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FROM AN INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT TO POLITICAL PARTIES: THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURKISH ISLAMIST GROUPS

Abstract

Islamism was one of a number of political ideas that had emerged in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. This study aims to outline the ideas of the Islamist movement in the Ottoman era and to put forward the agreements or differences of opinion vis-a-vis the Islamist movement during the Republican era with respect to their perspectives on the state and modernisation. The main argument of this study is that, contrary to what the current literature claims, the organisation of the Justice and Development Party did not mark a third-generation, rather, changing their discourses, the Islamists in the Republican era continued their political activities within the body of the Felicity Party of the National Outlook movement. The Republican era generation of Islamists will be examined in the axis of the National Outlook Movement. The work plan will be as follows with consideration to the short scope of the study: First, the political ideas of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century will be introduced. The main aims of political movements in this century will be described and the differences between them will be identified. After these observations, a detailed examination of the Islamist movement will follow and the ideas of the National Outlook Movement, which is the main subject of the study and the Republican era generation, will be analysed separately. The study will be carried out using the interpretivism method within the scope of the *politology of religion*.

Keywords: Independence, Islamism, Justice and Development Party, Modernisation, National Outlook Movement, Necmettin Erbakan, Westernism

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Introduction

The French Revolution of 1789 profoundly influenced world political history and generated ideas of nationalism. The post-revolution idea of nationalism created the ideal of establishing independent states of communities that defined themselves as nations. These political ideas, which led to the disintegration of the empires, the dominant form of the state, especially in Europe at that time, also profoundly affected the Ottoman Empire. During its long political life, the Ottoman Empire, which had a classic imperial appearance, reigned as a powerful empire in the international arena. However, as of the 18th century, this power had become questionable. As the ideas of nationalism reached the borders of the Ottoman Empire, minorities within the Empire were influenced by them and began to struggle for independence. The powerful actors of Europe also accelerated this process by using these independence movements for their benefit. The Ottoman sultans and the ruling elite attempted to reform the state institutions and laws to prevent this fragmentation.

Ottoman attempts to modernise the state began in the first quarter of the 19th century. The Turkish modernisation movement started with Selim III, and Mahmut II became an impenetrable process with the announcement of the *Tanzimat* Edict in 1839 and, most importantly, with the announcement of the *Islahat* Edict in 1856. Although attempts were made to use these reforms as a tool to strengthen the hand of the Empire in European politics, the critical primary step was the efforts of implementing the political idea of 'Ottomans.' Attempts to prevent nationalist divisions by equipping all subjects of the Empire with equal rights were doomed to fail. Although it was more a matter of practicality,[3] the second movement of political ideas to be used against the independence movements was Islamism, especially together with Abdulhamid II.[4]

Various ideas began to emerge in the context of the administration and intellectuals in order to save the state.[5] since after the war of 18771878 quoted as the "War of 93" in the history of the Empire, the collapse of the state became visible.[6] Within the new boundaries drawn by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, Muslim subjects became the majority, which was one of the reasons Abdulhamid II had used the ideology of Islamism in a practical sense. However, Islamism was not the only ideology in the Ottoman Empire to have emerged to save the empire. From the middle of the century, Ottoman intellectuals went to Europe for education and recognised Western ideas, empirical thinking and, in short, Western modernisation. Returning to their countries, they found that the reason for the collapse of the state was its inability to modernise. This is how the intellectual movement,

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3   Şerif Mardin, *Turkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset*, Mümtaz'er Türköne and Tuncay Önder (eds.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, p. 40.

4   Pavel Shlykov, The Secularization and Desecularization Nexus in the Turkish Context: What Is Behind?, *Politics and Religion Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2019, p. 202.

5   Mardin, *Turkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset*. . . p. 186.

6   Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, (Trans. Yasemin Saner), 31st ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 117–119.

referred to in Turkish political history as "Westernism," emerged. As is the case for every movement, Westernism had found a counter-movement for itself, namely Islamism. While the West had envisioned a wholesale transformation to modernise and save the state, Islamists felt that while they benefited from the technical and scientific sophistication of the West in order to modernise, they believed that they should not break away from religion and culture. What these intellectual movements had in common in the middle of the century was to act in order to prevent the collapse of the state by modernising. As this statement implies, Turkish modernisation had focused on the modernisation of the state ahead of ' the mind structures and lifestyles of individual.[7] It is important to note that when we examine the representatives of these intellectual movements emerging in the Ottoman Empire, we cannot make a definite distinction in terms of positioning these names in political and intellectual movements.

This study aims to examine the transformation of the Islamist movements from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. First of all, the differences between Islam and Islamism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire and other regions are elaborated upon to trace the transformation of Islamist movements. The scope of this study comprises Islamism in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey and the generations of this movement's proponents. A large share of Turkish Islamist literature divides the Islamist movement into three generations. After these discussions, these Islamist movements are examined with two generations, contrary to the Turkish literature of Islamist movements. The first generation of the Islamist movement began in 1856 with the *Islahat* Edict and concluded in 1924 with the abolition of the Caliphate. However, the second generation did not surface until 1950 due to Islamist proponents having gone underground to protect themselves from the newly established secular republic. Until the transition to a multi-party system, proponents of Islamism conducted their activities in mosques and dergahs. Under such conditions, there had been no adequate document to examine this period of Islamists. As a result, the second generation is deemed to be dated from 1950 to up to today.

This study, unlike the literature of the Turkish Islamist movement, maintains that there is no third generation of Islamists in the Republic of Turkey. The ruling party of Turkey – the Justice and Development Party (AKP) – does not constitute the third generation of Islamists. The second generation of the Islamist movement in the Republic of Turkey continues within the Felicity Party (SP) since the Justice and Development Party's discourse and party program differs widely from the discourse of the National Outlook Movement. Within this context, this study traces the following steps: the political history of the Ottoman Empire from the 19th century to the Republic of Turkey and the political figures of Islamist movements are examined within the frame of *politology of religion*.

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7   İlhan Tekeli, „Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşüncenin Gelişimi Konusunda Bir Üst Anlatı", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 4th ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p. 22.

Islam, Islamism as Ideology and the Turkish Interpretation of Islamism

Ideology is a term coined by Destutt de Tracy. It is subject to an adventure in such a manner that it might have a meaning far beyond its original purpose and is defined in such manner that it might have different perspectives and even different meanings in different periods of the same perspectives. In his work regarding the word 'ideology,' Mark Goldie states that the word belongs to the modern period and that the words 'popery' and 'priestcraft' in earlier periods are the precursors to it.[8] Goldie chose these words as the antecedents of the word 'ideology,' stating that pre-faith fulfilled the functions of ideologies such as serving various interests, raising concerns and renewing hopes. Definitions beginning in the form of sets of ideas as well as movements which are systematically laid out to make sense of the world in the most general sense as in use today have been reached. With a more instrumental approach, we can characterise ideology as a complete set of ideas that uncovers problems, proposes solutions to problems and reveals the world that will occur with the elimination of the problem. As explained below in more depth, Islamism fits this definition.

Islam is a religion. It encompasses the believers' life within the frame of the Quran and Sunna (Prophets Acts and Words). Furthermore, culture has a significant influence on living Islam in different countries. However, the religion of Islam does not order suppressing other religions, unlike Islamism. Islamism is an ideology and the primary purpose of proponents of the Islamism living under Sharia. Nevertheless, Islamism does not permit to live other religion as free. The religion of Islam is already quiet similar to an ideology, transformed into a political ideology when Muslim societies that did not undergo a social or intellectual change adopted ideologies from the West and united them with traditional Islamic values.[9] The most obvious indication of this is the change in the way religion legitimises itself. The defence of religion began to be made rationally, and from the point of view of the afterlife, a return to worldly life began to be experienced. This work was carried out through a new systematisation effort (reopening the door of case law, *İçtihat kapısı*) through religious sources. To find and return to the original era of Islam, different names and groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, alAfghani, Sayyid Qutb, El Maududi, interpret religion in different ways. The consequences of these interpretations were accompanied by violence and rebellion against Westerners and believers of different religions. The ideology of Islamism is a movement that aims to resist the social consequences that arise after the activities of colonialism and imperialism and to transform these results for the benefit of Muslim societies.[10] Although Ottoman lands had never been fully

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8   Mark Goldie, "Ideology", in: *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson (eds.), Cambridge University Press, New York, 1995, p. 267.

9   Antony Black, "Islamism", in: *The History of Islamic Political Thought*, Routledge, New York, 2001, p. 306.

10 Zerrin Kurtoğlu, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Siyaset", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Mu-

colonised, Turkish Islamists shared similar ideas against colonialism and imperialism. However, their main focus was saving and modernising the state.

In general, during the Ottoman era, Islamists saw moving away from Islam as a problem leading to the backwardness of the Empire and accepted parliament or constitution as solutions as long as they were compatible with Islam and hoped that with that solution, the Empire would return to its glorious days. Republican Islamists, on the other hand, stated that the country had secularised but failed to develop, resulting in cultural corruption. They accepted cultural conservatism as a solution and suggested that moral uplift in this parallel would also improve the country. All this shows that Turkish Islamism fits the definition of an instrumental ideology, and it can be said that the movement of Islamism was one of the ideologies of the modern period. Especially after 1870, the Islamist movement takes the lead of the ideologies of saving the state. Our problem here is the difference between traditional Islam and Islamism because Islam reveals a system similar to ideologies in terms of religion, structure and command. At the same time, religion and politics are identical in Islam. Since the advent of Islam, the religious authority has maintained its uniqueness and this had been defined as a religious duty for Muslims living in the state to obey political authority. Political authorities had also taken over the obligation to act according to religious rules.[11] No matter how Islamism is defined in Turkish political thought, there has been no tendency to establish a political and social structure based on sharia principles.[12] On the contrary, it is a process that changes and reproduces itself according to new conditions. Turkish Islamist intellectuals attributed the reason for the Empire's backwardness to deviation from the essence of religion.

Islamist Movement during The Ottoman Empire Period

The Ottoman era Islamists (first generation) who contributed to the Islamist intellectual movement were placed in the 1856-1924 period. The most critical factor in making this classification is the significance of these dates for the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. The Edict of *Islahat* was declared in the Ottoman Empire in 1856, resulting in severe changes in the Ottoman social structure. The most important implication of the *Islahat* edict, which emerged as a continuation of the reform movement that started with the *Tanzimat* Edict of 1839, was that it recognised Ottoman subjects equally before the state. The Muslim subjects were furious with the loss of their privileged status in socio-economic structure and expressed their displeasure in the form of Nationalist-Islamist rhetoric.

rat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 201.

11 Kemal H. Karpat, İslamın Siyasallaşması Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet ,İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması, Zeynep Berktaş (eds.), trans. Şiar Yalçın, 6th ed., Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, p. 518.

12 Ahmet Çiğdem, "İslamcılık ve Türkiye Üzerine Bazı Notlar", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 26.

The Young Ottomans, being representatives of the Muslim middle class[13] and representing the organised modern opposition of the period, wrote complaints about the economic privileges granted to Christians after the *Islahat*.[14] The first-generation Islamists that had started with the Young Ottomans lasted until 1924. The significance of the year 1924 stems primarily from the abolition of the Caliphate, the abolition of the Shar'iye and Awkaf proxy and the establishment of The Directorate of Religious Affairs (DRA). The closure of the tekkes and zawiyas in 1925 marked the public end of the first generation of Islamists.

In this context, examining the underlying themes of Islamists in the Ottoman period enables us to compare them with the Republican period. The most important element distinguishing first-generation Islamists from other movements is that they opted for Islam as their source and presented themselves with a Muslim identity. To this end, attempting to reformulate the religion, they displayed something that was not so much different from the Islam of the Ottoman subjects. Although they were not at the same level as the ulema in case law, they had sufficient knowledge of it. They also practised case law with a modernising mission. The tools of modern thought were used in new identity studies.[15] The first item on the agenda of this generation was the recovery of the state.[16] The 19th century was replete with defeats for the Ottoman Empire. While the state was facing territorial losses, its involvement in the capitalist economy in this century and the reforms carried out with it (*Tanzimat and Islahat* edicts) raised fears about the existence of the state. In this context, Islamists, not unlike other reformers, began offering prescriptions to end the state's plight and return to its heyday [17].

Ottoman bureaucrats had also attempted to identify the reasons for the state's regress. The first conclusion they presented was that lagging in science and technology, the state was unable to keep up with the modern world. As a solution, they aim to take over and transform science and rebuild society through the state.[18] The first reaction from Islamists after these bureaucrat-driven reforms was related to the state's deep-rooted break from the Islamic and administrative tradition. Young Ottoman personalities, such as Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi and Ziya Pasha, who can be included in the first generation, contributed to the Islamist

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13   Fahri Yetim, Modern Bir Aydın Hareketi Olarak Yeni Osmanlılar ve İslam Dünyası, *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, No. 34, 2015, pp. 1–18.

14   Karpat, İslamın Siyasallaşması Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet ,İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması. . . p. 153.

15   Ali Bulaç, "İslamın Üç Siyaset Tarzı Veya İslamcıların Üç Nesli", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 51.

16   Nuray Mert, "Türk İslamcılığına Tarihsel Bir Bakış", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 412.

17   Kurtoğlu, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Siyaset". . . p. 201.

18   Karpat, İslamın Siyasallaşması Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet ,İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması. . . p. 166.

discourse in response to imitating the West without any change in both its content and form.[19]

Namık Kemal was a vital thinker whose aim was to explain that political modernisation and the emerging systems in the West are compatible with Islam. Kemal, whose main concern was the restructuring of the state, drew attention to what a state based on rights and justice would be like.[20] He stated that the people could not devote their time to political issues due to preoccupation; therefore, they had to delegate their power to a government, and to do so by electing an imam.[21] The imam should not be considered here as a religious official but as the leader of an Islamic community. According to Kemal, the rules that the imam must follow were nothing more than divine justice as stated in the Qur'an.[22] The fundamental mission of the law in question was freedom. For Kemal, a man is born free, everyone is equal, and depriving man of freedom was equivalent to leaving him without food.[23] The fact that the people have the right to elect the ruler naturally leads to the conclusion that sovereignty is essentially in the people. Kemal did not reject this result but stated that there were limits to the majority that elected the leader. The principle of limitation of power through natural law from the Enlightenment to the present day appears as the moral rules set by Sharia for Kemal, for whom the majority had no right to touch even the hair of the most insignificant Ethiopian child.[24] Regardless of place, time or method, every path the government chooses must be the path that is least damaging to human freedom and the legislature must never be left in the hands of a single individual.[25] The method of realising this appears in Kemal with the term *meshveret*. Interchangeable with representative government, this phrase reflects the consulting decision-making mechanism that also exists in Islamic law and tradition. For the emancipation of the Ummah, it is undoubtedly necessary to grant individual and political rights to it.[26] Namık Kemal's Islamist vein is most evident in his reaction to a number of the steps taken in the modernisation process. When the Ottoman modernisation process began, secular courts were established and the new secular laws that were enacted attracted Kemal's reaction. For him, these had weakened the Sharia. Were all these laws more perfect and more neutral than Sharia rules? Even the greatest tyrants, for Kemal, could not change it be-

19 Hsan D. Dai, Transformation of Islamic Political Identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and Westernization, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2005, p. 22.

20 Fazlı Arabacı, Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde Yeni Osmanlılar'ın Din ve Siyaset Anlayışları, *Dini Araştırmalar*, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1999, p. 70.

21 Namık Kemal, Wa Shawirhum Fi'l Amr, *Hürriyet*, 1868, p. 1.

22 Namık Kemal, Devlet-i Aliyyeyi Bulunduğu Hal-i Hatarnaktan Halasın Esbabı, *Hürriyet*, 1868, p. 2.

23 Namık Kemal, Hürriyet, *Hürriyet*, 1868, p. 4.

24 Namık Kemal, Bazı Mülahazat-ı Devlet ve Millet, İbret, 1872, p. 1.

25 Kemal, Wa Shawirhum Fi'l Amr, *Hürriyet* , 1868, p. 1.

26 Namık Kemal, El Hakk Ya'lü, *Hürriyet*, 1868, p. 3.

cause Sharia was the expressions of the creator.[27] Since good or evil could be determined by it, according to Kemal, the source of the law had to be Sharia as well as the corresponding political provisions.[28]

Namık Kemal dedicated his intellectual life to demonstrating Islam's compatibility with the principles that were rising in the West. Adopting the institutions and ideas of the West, he also proposed Islamic Unity to prevent the attacks coming from there.[29] A defender of the constitutional monarchy, Kemal, no matter whether he accepted that the sovereign was the people and it was their right to establish a republic, claimed that a republic would sink the country. It would not ever occur to anyone to establish a republic.[30] He considered political changes as necessary for progress and thought that there was no obstacle to progress in the principles of religion.

Ali Suavi stated that people could not live alone and so formed the Ummah by living together, and that the rules of this Ummah must originate from Allah, the owner of the Eternal Laws. Suavi considered the Constitution in which these laws were to be written as essential and formulating a constitution in accordance with Sharia was a precondition for the government to gain legitimacy.[31] This would distract the government from despotism because the principles of Islam were incompatible with despotism.[32] The precondition for Suavi was that people feared Allah enough to achieve this.[33] The application of Islamic principles would also hinder the arbitrary administration of the ruler because, for Suavi, Islamic principles prohibited the arbitrary administration of the ruler and restricted the ruler with Sharia rules.[34] Ali Suavi defined democracy as the government under which the people freely elected their ruler and could change it at will. He stated that this administration would be befitting the Islamic State. However, the fact that the Ottoman Empire was too large and the possibility that a libertarian democracy would disrupt the moral foundations of the country[35] led Suavi to make contradictory statements in his defence of democracy in the Ottoman Empire. He had not taken up as clear a position as Kemal had.

Ziya Pasha was an Islamist who served in the Ottoman government, published the Hurriyet newspaper together with Kemal and claimed that the best government was the one practising Sharia the best. Directing various criticisms to *Islahat* and *Tanzimat* edicts that were seen as progressive movements in the

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27   Kemal, Devlet-i Aliyyeyi Bulunduğu Hal-i Hatarnaktan Halasın Esbabı, *Hürriyet*, 1868, pp. 2–3.

28   Namık Kemal, Hukuk, İbret, 1872, p. 2.

29   Katerina Dalacoura, Islamic Civilization as an Aspect of Secularization in Turkish Islamic Thought, *Historical Social Research*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 2019, p. 136.

30   Namık Kemal, Usulü Meşveret Hakkında Mektuplar I, *Hürriyet*, 1868, p. 1.

31   Ali Suavi, El Hakimü Hüvallah, *Ulum*, 1869, p. 22.

32   Ibidem, p. 25.

33   Ali Suavi, Demokrasi, Hükümeti Halk ve Müsavat, *Ulum*, 1871, p. 10.

34   Ali Suavi, Kudreti Siyasiyye Der Düvel-i İslamiyye, *Ulum*, 1871, p. 99.

35   Suavi, Demokrasi, Hükümeti Halk ve Müsavat, *Ulum*, 1871, p. 15.

Ottoman Empire, he believed that the *Tanzimat* in particular hastened the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.[36] Describing the Republic at length, he also harshly criticised absolutist administrations. He considered the Ottoman administration to be the worst administration after Iran.[37] Ziya Pasha, similar to Kemal, attempted to show that there was no obstacle to progress in Islam.[38] Mardin[39] identifies three important differences between Ziya Pasha and Namık Kemal. The former was more concerned about the function of the ruler, less concerned about freedom, and more conservative in terms of culture than Kemal.

The Young Ottomans were known as liberal-bureaucratic intellectuals; however, their inseparable common attribute was their Islamist orientations. They were highly knowledgeable about Islamic law and political theory. It was not a coincidence to see Islamist political terms in their writings. They defended liberal reforms using Islamic terminology since they sincerely believed these reforms were legitimate according to Islam.[40] Otherwise, they would not have defended these reforms. The idea of *Ittihadı Islam* (Islamic Union) could be seen in the writings of the most prominent figure of the Young Ottomans, namely Namık Kemal.[41] It needs to be stated that in those writings, Islamic Union was usually examined as a cultural phenomenon.

Opposition to the Young Ottomans' ideas was also based on Islamic Law and the Quran, which proves that the Young Ottomans' ideas were based on Islamic Law and the Quran. Parliament was a tool to realise the Quran's dictation of *Meshveret* (Consultation) and the Young Ottomans used verses of the Quran to prove that parliament itself was an Islamist institution. However, some had been opposed to this idea by pointing out that the pronoun of this specific verse was complicated and that it had not been entirely clear who was to be consulted by others. If the Young Ottomans had included non-Muslims in this parliament, they would have allowed infidels to limit the Caliphate and ignore the verse of Quran which orders Muslims not to become friends with Jews and Christians.[42] The Young Ottomans used a hadith and verses to legitimise the idea of parliament. They claimed that parliament was compatible with sharia[43] and its (parliament's) first duty was to protect sharia.[44] Moreover, the Young Ottomans indicated the Sunna (the Prophet's Acts and Words) to reply to criticisms regarding the situation of non-Muslims. The Prophet Himself included non-Muslims in His

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36 Ziya Paşa, Hatırai Saniye, *Hürriyet*, 1869, pp. 5–8.

37 Ziya Paşa, İdarei Cumhuriye Ile Hükümeti Şahsiyenin Farkı, *Hürriyet*, 1870, p. 1.

38 Arabacı, Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde Yeni Osmanlılar'ın Din ve Siyaset Anlayışları, *Dini Araştırmalar*, 1999, p. 84.

39 Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, p. 337.

40 Carter V. Findley, *Modern Türkiye Tarihi*, trans. Güneş Ayas, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, p. 105.

41 Namık Kemal, İttihad-ı Anasır, İbret, 1872.

42 Yusuf Tekin, Osmanlı'da Demokrasi Tartışmalarının Miladı Olarak Meşrutiyet Öncesi Tartışma Platformu, *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2000, p. 153.

43 Ali Suavi, Terk-i Meşveret, *Muhbir*, 1868.

44 Ali Suavi, Usulü Meşveret, *Muhbir*, 1868.

War Councils, and therefore, it was not against Islam to include non-Muslims in parliament.

Islamists in the Ottoman period were significantly ahead of Islamists in the Republican era in terms of religious knowledge. However, their analysis of the world was based on the main themes of Enlightenment thought such as belief in progress and rational thought.[45] In parallel with this, the Ottoman Islamists offered solutions to the problems of the state in retrospect. At the same time, they aimed to rationalise the state and believed that they could transform society through it. For this purpose, they aimed to re-open the access to case law that was monopolised by the ulama and to put religion into a form appropriate to modern times and acted in this direction. They also differed from the traditional ulama in that Islamists did not claim the traditional monarchy. They advocated the participation of the people in the administration and ideas such as the Constitution and the Republic. It was also especially observed that they acted jointly with the Union and Progress against the oppressive policies of Abdulhamid II (despite having introduced himself as an Islamist).[46] Calling for the restructuring of the state, they opposed the socio-cultural aspects of Western reform programmes. They wanted to adopt technical and scientific developments and reshape them under the socio-cultural structures of the nation. However, since this situation contained a paradox, history presented their solutions as unsuitable for the modern world.

As mentioned, when listing the movements of ideas developed during this period in the Empire, it is not easy to relate the figures of this period directly to a movement. The point that we want to make here is a comparison of the theses put forth by the Islamists in the Ottoman period with the discourses of figures such as Gaspirali and Gökalp, who espoused the idea of an independent nation-state. Turkists and Islamists were not entirely separated until 1908, when the announcement of the Second Constitutional Monarchy created a political/intellectual distinction between them. The main criticism of the Islamists towards the nationalists was the view that, at a time when Albanian and Arab secession movements were on the agenda, Turkist discourse would lead to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the last Islamic State. Their main criticisms were not aimed at nationalism but at the secessionist movements that emerged in this aspect. It is seen that this process of criticism came to an end when Arab subjects broke away from the Empire. At this stage, they did not object to nationalism as long as it did not exclude Islam. Thus, Islam and nationalism were adopted as a synthesis, especially between 1908 and 1912. The main difference between the two movements during this period was the priority issue between Turkishness and Islam

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45   Haldun Gülalp, *Kimlikler Siyaseti Türkiye'de Siyasal İslamın Temelleri*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, pp. 27–29.

46   Özgür Oral, "Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp. 184–185.

because, for both groups, the envisaged idea of Islam was modernist.[47] Islam is among the main themes, especially in the works of Yusuf Akçura (Three Styles of Politics) and later Ziya Gökalp (Becoming Turk, Islam, Modern).[48] They considered Islamisation as a dimension of the synthesis intended for the liberation of the state. Between 1912 and 1918, Islamists took another stance against nationalism; however, they gave up this discourse during the War of Independence. With the Anatolian geography seen as the last fortress, Turkishness involved the Muslims of Turkey. Although there were breaks in this discourse from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey to the transition period to multi-party life, after the Second World War, Islamists and Turkish intellectuals continued their rhetoric from where they had left off. There was an interruption in the relations between Islamists and nationalists of the Ottoman era during the one-party period. However, there would be opportunities to side with and oppose one another during the Republican period.

Reticence Era

Although the Union and Progress Party included Islam in its rhetoric, the founding members of the Republican regime considered religion to be the subject of private life. Activities such as the abolition of the caliphate (1924), the adoption of the principle of secularism in the Constitution by abandoning Islam as the state religion and the closure of religious lodges and zawiyahs showed the line that the founding elite placed between the state and religion. The Directorate of Religious Affairs (DRA) established in 1924 as an institution that did not fit this picture was in a separate position before the state. While religious education was left to the Ministry of National Education, the conduct of religious affairs was given to the DRA, and they were completely separate from one another. The state envisioned a religion and religious life under its direction. Unlike sheikhülislam in the Ottoman Empire, the religious institution was not representative of the religion. The primary tasks of the institution were defined as: a) the conduct of the works related to the beliefs of Islam, the principles of worship and morality; b) managing places of worship; and c) enlightening the community about religion.[49]

The reforms of the Republican regime were the steps taken to erase the effects of religion and tradition/the past on the new regime within the framework of positivist logic and to realise the objective of creating a new society and state in the form of Westernisation. The ideal of secularisation and the idea of secu-

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47   Gökhan Çetinsaya, "İslamcılıktaki Milliyetçilik", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed. , İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 420.

48   Kurtoğlu, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Siyaset"… p. 201.

49   İsmail Kara, "Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 183.

larism were the products of the Westernisation project. Although the notion of Westernisation was adopted by other ideologies mentioned in the period up to the Republican regime, there were no ideals of total Westernisation. The Republican regime, on the other hand, established an ontological link between modernisation and rationality through a positivist perspective. In parallel, there was an attempt to build a new regime on the break from the tradition represented through religion.[50]

These movements starting history from scratch limited religion to the spiritual sphere by removing it from the social-political sphere previously shaped by religion. Moreover, secularism would be the foundation of the republican revolutions. Being aware of this situation, Mustafa Kemal stated that the danger of counter-revolution would come through religious ideology and in parallel with this warning, religion was subjected to strict control by the state in that it was excluded from the freedom of civil society.[51] Consequently, Islamist groups went underground from the public sphere and continued their activities in their secret dergahs in private. In this context, the ideology of secularism adopted by the state prevented Islam from becoming a political project. Therefore, there is no mention of Islamic thought movements (at least in the public sphere) in this decadent period up until the 1950s.[52]

Republican Era Islamists

The people comprising Republican Turkey were shaped by traditional culture. Since Islam is the fundamental element with which people identify, the reaction to political and cultural activities aimed at shaping society was expressed based on religion.[53] The political opposition that came from the people began to express itself in a religious language, and the Democratic Party (DP) achieved success by adding this language to its opposition language. This situation that had become traditional and religious discourse would continue to dominate the political arena up until today.

The Democratic Party (DP), which seized power in 1950 after the transition to multi-party political life, also appeared as the date of origin for the Islamists of the Republican era. The intellectual basis of this generation was the idea of the revision of the Republic,[54] which emerged as a result of the accumulated opposition to the Republican Revolution. In this context, the Islamists in the Republican period began to represent themselves in public through the DP. However, they endeavoured to maintain this representation network with the Justice Party (AP)

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50   Kurtoğlu, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Siyaset"... p. 206.

51   Ibidem, p. 208.

52   Ibidem, p. 211.

53   Şerif Mardin, *Din ve İdeoloji*, 5th ed. , İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992, p. 38.

54   Mert, „Türk İslamcılığına Tarihsel Bir Bakış"... p. 414.

which formed after the 27 May 1960 coup. They established their first political parties, the National Order Party or National Salvation Party, in the 1960s and 1970s and made the stage in political life.[55] While this generation represented by political parties would preserve the political and economic policy line, which we will mention presently, until 12 September 1980 under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan, after this date they were to change their discourse. For this reason, our review of Islamists in the Republican period is divided into three sections as the time periods 19701980, 19801997 and 1997present. An essential issue for an understanding of the emergence and transformations of Islamists in the Republican period will be the İskender Pasha community. When evaluating political parties through Necmettin Erbakan, the relationship of this community with the party is prerequisite for us to understand the second generation of Islamists.

Party initiatives by Republican-era Islamists began in 1946 when they attempted to reflect their base and political views. In this year, the Islamic Protection Party was able to last for two months but was then closed by martial law. The National Development Party, founded in 1945 and advocating Islamic unity in foreign policy, was dissolved with the death of its leader, Nuri Demirağ. The Islamic Democratic Party founded in 1951 was closed in 1952 on charges of using religion as a tool for politics. The Nation Party founded in 1948 also followed a religious-conservative streak, gaining 4.6% of the vote in the 1950 elections, but was shut down in the 1954 elections on the same charges through the initiatives of DP rule.[56] The first form in which the Islamists of the Republican era appeared in the form of a political party was the National Order Party (MNP). Before the establishment of this party, Necmettin Erbakan aimed to start his political life through the Justice Party (AP). However, this attempt was again blocked by Süleyman Demirel, the leader of the AP. Erbakan's next move was to be a candidate for the presidency of the Chamber of Commerce. Although he was elected to this post, he was removed from the position before taking office, this time upon the request of the Istanbul and Izmir bourgeoisie. After these developments, the MNP was formed on 26 January 1970 with 18 people under the leadership of Erbakan, who was elected as an independent deputy from Konya province. With two deputies from the Justice Party transferring to the MNP, the party began its political life with three deputies in parliament. The social strata that made up the MNP were the provincial bourgeoisie, the low-income religionists living both in the provinces and large cities and the newly self-employed elites, who were brought up in the secular institutions of the Republic and came from religious families of provincial origin.[57] The fusion between these layers was achieved through the

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55   Bedri Gencer, „Çağdaş Türkiye'de İslam Düşüncesi", in: *Doğu'dan Bati'ya Düşünceni n Serüveni* , Selim Eren and Ali Öztürk (eds.), İnsan Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, p. 36.

56   Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler,* Kerem Ünüvar (eds.), 5th ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, p. 469.

57   Ruşen Keleş, „Milli Görüş Hareketi", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık,* Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 545.

Islamic brotherhood with community leaders and the people who had mastered religious issues. One of the branches of the Naqshbandi order, the İskender Pasha Dergah/Jamaat, which is elaborated on below, was the dergah to which an essential portion of MNP cadres was affiliated, as well as the dergah Sheik Mehmet Zahid Kotku, who approved the demands of the establishment of the party.

Nevertheless, the other main factor that brought out the National Order Party (MNP) and integrated the Islamism movement as a political party, along with its jamaat connections, was the need for political power by the burgeoning provincial bourgeoisie. Especially after the transition to multi-party life in the Republic of Turkey, the pace of urbanisation had increased, and the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie had started to make its presence felt in the provinces. Although these groups attempted to express their demands with the Justice Party (AP) established after the 1960 coup, in the process leading to the founding of the MNP, the attitude of the JP revealed the need for a political party that would be the voice of the provincial bourgeoisie. Eventually, a political party using the rhetoric of the National Outlook Movement (MGH) emerged.[58] So how is it ensured that groups of different classes are kept around the party in this way? The answer to this question requires examining the MNP's declaration of establishment. The founding declaration of the MNP was composed of Ottomanist, national independentist, Islamist and modernist discourses. In short, the established party had an eclectic ideology.

The National Order Party (MNP), which soon managed to organise itself throughout the country, was closed by the Constitutional Court in 1971. The MNP was the first political party of the Islamist movement to be shut down; however, it would not be the last. The Islamist movement would always be cautious against the closure of its parties and vigilant in forming new parties. The March 12 memorandum was effective in closing the MNP in 1971 and it revealed that the Republic of Turkey was still in a position by law to restrict politics to an Islamist party. The new party founded by the Republican era Islamists, led by Erbakan to replace the party that was shut down in 1971 was the National Salvation Party (MSP). Erbakan and his movement soon recovered and emerged victorious from the 1973 elections. Ecevit's Republican People's Party (CHP) and Erbakan's MSP formed the government, which was carried out with coalitions under the terms of the period. The MSP obtained six ministries and deputy prime ministers. The coalition partnership process started with the CHP holding the prime ministry, which was disrupted after the Cyprus Peace Campaign. The MSP participated in coalition governments with different parties until the 1980 military coup and spent the 19701980 period expanding its party base and staffing in the state.

The discourses of the National Outlook Movement (MGH) from 1970 to 1980 and their views on both domestic and foreign policy demonstrate the general

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58   Ömer Çaha and Ömer Baykal, Milli Görüş Hareketinin Kuruluşu: Türk Siyasetinde Milli Nizam Partisi Deneyimi, *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2017, p. 791.

stance of the movement during this period. The first word of the movement's name, 'National,' is here not restricted to the meaning of nation or race. The nationhood that is meant is a unity of the Ummah derived from "the nation of Ibrahim." Therefore, the movement never made racial distinctions such as Turkish, Kurdish, etc. in its discourse.[59] They saw the Republic of Turkey as a continuation of the Ottoman Empire and directed their rhetoric intending to make the country the leader of the Islamic world. Foreign policy discourse based on anti-Zionism and anti-imperialism continued for many years.[60] The Islamists of the Republican period did not oppose modernism or progress; however, they continued to oppose Western culture and accepted to protect their own culture by adapting the Western technique in parallel with the Islamists of the Ottoman period. Likewise, they stated that the strengthening of religious life and spirituality should go arm in arm with progress in technical terms. The belief in progress in the MGH was directly focused on the technical sciences. The leading politicians of the movement were often of on engineering origin, such as Erbakan himself. Although the movement started with a decentralised organisational structure, it gradually adopted a vertical organisational style and became a leader-oriented movement. This will be one of the most important reasons for the break between the party and dergah. During this decade, the rhetoric of the MGH had pertained the state establishing heavy industry and moving the country forward in its technical field. More specifically, the expression of the transfer of financial capital to the provincial bourgeoisie and the support of the provincial bourgeoisie was evident. In its public discourse, the MGH emphasised the principles of equality, brotherhood and solidarity. The MGH set out five main goals: internal peace, State-Nation fusion, the torch of great Turkey again, spiritual development and material development.[61] These discourses would transform in parallel with the economic, social and political conditions that changed after the 1980 coup, and some discourses would remain in the foreground and some in the background.

1980 to 1997 was a period when economic rhetoric changed in the Islamist movement and different scenarios were in play in relation to the state compared to the previous decade. As with all political parties operating in the country following the military coup of 12 September 1980, the National Salvation Party (MSP) was shut down. Moreover, the military junta confiscated all of the MSP's assets and imposed a ban from politics on the party's key figures. The main issue for the MGH after the 12 September coup was the question of survival since Turgut Özal, who had previously been an Izmir candidate for member of parliament (MP) from the MSP, had established a new party (the Motherland Party/ANAP) and included

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59 Fehmi Çalmuk, „Necmettin Erbakan", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 552.

60 Hasret Dikici Bilgin, Foreign Policy Orientation of Turkey's Pro-Islamist Parties: A Comparative Study of the AKP and Refah, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2008, p. 409.

61 Abdulkadir Macit, Milli Görüş ve Çağdaş İslam Düşüncesindeki Yeri, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 8, 2017, p. 142.

important MSP figures in his staff. The MGH's political parties, which were re-established after the coup, were named the Welfare Party (RP), whose reappear-ance on the political scene occurred when Erbakan's political ban was lifted and he became the leader of the party. In local elections held two years after Erbakan took over the party, the RP won the mayoral race in five provincial centres. In the early general election of 1991, he won 16.2% of the votes and was eligible to enter parliament with 62 MPs. Although 22 of these 62 deputies soon returned to their respective parties (Nationalist Labour Party, Reformist Democracy Party), the RP was successful. The 1990s were to be the years when political Islamism reached its highest point.[62] The 1991 elections were one of the critical steps in the party's rapid transformation into a catch-all party. The political campaign was not only in the mosque and the jamaat, but the entire population was being reached one-on-one. Now the MSP-era activity of communicating religion was replaced by vote-calling or party propaganda. In light of these developments, an innovative wing in the MGH was to emerge in the 1994 local elections and suc-ceed. In these elections, the RP won the mayoralty of major cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. This revealed that the MGH ceased to be a provincial party and was a sizeable urban-based formation. These successes continued in the 1995 general election and the RP entered parliament as the majority party receiving 21.4% of the votes. Despite this, the party did not advance quickly in the Kemalist order and would come to power only by forming a coalition with the Tansu Çiller-led DYP (True Path Party) in 1996. Unable to satisfy both the regime and its base dur-ing his short term rule, Erbakan resigned due to the events having developed after the National Security Meeting of February 28, 1997. On January 16, 1998, the Constitutional Court shut down the Welfare Party and imposed a political ban on some of its rulers, especially Erbakan. A replacement party had already been established as had occurred before in the MGH tradition. The Virtue Party (FP) was founded as a reserve party on 17 December, 1997 and it began its political life with the end of the RP.[63]

In order to understand the Welfare Party (RP), which has undergone such a process in the context of political history and in particular the transformations of the Republican generation of Islamists from 1980 to 1997, we need to briefly discuss the post-coup order and the ideological stance of the state. Slightly prior to the 1990s when the Soviet Union was officially disbanded, the "threat of com-munism" motivated state reasoning to emphasise TurkIslam synthesis and sup-port this attitude. Through institutions such as the House of Intellectuals (*Aydın-lar Ocağı*), intellectuals in this vein were groomed and Islam was bought to the forefront for solidarity, unity and stability against the threat of communism.[64] The

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62   Gülalp, *Kimlikler Siyaseti Türkiye'de Siyasal İslamın Temelleri. . .* p. 10.

63   Sina Akşin, *Siyasal Tarih (1995-2003), Türkiye Tarihi 5 Bugünkü Türkiye 1980-2003* , Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2014, pp. 173–175; M. Ali Birand and Reyhan Yıldız, *Son Darbe: 28 Şubat*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 2012.

64   Mustafa Şen, Transformation of Turkish Islamism and the Rise of the Justice and Development Party, *Turkish Studies* ,Vol. 11, No.

beginning of the process in which religion was equipped with a political function through the state was the 12 September coup.[65] When the RP rose again in the early 1990s, the country's political situation coincided with a period when citizens experienced a crisis of trust. The political life that took place in Motherland Party (ANAP) after the 12 September coup was interrupted by the 1989 elections and the period of coalitions in the Republic of Turkey had already begun with Turgut Özal becoming president. The country's politics were awash with corruption and the economy was in a dire state. In this period, the National Outlook Movement (MGH) introduced the discourse of "just order" and began to mobilise the areas around the cities to its advantage by developing a new discourse in places where the left could not influence. Erbakan, while listing his promises and what he would not do at the fourth grand congress of the RP, especially promised necessities such as clean administration, spiritual development, law reform etc. and discussed "just economic order" including concepts such as pluralistic democracy and human rights for all.[66] Although it was not clear what the just order rhetoric denoted or what it had promised, it affected the poor, unemployed electorate. However, the fact that just order was not voiced too loudly in the RP's rhetoric after it had been put forth is a crucial detail of the issue.

After the 1980 coup, liberalised markets and the adoption of the export-based growth model led to the development of the provincial bourgeoisie during the Özal period. The small industrialists, needing a protectionist economy before the coup, had now achieved levels to engage in competition. In the 1990s, when the Welfare Party (RP) was on the rise, Islamist capital underwent a severe transformation and turned themselves into large capitalists. The Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen (MUSIAD) had gained the power to compete with the established bourgeoisie of the country, if not to a degree, more than previously. It was also a representative of the Islamist bourgeoisie and a supporter of the second-generation Islamists.[67] However, uncomfortable with the RP's just order rhetoric, this new capital or in the words of the time, "green" capital, pushed the just order discourse back into the background. Compared with the pre-coup period, the RP started to use the terms 'civil society' and 'pluralism' more frequently in its discourses, and the civil society movements gained importance in the jamaats.[68] In the 1990s, when identity politics was heavily practiced, the RP developed the ability to obtain votes from different segments of the social classes through both the rhetoric of the just order and the requests

1, 2010, p. 61.

65 Kurtoğlu, "Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşüncesi ve Siyaset"… pp. 213–215.

66 Keleş, "Milli Görüş Hareketi"… p. 556.

67 Burak Gürel, "İslamcılık", in: *Siyaset Bilimi: Kavramlar, İdeolojiler, Disiplinler Arası İlişkiler*, Gökhan Atılgan and E. Atilla Aytekin (eds.), Yordam Kitap, İstanbul, 2017, p. 452; Seda Demiralp, The Rise of Islamic Capital and the Decline of Islamic Radicalism in Turkey, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2011, p. 321.

68 Anwar Alam, Islam and Post-Modernism: Locating the Rise of Islamism in Turkey, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2009, p. 354.

for appropriate loans for its capitalists.[69] It also progressed by managing to keep radicals and moderates together within the party.

Party-Dergah Relationship: İskender Pasha Jamaat

The *raison d'état* in Turkey attempted to control the left and reduce its effect by implementing compulsory religious courses in schools following the 1980 coup d'état. However, after some time, the *raison d'état* perceived matters to have been out of control and took a step back from this policy on 28 February 1997. This date represents the end of the second-generation Republican Islamists and the beginning of the third generation. Understanding this new generation requires an examination in detail of the relationship between the İskender Pasha Jamaat and Islamist parties. The İskender Pasha Jamaat was based on the Naqshbandi movement, which dates back to the 12th century. After the Turks converted to Islam, the Islamic movement under Yusuf Hamedani (d. 1141) made its debut in the primary scientific centres of Central Asia. It was divided into two branches after him: the Yesevilik (via Ahmad Yesevi) and the Naqshbandi (primarily through Abdullah Güvdevani, then Bahaaddin Naqshbandi).[70] The Naqshbandi movement displayed a decentralised dergah structure, meaning that the control of the branches of the jamaat in different regions varied. The original name of the İskender Pasha jamaat was the Gümüşhanevi Dergah (Ahmed Ziyauddin Gümüşhanevi). With the prohibition of the religious lodges and zawiyahs in 1925 after the declaration of the Republic, the official activities of the dergah ended and continued unofficially with the personality of Mustafa Fevzi Efendi. Upon the rule prescribing that the oldest member in the dergah should replace the deceased leader, after Fevzi Efendi, Hasib Efendi and later Abdulaziz Bekine Efendi took the leadership of dergah. Bekine Efendi took over the leadership in 1949 and started to increase the influence of the dergah on the state bureaucracy by establishing close relations with people from the academic and bureaucratic community of his period. Bekine Efendi started to change his discourses or made different discourses according to the groups to whom he preached because of the new faces he managed to add to the jamaat.[71] Upon the death of Bekine Efendi in 1952, Mehmed Zahid Kotku, who assumed the sheikship of the dergah, changed the name of Gümüşhanevi dergah to İskender Pasha in time because of the name of the mosque in which Kotku served. Kotku, who enhanced his predecessor's method which developed discourse according to the audience, became the last

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69 Cihan Tuğal, *Pasif Devrim İslami Muhalefetin Düzenle Bütünleşmesi*, trans. Ferit Burak Aydar, 2nd ed., Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 145–147.

70 Abdullah İnce, Nakşilik-Siyaset İlişkisi Bağlamında Türkiye'de Dini Gruplar ve Milli Görüş, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 10, 2017, p. 148.

71 Şerif Mardin, Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2005, p. 155.

leader of the jamaat who passed through the classical tekke education.[72] Kotku died two months after the coup of 12 September 1980 and was replaced by Esad Coşan.[73]

The changes seen in the jamaat during the reign of Mehmed Zahid Kotku were not limited to the name only. The structure of the dergah moved away from the classical tekke structure because the new members of the jamaat were the people who received a modern education and the dergah took on a new jamaat appearance. Four critical stages stand out in the process of transformation from dergah to jamaat, which included the formation of a political party, a foundation, journals and a corporation. First, forming a political party was seriously different and a new situation for the Naqshbandi tradition. Despite its having formed a relationship with politics either in a cooperative or conflictual sense, the Naqshbandi tradition had always defined politics and the phenomenon of power in a negative way. Kotku also adopted this negative outlook as a principle; however, there were also periods when the National Order Party (MNP) and the National Salvation Party (MSP) had directly aspired to power and partly achieved it. However, Kotku identified political parties as incorrect organisations harming the sense of unity and pointed out the importance of professional organisations and that problems would be solved through economic and social activities. The failure of the "Silver Engine Company" experience, the obstacles put before Erbakan to assume the seat of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey albeit being elected to the task and Erbakan's unsuccessful attempt to be a pre-candidate for MP from the Justice Party (AP), put pressure on Kotku regarding political parties. He unwillingly agreed that his jamaat would have relations with Erbakan's party. Prominent members of the jamaat took active roles in both the MNP and MSP. However, Kotku did not support this party in the form of support for a party that was founded to change the political regime; rather, he supported it in the form of an association or professional organisation. In its early years, the MSP carried out its activities within the limits set by Kotku. This boundary was mainly to serve as an example of the moral and cultural life of society. However, in parallel with the rise of political Islam around the world, the MSP also turned to radicalisation from the attitude of the association. From the culture and community-centred politics that Kotku demanded, the concept of the power-centred redefinition of all kinds of cultural and social activities had been transformed. Kotku was disturbed by these developments and showed his discomfort by alerting party officials and Erbakan. Moreover, Kotku informed the party that youth organisations were involved in politic events and that these organisations

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72   M. Emin Yaşar, "Mehmed Zahid Kotku", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp. 326–29; M. Emin Yaşar, "Dergah'tan Parti'ye, Vakıf'tan Şirkete Bir Kimliğin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü İskenderpaşa Cemaati", in: *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, pp. 323–329.

73   Karpat, İslamın Siyasallaşması Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet ,İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması… p. 181.

should be shut down, prompting Erbakan to resign and even abolish the party altogether. Despite these developments, Erbakan responded with an attitude suggesting that there was no problem and time would decide these things. Meanwhile, the September 12 coup occurred and the MSP was shut down. One of Kotku's essential activities for the community was that he initiated the foundation (waqf) process. This process was one of the cornerstones of the formation of the jamaat's identity. The waqif process that started with the Hakyol Foundation was realised under the party's shadow, but this process would change.[74]

After Kotku, the leadership of the jamaat was taken over by Esad Coşan. Kotku had selected Coşan as his successor before his death. Coşan was a teacher who received a modern education and was even working as a professor at a university when he became the head of the jamaat. He continued in this post until his retirement at his request in 1987.[75] With Coşan, the structure and interests of the jamaat began to change. The banning of the closed National Salvation Party's (MSP) cadres facilitated Coşan's control over the jamaat. He primarily pointed out the direction of the jamaat from the political sphere to the cultural sphere. In addition to the organisation of the Hakyol Foundation throughout the country, foundations for science, culture, art and health were established. Moreover, members of the jamaat established associations of human rights, women's issues, etc., which opened the way for the jamaat to assume an outward and pluralistic identity.

The most important activity during the Coşan period was publication and journals, which played a serious role in the transformation of the jamaat. The Islamic Journal, in particular, has been influential on the jamaat. The influence of engineering and natural sciences, which had been popular in religious circles by this time, decreased and with Coşan, the jamaat came to esteem social sciences the most within religious communities in Turkey. With Coşan, the increasing importance given to the social sciences had also been instrumental in redefining the relationship of the jamaat to politics with the critical discourse used in the modernisation debates and in all the transformations faced by the jamaat.

By 1990, the relationship of the jamaat with the MGH, which had been associated with each other until that date, deteriorated so much that they could never be reunited. The reason for this conflict was the Erbakan-Coşan rivalry. At its core, the debate was over whether the jamaat should enter the hierarchy of the party.[76] The winner was Coşan and the centrist structure that the jamaat had taken on because of its relationship with the party changed back to the decentralised style. The origin of this conflict in the 1990s was that the jamaat now had companies trading in the market. These commercial activities were merged

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74 Yaşar, "Dergah'tan Parti'ye, Vakıf'tan Şirkete Bir Kimliğin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü İskenderpaşa Cemaati"... pp. 330–332.

75 Yaşar, „Mehmed Zahid Kotku"... p. 333.

76 Ömer Baykal and Ömer Çaha, Politik Aktör Olarak Necmettin Erbakan'ın Türk Siyasetindeki Yeri, *Akademik Hassasiyetler*, Vol. 4, No. 8, 2017, pp. 11–12.

in 1995 under the name Server Holding and separated the commercial activities of the jamaat from its association and waqif activities. Commercial activities enabled the jamaat to adopt a more political structure in the manner Kotku also wanted. The desire to achieve a higher political structure caused the severing of ties with the parties and their organisations and Coşan had started activities to expand the jamaat abroad. He was particularly successful in Australia, continued his life in Australia after the February 28 process and died in a car accident in Australia in 2001. His son Nurettin Coşan was the head of the jamaat, which is now a holding rather than a jamaat.[77] Despite all these conflicts between the jamaat and the party, the relationship between the two organisations have never been severed and the jamaat continued to shape the cultural aspect of Republican era Islamism.

Split in Republican Islamists and Emergence of Conservative Democrats

In the last period of the Islamists identified in our study (from 1997 to the present), leaving the path they started with the National Outlook Movement (MGH), the second generation of Islamists continued their political lives with different names, but this time with different ideological claims (conservative democratism).[78] As mentioned above, with the closure of the Welfare Party (RP), the Virtue Party (FP) founded as a substitute after the February 28 process, formed its group in the Assembly by reaching 146 deputies, including most of the non-banned members and two deputies from the Motherland Party (ANAP).[79] The FP followed in the footsteps of the DP, positioning itself on the centre-right. Its mission was to represent the entire right. Headed by Recai Kutan, its aim was Turkey's democratisation and civilisation. However, what occurred after the party was founded (such as the failure to react to the removal of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and banning him from politics) showed that the FP was a powerless organisation. The FP adopted concepts such as human rights, the rule of law and civil society, which the RP was known to be using insincerely, only to expand its sphere of power and its supporters in order to come to power. It was apparent that this was the result of necessity due to what had occurred even if the FP case had been sincere. By the end of the 1990s, Islamism was going through a serious crisis. This was not only a case specific to Turkey but an international one.[80]

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77   M. Emin Yaşar, „Esad Coşan", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce İslamcılık*, Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (eds.), 2nd ed., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 334.

78   Esen Kirdiş, Similar Contexts, Different Behaviour: Explaining the Non-Linear Moderation and Immoderation of Islamic Political Parties in Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey, *Politics, Religion and Ideology*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 2019, p. 480.

79   Akşin, *Siyasal Tarih (1995-2003)...* pp. 174–175.

80   Feryaz Ocakli, Notable Networks: Elite Recruitment, Organizational Cohesiveness, and Islamist Electoral Success in Turkey, *Politics and Society*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2015, p. 377.

These conditions caused a vast majority of Islamists to switch to a liberal Islamist discourse (post-Islamism) and some to abandon the Islamist ideology altogether. The Virtue party (FP), however, shifted its liberal rhetoric into action, applying to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in agreement with a French lawyer to stop the execution of Erbakan's one-year prison sentence. When Erbakan's discourses before 1997 are recalled, the gravity of the break that this movement caused becomes clear.[81] After the February 28 process, Islamists who opposed the 1995 customs union agreement with the European Community (EC) were in a situation what could be called "becoming proEuropean" in the form of "forced Westernisation" or "becoming Westernist."[82] After these political developments, the EC,[83] previously defined as the 'Christian Union,' became an organisation for the FP of which they sincerely desired to become a member. By February 28, the Islamists of the Republican era were looking at democracy as the product of modern ignorance. They were beginning to explore the virtues of democracy along with the FP since the guarantee of their existence was democratisation. Islamists outside Turkey could not help them, but the liberal views of the West could protect them.

With this perspective, Virtue Party (FP) leader Recai Kutan made his first overseas visit to the United States and held talks with Jewish organisations there.[84] Kutan's second trip was to Brussels and Strasbourg, where he stated that Turkey was an integral part of Europe and that the FP was the most sincere advocate of it.[85] Despite all these efforts, regardless of the elements on which they based their campaign, including democracy and human rights, in their first major test in the 1999 general and local elections campaign, they were unable to convince the people. The FP asked voters to vote for them stating that they were the victims of February 28, but the counter-rhetoric of their opponents that "they will not be allowed to govern even if they are elected" was more effective. In the end, they entered parliament as the third party after the Democratic Left Party (DSP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). The February 28 coup brought about a thaw in the Islamist movement. For the first time in FP congresses, on 14 May 2000, two candidates were running for the presidency of the party. The MGH did not rival Erbakan in the entire process until 2000 and the organisation of the party was defined by loyalty to the leader. However, the innovative movement (*Yenilikçiler*) that emerged in the 1990s in the National Outlook Movement

81   Ioannis N Grigoriadis, Islam and Democratization in Turkey: Secularism and Trust in a Divided Society, *Democratization*, Vol. 16, No. 6, 2009, p. 1198.

82   Keleş, "Milli Görüş Hareketi"... p. 573.

83   Uğur Ülger, Siyasal İslam'ın AB'ye Bakış Açısı: Milli Görüş Hareketi Örneği, *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Vol. 4, No. 29, 2017, p. 623.

84   Akif Emre, Amerika"ya Niçin Gidilir?, *Yeni Şafak*, 2 November 1999, *https://www.yenisafak.com/yazarlar/akifemre/amerikaya-nicin-gidilir-44618*, (accessed 09.06.2019).

85   Ruşen Çakır, İslamcıların Batıcılaşma Süreci, *Birikim*, No. 128, 1999, *http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim-yazi/5096/islamcilarin-baticilasma-sureci#.XLxFlpMzbOR*, (accessed 09.06.2019).

(MGH) questioned the indisputable notion of leadership and rivalled the new leader that Erbakan had indicated.

This race proved that nothing would be the same at the National Outlook Movement (MGH) anymore. Abdullah Gül, who was to be prime minister and the president over the newly formed party, came out against Recai Kutan and won a very close vote against Kutan. Kutan was reelected president, but the signals that the Islamist movement would transform and Islamists would part ways emerged at this congress[86] because the *Yenilikçiler* could not be represented in the party administration despite the support they received as a result of the regulation changes that took place before the congress. The opportunity for them to break away from the party arose in 2001 when the Constitutional Court closed the Virtue Party (FP). On July 20, 2001, the traditionalists founded the Felicity Party (SP), again headed by Kutan. On August 14, 2001, the *Yenilikçiler* founded the Justice and Development Party (AKP) under Recep Tayyip Erdogan's leadership.

The Justice and Development Party (AKP) founders presented the Islamism of the 1990s as fundamentalist and described themselves either as former Islamists or appropriate to the definition of "conservative Democrat."[87] By not identifying themselves as an Islamist party, they broke off ties with their past ("swapped shirts"[88]), declared their loyalty to secularism and reiterated that they were not Islamists.[89] In the general elections held in 2002, the AKP won 365 seats and the Felicity Party (SP) failed to pass the 10% threshold (2.49% of the vote). In the first extraordinary party congress, Recai Kutan was not a candidate and Necmettin Erbakan became the head of the party. However, in 2004, Kutan once again became the head of the party since Erbakan had a finalised imprisonment. In 2008, Numan Kurtulmuş became the leader of the SP but resigned in 2010. Kurtulmuş founded the People's Voice Party (*Has Parti*) in the same year; however, this party merged with the AKP and was dissolved in 2012. When Kurtulmuş left, Necmettin Erbakan became the chairman of the SP. In 2011, Erbakan died and Mustafa Kamalak was elected as the party leader. Kamalak remained in office until 2016 and was succeeded by Temel Karamollaoğlu.[90] Since 2002, the discourse of the SP has been in line with its rhetoric prior to 1980 with its main goal having been determined as being "material and spiritual development."[91] The discourse of human

86   Erbakan'a Kongre Şoku, *Hürriyet*, 15 May 2000, *http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/erbakana-kongre-soku-39154350*, (accessed 22.09.2019).

87   Esen Kirdiş and Amina Drhimeur, The Rise of Populism? Comparing Incumbent pro-Islamic Parties in Turkey and Morocco, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2016, p. 605.

88   Gömlek Kavgası, *Milliyet*, 22 May 2003, *http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2003/05/22/siyaset/asiy.html*, (accessed 24.09.2019).

89   Bünyamin Bezci and Nebi Miş, İslamcılığın Dönüşümünü Tartışmak : İslamcılığın Dört Hali ve Muhafazakârlaşmak, *Bilgi*, no. 24, 2012, p. 1199; James G. Mellon, Islamism, Kemalism and the Future of Turkey, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2006, p. 78.

90   Ali Ekber Ertürk, Saadet Partisi'nde Genel Başkan Değişiyor, *Sözcü*, 25 October 2016, *https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/saadet-partisinde-genel-baskan-degisiyor-1467910/*,(accessed 26.09.2019).

91   Keleş, "Milli Görüş Hareketi"… p. 575.

rights, pluralism and democracy rhetoric has been maintained. Karamollaoğlu, the current president, has developed the discourse of democracy and continues to call for a merit-based administration while still incorporating antiIsraelism into his rhetoric.

Conclusion

The movement of Islamism, which emerged in order to save the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, entered a period of stagnation with the Republican regime. However, the movement achieved sufficient power to form a government in the final quarter of the 20th century. The Islamists of the Ottoman period, the first generation in the historical segmentation we have defined over generations/eras, started to form the Islamist ideology as a movement of political ideas. Their goal was to achieve civilisation by acquiring the technology of the West, but not to break away from Islam and the cultural characteristics of society in the process. To this end, they called for reform both in the state and in the religion. When we compare Islamists of the Ottoman period and Islamists of the Republican period in general, we come to the following conclusions. While the first generation adopted the idea of achieving civilisation as a movement of political ideas without organising in the form of a political party, the Islamists of the Republican era were organised in the form of a political party, which required the emergence of an organisational structure and the adoption of a leader at the head of the organisation. The emergence of organisational and community-party relationships is one of the distinguishing features of the second generation. Moreover, the inclusion of Islamists in the democratic system by establishing political parties made this group visible in society and involved in the bureaucracy.[92]

Although the belief in rationality and progress in the thought and philosophy of achieving modernity were common in both periods, the Islamists of the Republican era reduced modernity to technology. At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, these values, which began to be expressed even though concepts such as democracy and human rights were included in the perspectives of modernity and progress, were adopted out of necessity, not by internal efforts or developments, but by external influences. The Islamists of the Ottoman period were never in favour of political pressure and supported a parliamentary administration in the political climate of their own time.

The Islamists of the Ottoman period attributed the Ottoman Empire's backwardness to the fact that it had been removed from the essence of Islam. They argued that because the door to case law was closed, how Islam could be reinterpreted according to current circumstances was accordingly closed, and this caused the Empire to fall back. The first-generation consisted of persons with

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92   P.W. Sutton and S. Vertigans, The Established and Challenging Outsiders: Resurgent Islam in Secular Turkey, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2002, p. 75.

sufficient religious knowledge to practice case law. The second generation was no match for the first generation in terms of religious knowledge. On the other hand, Republican era Islamists argued that cultural corruption caused the country to fall back. They argued that the principle of secularism and the move to Westernisation, which was included in the constitution together with the Republic, were the most important factors in this backwardness. The perspective on the state that existed in the first generation continued in part in the second generation. The first generation aimed to eliminate the backwardness of the state and continue to lead the Islamic world. The Islamists of the Republican period argued that the Republic of Turkey should lead the Islamic world as it did in the Ottoman Empire by advancing the state in scientific and technological fields and also adding spiritual development to the material development. Although attempts were made by the RP government in the 1990s to achieve this, it failed as the international conjuncture, the domestic policy and the Islamic world were not in accordance with the envisioned situation.

The continuations and differences between the Islamists of the Ottoman period and the Islamists of the Republican period manifested roughly in this manner. The ideology of Islamism emerged in the second half of the 19th century in Anatolia. It has survived until the present day (2020) despite having changed its form over time. The Islamists, who came to power for a short time in the mid1990s, were unable to maintain their power and they had no opportunity to take power outside the municipal administrations they obtained in the local administrations after the February 28 process. Today, the latest party of Islamists, the Felicity Party (SP), is having difficulty achieving power to overcome the electoral threshold applied in the country. Unquestionably, changes in the Islamist discourse after the February 28 process and, most importantly, the determination of democracy as a goal should not be ignored. The third generation of Islamists, as claimed by Bulaç (2005), does not seem to have emerged. Bulaç considered the Justice and Development Party (AKP) founders and leaders as the third generation; however, the AKP leaders stated that they were not Islamists, that they had been previously but changed their views. It is more accepted that they have adopted a line that we can define as centre-right over conservative democratism. The SP also has a post-Islamist tendency, and even if a third-generation were to be growing, its effectiveness would not yet be visible in the party administration. Whether or not there is a formed third generation, their differences and similarities relative to the second generation are the subjects of another study. This research might contribute to an ethnographic study in SP youth organisations and evaluations on post-Islamism to find third-generation of Turkish Islamists.

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ОД ИНТЕЛЕКТУАЛНОГ ПОКРЕТА ДО ПОЛИТИЧКИХ ПАРТИЈА: ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЈА ТУРСКИХ ИСЛАМИСТИЧКИХ ГРУПА

Сажетак

Исламизам је једна од многих политичких идеја које су настале у Османском царству 19. века. Овај чланак се бави идејом исламистичких покрета у време Османског царства и за време Републике. Главни аргумент чланка је да, супротно ономе што тврди савремена литература, Партија правде и развоја није развила трећу генерацију исламистичких покрета, већ да су исламисти променили своје дискурсе у оквиру странке Фелицити која делује у оквиру ширег националног покрета. У складу са тим, овај чланак прво анализира политичке покрете у оквиру Османског царства 19. века. Главни циљ ових покрета се описује и утврђују њихове разлике. Друго, бавимо се анализом исламистичких покрета у републиканској ери. У раду се користе методе из области политикологије религије.

Кључне речи: независност, исламизам, Партија правде и развоја, модернизација, Некметин Ербакан, западњаштво