi-party Turkey can be reduced to three key elements: anti-Westernism, anti-Communism, anti-Zionism. However, when we study this discourse in its entirety, we comprehend that it is our non-Islamist standpoint that requires such a tripartite subdivision. One should remember that from the Islamist perspective, and according to the Islamist motto of "all

infidels are one nation", the "Western world", the Soviet bloc and Israel – with all the various anti-Semitic conspiracy theories – are three faces of the same enemy, the same "other", namely the non-Muslim world. The abovementioned three elements of hostility expressed by Islamists since the beginning of the Cold War are the necessary premises to the variably utopian neo-Pan-Islamist visions ranging from Islamic congresses to Islamic international organizations or alliances.

In other words, neo-Pan-Islamism emerges from a historical study of the Islamist foreign policy discourse in Turkey as a foreign policy doctrine composed of a threefold opposition to the non-Muslim world – Western/capitalist, Eastern/communist, Jewish/Zionist – and of the utopian vision of a unified Muslim world as a single actor in international relations. Neo-Pan-Islamism differentiates itself from earlier Pan-Islamism of the late 19th and early 20th century mainly because of the absence of caliphate as point of reference. This is clear also in the specific case of multi-party Turkey, although nostalgia of Ottoman times remains typically present as a form of the abovementioned nationalism. To conclude, the ideological discourse produced by Islamism in Turkey, also reflected in the utopian "foreign policy discourse" analyzed here, cannot be considered relevant only from the standpoint of mere rhetoric. As a matter of fact, it must be interpreted as the expression of a long ideological tradition that has a great weight in Turkish politics and a still living heritage of which one has to be aware today.

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Girişim [The Initiative] (1985-1990)

Gölge [The Shadow] (1976-1978)

Hicret [The Hejira] (1979-1980)

Hilal [The Crescent] (1963-1977)

İslam (1983-1998)

İslam Alemi [The World of Islam] (1975)

Milli Görüş [The National Outlook] (1973)

Nizam'a Doğru [Toward the Order] (1970-1971)

Sebil [The Way] (1976-1980)

Tebliğ [The Announcement] (1976-1980)

Tevhid [Oneness] (1978-1979)

Tohum [The Seed] (1967-1978)

Yörünge [The Orbit] (1990-1999)

Daily newspapers

Milli Gazete (Islamist newspaper, mouthpiece of the NOM),

Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Birgün.